

# UCSB McNair Scholars Research Journal



UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SANTA BARBARA  
2017 Volume 7

**UCSB McNair Scholars  
Research Journal**

**University of California, Santa Barbara  
2017 – Volume 7**

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# UCSB McNair Scholars

## Research Journal

2017 - Volume 7

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## Letter from Executive Vice Chancellor David Marshall

I am very pleased to introduce Volume VII of the UC Santa Barbara *McNair Scholars Research Journal*. Named after Dr. Ronald E. McNair Jr., physicist and NASA astronaut, the national McNair Scholars Program is a program designed to provide research opportunities for first-generation college, low-income, and underrepresented undergraduates with the goal of preparing them for graduate school. Our local UC Santa Barbara McNair Scholars Program supports our campus efforts to advance the diversity and quality of our students, and to prepare 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 in the past may not have considered even an undergraduate college education.

UC Santa Barbara is very proud to be an Hispanic Serving Institution. UCSB is the first member of the American Association of Universities (AAU)—an elite group of the 62 top research universities in North America—to receive this designation. As a public research university, UC Santa Barbara strives to support all of its students and to give them the knowledge, understanding, and skills to make future contributions to the State of California.

The *McNair Scholars Research Journal* recognizes the research accomplishments of a select group of undergraduate scholars from a wide range of disciplines who have successfully completed our McNair Scholars Program. Their contributions to this journal represent the hard work and intellectual creativity of students who, we expect, will become leaders in their respective fields. In our program, students develop a strong bond with mentors who offer



guidance and serve as role models in order to help the students realize their potential. The journal also reflects the contributions of the faculty mentors who exemplify the dedication of our campus to undergraduate success.

The quality, originality, and creativity of the scholarship published here are very impressive. This research augurs well for the future contributions of these students to scholarship and society. I congratulate the McNair Scholars, applaud their faculty mentors, and extend my appreciation to the staff of the McNair Scholars Program for their dedication and work in helping these students succeed.

David Marshall  
Executive Vice Chancellor

## **Letter from the Interim Dean of Undergraduate Education**

### **Linda Adler-Kassner**

In the research on student success and higher education, undergraduate research is what's known as a "high impact practice," an activity that plays an important role in student development and persistence. Participation in undergraduate research has been demonstrated to foster students' engagement with research on questions and issues important to them; to create meaningful bonds between students and faculty mentors; and to lead to production of research that represents new perspectives.

Less often considered, though, is the impact that undergraduate research has on the institution. Undergraduate research provides important venues for the infusion of new knowledge, perspectives, and ideas into departments and even disciplines. It enables the production of structured opportunities for those meaningful connections between students and faculty. And it often provides venues through which new voices and ideas can circulate in the form of journals like this one, which feature student-authored work.

The seven articles contained in this year's McNair Scholars research journal are a testament to this impact. With this research, these scholars have made a difference – on campus at UCSB, in their home communities and in their scholarly disciplines. Additionally, the McNair program (including Director Dr. Beth Schneider, Assistant Director Dr. Yvette Martinez-Vu, writing consultant Dr. Ellen Broidy, graduate mentors, and faculty mentors) has made its mark on the UCSB campus, creating an affirming and supportive environment for students like those in the program to make these contributions.

As Interim Dean of Undergraduate Education in the College of Letters and Science and a professor of writing studies, it's my pleasure to introduce readers to the scholars whose work is featured here. I take inspiration from their commitment to the questions, ideas, and issues explored in this research. I know that their contributions will make important differences to others who engage with these ideas and to the researchers who created them, continuing the cycle of their work as a high impact practice.

Linda Adler-Kassner

Interim Dean, Undergraduate Education

Professor, Writing Studies/UCSB Writing Program

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

As the Director of the UCSB McNair Scholars Program since its inception, it is a pleasure to showcase the work of some of our outstanding students in Volume VII of the UCSB McNair Scholars Research Journal.

These scholars and authors spent 18 months or more with the UCSB McNair Scholars Program. Expectations were high for these scholars, and each of the students met them, presenting their faculty-mentored scholarship at one McNair Scholars National Research Conference and/or at one professional association as well as offering at least two poster sessions in academic symposium on our campus. Among this current group of 7 authors are six seniors who applied to graduate school this academic year; all will attend graduate school in Fall 2017 at the following excellent universities (University of Michigan; Utah State University; University of South Florida; San Diego State; and two at UCLA).

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

The perseverance, patience, and diligence displayed by the scholars will serve them well as they continue with professional training in their respective fields. 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.

Special thanks to the program staff and graduate student mentors. Most importantly, congratulations to the scholars.

In pride,

Beth E. Schneider  
Professor of Sociology  
Director, 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 seventh 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 and ended as a rewarding experience. Novices when they started the process, the scholars embarked on a year-long adventure in what it takes to produce academic work suitable for publication. With good humor and extraordinary patience and fortitude, they experienced both the frustration of being asked to revise and revise again and 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.

Submission to the Journal was never a requirement of participation in the UCSB McNair Scholars Program so we were enormously gratified that a number of our students graduating in 2017 and one student in the class of 2018 decided to allow their work to be put under the editorial microscope. While we would have liked 100% participation, previous publication arrangements with faculty mentors meant that some scholars were unable to submit their work. The scholars who contributed worked diligently on their papers, rethinking, rewriting, reorganizing, and in some instances, reconceptualizing core ideas in response to comments from faculty mentors and the Journal's editors. We applaud them all for their hard work and commitment. We want to say a special thank you to

the faculty mentors who worked alongside the students to guide them in the production of such high caliber work.

We trust that you will enjoy reading the work of the UCSB McNair Scholars represented in this seventh 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 Consultant, UCSB McNair Scholars Program

Beth E. Schneider

Professor, Department of Sociology

Director, UCSB McNair Scholars Program

# **Utilization of Campus Services among Latino/a College Students: A Mixed-Methods Approach**

**Andrea Mora, Maryam Kia-Keating, Ph.D., Sabrina Liu, M.A., & Diana Capous, M.A.**

Mentor: Dr. Maryam Kia-Keating  
Department of Counseling, Clinical & School Psychology

## **Abstract**

*Although Latino/a undergraduates' enrollment rates in higher education are increasing, there is a dearth of research on their use of university mental health and student services. Latino/a students report greater alienation, isolation, and stress when compared with their White counterparts. To meet the needs of this growing demographic, it is critical for Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSIs) to examine service utilization patterns and preferences among Latino/a college students. To address this gap in utilization of services, two studies were conducted with first year students at a large public HSI university in California. Study 1 included 44 Latino/a first year students, who responded to an open-ended question regarding their use of campus resources. Participant responses were coded using thematic analysis and pointed to two major barriers: time and awareness about resources. Study 2 used online surveys with a diverse group of first year White and Latino/a students (N = 432; 38% Latino/a) to compare the frequency of visits to twelve different campus services. Significant differences in utilization patterns were found between Latino/a and White students in seeking services at Student Health, Alcohol & Drug Program, and Recreation Center. Implications for HSIs to increase efforts to reach their Latino/a student population and to better disseminate information about available campus services will be discussed.*



## Introduction

Latino/a students are enrolling in colleges and universities across the United States in greater numbers than ever before (Vaughan, Chang, Escobar & de Dios, 2015). Hispanic college enrollment has tripled since 1993, and Hispanics are now the largest minority group on U.S. college campuses (Pew Research Center, 2015). While government agencies such as the U.S. Census Bureau have used the term “Hispanic” to categorize Latino/as (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012), the term “Latino/a” encompasses a larger majority of the Latino/a and Hispanic population in the United States and will be used throughout the majority of this paper except when describing the work of authors who use the term Hispanic. Given the increase in Latino/a students enrolling in higher education, institutions must begin to address their academic, social, and mental health needs so that they can successfully navigate the university environment and complete their baccalaureate degree. One of the ways colleges and universities attempt to educate and graduate Latino/a students has been through the accreditation of Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSIs; Calderón-Galdeano, Flores & Moder, 2012). HSIs are defined as “accredited, degree-granting, nonprofit colleges and universities with 25% or more total Hispanic undergraduate full-time enrollment with no less than 50% of them being low-income Hispanic individuals (Benitez, 1998; Calderón-Galdeano et al., 2012). The number of HSIs is rapidly growing with 472 total HSIs in the United States to date (HACU, 2017). By 2016, California alone accounted for 159 HSIs with a projected addition of 56 more in the following five years (HACU, 2017). These HSIs have a large Latino/a population and in total represent 24% of the total U.S. student population and 64% of all Latino/a undergraduates (Excelencia, 2017).

As federally funded programs, HSIs have greater resources, and therefore responsibility, to meet Latino/a college students' needs given that they are eligible to apply for federal funding programs, such as Title V grants and/or the Developing HSI Program to better serve Latino/a students who are economically disadvantaged (Contreras & Contreras, 2015). Although colleges and universities have the responsibility to create supportive environments that recognize individual differences (Dayton, Gonzalez-Vasquez, Martinez, & Plum, 2014), recent studies have suggested that campuses utilize these grants for whole school improvement, and create only minimal programming to help Latino/a students successfully navigate university services and complete their 4-year degree (Hurtado & Ruiz, 2012). Although it is beneficial for universities to tailor services to meet the individual needs of their Latino/a students, there is a dearth of information on the campus services that Latino/a college students access and the factors that prevent them from using campus services more (Yorgason, Linville, & Zitzman, 2008).

## **University Mental Health Services**

Of the various services that universities offer to their students, mental health services may be particularly important for college students, as they are an at-risk group for developing mental health problems. In fact, the age of onset of many major mental health disorders occurs during college years and prevalence of mental health disorders is highest among people ages fifteen to twenty-four (Gore & Aseltine, 2003).

In addition to age risk, college students are affected by additional intense academic stressors such as completing homework, writing papers, and studying for exams that can negatively impact their overall mental health (Cokley, McClain,

Enciso, & Martinez, 2013). These stressors are important to note given that mental health problems, such as depression, can negatively affect college students' grades and behavior, as well as lead to decreased emotional skills, social isolation, and conflict (Storrie, Ahern, & Tuckett, 2010). Despite the increased risk of mental health problems among college students, research suggests that students underutilize mental health services. For example, the American College Health Association National College Health Assessment (2009) revealed that only 24% of college students diagnosed with depression were receiving treatment and that they were less likely than their non-college attending peers to utilize mental health services. These low service utilization rates are alarming given that national studies have found that almost half of all college students meet the criteria for at least one DSM-IV mental disorder (Blanco et al., 2008), one in five college students have 12-month prevalence of DSM-IV disorders (Auerbach et al., 2016), and the potential costs of not receiving treatment are considerable.

### **Latino/a Students' and Mental Health and Service Utilization**

Latino/a college students have reported higher rates of mental health disorders on the Mental Health Inventory-18 scale compared to White students, perhaps due to additional stressors such as *minority status stress* (Cokley et al., 2013). Minority status stress is the result of a combination of factors such as experiences with racism and discrimination, insensitive comments, and questions of belonging and their right to be on campus (Cokley et. al., 2013; Smedly, Myers & Harrell, 1993). Minority status stress can lead to negative mental health outcomes such as depression and anxiety (Jones, Cross, & DeFour, 2007). It is not surprising then that Latino/a college students report greater alienation,

isolation, and stress on campus when compared with their White counterparts (Lopez, 2005).

Additionally, similar to the general Latino/a population (Lee, Laiewski, & Choi, 2014), Latino/a college students underutilize mental health services. In one study of students at an East Coast urban commuter college, Latino/a students with distressed mental health symptoms were found to attend three fewer counseling sessions than White students with similar symptomatology (Kearney, Draper, & Barón, 2005). Another study surveyed students on multiple U.S. college campuses and found that Hispanics were less likely to receive mental health treatment than White students (Eisenberg, Hunt, Speer, & Zivin, 2011). On the other hand, more recent studies conducting national self-report surveys have reported that Latino/a college students are as likely as other students to receive mental health services from their university (Brownson, Becker, Shadick, Jaggars, & Nitkin-Kaner, 2014). However, from this study, it is important to note that only 41% of Latino/a college students compared to 63% of their White peers reported they were encouraged to ask for help by others after disclosing they were experiencing suicidal ideation (Brownson et al., 2014). These contradictory findings highlight the need to further investigate and increase understanding of the mental health needs and service utilization of Latino/a college students.

## **Other Student Services**

In addition to mental health services, past research has found that students experience a number of benefits from using campus services, including academic advising and career exploration (Carter, Scales, Judy, Collins, & Wan, 2003), positive educational outcomes (Forsbach & Rice-Mason, 2001), and

increased sense of community (Engle & O'Brien, 2007), as well as student engagement in extracurricular activities and educational/work opportunity programs outside of the classroom (Gonyea, Kinzie, Kuh, & Laird, 2008). Given these psychosocial benefits, it is also important to examine the range of services provided on campuses, as universities are offering a greater variety within various modalities and centers, and are not just limited to a single resource, such as a typical counseling center. These include cultural centers, wellness centers, health centers, and more specific intervention programs, such as drug & alcohol programs. Previous research conducted on minority status stress suggests that campus services that provide programming such as outreach programs to educate Latino/as on important topics such as immigration, or counseling support groups for academically stressed students can provide psychoeducational interventions that may help to reduce minority status stress (Cokley et al., 2013). Other studies have highlighted the importance of identifying the needs of Latino/a undergraduate students to create positive and inclusive programming on college campuses to reduce Latino/a perceptions of unwelcoming and alienating campus environments (Gloria, Castellanos, & Orozco, 2005). Therefore, we can see that utilization of a variety of campus services may be beneficial for the academic success and wellbeing of college students.

To improve the experience and success of Latino/a college students at HSI universities, it is imperative to understand their utilization rates of campus mental health services and other student services. In turn, efforts to increase service utilization rates can be addressed to provide academic, social and/or mental health treatment to this population.

## The Current Study

The current studies sought to answer the following questions: (a) What are the factors that impact Latino/a college students' service utilization on campus? and (b) Do Latino/a first year college students utilize campus services at the same rate as their White counterparts? To answer these two questions, we examined open-ended responses as well as survey data from Latino and White college freshmen and transfer students in two separate studies during two different years at the same HSI institution in Southern California. This mixed-method approach allowed us to get a more complete understanding of service utilization among Latino/a college students at the HSI university where the study was conducted.

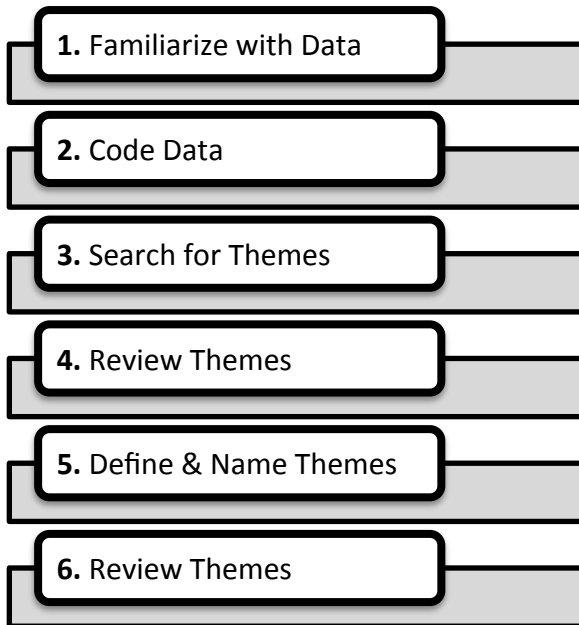
### Study 1

#### *Method*

**Participants.** The first study used qualitative data from 44 Latino/a first year students at an HSI public university in California who completed a larger online survey, the *First Year Experience Survey*. Responses from students who self-identified as Mexican American/Chicano and Other Hispanic Latino/a were included. We refer to these students as Latino/a for the purposes of this paper.

**Procedure.** The *First Year Experience Survey* was a research study that sought to understand the experiences of new students over the course of their first year at the university. An online link to the survey was emailed to all first year and transfer students at three different points during their first year: at the beginning of their first quarter (T1), the end of their second quarter

(T2), and towards the end of their first year (T3). For their participation, students were entered into a lottery at the end of the survey to win prizes, including an iPad or a gift card to an online store (e.g., Amazon.com). This study analyzed students' responses to an open-ended question about campus service utilization during T3: "Looking back on your first year so far, what kept you from using campus services more?"



**Figure 1. The Coding Process, Applied Thematic Analysis  
(Braun & Clarke, 2006)**

## **Data Analysis**

Student responses were analyzed using applied thematic analysis. Applied thematic analysis is a flexible qualitative method that identifies, analyzes, and reports themes within the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Braun & Clarke (2006) describe the process of applied thematic analysis in six phases (see **Figure 1**). The first step in applied thematic analysis is familiarizing oneself with the data. This can involve moving back and forth between the data set to write down initial thoughts that come up as data is reviewed. Data is then coded followed by a phase of sorting codes into preliminary themes. Themes are then reviewed and refined before defining and naming them. During the defining stage, themes are identified and a detailed analysis of each theme is written, taking into consideration the research question that is being examined. Specifically, each theme is closely examined to determine what aspect of each theme is captured. In the last stage, themes are reviewed to produce an analytic narrative that makes an argument in relation to the research question.

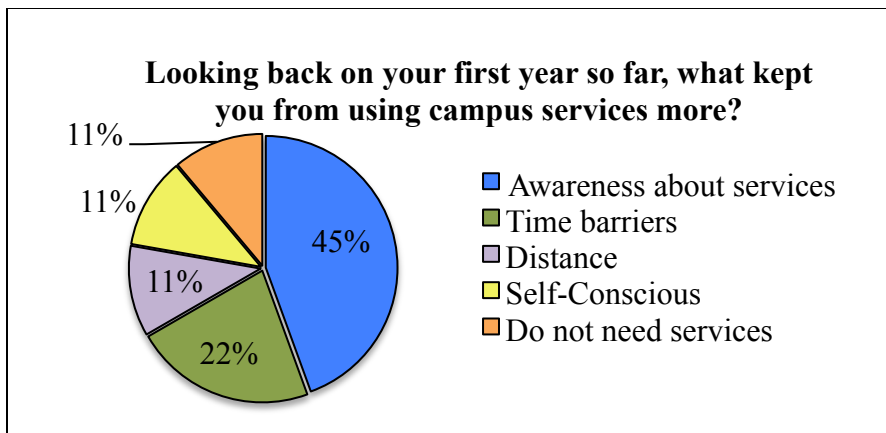
## **Results**

Applied thematic analysis results are shown in **Figure 2**. Analysis revealed that Latino/a college students lack awareness about available campus services, face time barriers to utilizing services, live too far from services, are self-conscious about asking for help and/or face stigma-related barriers, or do not need the services their campus offers. The major theme discussed by Latino/a students was that they did not know about the services offered on their campus. Students stated that they either “just didn’t know where it was,” or “didn’t know where to find them.” Students also “didn’t know much about them,” or did not “realize how many resources we have on campus.” The majority of



respondents reported this lack of awareness about available resources, suggesting that it is the most prevalent barrier to campus service utilization. Even when Latino/a students knew what services are available, they still lacked a knowledge base about what the campus services offer them. For example, a participant responded, “I don’t know what the majority of these services can help me with.”

Latino/a students also discussed time barriers (e.g., “Time commitments/schedule conflicts” or “not hav[ing] enough time due to workload”). Additionally, Latino/a college students thought they did not need the services offered by their campus. For example, a student participant responded they “didn’t feel the need to” utilize the campus services. Students also described themselves as too shy or self-conscious to utilize the services. Even when students acknowledged they might benefit from utilizing the services, they felt “self-conscious” about asking for help and utilizing campus services. Finally, still other students reported that distance affects their campus service utilization. As one student noted, “distance from campus [impacts campus service utilization] because I live in [freshmen dorm],” referring to living in a dorm that is located far (relative to other dorms) from campus.



**Figure 2. Factors that impact Latino/a college students' utilization of campus services**

## Study 2

### *Method*

**Participants and Procedure.** The second study was conducted in 2015 using quantitative data taken from the *First Year Experience* survey described in Study 1, and included 432 first year students (38% Latino/as) from the same university. An online link to the survey was emailed to all first year and transfer students entering the university for the first time in 2015 during T1, T2 and T3. The responses to the *Service Utilization* measure were analyzed to examine campus service utilization rates among White and Latino/a college students during T3.

**Measure.** The Service Utilization measure included in the First Year Experience Survey asked students to estimate the number of times they visited any of 12 different campus services

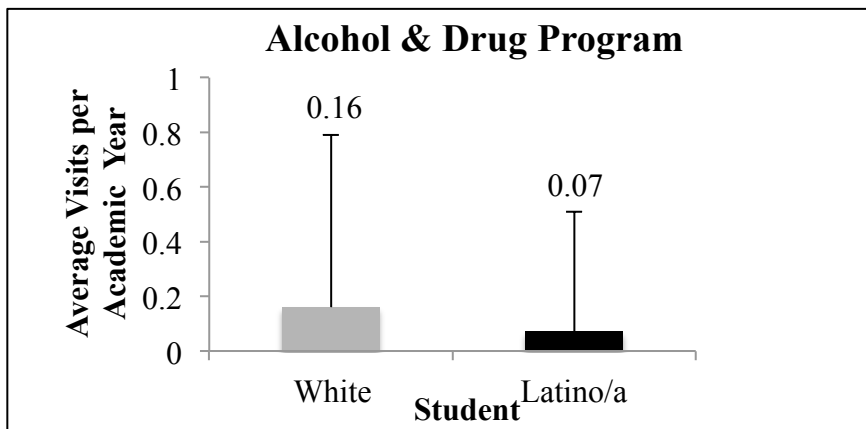
during the academic year: “In the past academic year, how often did you visit any of the following on-campus services (please enter a numerical value, and 0 for never)?” The measure included the following on-campus services: Counseling Services, Alcohol & Drug Program, Student Health, Women’s Center, Resource Center for Gender & Sexual Diversity (RCSGD), Health & Wellness, Adventure Program, Career Services, Disabled Student’s Program (DSP), Community Service Organization (CSO), Recreation Center, and the Office of Student Life (OSL).

**Data analyses.** The Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS; Version 24) software was used to test for significant differences in the number of times White and Latino/a college students utilized campus services. Mann-Whitney test were used for all analyses. Mann-Whitney tests are alternatives to independent sample t-tests and are utilized to compare two samples means that come from the same population. Given that the distributions of the service utilization variables between Latino/a and White college students were heavily skewed, Mann-Whitney tests were the best analyses to run (Nachar, 2008).

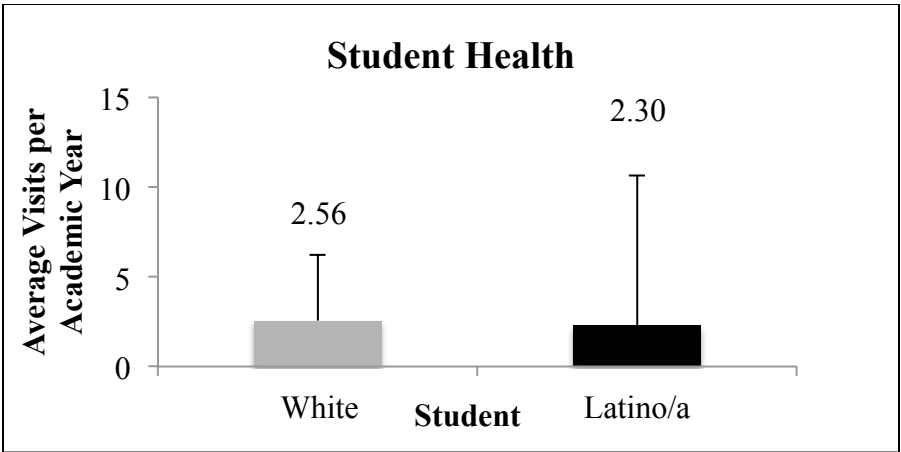
## **Results**

No significant differences in frequency of use by these two groups were found in utilization of Counseling Services, Women’s Center, Resource Center for Sexual and Gender Diversity (RCSGD), Health & Wellness Program, Adventure Program, Career Services, Disabled Students Program (DSP), Community Service Organization (CSO), and Office of Student Life (OSL). The Mann-Whitney test indicated that the frequency of visits to the Alcohol & Drug Program was greater for White students ( $Mdn = 0$ ) than for Latino/a students ( $Mdn = 0$ ),  $U = 20436$ ,  $p < .05$  (see **Figure 3**).

