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FROM THE VICE CHANCELLOR FOR RESEARCH  
AND GRADUATE DEAN

I am excited to introduce the combined fourth and fifth volume of Southern Illinois University's *McNair Scholars Journal*. This journal is the culmination of countless hours spent on developing a theoretical framework, collecting and compiling data, and evaluating results. Students and their faculty mentors worked tirelessly to complete their projects and in the process we hope that the students are inspired to continue their research. The works in this journal highlight this effort and represent the out-of-classroom experiences in which faculty and students are engaged across the campus.

This journal remains an example of the vision of so many who have helped shape undergraduate research here at SIUC. Drs. Karen Renzaglia, Pru Rice, and Julia Spears have been instrumental in expanding research opportunities to our students. Over the last 11 years, SIUC has developed as broad a portfolio of undergraduate research opportunities as can be found anywhere in the US, and the McNair Scholars Program is a crown jewel in this spectrum of undergraduate research programs.

We are fortunate to be in our seventh year with the McNair Scholars Program. Created to honor the memory of Ronald E. McNair, a physicist and astronaut, our faculty and program staff are committed to helping our students prepare for graduate studies and ultimately, become college and university professors. I am certain that after reading this journal you will find that our McNair Scholars are well on their way to achieving that vision.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "John A. Koropchack". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

John Koropchack

## FROM THE DIRECTOR

Working with the McNair Scholars Program, gives me the unique opportunity to observe motivated students participating in undergraduate research. I am delighted to present the third edition of the McNair Scholars Journal. This journal represents the scholarship of those students who participated in the SIUC 2008 or 2009 McNair Summer Research Institute (SRI).

The summer research institute is our capstone activity. It provides faculty mentors the opportunity to work closely with students engaged in an undergraduate research project. Students gain unique professional experiences that developed their self-efficacy and expose them to components within their discipline. Our mentors are the driving force behind our program. I am extremely grateful for their commitment and dedication to our students.

Also, I am appreciative of our graduate assistants who helped our scholars conceptualize their projects. They spent countless hours helping students navigate the research process. I also want to thank Elena Esquibel and Mickey Johnson for their diligence in compiling and editing this work. Lastly, I want to thank Rose Weisburd for her layout and production assistance. These are dedicated professionals who have embraced the McNair mission and steered this volume to print.

On behalf of the entire McNair staff, I hope that you enjoy reading the third edition of the SIUC McNair Scholars Journal.

Sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Rhetta Seymour". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

Rhetta Seymour

Interim Director

McNair Scholars Program

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McNAIR SCHOLARS JOURNAL  
Volume 4



# Understanding Binge Drinking Among Football Players at a Midwestern Division 1AA University

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## ABSTRACT

*Numerous studies have been conducted to determine why college students frequently consume high levels of alcohol and what health educators can do to address this issue. However, only a few studies have examined this issue within the athletic community. This qualitative study investigates the relationship between college football players and binge drinking. The participants consisted of 8 football players at a division 1AA Midwestern University. Each participant took part in an independent semi-structured interview protocol by answering a series of opened-ended questions followed by a few closed questions. The data was transcribed and the contents of the interviews were analyzed by coding common themes and making comparisons and contrast. The findings indicated that the athlete's higher rates of binge drinking were due to their isolated social environment.*

## LITERATURE REVIEW

The use and abuse of alcohol on college campuses is common. College students consume greater amounts of alcohol and more frequently than any other demographic in the United States (Mustaine, Tewksbury, and Higgins, 2008; Pilling and Brannon, 2007). This problem has become a major concern for public health officials at colleges and universities throughout the United States. Since alcohol is America's drug of choice, it may be difficult for people to accept the fact that alcohol abuse is a problem (Wechsler and Wuethrich, 2002). To make sense of this problem, scholars have defined varying levels of alcohol consumption.

Abstaining from alcohol consumption is defined as consuming no alcoholic beverages in the past year (Rodgers, Korten, Jorm, Christensen, Henderson, and Jacomb, 2000). Moderate drinking is defined as either a man's consumption of fourteen standard drinks in a single week or a woman's consumption of seven standard drinks in a single week (Rodgers, et al., 2000). One standard drink is equivalent to a 12-oz serving of beer, a 4-oz glass of wine, a 12-oz wine cooler, or a 1.25-oz shot of liquor (Wechsler, Lee, Kuo, Lee, 2000; Ford, 2007; Wechsler and Wuethrich, 2002). Heavy drinking is defined as either a man's consumption of up to 28 drinks per week or a woman's consumption of 14 drinks per week (Rodgers, et al., 2000). However, heavy episodic or binge drinking is defined as the consumption of five or more drinks in one sitting for men

or four or more drinks in one sitting for women (Nelson and Wechsler, 2001; Wechsler, et al., 2000).

Among the types of drinking described above, binge drinking is the main reason that college students suffer academically related consequences. Students that consume excessive amounts of alcohol experience a variety of academic problems such as missing class and falling behind in their school work (Mustaine, Tewksbury, and Higgins, 2008; Pilling and Brannon, 2007). Furthermore, research indicates that binge drinking can also lead to students having lower grade point averages and other negative implications on their academic performance in college (Pascarella, Tagliapietra-Nicoli, Goodman, Park, Seifert, and Whitt, 2007).