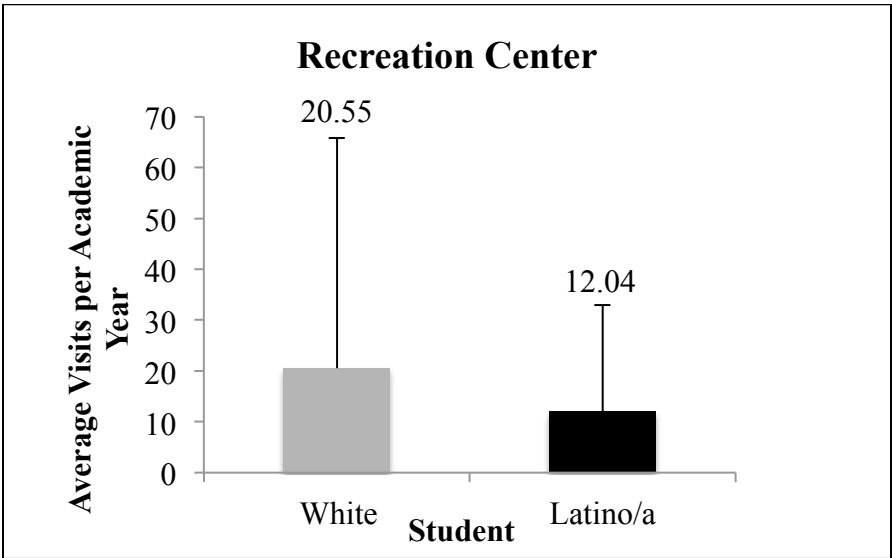
There were also significant differences found in the frequency of visits to Student Health which was greater for White students ( $Mdn = 1$ ) than for Latino/a students ( $Mdn = 0$ ),  $U = 17617.50$ ,  $p < .001$  (see **Figure 4**). Finally, results (shown on **Figure 5**) indicated that the frequency of visits to the recreation (athletics) center was greater for White students ( $Mdn = 6$ ) than for Latino/a students ( $Mdn = 4$ )  $U = 19025$ ,  $p = .04$ .



**Figure 3. Average number of visits to the university Alcohol & Drug Program**



**Figure 4. Average number of visits to University Student Health**



**Figure 5. Average number of visits to the University Recreation Center**

## Discussion

The findings presented here provide important information regarding campus service utilization among Latino/a college students. First year Latino/a college students shared the factors that impact their service utilization rates and reported what appear to be low rates of campus service utilization. The current studies contribute to the literature about Latino/a college students in several important ways. Both studies extend prior research findings that Latino/a students underutilize campus services (Eisenberg et al., 2011) as well as support a previously identified factor that impacts service use: knowledge about available resources (Yorgason, Linville, & Zitzman, 2008). In Study 1, lack of awareness about services was the most salient factor impacting Latino/a students' service utilization. Additionally, compared to their White counterparts, Latino/a students underutilized the Alcohol & Drug Program, Student Health on campus and the Recreation (athletics) Center.

Replicating previous findings, we found that Latino/a students utilize mental health services at the same rate as White students (Kearney et al., 20015). However, Latino/a students were also found to underutilize Student Health compared to their White peers, thus adding to previous literature on the utilization of campus services. In addition, Latino/a students also reported accessing the following campus services at the same rate as their White peers: Women's Center, RCSGD, Health & Wellness Program, OSL, Adventure Program, DSP, Career Services and CSO. Although these services were utilized at similar rates between Latino/a and White students, utilization rates appeared low for both groups. Latino/a and White students' similar utilization rates in these studies may be in part due to the university's efforts to teach first year students skills to manage

stress in healthy ways, including providing information about campus mental health services through a first year initiative 2-hour mandatory workshop which teaches all students about campus services. Considering that the study was conducted at an HSI university, the similar utilization rates found may also be attributed to the university's enhanced student support programs targeted to their Latino/a students. As an HSI, the university receives funds to better serve their Latino/a population. As a result, the university has been able to expand institutional resources offered to Latino/a students, such as an extension program from Counseling and Psychological Services, *Nuestra Comunidad*, a weekly counseling group that provides a safe space for Latino/a students to share, learn and support each other. Disseminating information about mental health counseling services to first year students in a mandatory workshop and in targeted and enhanced programs similar to *Nuestra Comunidad* may have contributed to the current study's findings that Latino/a students utilize campus counseling services at the same rate as White students.

Additionally, the university provides funding to hire mental health peers who advocate for students' services and do campus-wide outreach to reduce stigma and educate students about campus mental health resources, including the Counseling Center. Similarly, the university provides tabling events during first year students' orientations where programs such as the Women's Center, RCSGD, Health & Wellness Program, and Counseling Services disseminate information in order to increase student participation in their programs. Therefore, these outreach programs may have contributed to the similar utilization rates among Latino/a and White students. Programs such as these that target dissemination of information about available campus services could increase service utilization among first year Latino/a college student and should be examined further in the literature.

Given that Latino/a students often attend HSI colleges and universities close to their hometown (Laden, 2001), it may be that Latino/a students are waiving university health insurance and instead, opting for private health insurance. In fact when Study 2 was conducted, 11% of enrolled undergraduate students' geographic origin was within the university's service area (Institutional Research Planning & Assessment, 2013). Given that at least half of Latino/a enrollment at HSI universities must be low-income students (Calderón-Galdeano et al., 2012), there is a possibility that these students may utilize off-campus health services under their own insurance, including MediCal, rather than accessing on-campus student health services. However, although the current study focused on campus student health service utilization, future studies should examine the rates of off-campus health service utilization in comparison to services offered on campus.

## **Strengths and Limitations**

A major strength of this study is the way that the qualitative and quantitative findings complement each other. While the first study looked at the factors impacting service utilization, the second study examined the utilization rates of first year Latino/a college students. Therefore, findings identifying factors that impact campus service utilization provide possible explanations as to why campus service utilization rates appear low. For example, not knowing about the services available on campus may be a major contributor to why students appear to be accessing campus services at low rates.

There are also several limitations to acknowledge regarding our findings. The Latino/a students from both studies come from specific time periods and environments, thus their experiences may



not be representative of all first year Latino/a college students. Study 1 survey data were collected from first year Latino/a college students from an emerging HSI public university in California in 2013, while Study 2 data were collected from first year Latino/a college students from the same HSI public university in 2015. Because students were surveyed from different years, their experiences may differ. While Latino/a students in Study 1 faced knowledge and time barriers to campus service utilization, Latino/a students from Study 2 may have faced different barriers that could have impacted their campus service utilization rates or the results may simply be depicting evidence on the increasing enrollment rates of Latino/a students. Both studies were conducted in a unique environment given that California is home to more than 127 HSI universities (Contreras & Contreras, 2015), and therefore, home to a large proportion of Latino/as. The experiences of Latino/a students portrayed in these two studies may not be generalizable to other colleges and universities with lower percentages of Latino/a populations.

Lastly, both of these studies focused on the self-reports of first year Latino/a college students and did not include actual data rates of campus service utilization. While Latino/a students may offer unique perspectives in a way that can best aid Latino/a college students, they do not provide a complete representation of actual service utilization rates on campus. It would be worthwhile to review universities' actual data on student service utilization rates, and examine the differences between student reporting and actual service use.

## **Conclusions and Future Directions**

Taken together, the above findings suggest opportunities to create programs that target service utilization among Latino/a first

year college students. Increasing campus service utilization might be beneficial for Latino/a college students' academic success and mental health (Carter et al., 2003). Accordingly, systematic efforts are needed to address service utilization on university campuses. HSI universities can take the lead and engage other non-HSI accredited universities to also establish and maintain outreach and awareness programs to connect Latino/a students to the campus services available to them. However, as seen from participant responses, increasing awareness about available services might not be enough. Latino/a students face barriers of time, location and distance, and feelings of self-consciousness that can contribute to their underutilization. Therefore, programs that reduce stigma and/or bring services closer to where Latino/a students are located can also help increase campus service utilization rates. Given that the current studies were unable to examine longitudinally Latino/a students as they navigated their four-year institution, future studies should assess campus mental health and student service utilization over time, and how that impacts students' psychosocial well-being, health and academic success. In this way, colleges and universities can better address the needs of their Latino/a student population.

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# **Mapping Mexico's Narcotrafficking: The Spatial-Temporal Distribution of Cartel Violence and Political Control**

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## **Abstract**

*Cartel violence in Mexico commenced with the demise of Colombian cartels and the shift to Mexico as the main smuggling route for cocaine to the US. Violence and homicides have increased due to a cartel war over territories. Major changes in political control have strengthened and weakened certain cartels. This project will examine data gathered from the government of Mexico, as well as reports of the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) to determine what states and municipalities have been the most affected by drug violence. GIS and mapping software is used to show data on homicides over the last 25 years allowing for a visual representation of the relationship of cartel violence to changes in political control.*

## **Introduction**

Ciudad Juarez, border city with El Paso, Texas, was named the world's most dangerous city in 2010. In 2015, there were more deaths by homicide in Mexico than in war-torn Iraq. Mexico is going through a bloody war as a result of competition by drug cartels and failed governmental efforts to control the crime organizations. To understand why and how Mexico became such a violent country, we need to analyze the effects of the transfer of cocaine exportation from Colombia to Mexico.

The origins of Mexico's trafficking narcotics into the United States can be traced back to the 1940's when Mexico supplied the US with large quantities of marijuana. Now, Mexico is the largest foreign supplier of both marijuana and methamphetamines and, after Afghanistan, is the world's second largest producer of opium. One drug, cocaine, has revolutionized trafficking not only in Mexico, but also around the world. Cocaine is one of the most lucrative and sought after narcotics, but its production is limited to three Andean countries: Colombian, Peru, and Bolivia. The yearly sales of cocaine generate more revenue than Microsoft and McDonalds combined. Cocaine usage became popular in the United States in the early 1980's. At that time, the drug was exported directly by Colombian cartels. After the demise of these cartels, Mexican cartels took over the exportation of the product out of South America and into the United States (Bagley 2011).

The war on narcotrafficking, and the increase in violence, follows a sequential timeline. Rovner Saenz (2011) describes the initial rise in cocaine consumption in the US. This article does not focus on violence or on cartels competing for territory; rather, it focuses on the foundation of drug trafficking, describing how Colombian cartels grew to such a point that both the United States

and the Colombian government were forced to intervene. Bruce Bagley (2015) provides excellent information and commentary on the drug trafficking situation before Mexico became the main transit route; he charts the rise of the two most powerful Colombian cartels, the Cali and Medellin. After governmental and military intervention by both the United States and Colombia, both cartels were dismantled, and replaced by 300 new mini cartels known as “cartelitos.” It is unknown why these miniature versions of cartels managed to decrease the violence in Colombia. These cartelitos, however, did not have the infrastructure necessary to smuggle cocaine directly into the U.S. so Mexican cartels stepped into the breach and Mexico’s role in cocaine trafficking began. One author, June Biedel, states that Mexican President Felipe Calderon’s war on drugs caused the number of drug cartels in Mexico to increase due to an increase in competition from new cartels. Calderon declared the war on narcotrafficking in December 2006, eleven days after assuming the presidency. In 2006, rather than break down as in the case of Colombia, the four major Mexican cartels became nine big cartels, with many other smaller regional cells competing for power, and subsequently increasing violence (Biedel, 2015).

Bagley provides an interesting description of why the drug flow into Mexico is not transported through Central America, arguing that President George H.W. Bush’s invasion of the Panama Canal resulted in cocaine trafficking through the Medellin cartel. The article delves into the Sinaloa’s cartel’s role in cocaine trafficking. Most of the literature paints the Sinaloa Cartel as the biggest cartel during this time period, but Bagley (2011) explains that the Juarez cartel was the most powerful until there was a change in the Mexican presidency. Here, I first encountered an analysis that suggested that the change in political control caused changes in cartels’ areas of dominance due to the change in officials to bribe.

Grayson's article "Mexico and the Drug Cartels," was published in 2007, a few months after Felipe Calderon was sworn in as President. As opposed to the 2007 article, an article published at the end of Calderon's presidency in 2012, perhaps would not have focused as much on his earlier plans to combat narcotrafficking, as on the failure of the so-called "War on Narcotrafficking." Grayson mentions the increase in extraditions from Mexico under Calderon as a means to "take back the country from criminals." In addition to the discussion of bribes, the Grayson (2007) article points to people's perception of drug lords as heroes as a possible reason why many side with them rather than with the government. The people praise the drug lords for their philanthropic actions in building churches, schools and hospitals when the government failed to do so. People in some regions, such as the Tierra Caliente in southern Michoacán, hold certain cartels in great esteem. Grayson is also the first to offer insight into Calderon's criticism of the U.S. government's hypocrisy in blaming Mexico for inundating the U.S. with drugs, while providing Colombia \$600 million to combat drug trafficking and offering Mexico only \$40 million.

In "Drug Violence in Mexico," Heinle states that Calderon's military-style approach to combating drug trafficking and decreasing violence resulted in the "most violent period in recent memory" (Heinle 2014). This was due to clashes between the military and the cartels and the formation of new cartels in response to the dismantling of old cartels. Although homicides are one good indicator of the level of criminal activity, kidnappings and disappearances should also be noted. From 2007-2014, there were 22,610 reported disappearances with 40% of those being reported during Peña Nieto's presidency (2012-present). Without understanding each of the major drug trafficking organizations, there would be no explanation for this statistic.

The Congressional Research Service published an article in 2015 titled “Mexico: Organized Crime and Drug Trafficking Organizations” using data from the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA). It provides extensive background on the territories controlled by each cartel, the cartel’s main drug lord, and the types of criminal activities each is engaged in. For example, the Sinaloa Cartel is mainly responsible for cocaine trafficking to the United States. The Los Zetas cartel is in a bloody war with the Sinaloa cartel over territory, but they focus more on other types of criminal activities such as kidnappings and extortions. Deserters from the Mexican Navy formed Los Zetas, one of the most feared and skilled drug cartels. It is dedicated to drug smuggling, arms trafficking, kidnapping, and extortion. Having a clear understanding of the types of criminal activity associated with each cartel, and knowing how and when a cartel was formed, can provide answers about the rise in other types of criminal activities and can help explain why there is an increase in disappearances.

Patricia Davila’s article “La Guerra Perdida,” published in 2010, three years after the start of President Felipe Calderon’s presidency and his declaration of the war on drugs, examines the political aspect of the drug war, but also aims to explain why Ciudad Juarez was named the most dangerous city in the world. She states that over 250,000 have been exiled from the city due to violence and attributes the violence to the competition for control of territory between the Sinaloa and Juarez cartels. The Juarez cartel was the first cartel to import cocaine from Colombia using Amado Carrillo Fuente’s extensive aircraft fleet. Nicknamed “El Señor de Los Cielos’ (The Lord of the Skies), he was the successor to the Colombian cartels and used commercial sized aircraft to smuggle thousands of tons of cocaine into Mexico and the U.S. With the change in presidency, the Sinaloa cartel had new officials to bribe and this weakened the Juarez Cartel, which was associated

with the previous officials. This in turn prompted the Sinaloa cartel to start a war over territory. Davila cites Sinaloa cartel's boss, Joaquin Guzman Loera's, killings of Carrillo Fuente's family members as the start of the bloody war between these two cartels. This article explains the pivotal occurrences that led Ciudad Juarez to become the most dangerous city in the world, but it alone is not enough to understand the intricate web of narcotrafficking.

Relatedly, there is a concept known as Narco-Economics. The Organization of American States (Insulza 2013) offered another explanation for the increase in violence. They state that a 10% price increase in illegal narcotics can result in a 1.2-2% rise in homicide rate. They describe narcotrafficking as an entrepreneurial business in which the production is the "safest" part and "retail" is where the most danger lies, and is consequently the most profitable. There is an ongoing discussion in the United States about the legalization of drugs. The argument goes that legalization would decrease violence. Another report by the Organization of American States (Insulza 2013), argues that if the U.S. was to legalize drugs, or if the marihuana production in Colorado was to increase substantially to meet the needs in the United States, this would result in a profit loss of up to 50% for the Sinaloa cartel. One consequence might be that other cartels such as Los Zetas would take advantage of Sinaloa's loss of power and start a new war over territory. This war would inevitably lead to more violence and bloodshed.

In summary, efforts to explain different aspects of narcotrafficking over time are essential to understanding this very complicated business. The crucial historical story begins with the start of cocaine consumption in the 1970s, which led to government intervention in Colombia and resulted in Mexico becoming the main smuggling route, aided by corrupt government officials. As noted by the research the increase in violence is due

to many factors such as political control, market price, and war over territories.

## Methods

The goal of this research project was to answer two main questions: First, how have the changes in political regimes affected cartel areas of dominance? And second, what is the relationship between drug trafficking organizations and the spatial distribution of drug related homicides? To answer these questions I employed a mixed method analysis using primary and secondary sources. I utilized reports from the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA), and the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNDOC). In addition, I obtained statistical data published by the Mexican Government's National Institute of Statistics and Geography (*Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía* - INEGI), and documents from the Office of the Attorney General, *Procuraduría General de la República* (PGR), and the National Electoral Institute, *Instituto Nacional Electoral* (INE).

The data I obtained from the INEGI follows the rate in homicides for 25 years, from 1990-2015. I obtained both state and municipal level data. State data showed which states have been affected the most, while the municipal data pinpoints exactly where in the state the homicides are occurring at the highest rate. The data at the state level contained 32 entities, 31 federal entities, also known as states and the federal district. There are 2,456 municipalities which over 25 years generate 61,400 data values. Because of this, the dataset is very large and it would be very difficult to analyze the spatial temporal change of homicides only by looking at the numbers in a table format.

As a result, I used Geographic Information Systems (GIS) which are, according to the National Institute of Justice, "computer programs that capture, analyze, store and present spatial data."

This form of displaying and analyzing data is known as visual analytics, which is an easier, quicker, way to interpret large data using many types of visual representations, or as can be observed from this project, maps. I joined the statistical data to a shapefile in the GIS software known as ArcMap. A shapefile is a file storage format using vector data that contains polygons. In this case, the shapefile was the shape of the Mexican Republic. Every polygon in the republic represents the actual location of either each of the 32 federal entities or the 2,456 municipalities (there were two shapefiles consisting of two data sets). The shapefiles contained attribute data, which means that each polygon had a corresponding ID and name. In this case, the name of the polygon was the name of the state or the municipality. I then joined the dataset in a comma separated value (CSV) format to the shapefile. A CSV file is simply a file, which stores data separated by commas. To join them at the state level, I used an ID. This was known as an MXID, which was matched to the names of the polygons in the shapefile. When I matched the csv data with the shapefile I joined it with the MXID.

At the municipal level there were too many municipalities to use this method, so I joined the CSV and shapefile based on municipal name. Initially, the shapefile only joined with 50% of the municipalities because it did not recognize place names with accents. In the attribute table, each letter with an accent was deleted entirely. When I deleted each accented letter from the CSV data, I was able to join 90% of the municipalities. The state level maps were made using graduated symbols. These symbols varied depending on the number of homicides, and they remained constant for all 25 maps. There were five classes and the maximum values for each class were 300, 800, 1400, 2000, 6407. The municipal level maps were choropleth maps that had a color gradient scale that intensified in a municipality with an increase in homicides. There were also five classes at the municipal level and



their maximum values were 20, 50, 80, 120, and 200. Once completed, the maps were joined together to form a GIF file that can be played a “mini movie” so that viewers can observe the increase and decrease of symbols and the change in color gradient that represent the increase or decrease in homicides over time.

Mapping the data allowed for the visual analysis of the change in the last 25 years. Although data can show hotspots of homicide increase, other sources such as DEA/UNDOC reports indicate that the change in cartel control is crucial. These reports detail a bloody war between cartels, which provides further explanation for the rise in homicides that the numerical statistics represent.

After doing a visual analysis of the maps produced, it becomes clear that the biggest “boom” in homicides occurs in 2008. The graduated symbols increase dramatically in the northern states in 2008. There is a marked distinction between the year 2005 and 2008, in which the northwestern states see an exponential increase in homicides. The Juarez Cartel in the state of Chihuahua and the Sinaloa Cartel in the state of Sinaloa dominate the northern states. The Juarez Cartel controls very important territory because it is on the U.S.-Mexico border and this is a huge asset for drug smuggling. The Gulf Cartel and Los Zetas Cartel also hold some dominance over the northern states but their influence is mostly concentrated in Northeastern Mexico.

### Mexican Homicides in 2000



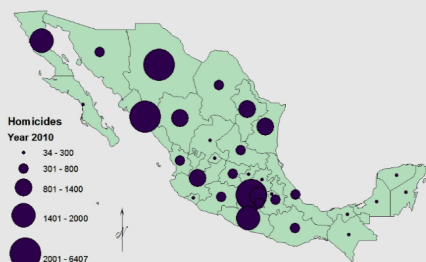
Author: Monica Lemos  
Source: INEGI  
Coordinate System: GCS WGS 1984

### Mexican Homicides in 2005



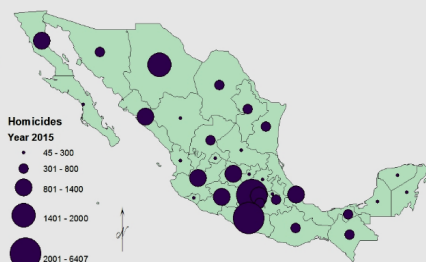
Author: Monica Lemos  
Source: INEGI  
Coordinate System: GCS WGS 1984

### Mexican Homicides in 2010



Author: Monica Lemos  
Source: INEGI  
Coordinate System: GCS WGS 1984

### Mexican Homicides in 2015



Author: Monica Lemos  
Source: INEGI  
Coordinate System: GCS WGS 1984

A possible explanation for the confrontations between cartels is their interest in expanding their territory east and west along the border. Ernesto Zedillo (PRI), President from 1994-2000, had 66,655 reported homicides during his presidency while Vicente Fox (PAN) 2000-2006, had 60,162 homicides. The number of homicides during the presidency of Felipe Calderon (PAN) 2006-2012, who declared the war on narcotrafficking, was double the number of both of his predecessors, with an astounding 121,612 total homicides reported. Current President, Enrique Peña Nieto is in year 4 of his 6 year term and so far there have been 63,598 total homicides reported. Homicides appear to have been

going down during his presidency but this may not be the case. Kidnappings have increased by 52.7%, including the forty-three students from Ayotzinapa that disappeared in Guerrero. The rise in the number of cartels and the war over territory (and drugs to traffic) may have prompted them to find other criminal activities to generate revenue. Express kidnappings, or as it is known in Latin America- *secuestro express*- where someone is kidnapped for the short period of time it takes to withdraw cash from ATM's, are becoming alarmingly frequent in Mexico.

## **Conclusion**

The failure of the war against drugs is evident by the large increase of homicides, the heightened cartel presence, and the rise in other types of criminal activities associated with drug cartels. Perhaps not declaring the war on narcotrafficking could have had a more positive outcome for Mexico. We cannot assess whether cartels and violence would have decreased or increased, but there is nothing that can be done now. If President Enrique Peña Nieto continues with the drug war, it might turn out to mirror what happened under Calderon's presidency. Unfortunately, the government in Mexico is plagued by corruption on the local, state, and federal levels; as long as there is still corruption, there will still be cartels, drugs, and violence.

## **Future Research**

This initial project can be enhanced in many ways. At the state level, I would like to normalize the values using drug related homicides only. As pictured in the maps that I produced, one of the largest dots that remain constant in the center is Mexico City. Mexico City does not have a heavy cartel presence, but it has a population of about 8.8 million, so therefore the homicide rate is

understandably high in comparison to areas with smaller populations. There are several Mexican news sources that produce drug-related homicide data including: Milenio, Reforma, and La Jornada. The homicide rate reported by the Mexican government is lower than reported by some news sources. I have found data published by Milenio in which it lists only narco-style executions. It is a very interesting dataset, but Milenio is funded in part by the Mexican government, so their data might be skewed to protect government interests. La Jornada is one of the most respectable news sources in Mexico, and obtaining data published by them would be very beneficial for normalizing the values.

Another possible direction for future research is to determine how major arrests in a cartel affect the criminality of an area. In the case of Colombian cartels and Pablo Escobar, after Escobar's assassination, the Medellin cartel crumbled and violence in Colombia decreased. Over the last 3-4 years in Mexico, major arrests have been made of leaders of the top drug trafficking organizations. Determining which cartel each arrested member belonged to and what areas they dominated can help assess if and how the change in structure of the cartel affected the area. This would be especially beneficial in doing an in depth study of the state of Sinaloa to see if there is any change in criminality after the arrest of Joaquin Guzman Loera.

The GIS software that I used for my methods, ArcMap, was a good choice, but I think that I can improve this project by utilizing software called Tableau. Tableau is open source software that enhances user interactivity. In ArcMap, I can only produce static maps that have no degree of interactivity. Put in simpler terms, "what you see is what you get" with these maps. Once the geographic information and data is entered into Tableau it allows you to have a time series scale with a level of interactivity. Users can click or mouse over an area and it can display information that

the author wants to highlight. For example, it can show the name of the state, the number of homicides, the key municipalities with most homicides, and which cartel is known to dominate in that area.

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**On the Precipice of Change:  
The Fifth Monarchists, 1649-1660**

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**Abstract**

*The seventeenth century in England saw a splintering of religious groups, some of which like the Fifth Monarchists, turned toward radicalism. In this study I traced the spread of religious ideas from mainstream Puritans to Fifth Monarchists and examined the catalyst for movement into radical thought. The idea of the Puritan Millennium was not new, but for the Fifth Monarchists the radical idea was that through historical analysis of the Bible the precise date for the beginning of the Millennium could be discerned. In some cases, like that of Thomas Venner and his followers, this religious radicalism led to political radicalism. Through a case study analysis of the process of change among the Fifth Monarchists, this paper examined the factors that caused individuals or groups to join radical sects that stood apart from the mainstream.*

## Introduction

In 1661, Thomas Venner (1608-1661) proclaimed “you ought to believe that the Fourth Monarchy is come, and that is the duty of the people of God to looke for liberty.”<sup>1</sup> He was the most militant of the Fifth Monarchists, a radical Puritan group active in the 1640s and 1650s. When Venner led a rebellion against Charles II’s regime in January 1661, his battle cry was allegedly “King Jesus and their heads upon the gates.”<sup>2</sup> The Fifth Monarchists believed that thorough study of the biblical books of Daniel and Revelation revealed that the return of “King Jesus” was imminent, and their duty was to prepare England and the world for his arrival. They also believed that there had been four great monarchies: Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, and the last and only one still standing, Rome. Although the Western Roman Empire ended in the fifth century, it nevertheless persevered in the form of the Roman Catholic papacy. This “Rome” had been tottering ever since the Protestant Reformation began, and when its inevitable collapse finally occurred, Christ’s thousand-year reign – the Millennium of “godly rule” – would begin. Christ’s reign would be the fifth and final monarchy of the world. Though Venner was the most fanatical of the Fifth Monarchists, the entire philosophy of the group had an aggressive edge. Yet the Fifth Monarchists, Venner included, viewed violence as a last resort, to be used only when God gave clear signs that the time for forceful action had arrived.

While perhaps not the most radical, the Fifth Monarchists were in a unique position during the Civil War and the Interregnum to influence both Parliament and Oliver Cromwell. The Fifth Monarchists were a radical religious group that believed they could predict the exact date of the start of the Millennium and the Fifth Monarchy of godly rule through analysis of the scriptures in relation to historical events. They were convinced that God had

inspired the authors of the various books of the Bible to insert clues which contained predictions of the sequence of historical events. Bernard Capp asserts that their manifesto called *A Door of Hope* was based largely on the sermons of Thomas Venner.<sup>3</sup> The manifesto and his subsequent final uprising in 1661 were a death knell for the Fifth Monarchists. Contrarily, Timothy Shilston argues that Thomas Venner was not in fact a Fifth Monarchist, but the leader of a separate radical group called the “Vennerites.” He pointed to the reluctance of other Fifth Monarchist leaders to sanction Venner’s desire to use force without a clear sign from God to act before committing to the uprising.

For this essay, I examined theological treatises, sermons, manifestos, and parliamentary petitions by Fifth Monarchists. I studied the relationship between the religious and political sides of the Fifth Monarchist movement and how political events influenced their actions and tactics. I asked who the Fifth Monarchists were, what they believed, what made them radical, and what role they played in the Interregnum from 1649-1660. Although their ideology remained mostly static during this period of time, their tactics changed as peaceful and legal options were closed to them. The militant impulse was present in all Fifth Monarchists, not just Thomas Venner and his followers, but they required certain conditions to be met to participate in a militant fashion.

## **The Elizabethian Cultural and Political Inheritance**

In order to understand the Fifth Monarchists, it is critical to examine the political and cultural context in which they developed their ideology. The ways in which these developed and escalated during the Interregnum<sup>4</sup> from 1649-1660 contributed to their radicalization. The early Stuart reigns (1603-1649) were an intense

time for England, especially under the rule of Charles I (1625-1649). Filled with uncertainty and fear about what the future would bring, the people of the British archipelago suffered terribly through seven years of civil warfare in the 1640s. From the previous monarch, Elizabeth I, the Stuarts inherited a religiously diverse population under the broad umbrella of the Church of England; the emphasis had shifted under Elizabeth from religious uniformity in terms of doctrine and theology to political loyalty and uniformity of worship practices. For Elizabeth I, this policy was effective because of the repeated shifts in state ecclesiastical policy in the previous thirty years that led to many of her subjects having religious whiplash from going to Catholic to Protestant, to more Protestant, then back to Catholic, and then finally back to Protestant. Elizabeth I's religious policy stemmed from her need to stabilize her tenuous claim on power due to her illegitimacy in the eyes of Catholics.

Late sixteenth and seventeenth century England was a land of varying degrees of both Catholicism and Protestantism. A degree of latitude was allowed to the parish clergy to decide how closely it was adhered to and how literally it was interpreted. This interpretive variety led to divisions throughout England, both theologically and regionally; many people had linked religious identity to political identity, others had not. Both James I and Charles I, according to Norman Jones, "mistook the diversity of Elizabethan Protestantism for a unified church."<sup>5</sup> Their ecclesiastical policies focused on defense of episcopal church government and enforcement of ceremonial practices throughout the three kingdoms: England, Scotland, and Ireland. Many of their subjects remembered fondly the local diversity that had characterized the Elizabethan church and resisted the Stuart push for uniformity.

Since there were Catholics and Protestants in most families, the Elizabethan religious policies helped turn the focus from religious uniformity to family promotion and advancement. The family became more important than any religious ideology. Families accepted, or at the very least ignored, these internal religious differences to preserve family holdings and prosperity.<sup>6</sup> Enforcing political loyalty rather than religious uniformity, Elizabeth's government (1559-1603) ran a strong anti-Catholic propaganda campaign, including the placement of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* alongside the Book of Common Prayer in every church. Foxe's work idealized the Protestant fight against Catholicism, painted the Catholics as evil and the pope as the Anti-Christ. It's mandatory addition and prominence in the English churches heavily emphasized the push to Protestantism and the hope was that over time Catholicism would be phased out through this practice. However, she did not systematically enforce recusancy laws that punished Catholics for not attending the Protestant services.

Elizabeth's propaganda campaign, in conjunction with the pope's excommunication of Elizabeth and the defeat of the Spanish Armada, led most English people to believe that not only was the papacy evil but that the English were God's chosen people.<sup>7</sup> Further, this mindset also helped the English Protestants envision themselves as the true believers, fighting against agents of Satan. They also broadly believed that the papacy as a whole was the Anti-Christ and all Catholics were agents of Satan. When, in the late 1620s, Charles I and William Laud, his archbishop of Canterbury, began to insist on ceremonial innovations that appeared to be leading the Church of England back to Roman Catholicism, many zealous Protestants in England were horrified.

The English Protestants were far from a unified group. In

the broadest terms, the Protestants can be separated into two categories: the conformists and the nonconformists. This separation proceeded from differing attitudes toward the Book of Common Prayer.<sup>8</sup> Each group of nonconformists had their own vision of the “proper” way to conduct services and ceremonies as well to interpret the Bible. However, when Charles I and Archbishop Laud attempted to enforce uniformity and conformity in the 1630s, they were largely unsuccessful because of the ineffectiveness of the disciplinary process for the nonconforming clergy.<sup>9</sup>

While the Elizabethan ambiguous religious policies and Elizabeth’s unwillingness to prosecute religious dissent facilitated a tenuous peace, they also provided the conditions for radicalization. In a recent study, Donatella Della Porta and Gary LaFree described radicalization as “a process characterized by increasing commitment to and use of violent means and strategies in political conflicts. Radicalization from this point of view entails a change in each situation, and the articulation of increasingly ‘radical’ aims and objectives.”<sup>10</sup> However, in many times and locations, radical ideologies do not necessarily lead to violence. For example, in Elizabethan England, the ecclesiastical policies contributed to a continuous experience of fragmentation, ideological isolation and autonomy, and an ingrained social and political hierarchy that outwardly conformed to the dictates of the crown. These factors, along with the anti-Catholic propaganda campaign that continued through the last half of the sixteenth century and continued into the seventeenth century, provided the necessary conditions for the ideological evolution of Protestantism and the fragmentation of Puritanism.

## **Ideological Evolution of Protestantism and Millenarianism**

The ecclesiastical policies of Archbishop William Laud and Charles I in the 1630s centered on increasing the institutional value and role of the English church and especially the sacerdotal role of its clergy. Although Charles and Laud were not Catholic, they were Arminian,<sup>11</sup> which many Protestants believed were truly crypto-Catholics. The Laudian policies that supported this belief included the beautification of churches, more formal worship services, and a return to emphasis on sacraments rather than sermons. Puritans and some other Protestants believed that their world was in a violent apocalyptic struggle between the forces of good and evil, Protestants being the good and popery being the evil.<sup>12</sup> In this context, Fifth Monarchism took shape and gained adherents. In addition to the religious complexity and uncertainty of the period, interest in prophecy and astrology thrived throughout the country and especially among more radically minded Puritans such as the Fifth Monarchists. The prophecies were used for many purposes, including royal propaganda and justification of rebellion. The most popular of these types of prophecies were those that foretold disaster. Indeed, the widespread belief in prophecy and the supernatural was consistent with contemporary reality.<sup>13</sup> Daniel's dream in the Book of Daniel chapter 7 seemed to predict the rise and fall of four successive monarchies after which a godly kingdom would rise and rule forever.<sup>14</sup> Millenarianism was built on this prophetic foundation, and upon it the Fifth Monarchists based most of their beliefs.

The most important English millenarian in the early Stuart period, Joseph Mede, systemized all the biblical prophecies and surmised that there would be a thousand year godly reign on earth at some point in the future and that it would begin with the fall of the Anti-Christ.<sup>15</sup> Another millenarian, Henry Archer, wrote in



1642 that Christ would come from heaven to set up his government, which would be run by the saints until he returned at the end of a thousand years.<sup>16</sup> The wide acceptance in English Protestantism of the institution of the papacy as the Anti-Christ and the truth and success of the Protestant Reformation contributed to the formation of radical groups, including the Fifth Monarchists. However, Bernard Capp argues that there was another factor at work among the Fifth Monarchists: the idea of the elect nation. It was this Calvinist concept of predestination combined with millenarian, apocalyptic ideas, and intense nationalism that comprised the foundation on which Fifth Monarchism stood.<sup>17</sup>

The idea of religious history as a warfare between good and evil helps explain the Puritans' and other nonconformists' responses to the ecclesiastical policies of the 1630s.<sup>18</sup> Further, Darren Oldridge attributes parliamentary support of radical Protestantism's ability to "mutate" into different forms as the situation changed.<sup>19</sup> There were two sides during the civil wars: the Roundheads (Parliamentarians) and the Cavaliers (Royalists). However, the tensions between them had their origins in the English Reformation and revolved around the two visions of what the Church should be and what role it should play in society and government. The Parliamentarians envisaged the church as a Christian community with an educative role, while the Royalists saw the church as an earthly institution.<sup>20</sup> The idea of the Church as an earthly institution looked a lot like the Catholic framework, with its focus on doing good works and expressing magnificence in its buildings. By contrast, when the Puritans shifted the focus from material and mystical to the individual relationships with God and the people within the body of worshipers. Money and resources were not spent on elaborate buildings and vestments for the clergy. Rather, the people and buildings were plain and services centered mainly on the preaching of sermons but taught Calvinist theology.

In this cultural context, when the civil war broke out in 1642, Protestant contemporaries conceived it as the decisive battle between good and evil and if they lost, England would be lost to Catholicism.

## **The Civil War and an End to a Monarchy**

After the fighting ended in 1646, a series of attempts to get the defeated King Charles I to agree to yield many of his prerogatives in return for restoration to his throne failed. Oliver Cromwell, his son-in-law Henry Ireton, and other leaders of the New Model Army that had vanquished the Royalists, concluded that only one solution to the problem could be found. Early on the morning of December 6, 1648, soldiers of the New Model Army surrounded the building where the members of the Long Parliament met and permitted the entry only of those MPs they thought would do what had to be done which was to put the king on trial for treason against his people and replace him with what soon came to be known as the Rump Parliament. In this way, the army launched what turned out to be an eleven-year period of kingless rule – a republic rather than a monarchy.

In her book on the king's trial, C.V. Wedgwood argued that the appointed judges who formed the "High Court of Justice" which the parliament set up to try the king did not make up their minds one way or another until the very end. Thus, if the trial had gone as planned and the King had entered a plea, the court might have chosen a sentence of exile rather than death. Indeed, contemporaries discussed the option of exile. But the danger here was that King Charles might then have obtained support from a foreign monarch and taken his country back by force. If the verdict had been "not guilty," the prosecutors and Parliamentarians who brought him up on the charge of making war on his own people

might have been charged with treason and executed themselves. Therefore, by the time the trial occurred, the execution of the King was the only remaining course for the Parliamentarians if they were to be able to continue to live their lives in safety. However, it is likely that there were others who preferred a lesser punishment, but could not openly go against Cromwell when he controlled what was regarded as the most formidable army in Europe.<sup>21</sup>

The Parliamentary propaganda machine came to be shaped by parliamentary regulation that, as David Como eloquently argues, opened the door to political and religious fragmentation that, in combination with parallel radicalization processes, led to the regicide of Charles I. While press controls were initially set up to shut down Royalist publications, they were also used to silence critics of the Parliamentary regime.<sup>22</sup> The silence was incomplete, however, because unauthorized printing did occur. In another work, Como describes an “antinomian underground” in which works from such presses were passed around between members of radical groups.<sup>23</sup> It is important to understand that, despite the efforts of parliamentary censors, printed material helped produce exponentially more political and religious division and radicalization.

As in other politically tumultuous times, the burgeoning political and religious strife that ended with civil war and regicide had been building up over a long period. Indeed, Nicholas Tyacke traced its origins back to the legacy of the regime of Mary Tudor and the lasting effects it had upon the Protestant community. As a result of severe prosecution of Protestants and the burning of those who refused to conform to her re-establishment of Roman Catholicism, many staunch Protestants fled to the Netherlands, Germany, and Switzerland. When these Marian exiles returned to England during the Elizabethan era, they brought with them

continental Protestant ideas that gained support in the local communities to which the exiles returned. Tyacke also draws attention to Charles I's marriage to the Catholic princess Henrietta Maria of France. Although the motivation behind it was almost purely political, when combined with other factors, such as the increase in openly practicing Catholics within the court, the marriage became highly unpopular with English Protestants.<sup>24</sup> As Charles's religious agenda gained ground in the 1630s, many suspected that Henrietta Maria was behind it and that the ultimate goal was to return England to her faith. Additional factors fueled the fires of opposition. For example, when the Long Parliament met in 1640, London's printers were suddenly free from supervision by the bishops, and nonconformists of all stripes exploited the press's potential to produce propaganda against the government.

## **Millenarianism and the Puritans**

The power vacuum created by the execution of Charles I created a culture of debate about the form and implementation of a new Puritan regime. In his *Godly Rule*, William Lamont argued that this regime accelerated interest in millenarianism, eschatological thought, and pursuit of utopian schemes of various kinds.<sup>25</sup> Although Lamont sees millenarianism as mainly a Puritan phenomenon, Bryan Ball described it as a mostly protestant but a wholly Christian phenomenon.<sup>26</sup> However, Millenarianism and its interpretation by differing sects provided a large part of the force behind the Parliamentary movement during the civil wars.

Religious radicalism and apocalyptic ideology did not directly correspond to political radicalism, and instances where they did overlap say more about a particular group than either radical movement. Philip Almond describes a radically religious

preacher after the Restoration who exemplified both millenarian and apocalyptic ideas, yet neither he nor his followers involved themselves in political activities. Further, Almond stipulates that the radicalism of such Fifth Monarchists lay in their attempt to assign a precise date for Christ's return. There was nothing radical about believing that His return would eventually occur at a time of God's choosing because this was basic Protestant doctrine from the late sixteenth century on.<sup>27</sup>

Even though Puritanism was a cultural phenomenon, it was hardly a cohesive movement. As Como explains, there were many divides and overlapping identities.<sup>28</sup> Further, Ball describes how during the war, sides were formed politically and ecclesiastically, but when it came to matters of theology, there was not a clear distinction.<sup>29</sup> These historians' work further exemplify the sheer religious and political complexity of this period. With each fragmentation, the ideology, eschatological or otherwise, evolved with it, sometimes in large ways and sometimes in small ways.

Millenarianism was widely accepted in the seventeenth century across Europe and is generally associated with eschatology (the part of theology concerned with death, judgment, and the final destiny of the soul and of humankind). The Fifth Monarchists believed that the Roman Catholic Church was the continuation of the Roman Empire, and the fall of the fourth beast in Daniel's dream meant the overthrow of the Roman Catholic Church. They also believed that the office of the papacy was the representation of the Anti-Christ. When Charles I was tried and subsequently executed, they believed that this fulfilled a key part of this prophecy, and that the fall of the fourth monarchy was imminent and that the fifth monarchy, the millennium of godly rule, would begin very soon. The Fifth Monarchists were considered radical because they believed that through historical analysis of the Bible,

particularly Daniel's dream and the Book of Revelation, they could identify the date of the start of the Fifth Millennium and the return of "King Jesus." Even though Fifth Monarchists were only a small group in an increasingly fragmented England, many of their members, such as Colonel Thomas Harrison, held important positions in the parliamentary regime dominant in the early part of the Interregnum. Because of the relative power and influence of people such as Harrison, the Fifth Monarchists could influence policy in the early 1650s.

The "othering" process and how it is linked to the formation of a group identity is one of the biggest factors that lead a group into radicalism.<sup>30</sup> This making of the "other" was a rhetorical device used to steer people away from the underlying structural problems facing a country or society. For example, in her memoir of her husband, Lucy Hutchinson conveyed that she felt the only "godly people" were the Puritans and that everyone else was either being led or deceived by Satan. Her husband John was an army officer and one of the regicides, as a signer of the death warrant of Charles I. They found themselves drawn to Fifth Monarchism. Lucy pointed out that the King was "obstructing relief of bleeding Ireland and seducing many of the poor people of England into blood and ruin."<sup>31</sup> For her, the war was not about the King taking away civil liberties of the people and the traditional government, but about his religious policy. Lucy's faith in her cause and in God never faltered because she consistently believed that she was on the side of the right and just. She saw her world through a religious lens, and those who did not agree with her chosen doctrine must have been deceived, led astray by others, or secretly devil worshippers.

After Charles I's death in 1649, the Fifth Monarchists in positions of political power, like Major General Thomas Harrison,

did their best to enact what they felt godly rule would look like. For example, Harrison did not want to dissolve the Appointed Parliament in 1653, also called the Nominated Assembly, the “Parliament of Saints,” and “Barebone’s Parliament,” because he felt that this legislative body was the embodiment of godly rule and was paving the way for the return of “King Jesus.”

Even in small groups like the Fifth Monarchists, there was a large degree of heterogeneity. Opinions differed on what godly rule meant, what it looked like, and how or when it would start. For example, William Aspinwall, a preacher and prominent spokesman for the Fifth Monarchists, called for a purification of the laws of England because he felt that all laws should be based on scripture and not on the dictates of men. He went on to write that while King Jesus would reign, “his Saints shall be his Vice-regents” who would fill all government offices and rule the nation. He also suggested that men who held positions of power before the Millennium began, and did not agree with the radical Puritan policies, should go and hide in a cave, following the Apostle Paul’s example.<sup>32</sup> Lucy Hutchinson and many other Fifth Monarchists, felt that their cause could not fail because it was foretold in the Book of Daniel. According to Aspinwall, it would be a “new Monarchy of stone cut out of the Mountaine without hands, which would crush and break in pieces all the other four Monarchies.”<sup>33</sup> It is this type of religious conviction coupled with the othering process and the effects it had on the formation of group identity that allowed for ideas to evolve in a sort of vacuum, without an influx of dissenting or oppositional viewpoints, and radicalize very quickly.

Aspinwall’s fellow Fifth Monarchist and Minister Thomas Goodwin preached in 1654 that the saints were made kings with Christ and that they were his co-heirs, stating “we shall reign on

earth.” Goodwin shared the same religious conviction that William Aspinwall and Lucy Hutchinson displayed in their works. Although his views on the implementation of godly rule differed from some of his contemporaries, Goodwin was one of the more moderate Fifth Monarchists, illustrating the spectrum of the political and religious context of the 1650s. Unlike Aspinwall, Goodwin believed that the godly were to be made kings with “King Jesus” upon his return.<sup>34</sup> Thomas Goodwin is a good example of the way in which religious radicalism in this period did not necessarily lead to political radicalism.

### **Fifth Monarchism as a Movement and the Role of Thomas Venner**

Fifth Monarchism should be thought of as more of a movement than a sect. There were three main stages of Fifth Monarchism. Although their ideology remained much the same from 1649 to 1660, their tactics changed. The first phase, led largely by Christopher Feake and John Simpson, lasted from 1649 until around 1653. Then leadership of the movement turned to Thomas Harrison until 1655 when it shifted to Thomas Venner. In the first phase the movement was characterized by attempts to persuade the Rump Parliament to make the necessary preparations for the rule of King Jesus. The second phase was the high point for the Fifth Monarchists: the Parliament of Saints (the Barebone’s Parliament). This parliament was appointed and meant to be a “church-parliament, of such officers of Christ, and representatives of the Churches.”<sup>35</sup> During the Parliament of Saints, the Fifth Monarchists were a powerful minority that tried to make the necessary preparations for the return of King Jesus from within Parliament. When this parliament failed and power shifted to direct control and protectorship under Oliver Cromwell, the Fifth Monarchists were forced to find another tactic for pursuing their



program. In this third phase the movement took a more desperate turn. As powerful Fifth Monarchist leaders like Harrison and Feake lost their positions of power, their followers began to feel a sense of desperation as they lost the ability to prepare effectively for the return of King Jesus.

This sense of desperation led to the increase in political radicalism. The Fifth Monarchists felt dissatisfied with the reform attempts up to this point because so little had been achieved since the execution of Charles I in 1649.<sup>36</sup> The Fifth Monarchists were willing to use militant force, but only as a last option. Time and time again, they tried to use legal means like petitioning Parliament or the Lord Protector Cromwell in order to enact what they saw as needed religious reforms and to bring back the Nominated Assembly, and only resorted to “scheming” uprisings at their most desperate moments. The two uprisings that did occur were poorly planned and executed and had no contingencies in the event of failure. The Fifth Monarchist movement was by no means cohesive or united. Like many of their contemporaries, they were divided among themselves. Further, they still firmly believed in the power of prophecy and would not make a move until they had a clear sign from God, all the while quarreling among themselves as to what such a sign would look like.<sup>37</sup>

Thomas Venner was among the few notable members who were neither university educated nor a member of clergy. He was good at organizing and inspiring other young men and planned a rebellion against Cromwell which failed before it began in 1657. The manifesto of this rebellion, *A Standard Set Up*, expressed his desire for the saints to create a theocratic government with a Sanhedrin – a religious council of seventy-one men who would be the final authority on Christian Law, an idea borrowed from the Jewish legal system in the Old Testament.<sup>38</sup> Venner was not the

first to call for this; it was the idea behind the Nominated Assembly called in 1653. He was convinced that this was the right idea and should be revived. In this same manifesto, Venner also denigrated Oliver Cromwell and wrote that he “without call from God or man, hath imposed a yoaik; hath continued our burdens, swearing to govern according to the lawes, which are so corrupt, so degenerate and burdensome, maintaining the Prerogative and unlimited power of Lordship, and against which we have contested: That he is a Truce-Breaker and a false-swearer.”<sup>39</sup>

In 1661, Venner attempted another rebellion this time against the regime of Charles II. In his new Manifesto, *A Door of Hope*, he called for an international crusade against monarchy and papacy. Venner’s actions exemplified his conviction that as Christ’s soldiers, their victory was assured and that they were literally to take up arms against the forces of the Antichrist.<sup>40</sup> While this uprising was a last desperate attempt, the Vennerites were using a well-established strategy designed to galvanize Fifth Monarchist supporters. The rhetoric in *A Door of Hope* also changed and used more loaded and passionate words than Venner’s previous manifesto and other Fifth Monarchist publications. For example, he told his fellow Fifth Monarchists that

“we *Call* all that have a life to lay down for their King and Saviour, to come forth against them with the Sword, and execute upon them the Judgements written. Are you a poor despised Remnant? Why God has formed you himself: As Christ was a *tender plant, and a Root out of dry ground*; so may his Kingdom arise out of a poor, obscure, illiterate, and (such as the world calls) Fanatick People.”<sup>41</sup>

This second uprising failed miserably and led most remaining Fifth Monarchists to abandon their cause. Thomas Venner and John Hutchinson along with many other leading Fifth Monarchists and regicides were arrested and subsequently executed or imprisoned for the rest of their lives. Bernard Capp argues that the remaining radicals had to come to terms with their defeat and “accepted that God had restored the Stuarts to punish the people for their sins, and accordingly recognized the validity of the monarchy as long as God appeared to support it.”<sup>42</sup> This was a particularly hard concept for many of the radical millenarian groups who had believed that their actions during the 1640s and 1650s were done in accordance to God’s will.

In conclusion, the Fifth Monarchists were a radical movement determined to prepare England for the return of King Jesus, which they believed to be imminent because of their interpretation of the prophecies in Daniel and Revelation. They were willing to undertake militaristic action, but only as a last resort. They did finally plan two militant uprisings, although the 1657 uprising was discovered and put down before it could move beyond the planning stage. However, by the late 1650s, the most influential and moderate leaders had already been pushed from power, leaving the way open to a more charismatic and aggressive leader, like Thomas Venner. Even Venner, however, tried for a more peaceful and persuasive form of discourse before calling for an uprising. Further, the most influential factors driving the increase of militant feelings among the Fifth Monarchists were the growing discontent with the slight progress that they had made since the execution of Charles I in 1649 and the desperation they experienced after Oliver Cromwell’s death and the increasing likelihood that the monarchy would be restored. The Fifth Monarchists were not simply another doomed group of radicals, as some have argued. Indeed, they were an astonishing product of

their time. Their beliefs and actions were a symptom of the structural problems present in English society in the seventeenth century, such as the complex religious differences and the amount of religious and political factionalism that permeated throughout Britain in the early seventeenth century. Without these pre-existing concerns, the Fifth Monarchists would never have gained the support they achieved.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> *The Last Speech and Prayer with other passages of Thomas Venner*, London, 1660/61, A3r.

<sup>2</sup> Samuel Pepys, J. Smith, and Richard Griffin Braybrooke. *Memoirs of Samuel Pepys: Esq. F.R.S. Secretary to the Admiralty in the Reigns of Charles II. and James II*, London: Henry Colburn, 1825, 91.

<sup>3</sup> Bernard Capp, "A Door of Hope Re-opened: The Fifth Monarchy, King Charles and King Jesus," *Journal Of Religious History* 32, no. 1 (March 2008): 16-30.

<sup>4</sup> Interregnum is defined as the time during which the throne is vacant between two monarchs. "Interregnum." Merriam-Webster.com.

<sup>5</sup> Norman Jones, *The English Reformation* (Oxford, Malden, MA.: Blackwell, 2002), 202.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 199-200.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 201.

<sup>8</sup> Darren Oldridge, *Religion and Society in Early Stuart England* (Aldershot, UK, Brookfield, VT: Ashgate), 45. <sup>9</sup> Ibid., *Religion and Society*, 58.

<sup>10</sup> Donatella Della Porta and Gary LeFree, "Guest Editorial: Processes of Radicalization and De-Radicalization," *International Journal of Conflict and Violence* 6, no.1 (2012), 4-10 at 6-7.

<sup>11</sup> Arminians were anti-Calvinist and rejected the Doctrine of Predestination. They believed that free will had a role to play in the salvation of the soul. Arminianism was started by Dutch theologian, Jacobus Arminius (1560-1609). However, the

Arminians in England were distinct from Dutch Arminians but they shared this core philosophy.

<sup>12</sup> Oldridge, *Religion and Society*, 77.

<sup>13</sup> Bernard Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men* (London: Faber and Faber, 1972), 19.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 20.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 29.

<sup>16</sup> Rogers, *The Fifth Monarchy Men*, 11.

<sup>17</sup> Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men*, 34.

<sup>18</sup> Oldridge, *Religion and Society*, 66.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 84.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 5-7.

<sup>21</sup> C. V. Wedgwood, *A Coffin for King Charles: The Trial and Execution of Charles I* (New York: Macmillan, 1964).

<sup>22</sup> David Como, "Print, Censorship, and Ideological Escalation in the English Civil War," *The Journal of British Studies*, 51, no. 4 (2012): 820-857.

<sup>23</sup> David Como, *Blown by the Spirit* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), 54.

<sup>24</sup> Nicholas Tyacke, "The Puritan Paradigm of English Politics, 1558-1642," *Historical Journal* 53, no. 3 (September 2010): 527-550.

<sup>25</sup> William M Lamont, *Godly Rule: Politics and Religion, 1603-60* (London: Macmillan, 1969), 106-107.

<sup>26</sup> Bryan W Ball, *A Great Expectation: Eschatological Thought in English Protestantism to 1660* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975), 16.

- <sup>27</sup> Philip Almond, "John Mason and his Religion: An Enthusiastic Millenarian in late Seventeenth-Century England," *Seventeenth Century* 24, no. 1: 156-176.
- <sup>28</sup> Como, *Blown by the Spirit*, 74.
- <sup>29</sup> Ball, *A Great Expectation*, 60,80.
- <sup>30</sup> "Othering" is defined as transforming a difference into otherness so as to create an in-group and an out-group. Jean-Francois Staszak, "Other/otherness," *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography* (Elsevier, 2008), 1-7.
- <sup>31</sup> Lucy Hutchinson, *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, ed. N.H. Keeble (Rutland, VT, London: Orion Publishing group, 1995).
- <sup>32</sup> William Aspinwall, "A Brief Description of the Fifth Monarchy," London, 1653, B1r.
- <sup>33</sup> Aspinwall was referring to the prophecy in Daniel, 2:34-45. Aspinwall, *A Brief Descripton of the Fifth Monarchy*, A2v. I have left the original spelling and emphasis intact in my quotations.
- <sup>34</sup> Thomas Goodwin, *A Sermon of the Fifth Monarchy*, London, 1654, web, *Early English Books Online*, 12 August, 2016.
- <sup>35</sup> "Certain Queries", February 1649 in Keith Lindley, *The English Civil War and Revolution: A Sourcebook*, (London, New York: Routledge, 1998), 174-176.
- <sup>36</sup> Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men*, 72
- <sup>37</sup> Ibid., 134.
- <sup>38</sup> William Medley, scribe, *A Standard Set Up*, London, 1657.
- <sup>39</sup> Medley, *A Standard Set Up*, 7-8.

<sup>40</sup> Anon, *A Door of Hope*, London, 1660, web, *Early English Books Online*, 12 August 2016.

<sup>41</sup> Parentheses and emphasis original. Anon., *A Door of Hope*, 4.

<sup>42</sup> Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men*, 133.



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*with the names of the rest that were condemned for the same fact.*  
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# **A Land of Injustice: Land Reformation, Race, and Struggle in South Africa**

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## **Abstract**

*Land is a vital resource for everyone, regardless of their identity. However, apartheid and racial segregation prohibited Black South Africans from owning this resource. South Africa's apartheid practices can be traced back to the 1913 Native Land Act, which racially segregated the African population onto reserves. The Native Land Act laid the foundation for official apartheid policy that would be legally in effect from 1948-1994. Despite the outlawed removal of the virulent racist system, the legacy of apartheid continues to plague the country in practice. In response to legacies of the past and the lack of response made by the current government, activists are igniting protests across the country. I argue in this paper that apartheid still exists in contemporary South Africa and examine the ways that South Africans have organized to resist current economic and structural problems. To conduct this study, I analyze activists' responses toward their current environment and land redistribution. Findings suggest that contemporary activists are claiming that forced removals and ineffective regional action by political leadership are still in effect just as they were under formal apartheid.*

## Introduction

Racial segregation and white supremacy had become central aspects of South Africa long before apartheid even began. In 1652, colonial conquest by the Dutch East India Company established settlements in the Cape of Good Hope, at the expense of the indigenous tribes of Xhosa, Zulu, and others – following the same path taken toward indigenous groups in North America. Throughout the next three centuries, industrialization and British imperialism expanded across the Southern African region, eventually combining the conquered territories into the Union of South Africa in 1910. From 1910-1930, the Union implemented discriminatory policies to tighten their control over the Blacks. The most important law – the Natives Land Act of 1913 – reserved 93 percent of South African land for Whites, preventing Blacks (two-thirds of the population) from buying land (Feinberg, 1993). Over three hundred and fifty years of anti-colonialism, anti-slavery, and white European domination, the country could not prepare for its worst nightmare: apartheid.

In 1948, the Afrikaner National Party won the general elections with a campaign that focused on “apartheid” (literally “separateness”). It possessed racial roots in the Dutch colonial system, but what set it apart from its predecessors is that apartheid made segregation part of the national law. To maintain their control, the apartheid government developed a caste system, dividing the population into four major racialized groups: Whites, African, Indian/Asian, and Coloured. The apartheid government established its pillars in the Registration Act, Group Areas Act of 1950, and Land Acts. These policies instituted territorial fragmentation, political repression, and racial segregation in the public and private spheres of all non-white populations – predominately Black South Africans. By the time apartheid was

dismantled in 1994, the white minority held institutionalized control over 80% of the country's wealth and resources (Kunnie, 2006).

A majority of the population met the apartheid regime with resistance. Though the African National Congress (ANC) was founded in 1912, the organization gained recognition and organized power during the apartheid regime. In 1952, it started the Defiance Campaign – a political campaign calling for non-white people to purposefully break apartheid laws and offer themselves for arrest – attesting to the power of civil disobedience. Despite the arrest of 8,000 people, it actually posed little threat to the apartheid regime. In 1960, at Sharpeville Township in the Transvaal, a group of unarmed Blacks arrived at the police station, burned their passes and invited arrest as an act of resistance. The police opened fire and sixty-seven Black Africans were slaughtered. This tragedy became known as the Sharpeville Massacre. The apartheid government forcefully countered the activists, banned anti-apartheid organizations, imprisoned leaders, and murdered scores of activists. Thus, most resistance leaders and organizations went underground, adopting new tactics such as militant resistance. The aftermath of the crackdowns led to a more militant path of resistance – and to the creation of groups such as Nelson Mandela's Unkhonto we Sizwe ("Spear of the Nation") – a militant wing of the ANC. By 1961, most resistance leaders had been arrested and sentenced to long prison terms. Mandela was incarcerated in 1963, charged with conspiring to overthrow the government.

By the 1980s, Black South Africans had lost all political rights, liberties, and essentially, hope. However, the decade became a turning point for the anti-apartheid resistance movement as well. Nelson Mandela emerged as an international symbol for

the anti-apartheid resistance. Increased militancy, the enforcement of United Nations-imposed sanctions by many countries, and international recognition started its dismantlement. By 1990, the apartheid regime was on the verge of downfall and Prime Minister F. W. de Klerk lifted the ban on black political organizations (i.e. ANC, PAC) and resistance leaders. That year, Nelson Mandela was finally freed.

Rallying around their international momentum, the ANC found itself in the position of political leadership for South Africa. Moving forward on a platform of non-violence, forgiveness, and multiculturalism, the new South African government undertook major reformation to deal with its tragic past (Cole, 1993). The African National Congress promised reinstitution of Black South Africans' rights and liberties. The ANC's political philosophy was symbolized by the concept of the "Rainbow Nation." However, even though people believed that apartheid crumbled with the election of Nelson Mandela, apartheid remains one of the most intractable racialized systems. Twenty-two years after the ANC came to political power, South Africa has not changed much. Some scholars like Patrick Bond and Peter Alexander even argue that the current conditions in South Africa (i.e. forced removals of Black farmers) are similar – if not, worse – than those seen during the apartheid regime. Though white minority rule came to an end, the achievement of black majority rule did not signify the end of apartheid, only its legal and formal abolition (Cohen, 1986). Evident by its pre-apartheid and apartheid history, the legacy of racial discrimination, segregationist policies, and repression is still present in South Africa.



## Land in South Africa

Franz Fanon once wrote, “for a colonial people the most important essential value is first and foremost the land: the land which will bring them bread and, above all dignity” (Fanon, 1963). Prior to the colonial period, land was universally shared by different indigenous groups who allowed full accessibility to everyone – as long as the person contributed to the community. However, the British and Afrikaners interrupted this lifestyle and colonized the land. Initially beginning with annexation and territorial division, the British eventually made proclamations and set policies to dislodge Black people from their land while consolidating it for white settlements. The Native Land Act of 1913 mandated separate land development based along racial lines. The most significant provision is number 27 which stated “Africans [Blacks] could no longer buy, lease, or in any other manner acquire land outside a scheduled area, except by acquiring that land from another African, and Europeans were prohibited from buying or leasing land from an African” (Native Land Act, 1913). The policy allocated only 7% of South Africa’s land for approximately 75% of the population classified as “Black.” As a result of this policy, Black South Africans were removed from designated “white” rural areas, and had their land sold to white farmers at low prices. Once apartheid became nationally instituted, the Native Land Act became key to the enforcement of land policy. The apartheid regime hoped that the “homelands” would set up separate territorial governments, eventually becoming independent of South Africa. Apartheid-based policies stripped the Black South Africans of political, social, and land rights. Devastatingly, approximately 3.5 million people were deposited into the Bantustans – where they were plunged into poverty and starvation.

Toward the end of the apartheid regime, the National Party attempted to pass *The White Paper* in 1992 – a piece of legislation that had three specific purposes: addressing quality of title in land, accessibility of rights in land, and utilization of land (Cole, 1993). It was critiqued by the ANC and other Black South Africans because White officials – who were the focus of international pressure for their oppressive regime – were absolving themselves of responsibility for dispossessing Black South Africans from the land by “granting them the land for a cost.” However, the land already belonged to Black South Africans, and it had been forcefully taken away from them through legislation. Thus, Black South Africans advocated that their new leadership in the African National Congress (ANC) take authority of land reinstitution because the people believed that if the system had the power to take land away from them, then it had the power to give it back and improve their lives (Miller and Pope, 2000). When they came to power, the ANC instituted the 1994 Lands Rights Commission, the Land Claims Court, and the Reinstitution of Lands Right. The ANC wanted to show that they were dedicated to their initial agenda of fair land redistribution.

Despite the central role land dispossession played in the historical development of apartheid, the ANC did not follow through on its promise. As mentioned above, the African National Congress (ANC) made fair land redistribution a key priority. Ascending to the role as a national liberation party, the ANC implied that it would take the lead in rural organizing and mediate between civil society and the state (Levin and Weiner, 2008). Since negotiations were required for political transition, the ANC had to share power with white political leaders of the former apartheid regime. Regarding the land issue, the ANC officials promised that white landowners would not be punished and should not fear seizure of their land. Scholar journalist Naomi Klein

critiqued the ANC's land reform program because the political party did not firmly grasp the implications of the compromises with the Nationalist Party (Klein, 2003). By not holding the white apartheid government leaders fully responsible for dispossessing Black South Africans, the ANC indirectly allowed the indigenous Black South African population to suffer unprecedented repercussions.

## **Resistance in South Africa**

South Africa had become an international symbol for resistance in the twentieth century. Yet despite armed resistance and strategic political victories in 1994, the issue of land persisted under the black leadership. Political economist Patrick Bond sees the legacy of apartheid in the Marikana Massacre. In 2012, underpaid mineworkers protested for higher wages and union protection. Responding to their protests, the government sent police that opened fire on the demonstrators, killing sixty-seven and injuring many more. Bond claims that increased protests represented resistance to the pervasive poverty and inequality in the country's slums. Lack of progress for Black South Africans created tension with the government. Black South Africans took to activism once again to address such issues as continuing lack of infrastructure, lack of education opportunities, and harsh policing tactics (Alexander, 2007; Teagan, 2006). The police are still not supporting democratic South Africa because many policing policies still rely upon those in effect during the apartheid regime (Mkhize, 2015). Peter Alexander examines the issues (i.e. unemployment, housing, policing) and their impact upon the Black South Africans. Regardless of Black political power, Black South Africans continue to face oppression and express discontent over the lack of political accountability on the part of the ANC.

Recent literature brings to light the fact that the apartheid regime did not simply end in 1994. Based on the data collected by the South African Police Service, there were about 9,000 protest rallies and demonstrations per year during the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century (South African Police Service, 2010). Reasons behind the protests include lack of availability of critical resources such as water, housing, and electricity. Ashwin Desai researched the community struggles happening in Chatsworth, South Africa, linking local grassroots struggles to larger global forces. Desai stated that continuous water shortages, electricity cut-offs, and state repression are products of the ANC's neoliberal policies (Desai, 2010). Land is the common variable amongst the various issues because the scarcity of resources all stem from the problem of unfair land redistribution. Many scholars conclude that South Africa is not a liberated society; rather, it is a product of a compromise between the former ruling white-led Nationalist Party and the African National Congress, resulting in a system of continuing racial privilege for the white minority (Kunnie, 2000).

## **The Study**

Currently, various parties in South Africa disagree about the future of land redistribution. Even though there were alternative routes for land reform, the ANC does not consider those at most risk: the rural, the landless, and the nonwhite farmers. Many scholars of South Africa base their assessment of the country around the framework of a society that believes it is moving past the apartheid regime and into a “post-apartheid” world. However, I believe that this is an error, and that apartheid-like policies continue in practice, if not in name. As the project, will highlight, nonwhite South Africans are not necessarily combating a new form of racial oppression, but rather an evolved form of apartheid land policies. I highlight experiences of the Landless People's

Movement activists and other supporters of land reform – all who come from the various communities who bear the burden of these land policies. I argue that their shared grievances, including forced removals and ineffective legal action, are similar to the experiences of their predecessors during the apartheid regime.

The main purpose of the study is to analyze the current political struggles in South Africa I was particularly interested in examining Black South Africans' concerns about land reform and the current government. To carry out the study, I conducted a textual analysis of secondary sources discussing and interpreting the events that transpired in the early 2010s as well as examined recorded town hall debates among South African activists.

### ***Methodology***

For the textual analysis, I examined *Popular Politics and Resistance Movements in South Africa* edited by William Beinart & Marcelle C. Dawson and *Is Apartheid Really Dead? Pan-Africanist Working-Class Cultural Critical Perspectives* by Julian Kunnie. I selected these sources based upon their coverage of topics of particular relevance to the project, such as resistance movements, post-apartheid, and marginalization. Beinart and Dawson focused on the grassroots movements in South Africa, starting in the 1970s. The essays in their collection discuss different community issues such as housing segregation, police brutality, and scarcity of resources. Kunnie's book examines South Africa's political and economic structure following the election of Nelson Mandela. He addresses the failures of Mandela's "Rainbow Nation" political agenda and examines the history of resistance groups and their actions, post-1994. Overall the analyses provided in these books highlights the continuing inequalities and political struggles of poor communities.

In addition to the textual analysis, I analyzed segments of the television series *The Big Debate South Africa*. Each episode of the series, broadcast in South Africa, is structured as a “town hall debate” on a particular issue and is a recorded public forum between activists, community members, scholars, and journalists. I applied a qualitative approach because the participants in the series provide facts, information, and anecdotes that cannot always be captured in a bibliographic text. Part of the approach involved examining segments of a few episodes of “The Big Debate” – “Does Land Reform Threaten Our Future?” (Episode 1, February 17<sup>th</sup>, 2013) and “Big Debate on Racism” (Episode 1, February 12<sup>th</sup>, 2014). I selected those episodes because the themes discussed in each highlight issues (race, land) central to this study. Activist, community, academic scholars, journalists allow for multiple perspectives on an issue.

I conducted an analysis of these materials and two key themes emerged: forced removals, and ineffective regional action by political leadership. I organized the data to highlight the problems encountered by Black South Africans – including how group members were experiencing the problem; the kind of resistance that emerged; and how the group articulated their grievance. I hope to explain why Black South Africans expected more in a post-apartheid world than they were getting. Since the study was conducted at the University of California, Santa Barbara, I was unable to conduct face-to-face interviews with resistance fighters or other participants in South Africa. Also, time constraints made the use of secondary sources most efficient. Even though interviews and surveys could provide raw data, systematic analysis of secondary sources has the potential to offer alternative perspectives on pre-existing theories or verify them.

## **Key Themes**

### ***Forced Removals***

Forced removals refer to the moving of people away from their homes against their will. Force removals were an effective tool for the apartheid regime. Pre-apartheid policies such as the Native Land Act and the Native Trust Land Act limited the freedom of all nonwhite Africans. However, the Group Areas Act of 1950 formalized forced removals on a national scale. The apartheid administration set out specific rural and urban areas exclusively for ownership and occupation by racial groups: white, Coloured, and Indian. There were no areas designated for Black South Africans where they could reside (Cole, 1993). Millions of Black South Africans lived and worked on the land that belonged to a small class of white landowners and also experienced forced removal at their hands. Backed by the official land policies, the landowners had the power to use the police to forcibly remove Black farm laborers. Once evicted, the Black farm workers' property and livelihood were not only destroyed, but the farmers themselves were not given any form of housing, thus leaving little opportunity to reestablish themselves on the land. On the opposite end, white landowners maximized profits because forced removals opened leisure spaces and infrastructure (e.g. electricity, water) that nonwhites had no access to. By 1982, over 3.5 million people were forcibly removed (Surplus People Project, 1983).

To address the victims of forced removals, the African National Congress implemented the Comprehensive Land Reform Act in 1994. Under this policy, the national government instituted an affirmative action program for land redistribution, considering those who had been forcefully removed based on the color of their skin. However, the forced removals did not stop. Over the next

twenty years, the policy did not reallocate land to Black South Africans. Rather, young Black farm owners – who advocated for reformation during the 1990s and were given land ownership in the process – were slowly losing their land ownership. By 2015, these farm owners – who are now in their late fifties to early sixties – were evicted from the land. Even though the ANC promised workers full land ownership to Black South Africans, the older farm workers were being forcefully removed. Additionally, the ANC only gave 50 percent of land to the farmers, generating fear, anger, and anxiety amongst the victims of eviction.

A reporter from *The Star*, a newspaper in South Africa, wrote:

"We are bitter" says man after man, bitter about past evictions, bitter about continuing evictions, bitter about the ancestral land, bitter in particular about the new "Biosphere"... "The animals roam our father's graves freely", says one, 'and we can't go near'... It sounds so clear, what the Zulus are saying. 'You have plenty (and what is more it was once our forebears), now give us some.'... The Zulus are talking invasion; the whites are talking resistance; the whites are talking resistance, and there are real signs that tomorrow morning there'll be blood" (*The Star*, Sept 2011).

The community held grievances about the forced removals. Even though individuals were promised land at the end of apartheid, Black South Africans are not receiving it. In the article in the *Star*, "animals" could refer to the white private landowners. The activists were angry that white private landowners maintained control over the land. By describing them as "animals" roaming over their fathers' graves freely, the activists point to the disrespect



of the white landowners and argue that they had no right to inherit the land for their ancestors. “Animals” could also refer to the ANC. In 1994, the national liberation party promised fair land redistribution to the indigenous Black South Africans. However, the ANC did not support their fellow Black South Africans. Rather than hold white leaders responsible for the horrors of apartheid, the ANC worked for coalition and embraced equality between all groups.

Additionally, the forced removals were similar to those seen in the past. The majority of the Black South Africans are forced off their lands because the land is “privately owned.” During the apartheid regime, Black South Africans paid fees for temporary usage. The leasing of the land led to poverty and inadequate housing because the White private landowners charged high prices resulting in Black South Africans having insufficient funds for their livelihood or to maintain the land. Previously, forced removals were based upon racial distinction among populations (i.e. White, Black, Coloured, Indian). As a form of sharecropping, the land policy provided an opportunity for the Black South Africans. If, however, the worker could not show proof of employment, the government forcibly removed him to the “reserves” – areas known for unfavorable agricultural conditions and limited access to resources. Negotiations between white farmers and the Black farm laborers started after the election of Nelson Mandela. Under the labor tenancy system, Black South Africans were required to work as farmers for six months in exchange for their right to reside on the land. Even though there was organizing around the issue, the ANC leaders had no clear plans for land reform. Despite being in power, ANC failed to return land back to the indigenous people.

## **Ineffective Political Leadership & Action**

There are different interpretations of political action. For the study, I am defining political action as an action designed to attain a political purpose or agenda. When Nelson Mandela took office in 1994, 87% of the land belonged to Whites. Land reform became a key issue for the government. President Mandela declared that it was the state's responsibility to insure that everyone has equitable access to land ownership. Advised by the World Bank, the ANC declared the redistribution of 30% of the land from Whites to Blacks within first five years they were in office. However, fair land redistribution became a challenge for the ANC because the political leadership had to establish an institutional transition from apartheid toward democracy. By 2010 – after 16 years – only 8% of the land has been reallocated (Atuahene, 2011). The ANC failed to keep its promise, and violated the Constitution of South Africa, Article 25, which stated “every citizen has the right to land ownership...” (Constitution, 1994). Beatrice Brung, a former farm worker and leader of food and land sovereignty from Johannesburg stated:

“The principle leadership all want to be seen to have done something for 'their people' and seen to be co-operating in the run up to the local election. Rewards for this patronage seem to vary between the different leaders, there is circumstantial evidence that our leader has expected and received financial rewards whilst the other leaders appear to be driven more by political rewards and social commitment” (The Big Debate, 2010)

This activist is speaking of “leadership,” with respect to the local government officials and the tribal leaders. He notes that

local politics and personal ambitions were having an impact on land reform. From pre-colonized South Africa, a chief or tribal leader had the role of redistributing land ownership amongst the community. Black South Africans advocated a return to these indigenous practices. However, the activist referred to a single leader, who is taking the role based upon financial rewards while stating that other leaders are doing it for political rewards and social commitment. This could lead to ineffective leadership because some leaders are worried about re-election and maintaining their power. Their self-interested goals could harm their constituents by ignoring the needs and not fighting for the people's rights. In *The Big Debate*, another activist stated:

“...our land was stolen from us and the apartheid government, they write the laws to move the land away from the indigenous people, they give our land to the people who come from Europe in those days. so the government has the responsibility to write new laws that make it possible for our country...”

He continued, stating: "You need to have land first before you talk about development. You can't talk about development if you don't have land."

The activist's statement mirrored similar responses of other Black South Africans. "The laws" could refer to the Natives Land Act of 1913 because the legislation allocated only 13% of the South African land to 75% of the population – majority consisting of Black South Africans. The speaker might also be referencing the Reinstitution of Land Rights. Even though the ANC promised fair land redistribution, Black South Africans are not seeing any progress for land reform. Beatrice Brung stated that the government has the power to implement new laws. Brung and

other Black South Africans elected Black leaders to undo the damages of apartheid. However, Brung voices disappointment because land reinstitution did not favor Black South Africans. As mentioned above, the ANC made a promise to allocate 30% of land ownership from white farmers to black farmers. However, the ANC had to compromise with the white minority by offering protections for the rights of white South Africans as citizens of South Africa. Specifically, Nelson Mandela and the ANC promised white South Africans that land redistribution would not take away all the land from them. Compromises become an issue if there is no land available for redistribution. As of 2011, there are 40 million Black South Africans and only 8% of the land has been reallocated.

## **Conclusion**

Land is an important issue for everyone, regardless of one's identity. Despite gains evidenced by the election of Nelson Mandela, apartheid practices continue. People expected more from Mandela's administration. Black South Africans were waiting for return of their indigenous land, but the African National Congress and other Black leaders failed to deliver. Ever since the democratic elections, South Africa has become more recognized in the world. It has gained status as a "semi-periphery" country – one that possesses increasing capitalistic power, similar to those of developed countries such as the United States or Western Europe. Despite its status, it is important to recognize that that race-based policies are still in effect and cannot be simply ignored. As the world develops into a global community, disadvantaged communities' problems are not isolated in a single country. It is critical to acknowledge that many issues and challenges cross national lines. Even though we do not choose the place we are

born, we choose the knowledge we learn and have the power to use it for social change.

## **Recommendations for Future Research**

There are several possible paths for future research. First I would conduct semi-formal interviews. Since grassroots movements and activism are responses to social issues, it is important to get in-depth knowledge about the socio-political climate. Semi-structured interviews with current activists would provide insight into the struggles of contemporary South Africa. Another approach would be to broaden the study. During the initial bibliographic research, other prominent issues about contemporary South Africa came to light. As in the United States, there is an increase in police brutality against the Black population. Another prominent issue is segregated housing. Not only is land reform becoming difficult for Black South Africans, but the community is experiencing insufficient housing.

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# **Newspaper Coverage and Representation of the 2007- 2009 Recession**

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## **Abstract**

*The Great Recession spanned from 2007 to 2009 and scholars consider it the second worst recession in U.S. history after the Great Depression of 1929. The economic crisis that ensued had a disproportionate effect on minority groups, who lost massive personal wealth during this time. Research shows that Latinos and Blacks suffered from a higher rate of home foreclosures and unemployment. An important question is, did newspaper media pay sufficient attention to these two ethnic groups and the hardships they endured during this time? This research is a discourse analysis of how four newspapers in the Western, Midwestern Southern, and Eastern regions of United States covered the Great Recession. This research has two goals: to analyze when these newspapers made the public consciously aware of the recession, and, to examine the discursive practices of these newspapers to identify how they promoted conscious awareness of the impacts of the Great Recession regarding unemployment and layoffs among particular ethnic groups in various regions of the country. This research aimed to identify how the media presented the recession and what information was conveyed to the reader. Analyses of newspaper discourse revealed regional differences when presenting the impacts of the recession.*

## **Introduction**

In the span of 18 months, the national unemployment rate nearly doubled from 5% to 9.5%. Seven million Americans became unemployed, and a large portion of the population lost their homes to foreclosures. These calamitous events all took place during the recession of 2007. It has been labeled the second worst recession in U.S. history, surpassed only by the Great Depression of 1929. Due to its devastating impact on the U.S. economy, it has been labeled the Great Recession.

During this time, a large portion of the population had trouble sustaining itself economically. However, the Latino and Black population was disproportionately affected as these two ethnic groups experienced the largest rates of home foreclosure and unemployment. They had to make drastic changes to their lives in terms of paying for housing, food, and other necessities. Part of this study examines the extent to which newspaper coverage devoted sufficient media attention to these groups given the impact of the Great Recession on them. This study will also analyze the timing of and the degree to which newspaper outlets informed their readers regarding the arrival of the recession.

## **Background**

The Great Recession did not arise suddenly or haphazardly; rather, it came about due to a series of financial deregulations enacted since the 1970s. These policies gave financial institutions the autonomy to engage in the practice of lending subprime mortgages to their customers which resulted in loans to countless people with poor credit. Thus, it created a period where the housing market was proliferating because numerous potential home owners were being approved for loans that they cannot

afford to repay which inevitably led to a market crash in 2007 (Nichols 2011).

However, let's begin in 1933 with the Glass-Steagall Act, legislation that regulated the economic markets by incorporating federal deposit insurance, which, "significantly expanded federal bank supervision, and required the separation of commercial from investment banking" (Moss, 2009). Additionally, this policy established "fixed (yet flexible) exchange rates, in which every nation agreed to exchange its currency at a fixed rate for a certain amount of US dollars" (Vogli and Owusu, 2014). From 1933-1980, the Glass-Steagall Act created what is considered one of the most financially stable periods in U.S. history. Prior to the bill's enactment, the U.S. economy was consistently unstable. It experienced financial difficulties every "15 to 20 years—in 1792, 1797, 1819, 1837, 1857, 1873, 1893, 1907, and 1929-33" (Moss 2009).

Unfortunately, this all changed in 1971 when Nixon removed the fixed exchange system by endorsing financial deregulation which ushered in a new era of unstable economic markets referred to as the 'Nixon Shock.' Nixon's financial deregulation led to a multitude of economic changes, such as "lifting controls on international capital movements, the privatization of national banks, the deregulation of interest rates, the elimination of credit controls, and the escalation of financial innovations" (Vogli and Owusu, 2015) In 1982, the U.S. Congress enacted and Ronald Reagan signed into law the Garn-St. German Depository Institutions Act which deregulated the savings and loans institutions. Also, in 1984 the U.S. government passed the Secondary Mortgage Market Enhancement Act which allowed banks to purchase countless mortgages and resell them for a profit (Vogli and Owusu, 2015). The Clinton administration created the

final conditions for the arrival Great Recession in 1999, when it signed the Gramm-Leach-Bliley Act that repealed the part of the Glass-Steagall Act that forbade the combination of investment and commercial banking (Calabria 2009). Because of economic deregulations during this neoliberal period, many financial products such as “mortgage-backed securities, derivatives, credit-default swaps, collateralized debt obligations” became a lot more common (Calabria 2009). The aggregation of all these policies led to the financial crisis of 2007.

## **Literature Review**

According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics (2012), The Great Recession officially began in December 2007 and ended in June 2009. It is considered the second worst economic crisis the U.S. has endured. The value of many people’s assets diminished while others lost their homes due to foreclosure. In the 18 months of the recession, the national unemployment rate would almost double from 5% in 2007 to 9.5% in 2009. According to the Pew Research Center (2010), the recession had disproportionate effects on minorities, low income individuals, and those with a high school education or less.

## **The Recession’s Impact on Specific Ethnic Groups**

### ***Reduced Spending***

Morin (2011) of the Pew Research Center provides quantitative data on the impact of the recession on specific demographic groups. In this study, he gathered a sample of 2,967 surveys. By using cluster analysis, he grouped survey findings based on responses. Eight questions were “designed to measure the economic hardships Americans experienced due to the Great

Recession” (Morin, 2011). For his analysis, he separated the respondents into two categories: “Held their Own” and “Lost Ground.” Those that Held their Own tended to see less of a lifestyle change and reported only minor economic difficulties. According to Morin (2011) “whites are significantly more likely to be in the Held their Own group than Hispanics (49% vs. 29%) or blacks (33%). At the same time, minorities are more likely to fall into the group that Lost Ground (70% of all Hispanics and 66% of blacks, but 50% of whites).” Those who Lost Ground experienced greater economic difficulties and were forced to make drastic changes in their lives, such as reducing their spending and frequent credit card usage. None of the individuals who Held their Own, however, had trouble paying medical expenses; almost half who Lost Ground had trouble meeting any medical related expenses (Morin 2011). In a separate study titled “A Balance Sheet at 30 Months How the Great Recession Has Changed Life in America” by Taylor and Morin et al. (2010) the authors found similar results in individuals’ spending habits. People during the recession were more frugal; “(71%) say they have bought less expensive brands, nearly six-in-ten (57%) say they have cut back or canceled vacation plans,” and 30% of respondents cut back on alcohol or cigarettes.

### ***Occupation Related Struggles***

A study by Kochhar, Fry, and Taylor (2011), also from the Pew Research Center, found similar results in which minorities suffered a greater toll than the white population. They analyzed data from the Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP), a questionnaire conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau to assess the wealth of tens of thousands of households. The data were collected between 2005 and 2009, to give a clear picture of how wealth changed prior to and after the recession. The unemployment rate

significantly increased for Hispanics, from 5.9% in 2007 to 12.6%, and for Blacks 8.6% to 15.6% compared to Whites, which increased from 3.7% to 8.0%. Taylor and Morin et al. (2010) also found a pattern in long term employment: “of all currently-unemployed adults, 46% have been out of work for six months or more.” Furthermore, those that are employed also faced difficulties in their job. Over 40% of employed workers encountered one of the following: reduced hours, pay cut, unpaid leave, or reduction to part time employment. Unfortunately, minority workers experienced a greater impact than other demographic groups (Taylor and Morin et al. 2010).

### ***Wealth Decrease***

There is evidence indicating that there was an immense decrease in the overall wealth of individuals. According to Kochhar, et al (2011), the wealth of minorities, relative to Whites, significantly dropped because of the recession. Indeed, the percentage of people with zero or negative net wealth was significantly higher for minorities (Kochhar, Fry, and Taylor 2011). According to Taylor and Morin et al. (2010), 48% of respondents stated that their household income worsened since the start of the recession. Furthermore, over 20% of homeowners claim that they owe more on their mortgage or loans than the overall value of their home. However, Latinos and Blacks more frequently encountered this situation (Taylor and Morin et al. 2010). Morin (2011) found similar results as “more than half (53%) of homeowners who Lost Ground during the recession say the value of their home declined in the past 2 1/2 years, compared with 43% of those who Held their Own.”

## **Theoretical Framework**

### ***Impacted Demographics***

Now the question emerges, why did ethnic minorities suffer greater economic disparities during the recession than Whites? Hoynes et al., (2012) think “many of the demographic groups that exhibit larger cyclical variation, such as those with lower education, minorities, and males, are more likely to be employed in the industries with greater exposure to economic cycles.” This means that minorities are most likely to be employed in unstable employment sectors due to their low educational attainment. Gary Becker’s (1975) human capital theory, which posits that people with greater human capital have less trouble finding employment than those with lower human capital, can help explain this phenomenon. Lee, Wong, and Chong (2005) expand upon Becker’s theory, stating that it is “the concept that individuals possess skills, experience, and knowledge that have an impact on their level of work productivity.” An individual’s human capital consists of education, work experience, and any relevant skills needed to succeed in the work force. The more human capital an individual possesses, the more likely this person will find higher paying jobs requiring greater skill. People with low human capital will most likely end up in work that requires minimal education and skill such as manufacturing or construction (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2012). Minorities tend to be clustered in vulnerable areas of employment because they often have less education than the White population (Morin 2011). In fact, the two sectors that suffered the greatest decline during the recession were construction and manufacturing. Rising oil prices increased the costs of both maintaining a factory and exporting their manufactured goods. This resulted in a downturn in the manufacturing sector. In addition, the construction industry saw an increase in layoffs due



to the housing crash. The number of homeowners seeking to sell their homes was significantly greater than the number of customers in the housing market. Therefore, there was not a need for constructing new homes.

### ***Media Power and Influence***

Most people in the United States acquire their information from some type of media outlet such as newspapers, television, radio, or the internet. But what exactly is the goal of journalism? Many individuals may have their own perception of journalism which can manifest multiple definitions depending on whom you are asking. The sociologist Gaye Tuchman (1978) believes that the information released by the media “become(s) the basis for the shaping of knowledge,” whereas Michael Schudson (2003) defines it as a “manufactured good, the product of a set of social, economic, and political institutions and practices.” However, when the information gets conveyed to the public, the media is practicing what Schudson (2003) calls “public amplification.” This is the idea that the media legitimizes the story by bringing it to the public which “stimulates social interaction about “newsworthy” topics” (Schudson, 2003). In short, the media decides what information is presented to the public and thus has some type of control over what degree an event is presented and how the public perceives it.

Unfortunately, the method by which news is selected is not objective. The media engages in a discriminatory practice called news distortion that favors some news stories over others (Gans, 2004). An example of this can be seen in a study conducted by the Pew Research Center which performed a content analysis of almost 10,000 stories from several media outlets using the Pew Center’s Project for Excellence in Journalism’s (PEJ) weekly News Coverage Index (NCI). The study analyzed media coverage

from February 1 to August 31, 2009, and their coding was specifically designed for each media source. Their first major finding was that during this time period, three major stories dominated 40% of the media coverage: 1) the government bailout, 2) the stimulus package, and 3) the U.S. automobile industry's economic troubles. Second, only 5% of the stories explicitly examined the broader impact of the economic downturn on the lives of ordinary people (Pew Research Center: Journalism and Media Staff, 2009). These stories included anything related to retail sales, economic effects on health care, and interest rates. As the analysis shows, the media favored those three major stories over any other events occurring during this time. The selection of news stories is best described by David Broder, the Washington Post columnist, who stated that "the process of selecting what the reader reads involves not just objective facts but subjective judgments, personal values and, yes, prejudices" (Schudson, 2003).

The media is a powerful catalyst for channeling information and influencing the public's perception of essential social and political events. It controls what information it decides to convey to consumers. Livingstone (2008) observes that "societies worldwide are being reshaped, for better or for worse, by the changes in the global media and information environment. So, too, are the everyday lives of their citizens." The media is able to manipulate public perceptions on a macro level but it trickles down to influence people on a micro level. According to Schudson (2003), the power of the media is a "dominant force in the public construction of common experience and a popular sense of what is real and important." However, people do not develop their ideas entirely in a vacuum, rather the public "construct and modify our normative beliefs through information from other people—people we interact with or who influence us more indirectly through mass media" (Hogg and Reid, 2006). This shows the influence that the

media has on the social constructed ideologies that people develop about themselves and others.

Sociologists and communication scholars reveal the role the media plays in public perception of social events. Statistical studies show that the recession affected particular demographic groups in different ways depending on their ethnicity or their education level. Latinos and African Americans were disproportionately affected by the recession, relative to Caucasians. The media itself played a vital role during this time in creating public perception by publicizing the stories they want their readers to recognize. By analyzing four newspapers published in different regions of the country, I aim to see how each presented the disparate effects of the recession to its readers.

## **Research Questions and Hypothesis**

For this study, I am interested in answering the following questions:

1. When did mainstream newspapers generate an awareness of the Great Recession's impact on the economy and individuals?
2. How did mainstream newspapers promote conscious awareness of the impacts of the Great Recession regarding unemployment and layoffs of particular ethnic groups in various regions of the country?

I hypothesize that mainstream newspapers will create awareness starting in December 2007 because the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics declared the beginning of the recession in December

2007. For the second research question, I predict that newspaper will provide insufficient coverage about the economic hardships of Blacks and Latinos because these two groups tend to have low political power that often translates into inadequate media attention.

## Methods

For this study, my mentor, Professor Denise Bielby and I sought to examine how and when newspaper media created an awareness of the arrival of the recession. Additionally, we wanted to find out how newspapers covered various minority groups, especially Latinos and Blacks, during this time. The primary method used was discourse analysis, the study of language through text, of four separate newspapers. I examined *The Journal Constitution* (Atlanta), *The Detroit News*, *Los Angeles Times*, and *New York Times*.

Two significant factors drove the selection of these newspapers. First, we took into consideration the geographical focus of the newspaper's coverage. These 4 newspapers cover all geographical regions in the United States. That offered the possibility to analyze different regions of the country. This is especially helpful because the U.S. is a culturally diverse country, and by covering all regions, it allows us to critically analyze how each of the newspapers, reflects its own diverse region, when it discussed the Great Recession. Second, we took the validity of the newspapers into account. These are all popular news sources that many individuals rely on for information. A majority of the reading public trusts these news sources to provide honest coverage on current events. By analyzing and comparing them across regions of the country, the goal was to find discourse unique to each region and determine whether the newspapers present the

recession in a dissimilar manner through the use of language. When analyzing the results, I was aware that each region consisted of different demographics and industries that may have resulted in the recession impacted the regions in different ways and to varying degrees.

## **Data**

The data were gathered through the use of the University of California Santa Barbara's library database. I specifically used Access World News. This database consists of newspaper archives from around the world. There are 1,480 news sources from U.S. alone covering the period 1978 to the present. Through the use of this database it was possible to access all the newspapers archives needed to complete the research. The same search statement was used for each search to yield the same results for each newspaper. This prevented any type of linguistic discrepancies across the search results.

For the purposes of this research, I focused on one key term, "unemployment," when searching through the database. I chose this term to identify articles that related to the economy and the recession's impact on citizens. I searched for newspaper coverage from December 2007 – June 2009. This involved using a quarterly timeframe that coincides with the Bureau of Labor Statistics economic reports that are released in December, March, June, and September. Furthermore, selecting these months helped provide a balanced understanding of media's role in providing relevant stories for their audiences in each geographical region across the U.S.

**Table 1** represents the frequency of newspaper results when the keyword "Unemployment" was searched. The search

yielded 1,818 results. However, not all items that appeared in the search were utilized to complete this research. I eliminated opinion pieces because the information that appeared in these pieces tended to fall outside the scope of the data we were using for this current project. By their very nature, opinion pieces present subjective news coverage rather than the objective information needed for this study. In **Table 1**, the first column under the newspaper outlet represents the results of all the articles in the search. The subsequent column illustrates the true result, the total of the newspapers after the irrelevant results were eliminated from the total. The percentages below the numbers represent the number divided by the total results.

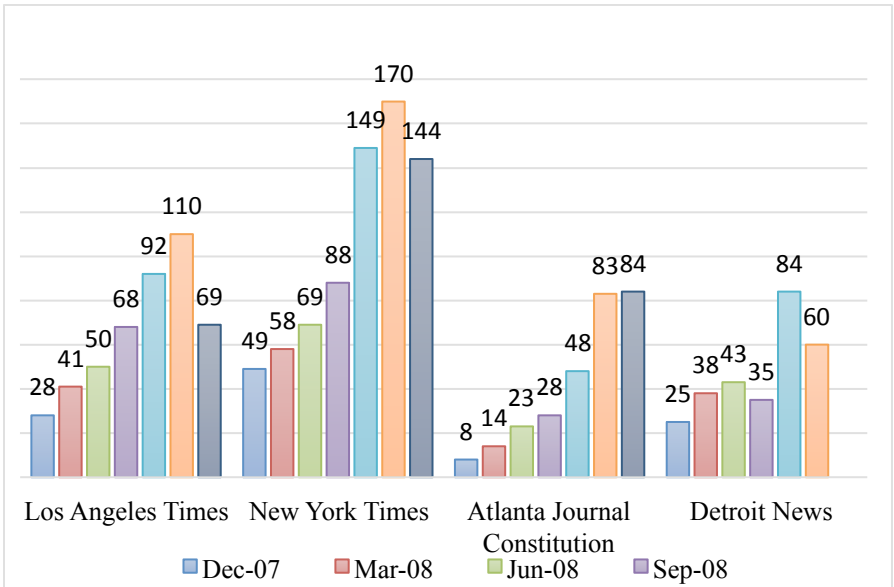
**Table 1. Frequency of Newspaper Result when Keyword “Unemployment” was Searched**

Results	Los Angeles Times		New York Times		Detroit News		Atlanta Journal Constitution	
	All Articles	Irrelevant Removed	All Articles	Irrelevant Removed	All Articles	Irrelevant Removed	All Articles	Irrelevant Removed
Dec 2007	<b>28</b> (6%)	<b>12</b> (2.6%)	<b>49</b> (6.7%)	<b>23</b> (6.9%)	<b>25</b> (6.8%)	<b>14</b> (3.8%)	<b>8</b> (3%)	<b>4</b> (1.5%)
Mar 2008	<b>41</b> (9%)	<b>19</b> (4.1%)	<b>58</b> (8%)	<b>30</b> (9%)	<b>38</b> (10.3%)	<b>22</b> (6%)	<b>14</b> (5.3%)	<b>7</b> (2.7%)
June 2008	<b>50</b> (11%)	<b>27</b> (5.9%)	<b>69</b> (9.5%)	<b>40</b> (12%)	<b>43</b> (11.7%)	<b>23</b> (6.2%)	<b>23</b> (8.7%)	<b>14</b> (5.3%)
Sept 2008	<b>68</b> (15%)	<b>44</b> (9.6%)	<b>88</b> (12.1%)	<b>52</b> (15.6%)	<b>35</b> (9.5%)	<b>18</b> (5%)	<b>28</b> (10.6%)	<b>18</b> (6.8%)
Dec 2008	<b>92</b> (20%)	<b>58</b> (12.7%)	<b>149</b> (20.5%)	<b>73</b> (21.9%)	<b>84</b> (22.8%)	<b>33</b> (8.9%)	<b>48</b> (18.2%)	<b>36</b> (13.6%)
Mar 2009	<b>110</b> (24%)	<b>78</b> (17%)	<b>170</b> (23.3%)	<b>67</b> (20.1%)	<b>60</b> (16.3%)	<b>29</b> (7.9%)	<b>83</b> (31.4%)	<b>54</b> (20.5%)
June 2009	<b>69</b> (15%)	<b>43</b> (9.4%)	<b>144</b> (20%)	<b>48</b> (14.4%)	<b>84</b> (22.8%)	<b>50</b> (13.6%)	<b>60</b> (22.7%)	<b>28</b> (10.6%)
Total	<b>458</b>	<b>281</b>	<b>727</b>	<b>333</b>	<b>369</b>	<b>189</b>	<b>264</b>	<b>161</b>

## Results

### *Frequency of Newspaper Coverage*

The apex of newspaper stories written about the recession's impact on the economy and the financial well-being of individuals occurred in March of 2009. For most newspapers, there was a common pattern of producing a few stories in December of 2007 and gradually increasing coverage over time. As the recession deepened, so did the amount of attention by the media. **Figure 1**, below, shows the frequency in the amount of newspaper coverage when the word “unemployment” was applied. The only exception was the Atlanta Journal Constitution that fell short by one story in June of 2009.



**Figure 1. Frequency of the Word “Unemployment”**

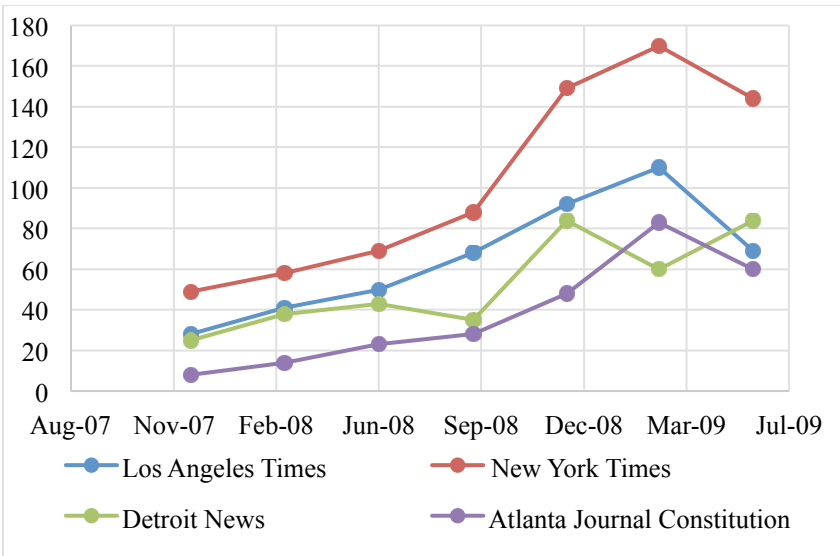
*Time Intervals*

It was interesting to find that each newspaper presented the arrival of the recession at different time intervals. By looking at **Figure 2**, one can see that both the *Los Angeles Times* and *New York Times* created awareness that the recession was nearing or that the nation was in a recession by December of 2007. Their language strongly suggested that an economic crisis was developing. However, it was not until September 2008 that the *Atlanta Journal Constitution* covered the recession in any depth. Detroit was one of the most severely affected cities in terms of unemployment, which is why it was surprising to discover that *The Detroit News* was the last of the four newspapers to present the economic turmoil to its readers in December 2008. **Figure 3** and **Figure 4** below show distribution of newspaper coverage during the recession. **Figure 3** shows all the results and **Figure 4** illustrates the relevant results.

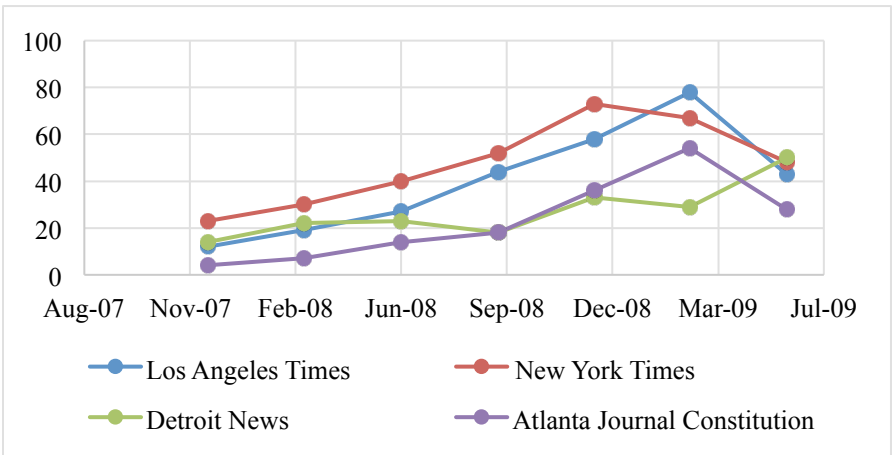


**Figure 2. Presentation of Recession – The Time Intervals**





**Figure 3. Frequency of All Unemployment Results**



**Figure 4. Frequency of Unemployment Results after Irrelevant Articles Were Removed**

## ***Media Emphasis***

Overall, all newspapers covered the events that transpired during these 18 months; however, the coverage for each newspaper emphasized different issues that the nation was experiencing. In the Western region, the *Los Angeles Times* focused on issues emerging in the construction and mortgage industries. In the Eastern region, the *New York Times* focused more on the economic concerns such as bonds, stocks, unemployment benefits, and inflation. In the Midwestern region, *The Detroit News* concentrated on the manufacturing crisis. Finally, in the Southern region, the *Atlanta Journal Constitution* presented a general idea of what was transpiring in the recession.

## ***Racial Representation***

Each newspaper, to an extent, discussed the experience of specific ethnic groups during the recession. For this study, a quote was selected from each newspaper that represents what people were experiencing on the individual level. The *Los Angeles Times* had quotes similar to this one: "I don't want to go back [to Mexico], but there is no work," said Lopez, 18. "It's better to be with my family, even though we don't have much." (Gorman, Anna, 2008, September 1). The *New York Times*, commonly had stories like this:

“...because African-Americans continue to have less education than other groups, the loss of high-paying manufacturing jobs has long been magnified in the black community” said Robert E. Scott... “When benefits are considered, the auto industry is one of the

best sources of jobs for workers without a college degree" (Chapman, Mary M. 2008, December 30).

The *Atlanta Journal Constitution* did not publish many stories covering specific ethnicities, but they reported a story about the employment difficulties of Latinos. They claim that Latinos "have lost nearly 250,000 jobs over the past year in the construction sector alone," and it is especially difficult for undocumented Latinos as their unemployment rate was at 7.5% by June 2008. Furthermore, the article states that "Latino construction workers saw a nearly 7 percent decline in wages in 2007."

Finally, the *Detroit News* briefly acknowledges the high unemployment rate of African Americans. Detroit's auto industry greatly suffered during the recession. One group to be especially affected was African Americans. Data shows that from 1979 to 2008 wages dropped, "6 percent drop for white workers, but a 23.5 percent decline for black workers." Furthermore, unemployment rate in Michigan was as high as 15% by 2009. League President and CEO Sharon Parks, believes that African Americans disproportionately represent the unemployment rate because they lack skills to survive budget skills.

## **Discussion**

### ***Frequency of Newspaper Coverage***

One possible reason why frequency coverage increased in December 2008 is because every newspaper had previously presented the arrival of the recession. By arriving at a consensus, media had greater confidence about reporting that the economic disasters were a result of the recession. In the previous months, these 4 newspapers were ambivalent about broadcasting that the

nation's economic turmoil would lead to a recession. Newspapers bombarded their readers with mixed messages about the economy such as reporting an increase in unemployment one day and the next day claiming that the economy is creating jobs and there will be no recession.

### ***Media Emphasis***

Because each newspaper emphasizes different stories, it correlates with Herbert Gan's (2004) news distortion theory that the media will emphasize one news story over the rest. Each newspaper focused its attention on the essential economic sector in each state. For example, California has a large and successful construction industry. Thus, *The Los Angeles Times* placed emphasis on construction related issues and the mortgage crisis. *The New York Times* focused more on financial issues because Wall Street, the biggest financial sector in the U.S. is located in New York. *The Detroit News* emphasized the manufacturing crisis because the big three auto manufacturers, GM, Ford, and Chrysler, all headquartered in Michigan, were veering towards bankruptcy. Here I switch my analysis to the state, but because each state is located in a different region of the country it helps understand the various issues occurring around the country.

### ***Racial Representation***

The articles in *The Los Angeles Times* portrayed Latinos as performing return migration. Return migration is a process whereby immigrants return to their home country because they no longer find it sustainable to live in the country to which they migrated. *The Los Angeles Times* described the migrants' living conditions as economically unsustainable. Blue-collar jobs in sectors such as construction were becoming increasingly scarce at

this time, making employment in this area increasingly competitive. As a result, many of these workers were unable to make a living in this country, and returned to their home country. *The New York Times* tends to be more liberal on social issues and published some powerful articles that captured the overall economic struggle that African Americans were experiencing at this time, including articles on such individual difficulties as paying rent or finding employment. *The Atlanta Journal Constitution* also presented similar struggles that Latinos were experiencing during the recession. They acknowledged the immense amount of job losses in the construction industry. Those who were still able to retain their jobs, saw a decrease in wages for Latinos in this industry. The newspapers briefly recognize the disparities being experienced by minorities. Their lack of coverage does not fully represent the actual hardships of minorities.

## **Conclusion**

My research has sought to deepen the understanding of media coverage during the Great Recession. Findings indicate that each newspaper presented a unique narrative of the events unfolding during the recession. Based on these four newspapers, readers became aware of the recession's commencement at different time intervals. Surprisingly, the *Detroit News* was the last newspaper outlet to discuss the nation's economic turmoil, despite what was happening to the state's automotive manufacturing sector. Additionally, this research shows that each newspaper did not objectively select stories to cover; rather, they performed subjective measures and modified their reporting to cater to what was ensuing in their state's major economic sector. Finally, each newspaper portrayed the difficulties of Blacks and Latinos in a distinctive manner.

After conducting a discourse analysis on these newspaper articles, it is evident that newspapers were sluggish in reporting to their audiences. By December 2008 all the newspapers examined for this study stated that the U.S. was in a recession; however, by that time the recession was nearing its ending. They concentrated on their immediate geographical economic sector and fell short of coverage that represented the nation's economic turmoil. Furthermore, newspapers did not focus on the human dimensions of the Recession. Most reports concentrated on representation on the state level. These stories include issues with stocks, banks, and taxes. If they reported stories that directly affected people on the individual level, such as what happens to someone after they lose a job, people would better understand the intensity of the recession.

The media creates a common perception that influences the public. When a newspaper avoids certain topics, this generates ignorance among its readers. If the media had managed to incorporate both angles, I believe that more people would be able to better sustain themselves during the recession by saving money or being more frugal with their spending because they would become aware of issues that are relevant to them. For example, it does not help them when they read in the paper about the stock market because it is irrelevant to most Americans. Furthermore, when the newspapers I analyzed reported on minorities, they focused most of their attention on Blacks and Latinos. There needs to be more diversity in their representation of various minority groups that were significantly scathed during the recession.

This project will continue with an examination of independent news sources to compare their coverage with mainstream newspapers. Possible choices are to examine progressive independent news sources because their writing is more liberal than mainstream newspapers. It is important to

understand how the newspaper represents the current events and which stories they publish because they create a common public perception. If media bias continues to be prevalent, then the need arises to objectify coverage to give readers a more accurate and balanced representation of what is taking place.

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# **“Lifting my financial burden”: The Impact of the Gates Millennium Scholars Program on Student Graduate School Aspirations**

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Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research

## **Abstract**

*Student college debt in the United States continues to rise. According to The Institute for College Access & Success (2016), the average debt for the year 2015 was \$30,100, a 4% increase over the previous year. The increase in college tuition signifies the widening gap for college access and affordability, especially for students with low socioeconomic status. The surge in college tuition leaves students needing to look for external funding in the forms of scholarships and private loans. Extensive research on the impact of scholarships highlights their role as a driving force for student access and college choice. This study aimed to further that literature by looking at the longer-term effects of a scholarship once students are already in college. Specifically, I examine the role of the Gates Millennium Scholarship (GMS) on students' expectations to enroll in graduate school. The goal of the study was to see what sources of support contribute to students' reasons to go beyond a baccalaureate degree. Secondary analysis was conducted using the Freshman Cohort Longitudinal Survey (Baseline (2002) and 1<sup>st</sup> (2004) and 2<sup>nd</sup> (2006) follow-ups) dataset of the GMS program (Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation 2008). The survey consisted of 1,108 participants including scholarship recipients (N=642) and non-recipients (N= 466). Ordinary least squares (OLS) regression was used to predict expectations for*

*graduate school attendance. This study points to the importance of offering students networks of support in addition to monetary compensation to achieve academically and have expectations for continuing their education.*

## **Introduction**

Graduating with a college degree can confer benefits such as upward mobility and social status. While college is not free, many see paying for college as an investment, considering that a college degree can generate much greater labor market returns compared to a high school diploma. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, a college graduate can earn 90% more than a high school graduate (Torche, 2011). However, the benefit of the college degree is somewhat offset by the rise in tuition and college-related fees that make it extremely difficult to pay for college. According to the National Center for Education Statistics (2016) there has been a 125% increase in tuition, fees, and room and board for full-time undergraduate students in both private and public four-year institutions between the 1983-1984 and 2013-2014 school years. The absence of college affordability makes it challenging to enroll in college, especially for students with low socioeconomic status. Socioeconomic status has also been related to admission to highly selective institutions (Astin & Oseguera, 2004). Students who come from substantially lower socioeconomic backgrounds face greater barriers to accessing colleges and universities, especially those in the top tiers, contributing to the stratification of American higher education.

The Higher Education Act (HEA) of 1965 greatly impacted the direction of higher education by broadening institutional and policy efforts catered to the growth of financial aid programs. After substantial amendments and reauthorizations, in 1992 the HEA accounted for 74% of all financial aid made available to students enrolled in postsecondary education in the United States (Hannah, 1996; College Board, 1992). Despite efforts to ameliorate gaps in college affordability, the rising cost of tuition made the 1992 reauthorization unable to fully realize these goals.

College costs outpaced inflation, Pell grant allocations were stagnant, and the grant/loan imbalance affected the ability of low-to moderate-income students to enroll in college without incurring debt (Hannah, 1996). The rise in tuition has reversed the HEA's allotment of grant and financial aid to loans. The most recent HEA reauthorization was released in 2013 and updated in 2016. The HEA proposed task forces have outlined recommendations to simplify the Free Application for Federal Student Aid (FAFSA) and provided provisions for loan forgiveness and loan repayment incentives (NASFAA, 2016).

High-quality education may mitigate the lack of resources and the lack of educational support students receive in low-income neighborhoods; however access to a quality education may be feasible for only some students. Students with limited resources obtain insufficient information on how to select colleges, apply for admissions and financial aid, and gain acceptance (Haveman & Smeeding, 2006). Underrepresented students who are successful at enrolling in college often face greater barriers in acclimating to postsecondary education because they are academically unprepared and experience culture shock and imposter syndrome (Haveman & Smeeding, 2006). Although the transition to college may be difficult, research has shown the positive effects of receiving need-based aid for underserved students. Castleman & Long (2013) found that need-based aid positively affects whether students enroll, persist, and complete their four-year degrees. There is limited research on the effects of financial aid on student success; even less research has looked at the impact of aid on student's expectations beyond a baccalaureate degree.

## Literature Review

### *First-generation college student experience*

The National Center for Education Statistics (2016) notes a gap in undergraduate enrollment rate by race/ethnicity: 61% of public institution enrollment is white, while Black and Latin@ students have enrollment rates of 12 and 16 percent, respectively. Previous literature has looked at the various barriers first-generation college students encounter in the educational pipeline. Ishitani (2006) found that first-generation students had higher risks of attrition as a result of high school academic characteristics. Lack of academic preparation is one of the many barriers first-generation students encounter on their paths to higher education. Warburton, Burgarin, & Nunez (2001) found that rigorous coursework in high school for first-generation college students can contribute to their persistence in four-year institutions. However, they also found an association between parents' level of education and retention and persistence in college, even while controlling for academic preparedness (Warburton, Burgarin, & Nunez, 2001). Students who are the first in their family to enroll in college have a reduced likelihood of remaining in college.

Somer, Woodhouse, & Cofer (2004) found that first-generation college students are more likely to persist in college if they are able to successfully make the transition to postsecondary education their first year in college. They present evidence to suggest that retention of these students is most critical early on in their postsecondary journey. The first year of college for these students is crucial in solidifying their retention. Thus, first-generation students who make it past the first year are more likely to persist in college given that they made it past the first-year threshold. Students who are first in their family to go to college



encounter different obstacles in learning how to navigate college, compared to those whose parents attended. Level of engagement through collegiate social and peer networks tends to foster positive outcomes for degree completion, especially among first-generation college students. As for all students, the amount of time spent studying, writing, reading, and engaging in discussion promotes first-generation students' acquisition of cultural capital and educational knowledge while in college (Pascarella, Pierson, Wolniak & Terenzini, 2004).

Research has shown that educational interventions such as teaching students about people from different backgrounds bolster first-generation students' psychological adjustment and academic and social engagement. This approach decreases the stigma associated with being first-generation and reaffirms students' abilities to perform academically. Sense of school belonging has been tied to positive psychological adjustment to college. Students who felt integrated into campus were more likely to exhibit perceptions of scholastic competence, social acceptance, and global self-worth (Gummadam, Pittman, & Loffe, 2016). Likewise, embracing an ethnic identity has also been linked to positive psychological outcomes of self-worth. College affordability, sense of belonging, and ethnic identity, therefore, enhance student educational outcomes. However, it is unclear which element is more vital to first-generation college students' success and graduate aspirations.

### ***Generational status and paying for college***

McCabe & Jackson (2016) distinguish unique pathways of paying for college among students from different socioeconomic and ethnic backgrounds. They find four pathways representing differences among groups: (1) white later-generation students find

college financing relatively easy as they are provided with parental, financial, and cultural capital; (2) white first-generation students initially receive parental financial contributions but will later assume the role of providing for themselves; (3) black later-generation students receive support from parents and institutional agents as well as learning to navigate the system on their own; and (4) black and Latin@ first-generation students are left to fend for themselves and, in some cases, seek help from counselors later on (McCabe & Jackson, 2016). Ultimately, students of color who are first-generation are less likely to persist in higher education due to the absence of financial and navigational support offered to them.

### ***Access to Financial Resources***

Considerable advantages accompany a college education; however some individuals may benefit from these advantages more than others. Laura Perna (2006) finds that policies and programs affect students' college enrollment decisions based on college affordability. Moreover, students engage in a multi-level process in college decision-making, taking into consideration the following: their family background; K-12 schools; postsecondary institutions; and social, economic, and policy programs.

Using both Perna's (2006) conceptual model and John & Asker's (2003) framework, Perna et al. (2008) describe contextual and public policy interventions that shape college enrollment. Perna's (2006) conceptual model focuses on individual factors such as college affordability and college access for students and their families as well as institutions and programs impacting college enrollment decisions. John & Asker's (2003) framework examines public policies that shape college enrollment beginning with standards and testing in K-12 education; continuing with affirmative action, postsecondary information, and financial aid

availability affecting college enrollment; and culminating in college and university policies that shape undergraduate and graduate student persistence. Combining the models, Perna et al.'s (2008) study produces a typology of programs intended to encourage college enrollment and found that most programs are aimed at incoming freshmen as well as continuing college students, as opposed to high school students or below. Ninety percent of the 103 programs in this study offered students some form of financial assistance, 6% focused on academic preparation, 3% on academic preparation and information about college, and 1% on college knowledge only (Perna et al., 2006). The most common type of program is carried out directly from the government to the student and is comprised almost exclusively of financial elements, such as Cal-Grant in California, Bright Future Scholarship Program in Florida, and HOPE Scholarship in Georgia (Perna et al., 2008). Perna's study points to the areas for growth for programs that are designed to promote college enrollment. According to Perna et al. (2008), most college enrollment programs offer first year and continuing students financial aid, but exclude students who have dropped out of high school or have "leaked out of the pipeline" (p.264).

### ***Financial Aid Comprehension***

Students from underrepresented backgrounds are faced with the harsh reality that the cost of tuition and college-related fees are increasing. Misconceptions about financing college can deter students from enrolling, as they perceive college and financial aid information difficult to obtain (De La Rosa, 2006). College affordability directly impacts college choice decisions for low-income students; however social and academic factors dictate whether students persist and achieve academically. In 2009-2010, 40% of families reported eliminating college attendance from

consideration due to cost-related factors (Gallup, 2010). Latin@ students reported taking more cost-saving measures like working, living at home, enrolling as a part-time student, and reducing spending to alleviate the financial burden (Gallup, 2010). The information gap impedes students from underrepresented and low-income backgrounds from making informed decisions about the college process. The inability to access adequate counseling and information about rising college tuition prevents low-income students from pursuing postsecondary education (George-Jackson & Gast, 2015). De La Rosa (2006) found that students who intend to enroll at a community college are less likely to apply for financial aid, indicating that information about financial aid is not available in some schools and communities. Additionally, students who have parents with less education are more likely to independently take on the burden of applying for college and financial aid.

### ***Networks of Financial Support***

Programs designed to provide financial support to students might prove efficacious in various ways. Scott-Clayton (2011) examined the PROMISE scholarship program in West Virginia to understand the link between financial assistance and academic achievement. West Virginia's PROMISE scholarship is awarded to students who maintain a 3.0 GPA in high school, earn an ACT score of 21 or equivalent, and enroll full-time at any public institution in West Virginia (Scott-Clayton, 2011). The scholarship guarantees students up to four years of tuition as long as they maintain a 3.0 cumulative GPA and complete at least 30 credits per year in college (Scott-Clayton, 2011). She found college achievement to be influenced by incentives to fulfill the GPA and credit requirements for the PROMISE scholarship. In this way, financial support alone may not increase enrollment and retention,

but coupled with requirements to maintain consistent and good grades makes a difference for overall student performance.

In a similar fashion, the Gates Millennium Scholarship (GMS) program provides financial support to high-achieving undergraduate students of color who are Pell Grant eligible (Boatman & Long, 2016). Originally established in 1999, the GMS is a renewable, last-dollar grant, meaning students receive the remaining financial assistance after the Pell grant and other scholarships and grants have been expended (DesJardins & McCall, 2008). The award is aimed at increasing representation of African-American/Black, American Indian/Alaska Native, Asian Pacific Islander and Latin@ students.

Previous research has examined the collegiate outcomes of GMS recipients and non-recipients. Hu (2008) found a positive link among GMS recipients and student academic and social engagement. Some found large differences between recipients and non-recipients in terms of amount of loans taken out, parental contributions, and number of hours worked during college (DesJardins & McCall, 2008). Some studies have suggested that GMS recipients have more time to focus on their studies, participate in extracurricular activities, and worry less about paying for college (DesJardins & McCall, 2008). Recipients are shown to spend a greater amount of time socializing with peers and engaging in community service (Boatman & Long, 2016). On balance, the Gates Millennium Scholarship program alleviates some of the burden of paying for college. Recipients gain a financial blanket of support as a means of encouraging underrepresented students to excel and graduate with a college degree.

## *Sense of Belonging*

Earlier research on student departure focuses on micro-level characteristics that shape student success, such as students' commitment to academic and social integration; however, it generally fails to underscore the importance of cultural and institutional factors (Tinto, 1993; Tinto, 1987; Tinto, 1975). The Culturally Engaging Campus Environments (CECE) model proposed by Museus (2014) suggests that external factors and precollege characteristics influence college decisions and performance. According to Museus (2014), external factors such as finances, employment, and family influences impact the success of racially diverse students in higher education. The availability of grants and scholarships are related to persistence and degree completion (Alon, 2011; Astin, 1993; DesJardins, Ahlburg, & McCall, 2002; Gross, 2011; Heller, 2003; Museus, 2014). In a similar vein, demographic factors such as race, socioeconomic status (SES), gender, and parental education contribute to students' sense of belonging and college outcomes (Bowen & Bok, 1998; Massey et al., 2006; Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991, 2005), as does academic preparation prior to college (Abraham, 1992; Chancey & Farris, 1991; Schudde, 2011). Equally important to student success are individual characteristics like inclusion, self-efficacy, and academic performance. Students who feel connected to their campuses, are confident in their academic abilities, and are motivated to do well academically are likely to persist to graduation. Museus's (2014) CECE model provides a multifaceted approach to understanding the various dimensions that shape college success and completion for racially diverse students.

## **The Present Study**

Previous literature has contributed to our knowledge of the influence of financial aid on student enrollment behaviors. This research has examined the ways in which financial aid availability contributes to student persistence. This study aims to fill a void in the literature by examining student expectations to not only persist as undergraduates but to take the next step and enroll in graduate school. Specifically, this study focuses on the Gates Millennium Scholarship (GMS) due to its unique characteristics and rich data. Established in 1999, The Gates Millennium Scholars Program is a 20-year project designed to promote access to higher education opportunities for low-income students from African-American/Black, American Indian/Alaska Native, Asian Pacific Islander, and Latin@ backgrounds. The scholarship aims to increase the representation of underrepresented students in the fields of computer science, education, engineering, library science, mathematics, public health, and the sciences. High school students applying for the scholarship must complete cognitive (academic rigor of classes, grades) and non-cognitive components (write a series of essays) to be considered for the award (DesJardins & McCall, 2008). Each year about 3,000-4,000 apply and 1,000 are selected to receive the award. The average award between the years 2000-2014 was \$12,785, which can be used for educational and individual expenses (Gates Millennium Scholars, 2016). Students ultimately can receive five years of funding for undergraduate education and can apply for additional funding for graduate school as long as they meet the eligibility requirements of enrolling in an “engineering, mathematics, science, education or library science” graduate program (DesJardins & McCall, 2008, p. 7).

## **Research Question and Hypothesis**

The central research question addressed in the study can be stated simply: Given the financial support recipients of the Gates Millennium Scholarship (GMS) procure for college, what are the effects of financial aid availability for first-generation students on expectations to continue their education beyond their undergraduate work? What follows from this question is one major hypothesis: First-generation college students who are awarded the GMS scholarship will be more likely to adopt higher post-baccalaureate aspirations than non-recipients due to financial support granted by the award, controlling for social support from peers and faculty.

## **Methods**

### ***Data Sources***

The data used in this study came from three waves of a longitudinal survey [Baseline (2002), 1<sup>st</sup> Follow-up (2004) and 2<sup>nd</sup> Follow-up (2006)] from the Gates Millennium Scholars (GMS) program Freshman Cohort 1 (ICPSR, 2013). A web-based survey was administered by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) at the University of Chicago with the support from the Gates Foundation. For the purpose of this study, a cohort is defined as both GMS scholars (recipients) and non-recipients, individuals who made it to the scholar confirmation/verification phase but for a variety of reasons did not go on to become a scholar, who entered college in a given year. This study's cohort consists of 466 non-recipients and 642 GMS recipients. The baseline survey was conducted after the first year out of high school, when respondents have transitioned into college or the workforce. The first follow-up occurred three years out of high school when respondents are



typically in their junior year in college. The second follow-up occurred five years out of high school, when respondents are finishing up their baccalaureate degrees, transitioning into graduate or professional schools, or transitioning into the workforce (ICPSR, 2013).

### *The Sample*

Out of the total sample of 1,108, 34% identified as Asian/Pacific Islander, 30% Black, 31% Latin@, and 5% American Indian. Students were given the opportunity to select multiple race/ethnicity groups with which they identified. Students who identified as White also identified another race/ethnicity and were put into the other category with which they identified because of the scholarship’s requirement that recipients be from a minority group. Additionally, 70% were female. **Table 1** provides the descriptive statistics.

**Table 1: Descriptive Statistics**

Gender	N	Percentage
Male	339	31%
Female	769	69%
Generation and Recipient Status	N	Percentage
First-generation recipient	266	24%
First-generation non-recipient	89	8%
Non first-generation recipient	376	34%
Non first-generation non recipient	377	34%
Race/Ethnicity	N	Percentage
Asian/Pacific Islander	382	34%
Black	326	30%
Latin@	346	31%
American Indian	54	5%

## ***Dependent Variables***

This study focuses on students' thoughts about enrolling in graduate school, specifically looking at the differences between first- and later-generation students and recipient and non-recipient status for Gates Millennium Scholars. The dependent variable was a measure of student expectations to attend graduate school. Students were asked, "How likely is it that you will attend graduate or professional school?" Responses were coded as 1= "very unlikely," 2= "somewhat unlikely," 3= "somewhat likely," and 4= "very likely."

## ***Independent Variables***

Independent variables in this study included demographic variables, work experience, and sense of belonging. The first demographic variable was race/ethnicity. Respondents identified with the following race/ethnicities: Latin@, Black, American Indian, Asian/Pacific Islander. Dummy variables were constructed for each group and Asian/Pacific Islander was used as the reference category because it was the modal group. Respondents had the option to choose multiple race/ethnicities. The GMS scholarship is targeted to communities of color and therefore students who only identify as white are not eligible to receive the award. Biracial and multiracial groups were present in this study, however did not constitute a separate race/ethnicity group due to the small number of those individuals. For example, eighteen respondents identified as both Latin@ and American Indian making only 2% of the respondent pool. For the purpose of this study, the preload race variable from the survey was used to identify racial/ethnic groups of participants.

The second demographic variable was a combination of generation and recipient statuses: (1) first-generation (neither parent attended college) recipient (Gates Millennium Scholar), (2) first-generation non-recipient (not a Gates Millennium Scholar), (3) non first-generation (at least one parent attended college) recipient, and (4) non first-generation non-recipient. Respondents who were not first-generation and who did not receive the scholarship were the reference category because they were the largest group.

Differences in number of work hours have been found among GMS recipients and non-recipients, with the latter working slightly more, which can affect their studies and time spent engaging in extracurricular activities (DesJardins & McCall, 2008). For this study, the variable work experience was derived by looking at two questions. "Do you currently work for pay?" was coded 0= "No" and 1= "Yes." If respondents answered, "yes," they were asked "How many hours do you work per week?" which was coded as 2.5= "Less than 5 hours per week," 7.5= "5-10 hours per week," . . . 57= "More than 55 hours per week." Those who answered "no" on the first question were given a zero on the follow-up question.

Students who feel a sense of belonging, are surrounded by cultural familiarity, and who feel supported and validated by educators are more likely to succeed and graduate from college (Museus, 2014). Sense of belonging variables address whether students felt that they made the correct choice in college, if they have experienced any form of social discrimination on campus, and sources of support they receive (family, friends, and faculty). Perceived school support was coded 0= "No" and 1= "Yes." Student's perception that they chose the correct college was coded 0= "No" and 1= "Yes." Students were asked to state their level of

agreement or disagreement for the statement, “I rely on racial/cultural groups on campus as my main support group on campus”. Racial group support was coded 1= “strongly disagree” to 4= “strongly agree.” Perceived level of discrimination was measured with the question, “Please assess the extent to which you believe your college/university’s social climate is discriminatory or supportive for racial minority student population?” and was coded 1= “Very supportive,” 2= “Supportive”, 3= “Discriminatory,” and 4= “Very Discriminatory.” The variable measuring sources of support is an index of perceived support from faculty, friends, and/or family for academic and personal hardships. This variable is a summation of the four measures of assistance (faculty [academic], friends [personal & academic] and family [personal]) where 1= “Never,” 2= “Seldom,” 3= “Sometimes,” 4= “Often,” and 5= “Very Often.”

Ordinary Least Squares (OSL) regression was used to predict expectations for graduate school attendance. The model was run three times, once with demographics only, a second time adding generation/recipient status, and a third time for all independent variables.

## Results

The results for all three OLS regressions are presented in **Table 2**. The results from Models 1 and 2 indicated that male students have lower expectations to enroll in graduate school than do female students ( $b = -.11$ ,  $p \leq .05$ ). Model 3 regressed expectations to go to graduate school on demographic, work, and sense of belonging variables. Results from Model 3 suggest that students who are first-generation non-recipients are less likely to have expectations to go to graduate school than non first-generation non-recipients (reference category) ( $b = -.23$ ,  $p \leq .01$ ).

American Indian students also have lower expectations to enroll in graduate school than do Asian/Pacific Islander students ( $b = -.28$ ,  $p \leq .01$ ). Surprisingly, the number of hours students spent working does not affect expectations to enroll in graduate school. On the other hand, sense of belonging variables seem to be positively associated with student expectations to enroll in graduate school. Students who perceive that they have support from their school are more likely to have graduate school expectations than those who do not ( $b = .19$ ,  $p \leq .01$ ). Another important result indicates that students who rely on racial/ethnic groups for support are considerably more likely to expect to go to graduate school ( $b = .10$ ,  $p \leq .001$ ). The composite variable representing sources of support, suggests that support from faculty, family, and friends is positively, but weakly, correlated with expectations to enroll in graduate school ( $b = .02$ ,  $p \leq .01$ ).

**Table 2: Unstandardized Coefficients (Standard Errors) Regressing Expectation to Attend Graduate School on Demographic, Work, and Sense of Belonging Variables**

	Model 1 b (SE)	Model 2 b (SE)	Model 3 b (SE)
Male	-0.11* (0.05)	-0.11* (0.05)	-0.05 (0.05)
<b><i>Race/Ethnicity</i></b> (Asian/Pacific Island reference)			
Black	0.11 (0.06)	0.09 (0.06)	0.02 (0.06)
Latin@	-0.10 (0.06)	-0.07 (0.06)	-0.11 (0.06)
American Indian	-0.23* (0.11)	-0.23* (0.11)	-0.28** (0.11)
<b><i>Generation and Recipient status</i></b> (Non first-generation non-recipient reference)			
First-generation recipient		-0.03 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.06)
First-generation non-recipient		-0.23** (0.09)	-0.23** (0.09)
Non first-generation recipient		0.09 (0.06)	0.07 (0.06)
<b><i>Work Hours</i></b>			-0.00 (0.00)
<b><i>Support systems</i></b>			
School Support			0.19** (0.06)
Racial group support			0.10*** (0.03)
Sources of support			0.02** (0.01)
<b><i>Social Discrimination</i></b>			0.04 (0.03)
<b><i>Correct College Choice</i></b>			0.06 (0.10)
<b>Constant</b>	3.59*** (0.04)	3.58*** (0.05)	2.78*** (0.18)
<b>R<sup>2</sup></b>	0.02	0.04	0.08
<b>F-value</b>	5.61***	5.08***	6.16***

\* p<.05, \*\*p<.01, \*\*\*p<.001 (N=1,108)

## Discussion

First-generation GMS recipients were not significantly more likely to expect to go to graduate school than non first-generation non-recipients. However, students who are first-generation and are not GMS recipients are significantly *less* likely to expect to go to graduate school. Although being a recipient does not appear to boost the likelihood of attending graduate school for first-generation students, it can abate lower educational expectations such as those experiences by first-generation non-recipients.

American Indian students are less likely than Asian/Pacific Islander students to expect to attend graduate school even when controlling for number of hours worked, sources of support, and social discrimination. Research suggests that colleges and universities are ill prepared to accommodate American Indian students' needs, which might explain this difference (Guillory et al., 2008). According to Guillory (2008), postsecondary institutions should focus their efforts both on providing financial support to American Indian students, as well as on-campus social support to bridge higher education institutions with American Indian tribal communities and culture.

This study aimed to identify the effects of financial aid stability on first-generation GMS recipients to deduce the scholarship's ability to lessen financial burden for students. Overall, there were no significant findings to indicate that students who have a job and work more hours are less likely to expect to go to graduate school. This suggests the number of hours worked does not alter aspirations to go to graduate school. Hours worked was not related to expectations to go to graduate school when

controlling for sense of belonging, suggesting that missed opportunities, rather than the act of working itself, is more important.

Students who receive school support are significantly more likely to expect to go to graduate school. Kuh, Kinzie, Schuh, & Whitt (2011) assert that supportive campus environments are one of the educational practices that promote success in college. They found that students perform better in college environments that cultivate positive working and social relations between different groups on campus. Some of the benefits include positive academic outcomes; assistance managing personal responsibilities; and the formation of relationships with peers, staff, and faculty (Kuh, Kinzie, Schuh & Whitt, 2011). Campus support can take many forms such as initiatives and policies geared towards campus inclusivity and diversity, programs designed to assist underrepresented groups, multicultural campus organizations, and a welcoming campus environment.

Sources of support such as familial bonds, friendships, and faculty assistance can also bolster expectations to go to graduate school. Thomas (2012) found that social integration has a positive effect on student persistence. Students in this study cited support from family and friends as motivating factors to remain in school. On the other hand, students who have trouble forming peer networks are more likely to withdraw from school (Thomas, 2012). Social integration and sense of belonging are strong predictors of student achievement and expectations to continue their education.

Racial-group support repeatedly corresponds to expectations to go to college as it has been correlated with feelings of self-worth and may be a predictor of educational aspirations for students who feel competent in their abilities (Gummadam et al.,



2016). Representation of students and faculty of color in higher education may positively impact student performance by encouraging diversity and sense of belonging. Smith (2015) posits that identity and diversity are deeply interconnected and you cannot have one without the other. Diversity takes on many forms such as differing points of view, phenotypical traits, background, culture, language, race/ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, gender identity, and (dis)ability (Smith, 2015). Recognizing the saliency of intersectionality is crucial in viewing identity as individual phenomena, but also a social one (Smith, 2015). When an individual's identity does not align with the cultural identity of an institution, the individual is made to feel invisible and could experience culture shock as a result of this isolation (Smith, 2015). In fact, this study suggests that those students who feel supported by racial/ethnic groups are more likely to achieve academically and aspire to further their education.

## **Conclusion**

Having the resources to pay for college is a privilege many students do not have. Receiving assistance such as the Gates Millennium Scholarship can be one opportunity for many underrepresented students to enroll in college and even pursue a graduate degree. Beyond the benefits from receiving financial assistance, this study points to several other factors that aid students in their quest for higher education. First, groups that are underrepresented in higher education (i.e. first-generation students and American Indian students) need networks of support to accommodate their multidimensional needs. These groups of marginalized students require a holistic approach to address their intersectionality as students from diverse social, psychological, emotional, cultural, economic, and physical backgrounds. Second, school support promotes higher educational expectations and thus

postsecondary institutions should focus on bridging the gap between resources and students. Having access to academic, financial, health-related, and social resources can foster greater academic outcomes for students. Third, support from peers, family, and faculty tend to encourage higher education expectations among students. Students who feel supported in their undergraduate careers by their own racial groups, families, and faculty are more likely to expect to continue their educational trajectories into graduate school. This finding is particularly important for scholarships and programs that offer financial awards. The Gates Millennium Scholars program does a good job at providing students with financial support to pay for college, however this research points to the need of retention-based programs offering financial support in addition to academic, emotional, and social support. Providing students with financial resources to pay for college is paramount, but providing students with the tools necessary to navigate the higher education landscape is also important.

## **Study Limitations and Future Research**

This study included a sample entirely based on high-performing, racially underrepresented scholars from low-income backgrounds, and thus we cannot speculate as to whether these findings can be generalized to larger populations. Similarly, the Gates Millennium Scholarship has different eligibility requirements than most scholarships that grant awards to students based on merit or socioeconomic status alone. This group of high-achieving students (both GMS recipients and non-recipients) is likely to have applied to other scholarships and may have access to other sources of financial support, which may limit the generalizability of the findings of this study. Expectations to go to graduate school were relatively high in the sample and measured as

an indicator of academic success. However, expectations to go to graduate school do not equate to financial stability and guarantee success. Moreover, GMS scholars may have higher graduate school expectations because they receive sources of support by being in the program. I did not differentiate between the levels of graduate school education students expect to attain (i.e. Masters, PhD, or professional programs), each of which can generate a range of career and vocational outcomes. Lastly, although my model is statistically significant, it only explains seven percent of students' variability in expectations to go to graduate school, leaving a lot that is not being captured.

Future research might examine the effectiveness of programs geared to increase college persistence for first-generation underrepresented students. How do these programs offer well-rounded support for student's financial, academic, and social needs? While students indicated that sources of support (academic, personal, social) motivate them to pursue graduate school, little is known about the role of financial scholarships in providing students with comprehensive assistance to encourage retention and graduate degree attainment beyond monetary compensation.

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# **HIV Risks among Men Living in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Medical History, Sexual Behavior, & Attitude**

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## **Abstract**

*High-risk sexual behavior among men is a major concern to health educators, community health workers, and health policy officials throughout the world. Previous studies have demonstrated that medical history, sexual behavior, and attitudes regarding gay identity are strong determinants of high-risk behaviors. The aim of this study is to assess levels of HIV risk among men residing in Rio de Janeiro and examine how medical history, sexual behavior, and attitude correlate with HIV-status. Through a cross-sectional approach, data were collected between June 2014 and September 2015. Three hundred forty six participants completed an online survey in Portuguese. The study population included men residing in Rio de Janeiro, 18 or older, who had sex with other men in the last 6 months, and understood Portuguese. Microsoft Excel and SPSS 20 were used to analyze the data.*

*Results demonstrate that despite important advances in controlling the HIV/AIDS epidemic, among marginalized populations, such as men having sex with men (MSM), sex workers, and drug users, much remains to be done. When examining STDs and HIV-positive*

*men, individuals with chlamydia and syphilis had the highest percentage of STDs and HIV-positive status. For sexual behavior, participants who were involved in sex work or were forced to have sex had the highest HIV-positive rates. In the drug use category, injection drug users (IDUs), cocaine and ecstasy users had the highest HIV-positive rates. Lastly, our study showed that stigma against members of the gay community in Rio de Janeiro remains prevalent. Stigma and discrimination can influence the growth of HIV epidemic because stigmatized people have a harder time accessing care. The findings suggest the need to focus on multi-directional and complex interrelationships between behavior and sexual risks. Furthermore, it suggests the need to enhance preventative, educational, and communication programs targeted to the populations most at risk of HIV infection.*

## Introduction

The HIV/AIDS epidemic is a major public health challenge worldwide. AIDS emerged in Brazil in 1981 as a mysterious disease first affecting gay men. It was associated with heavy stigma and discrimination; many people living with HIV were turned away from care services, lost their jobs, and were abandoned by their families (Galvão, 2000, cited in Nunn *et al.*, 2012). In 1988, Brazil had the second highest number of reported AIDS cases in the world, second only to the USA (Jornal do Brasil 1988, as cited in Nunn *et al.*, 2012). In 1986, access to HIV/AIDS treatment was established as a legal right and Brazil became the first developing country to guarantee free and universal access to Highly Active Antiretroviral Therapy (HAART) (Meiners, 2011). The introduction of HAART was crucial in reducing HIV rates and changed the illness from a fatal to a chronic condition (Silva Torres *et al.*, 2013). In 2002, UNAIDS and the Brazilian Ministry of Health estimated there were 610,000 Brazilians living with HIV/AIDS at the end of 2001, with adult prevalence at 0.7 percent. This estimate is subject to considerable variation, however, as HIV infection, unlike AIDS, is not a reportable condition in Brazil (Bacon *et al.*, 2004). In 2015, UNAIDS estimated that 830,000 Brazilians were living with HIV/AIDS. Despite preventative measures widely available to reduce the spread of HIV infection and other sexually transmitted infections (STIs) among men who have sex with men (MSM), this population continues to be disproportionately affected by HIV in countries with low Gross Domestic Product (GDP), (Brito *et al.*, 2015).

Brazil is a middle-income nation with a per capita GDP of US \$3,230. With a population of approximately 170 million inhabitants, one of the main characteristics of the country is its huge geographic size (Bastos *et al.*, 2002). Of the people living

with HIV in Latin America Brazil has the largest share, with 47% of the total partially due to its large population in comparison to other Latin American Countries (AVERT). In mid-2003, Brazil had 176.5 million inhabitants- the world's fifth largest population- living in an area of 8.5 million km<sup>2</sup> (AVERT). Brazil consists of white, black, mulattos and an indigenous population. Forty five percent of the population is descended from West African Slaves brought to the country between the mid-17<sup>th</sup> and late 19<sup>th</sup> centuries to work on sugar plantations and in gold mines. Despite distinct ethnic origins, the large amount of intermarriage has given modern Brazil a highly blended society and popular culture (Bacon et al., 2004). Rio is important to look at because it is located in the southeast part of Brazil, which accounts for 56% of HIV cases in the region (AVERT). Overall, it is evident that the numbers of individuals contracting HIV is increasing despite access to treatment, and that there is an underreporting of HIV status. Data is still lacking to understand specifically, why Brazil still has a high percentage of gay men living with HIV.

## **Review of the Literature**

Understanding the origins of HIV in Brazil and its diverse population is significant because data reveal that the HIV epidemic is concentrated among a few key populations in the nation. In 1981, HIV in Brazil was largely restricted to people living in major urban centers, men who have sex with men (MSM), and people who received blood transfusions (Singer et al., 2011). The risk of infection remains high among MSM worldwide, people who inject drugs (IDUs), commercial sex workers, young men, and those who have a high number of sexual partners (Kerr et al., 2013; Ferreira et al., 2006; Cunha et al., 2014; Avert, 2016). Factors that have been associated with sexual risk behavior among HIV-positive MSM have been the most comprehensively studied and include



complex interactions among several variables, including use of alcohol and drugs, inconsistent disclosure of HIV serostatus to sex partners, perceived responsibility to protect partners from HIV infection and beliefs about transmission (Siquiera et al., 2013). Due to these complex interactions, there have been studies done on medical history, sexual behavior, and sexual discrimination.

### ***Medical History/Sexual Behavior***

The articles I reviewed combine medical history, which may include sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), and sexual behavior, which may include drug use. Cunha, Bastos, and Singer have examined the correlation between drug use and HIV. Mesquita et al. (2003) mentions that the federal STD/AIDS Control Program estimated that ~25% of AIDS cases in Brazil were directly or indirectly related to IDUs. In fact, several countries have witnessed a high incidence of HIV infection and other STDs among MSM especially among young gay men (Ferreira et al., 2006).

Cunha et al. (2014) conducted a cross-sectional research study with MSM men living with HIV in Rio de Janeiro. Due to the lack of data on Brazilian MSM, the aim of the study was to evaluate the prevalence and factors associated with unprotected anal intercourse (UAI) among HIV-infected, MSM, who had sex with seronegative or male partners with unknown status. Findings demonstrated that other interventions are needed as additional prevention tools for vulnerable MSM. The main factors associated with UAI were a lifetime history of violence, participation in the commercial sex trade and the number of male sexual partners.

Similarly, Bertoni et al. (2011) found that drug users, according to studies conducted both in Brazil and in several other

countries, primarily belong to the poorest social strata and are less educated compared to the general population. Singer et al. also agrees that HIV/AIDS continues to spread among drug users in Brazil, and the “HIV/AIDS epidemic remains a grave public health problem particularly for poor and marginalized populations” (2010). In other words, research shows that HIV affects the most vulnerable populations: the poor, the less educated, and gay men. Drug trafficking, organized crime and violence are intertwined in Brazil, which does not produce cocaine or opium, but is often used as a transit point from neighboring cocaine-producing countries (Colombia, Peru) to the U.S and Europe (Bacon et al., 2004). Findings show that the AIDS epidemic in Brazil among IDUs is basically fuelled by the injection of cocaine. Cocaine trafficking, cocaine consumption, frequent risky sexual behaviors, and the spread of HIV and other blood-borne and STI infections became the hallmark of the Brazilian southern coastal sub-epidemics in the late 1990s (Singer et al., 2010).

Bastos et al. (2002) add that different factors can influence IDU vulnerability to HIV/AIDS once cocaine is made available in a given place at affordable prices, including the absence of preventative programs, harsh drug policies, social marginalization and stigmatization of drug users. Some reports have shown that cocaine trafficking is a nation-wide phenomenon. This is significant because IDUs frequently engage in high-risk sexual practices and increase the expansion of AIDS (Bastos et al., 2002). Findings point to an increased level of HIV infection vulnerability among drug users compared to the general Brazilian population as found in population-based surveys, compounded by the high frequency of risk behaviors among drug users.

Among drug users, fear of learning one’s HIV status remains strong and appears to contribute to both avoidance of HIV

testing and failure to return to a test center to receive HIV test results (Singer et al., 2010). These factors have been reported as underlying this apprehension of learning one is infected and fear of being stigmatized as an infected individual. Singer et al. (2010) conducted a qualitative study to understand HIV testing among drug users. Their findings demonstrate that Rio de Janeiro drug users tend to reflect beliefs of the Brazilian population as a whole. They have both accurate understandings and misconceptions regarding HIV transmission routes. In 1992, Kraft states that there were enduring misconceptions about HIV, which often are the consequence of a number of factors, including lack of exposure to correct information and lack of confidence in health authorities, as well as continued stigmatization of the disease (Cited in Singer et al., 2010). His theory seems to remain correct in 2016.

### ***Attitude/Sexual Discrimination/Stigma***

Increasing evidence suggests that men's collective and individual attitudes about gender norms as well as the social reproduction of these norms in institutions and cultural practices are directly related to many of men's behaviors, with health implications for themselves and their partners. Pulerwitz and Barker's theory highlights how certain models of manhood or masculinity are promoted in specific cultural settings and that individual behavior will vary according to how much a man adheres to these norms. Norms can evolve or change over time as individuals and groups reconstruct them. Furthermore, this framework recognizes gender as based in power relations and as relational or created and reinforced through ongoing interactions between men and women. Various publications describe how attitude and behaviors stemming from inequitable gender norms play an important role in sexual relationships and sexual

reproductive health and risk, such as risk of HIV/STIs and violence (Pulerwitz and Barker, 2008).

Despite global efforts to reduce and eliminate AIDS-related stigma and discrimination (UNAIDS, 2002a), stigma continues to be extremely common around the world with an increasing number of countries reporting discrimination against people living with HIV (Sayles et al., 2009). Researchers have argued that AIDS-related stigma and discrimination substantially interfere with prevention efforts and discourage people from safe sex practices, care seeking behavior, or finding diagnosis. Stigma also compromises the quality of care provided to people living with HIV, their partners, and communities (Brown et al., 2003; Herek et al., 1998; Abadia-Barrero and Castro, 2006). The social construction of AIDS-related stigma has been nurtured by historical components including social fear, ignorance, anxiety, lack of knowledge, denial, shame, taboo, racism, xenophobia, homophobia and moral judgments (Malcolm et al., 1998; UNAIDS, 2002a) and by misleading metaphors like death, punishment, crime, war, horror, otherness, and shame (Sontag, 1990; Abadia-Barrero and Castro, 2006). Abadia-Barrero and Castro (2006) argue that the association between AIDS-related stigma and power differentials is enabled by structural inequality. This is significant because there are only a few studies that have examined the association of stigma with multiple components of HIV care simultaneously including access to care, regular HIV care, and adherence to treatment (Sayles et al., 2009).

Despite the relevance of the interrelationship between injecting drug use, same-sex sexual relations and stigma in different contexts, research on the issue in Brazil is scarce. Studies have demonstrated that in Brazil, the Ministry of Health has promoted wide ranging media campaigns recommending condom

use, yet the epidemic has progressed despite these campaigns (Trajman et al., 2003). There have also been various prevention strategies directed at drug users in Brazil, including syringe exchange, HIV testing and counseling, and prevention outreach. It appears that researchers have been studying sexual behavior and HIV or stigma and HIV, bi-directionally and not multi-directionally. This includes examining sexual behavior, stigma and HIV together.

Considering the complex relationship between medical history, sexual behavior, and stigma, this study suggests the need to focus on the multi-directional and complex interrelationships between medical history, sexual behavior and stigma to evaluate the correlation of HIV-status among men living in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The objective research is to assess HIV risk among men residing in Rio, 2014-2015, to examine the correlation between STDs, drug use, and gender identity attitudes, and offer a multi-directional view of these complex interrelationships.

## **Research Question**

HIV/AIDS is a public health issue, but we would also like to focus on the human rights and social justice aspect. By examining previous literature, we can hypothesize that marginalized populations will remain disproportionately affected by the HIV epidemic. In a previous study, we looked at 346 participants, 48 of which were HIV-positive. We focused on age, sexual orientation and race and we were able to assess that participants who are 18-25, identify as homosexual, and are mulatto are more vulnerable to HIV/AIDS. While reviewing the literature for the present study, we asked a central question: How do medical, sexual behaviors and experiences of discrimination correlate with HIV-status among men living in Rio de Janeiro,

Brazil? We expect some STDs in the medical history category to stand out more than others. For example, we expect to find chlamydia, which may not cause symptoms. For sexual behavior, we predict that sex workers and cocaine users will have high HIV positive rates because these populations have been repeatedly classified as vulnerable communities. Lastly, we predict that stigma against HIV and stigma against gay communities will remain prevalent and important to HIV-status.

## **Methodology**

### ***Study Design***

The data in this study were obtained from a cross-sectional survey conducted in Rio de Janeiro from June 2014 to September 2015. The study collected information on various characteristics of men having sex with men (MSM) to explore and evaluate risky behaviors. A total of 346 MSM participated in this study. Given the nature of MSM in Brazil, participants were recruited in local MSM groups, such as Grupo Arco-Iris, Grupo Pela Vidda and Estratégia de Saúde da Família da Lapa and through local and media advertisements. The study included an online survey called SurveyGizmo, pre- and post-test counseling, as well as an HIV test. The sample of participants attended an on-site center, took an administered online survey with computers provided, and had the option to get HIV tested.

### ***Study Participants***

This study is a part of a larger research project on men reporting male-male sex. The participants were both HIV-infected and non-infected. Men were eligible to participate if they were 18 years old or older, resided in Rio de Janeiro, had sex with other

men in the last 6 months, understood Portuguese, accepted conditions of the study and wanted to get tested for HIV. No refusals were recorded. Participants were compensated for their efforts, receiving a modest sum for travel and snack.

## ***Measures***

The online survey consisted of ninety-one structured questions in Portuguese regarding demographics, medical history, HIV testing history, sexual behavior, experiences of discrimination, attitude regarding sexual orientation, medication, miscegenation of sexual relations, and HIV-status. Prior to this study, I examined socio-demographic variables including age, sexual orientation, race and education. Findings demonstrated no significant statistical difference between participants who were HIV-negative and HIV-positive in terms of age, sexual orientation, race and education. However we were able to determine that young, mulatto and homosexual men have a higher HIV incidence.

For this specific study, we only look at variables under medical history including STDs, sexual behavior including drug use, and attitudes including the stigmatization of gender identity. In the medical history category we explore the correlation between STDs (syphilis, gonorrhea, and chlamydia) and HIV. To analyze sexual behavior we focus on sex work, forced sex, drug use (IDUs, marijuana, cocaine, crack, LSD, tranquilizers, and ecstasy). In the third category we examine attitude regarding gender identity. For example, some questions asked respondents if they could change their sexual orientation, would they or if they felt comfortable identifying as a homosexual man. All categories took into account HIV status.

## ***Data Analysis***

Descriptive, univariate, bivariate and multivariate statistical analyses were performed to examine the relationship between HIV-status, medical history, sexual behavior and attitude. We analyzed the data using Microsoft Excel and SPSS software version 20. The study protocol and questionnaire was reviewed and approved by the Oswaldo Cruz Foundation (FIOCRUZ) Institutional Review Board (IRB) and complied with Brazilian and international guidelines. All study participants signed an informed consent form.

## **Research Findings**

All of our findings are organized in tables and separated by category: demographics, medical history, sexual behaviors and attitude. A total of 346 male participants completed the online survey. **Table 1** highlights the demographic characteristics of the participants. The majority of the participants, 298, were HIV-negative while 48 of them were HIV-positive. The age section was divided into three categories: 18-25, 26-30, and over 31. The largest and highest HIV-positive rates were found among those who are 18-25 (39.6%) and those who are over 31 (39.6%). The sexual orientation section was divided into homosexual, bisexual, transsexual, travesti, and heterosexual. Homosexuals made up the largest category of HIV-positive with a 17.1% (40). Race was divided into white, black, mulatto, and other. Mulattos were the largest and had the highest HIV-positive results.



**Table 1. Characteristics of participants with HIV-status**

	Total (n=346)	HIV Negative (n=298)	HIV Positive (n=48)
<b>Age</b>			
18-25 years	37.6%(127)	37.4%(108)	39.6%(19)
26-30 years	22.3%(75)	22.5%(65)	20.8%(10)
Over 31 years	40.1(135)	40.1%(116)	39.6%(19)
<b>Sexual Orientation</b>			
Homosexual	70.9%(234)	82.9%(194)	17.1%(40)
Bisexual	17.3%(57)	96.5%(55)	3.5%(2)
Transsexual	1.8%(6)	83.3%(5)	16.7%(1)
Travesti	3.6%(12)	83.3%(10)	16.7%(2)
Heterosexual	0.9%(3)	100%(3)	0%(0)
<b>Race</b>			
White	34.7%(117)	34.9%(101)	33.3%(16)
Black	20.2%(68)	20.1%(58)	20.8%(10)
Mulatto	41.8%(141)	41.2%(119)	45.8%(22)
Other	3.3%(11)	3.8%(11)	0%(0)

***Medical History***

We examined the relationship between sexually transmitted diseases and HIV-status, specifically focusing on syphilis, gonorrhea, chlamydia, and other. **Table 2** highlights the sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) with HIV-Status. Altogether, most of the participants were HIV-negative. We found that men who have a medical history of chlamydia (25%) or syphilis (24%) had the highest HIV-positive rates.

**Table 2. Sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) with HIV-status**

	HIV-Negative	HIV-Positive	Total
Syphilis	75.9% (41)	24.1% (13)	100% (54)
Gonorrhea	80.0% (32)	20.0% (8)	100% (40)
Chlamydia	75.0% (3)	25.0% (1)	100% (4)
Other	83.7% (41)	16.3% (8)	100% (49)

*Sexual Behavior and Drug Use*

Tables 3 and 4 provide descriptive analyses on sexual behavior and drug use. Participants who received money for sex/sex work had the highest HIV-positive percent, 25%. Second were those who are forced to have sex/ raped, 22%.

**Table 3. Sexual behavior with HIV-status**

	HIV-Negative	HIV-Positive	Total
Paid to have sex	84.6 % (22)	15.4% (4)	100% (26)
Received \$ for sex	75.0% (24)	25.0% (8)	100% (32)
Sex under the influence	86.5% (96)	13.5% (15)	100% (111)
Forced to have sex	77.8% (7)	22.2% (2)	100% (9)

In relation to drug use variables, we found that men who used cocaine (24%), injected drugs (20%), and used ecstasy (20%) had the highest HIV-positive rates.

**Table 4. Drug use with HIV-status**

	HIV-Negative	HIV-Positive	Total
<b>IDUs</b>	80% (4)	20% (1)	100% (5)
<b>Marijuana</b>	88% (98)	12% (13)	100% (111)
<b>Cocaine</b>	76% (26)	24% (8)	100% (34)
<b>Crack</b>	83% (5)	17% (1)	100% (6)
<b>LSD</b>	91% (21)	9% (2)	100% (23)
<b>Tranquilizers</b>	83% (20)	17% (4)	100% (24)
<b>Ecstasy</b>	80% (12)	20% (3)	100% (15)

### *Attitude*

In this section, only HIV-positive participants are examined. **Table 5** provides answers to seven attitude questions. Results show that 19% of HIV-positive participants would change their sexual orientation if they could, and 21% of participants do not feel comfortable being a homosexual man. More than 50% do not think homosexuality is as natural as heterosexuality. Socially, while the men vary in their degree of comfort with their sexual orientation, close to 50% indicate that they do not feel comfortable being in gay bars. More than half report that social situations with gay men make them uncomfortable and 22% lightly agree that they feel comfortable discussing homosexuality in a public situation. Less than half (only 45%) report feeling comfortable being seen in public with an obvious gay person.

**Table 5. Gay identity with HIV-positive status**

	<b>Wouldn't change sex orientation</b>	<b>Comfort. Being homosexual</b>	<b>Homosexual is natural as heterosexual</b>	<b>Comfort. in gay bars</b>	<b>Social with gay men is uncomfort.</b>	<b>Comfort. discussing homosexuality publ.</b>	<b>Comfo publi with g perso</b>
otally sagree	<b>19%</b>	9%	24%	6%	11%	16%	13%
oderate. sagree	4%	<b>21%</b>	<b>28%</b>	20%	15%	15%	10%
ightly sagree	15%	18%	13%	<b>27%</b>	15%	6%	35%
ightly Agree	7%	10%	23%	13%	19%	<b>22%</b>	<b>23%</b>
oderate. Agree	12%	13%	13%	16%	<b>23%</b>	16%	10%
otally Agree	14%	15%	11%	14%	14%	11%	11%

## Discussion

Our results demonstrate that despite important advances to control the HIV epidemic among marginalized populations such as MSM, sex workers, and drug users, much remains to be done. This study addresses the correlation of medical history, sexual behavior, attitude, and HIV status. Our hypothesis was proven correct; the HIV epidemic disproportionately affects marginalized populations. The study shows that those who have a medical history of chlamydia and syphilis have high HIV-positive rates. In other words, they have been exposed to STDs and in addition they have also contracted HIV. Furthermore, results show that participants who said they received money for sex work or were forced to have sex had the highest HIV positive rates. This demonstrates that sex workers remain a vulnerable population and shines a light on gay men who are raped and as a result get infected with HIV. The highest HIV-positive rates occurred among men using cocaine,

IDUs, and ecstasy. This is possibly due to availability, accessibility, and cost. Brazil is the 2<sup>nd</sup> largest consumer of cocaine in the world, behind the United States. Research on Brazil has found that IDUs frequently engage in high-risk sexual practices and increase the expansion of AIDS (Bastos et al., 2002). Furthermore, Bastos et al., argue that IDUs are fueled by the injection of cocaine; thus, it is not surprising that cocaine users and IDUs had the highest HIV positive rates. In this study, ecstasy is an example of an illicit drug. Recent data associates new infections in MSM with unsafe sexual practices (Ferreira et al., 2006), and this could contribute to high HIV positive-rates.

Lastly, we predicted that stigma against gay communities was prevalent and this was proven correct. Results show that not only do gay men experience discrimination, but a very high proportion also perceive themselves as unnatural for identifying as homosexual. Stigma was significantly associated with poor access to care. It also is associated with a lack of comfort in identifying with other men who have sex with men and in socializing with them.

It is important to consider medical history, sexual behavior, and attitudes regarding gender identity with a multi-directional perspective to better understand the complex interrelationships of HIV. For instance, a gay person may have been raped or exposed when involved in sex work; not only may they have a sexually transmitted disease but they may be also infected with HIV. Due to experiences of discrimination regarding their sexual orientation and the stigmatization associated with HIV, they do not avail themselves of the proper help they need despite it being readily available and a legal right in Brazil.

## **Study Limitations**

Despite the relevance of our findings and the implications for prevention, education and communication programs, some limitations must be mentioned. There was a small population size of HIV-positive participants (48); thus, our findings do not accurately represent the HIV positive population or the LGBTQ population. Furthermore, this was a cross-sectional study; therefore, while the variables analyzed medical history, sexual behavior and attitude, it was not possible for us to establish causation. Although HIV testing was provided, HIV testing decisions involve other issues for MSM, such as fear of rejection, quality of counseling and internalized homophobia. Moreover, the survey was conducted online and there could have been errors transferring the data or participants may have experienced difficulty completing the survey. Nevertheless, our results offer insights on HIV infected marginalized communities in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

## **Conclusion**

This study offers directions to enhance preventative, educational, and communication programs targeted to the populations most at risk of HIV infection: MSM, sex workers, and drug users. It also helps clarify that the marginalization of populations is not just a public health issue but also a human rights and social justice issue because it affects individuals based on sexuality, gender, race, income and education. It is extremely important to acknowledge that HIV is also not solely a public health issue, and understand that medical history, sexual behavior, and attitude are not independent of HIV-status. Often times they may work as a cycle including all three factors or simply just one. Given the persistence of these factors, findings indicate a pressing

need for studies to support targeted interventions for Brazilian men. Data on prevalence and associated factors among Brazilian MSM are scarce, which limits the effectiveness of public policies designed to decrease HIV infection in this population. Additionally, those programs that are in place need to be scaled up and improved to fit the populations at higher risk of HIV.

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underrepresented students and how well institutions promote success and sense of belonging. Patricia received training in quantitative methodologies from the Inter-university consortium for political and social research (ICPSR) in the summer of 2016. Additionally, she worked under the guidance of Dr. Rebeca Mireles-Rios in her research project focusing on the networks of support that guide high school students to pursue higher education. Patricia will be attending UCLA in the fall of 2017 to pursue a Ph.D. in Higher Education and Organizational Change. Direct correspondence to: [pmarti@g.ucla.edu](mailto:pmarti@g.ucla.edu).



**Andrea Mora** graduated with Honors from the University of California, Santa Barbara in June 2017 with a Bachelor of Arts in Psychology and a minor in Applied Psychology. Her research interests include the utilization of academic, financial, and psychological services among underrepresented populations, particularly Latino/a families. She is committed to addressing the societal and systemic barriers

that underserved populations face when accessing needed services.

She plans to continue to pursue this work during her graduate program. Andrea will begin a joint PhD program in Social Work & Developmental Psychology at the University of Michigan Ann Arbor in fall 2017. Direct correspondence to: [asmora@umich.edu](mailto:asmora@umich.edu)



**Marina Quintanilla** will graduate June 2017, with a double major in Global Studies and Feminist Studies from the University of California, Santa Barbara. Under the guidance of Dr. Laury Oaks, she has explored HIV/AIDS in Santa Barbara. Additionally, Dr. André R.S Perissé served as Marina's mentor in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil during the summer 2015, where they examined HIV/AIDS risks and behavior among men

who have sex with men. Her primary research interests focus on health disparities at the community and global level, HIV/AIDS prevention, global sexual and reproductive health, Latino/a health, and the intersection of these issues. After graduation, Marina plans to study abroad in the Dominican Republic and start a Master's of Public Health program in Community Health Sciences at UCLA, fall of 2017. Direct correspondence to: [marina7864@gmail.com](mailto:marina7864@gmail.com)



**Ronald E. McNair** was born on October 12, 1950, in Lake City, South Carolina. Son of an auto mechanic and a high school teacher, McNair attended the local high school, graduating as class valedictorian. He went on to earn a bachelor's degree, magna cum laude, in Physics, from North Carolina A & T University in 1971 where he was named a Ford Foundation Fellow and a Presidential Scholar. McNair met a goal that he had set in high school to

complete his PhD within 10 years. Five years after graduating from college, he received his doctorate in Physics from M.I.T.

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 crashed 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 scholars follow Dr. Ronald E. McNair's path of scholarship and service.



Situated on a bluff overlooking the Pacific Ocean, UCSB is blessed with one of the most beautiful academic settings in the country. The picture-perfect locale, combined with Santa Barbara's mild Mediterranean climate, and a general commitment to a healthy and an active, outdoor lifestyle, makes it an ideal spot for alternative modes of transportation. The UCSB community takes advantage of the numerous paths and trails in and around the campus to bike from home to class, lab, library, and office. Over 10,000 people bicycle-commute between their home and UCSB on a daily basis. To make possible these daily commutes, the Associated Students Bike Shop, founded in 1974, is a student-funded non-profit organization dedicated to bike education, service, and safety for faculty, staff, and students. The cover photo features a colorful array of bikes in one of the many bicycle parking areas conveniently located around the campus. These are easily as popular as more traditional parking lots.