Other consequences that college students encounter as a result of binge drinking are intentional and unintentional injuries to themselves and others (Wechsler, et al., 2000). Consuming excessive amounts of alcohol leads to greater risks of injuries from falling, requiring medical treatment for overdose and being a victim of a crime (Nelson and Wechsler, 2001; Wechsler and Wuethrich, 2002; Wechsler, et al., 2000; Brenner and Swanik, 2007; Pilling and Brannon, 2007). In addition to causing mischief for themselves, binge drinkers are often responsible for non-binge drinkers experiencing penalties such as being physically abused, verbally insulted, or humiliated. Binge drinkers are also responsible for other students experiencing secondhand effects of their binge drinking (Wechsler, et al., 2000). Other secondhand effects can include being awakened at night, being interrupted while studying, having property damaged, experiencing unwanted sexual advances and having to take care of a drunken fellow student (Wechsler, et al., 2000; Wechsler and Wuethrich, 2002). Wechsler and Wuethrich (2002) reported that 3 out of 4 students have experienced at least one secondhand effect. Moreover binge drinking can lead to a variety of other consequences. In addition to the consequences that were previously mentioned, binge drinking can lead to increases in alcohol related arrest for driving under the influence, fighting, and vandalizing property (Pilling and Brannon, 2007).

Within the college community, fraternities consume the most alcohol of any other demographic (Wechsler, Kuo, and Lee, 2000). Henry Wechsler, the director of the Harvard School of Public Health, reported in his 1999 college alcohol study that only 23% of the general college student population were binge drinkers while 73% of fraternity members, 57% of sorority members, 58% of male athletes, and 47% of female athletes binge drink. However, research has shown that collegiate athletes have a higher rate of binge drinking compared to college students who are not involved in athletics, and athletes are significantly more likely to be exposed to alcohol education and prevention programs than the general student population (Ford, 2007; Brenner and Swanik, 2007). Studies have also shown that team sport athletes have a tendency to binge drink significantly more (84%) than individual

sport athletes (57%), with team leaders reporting higher levels of abuse than other team members (Ford, 2007; Brenner and Swanik, 2007).

Both athletes and fraternity members have stronger social connections than other college students. However, athletes have seasonal patterns of alcohol consumption, with individuals binge drinking more frequently during the off season of their sport (Ford, 2007; Pilling and Brannon, 2007; Brenner and Swanik, 2007; Wechsler, et al., 2000; Nelson and Wechsler, 2001). Athletes also have a tendency to be even more socially isolated from other students because they spend most of their time with their teammates (Ford, 2007). Therefore, their behaviors are not likely to be influenced by any other groups. Athletes, especially team sport athletes, are usually taught to think “team;” consequently, they feel more pressure to conform to the group norms.

Athletes are even more likely than the average binge drinker to participate in risky behaviors. They may, for example, do things that they may later regret, forget where they are, damage property, and fight with friends (Pilling and Brannon, 2007). Additionally, research has shown that athletes are more likely to be arrested than the general college student population (Leinfelt and Thompson 2004). Athletes have also reported higher rates of being involved in risky sexual activities like having a multiple sex partners, having unprotected sex, and being involved in sexual assault incidents (Pilling and Brannon, 2007; Brenner and Swanik, 2007; Chandler, Johnson and Carroll, 1999). Most of these risky behaviors usually lead to problems with the police. Some theorists hypothesize that the social environment explains the binge drinking problem and its consequences.

When college students are introduced to a new social environment, the social norms of that place are significant. The social norm theory explains why athletes’ and fraternities’ alcohol consumption levels and frequency of binge drinking are significantly higher as compared to the general college student population. The social norm theory suggests that common misperceptions about alcohol abuse encourage risky drinking behaviors that lead to an irrational attempt to conform to the perceived norms. The theory suggests that correcting the misperceptions will reduce participation in risky behaviors (Pilling and Brannon, 2007; Ford, 2007).

Athletes’ and non-athletes’ perceptions of alcohol use on college campuses are generally the same. Both groups tend to overestimate the abuse of alcohol on college campuses, estimating that the majority of college students are binge drinkers. A college alcohol study conducted by the Harvard School of Public Health contradicts their perceptions by reporting that only 23% of college students binge drink (Wechsler, et al., 2000). However, that 23% of students consumes 72% of all the

alcohol that college students drink (Wechsler and Wuethrich, 2002). One way to correct these skewed perceptions is through alcohol education.

Collegiate athletes are far more likely to be provided with alcohol education programs than non-athletes. Nearly 60% of colleges with athletic programs provided alcohol education for their athletes (Wechsler, Kelly, Weitzman, San Gioranni, and Seibring, 2000). Most colleges have only applied an educational approach to decrease binge drinking. Although education effectively improves knowledge, refusal skills, and awareness of the negative consequences, it has not been successful in decreasing binge drinking behaviors (Pilling and Brannon, 2007; Wechsler and Wuethrich, 2002). Prior studies suggest that collegiate athletes are significantly more likely to abstain or limit their alcohol intake if they believe it will be detrimental to their athletic performance (Ford, 2007; Nelson and Wechsler, 2001). However, it may be extremely difficult to convince athletes that alcohol use harms their athletic performance since the average 18-24 year old student believes that alcohol does not have any physical effect on them. Therefore, a well conditioned athlete's perceptions of physical harms from alcohol are unimaginable. The social norm theory suggests that there is a significant difference between college students' perceptions and actual norms of binge drinking on college campuses. There may actually be a significant difference between the perceived norms and actual norms. However, there is a very limited amount of research that addresses the legitimacy of the social norms theory in the athletic community. The current research study explores collegiate athletes' binge drinking behaviors by using qualitative methodologies. The findings in this study will assist health educators with their efforts to improve binge drinking behaviors among athletes.

## METHODS

Qualitative research is used to analyze the different circumstances of complex situations (Bogdan and Biklen, 2003). It is intended to identify a variety of explanations rather than limiting the results to a small number of generalizations (Bogdan and Biklen, 2003). Unlike quantitative studies, qualitative research can be used to provide in-depth explorations of the data that has been obtained. Qualitative research can also be used to validate or reinterpret data gathered from quantitative studies (Bogdan and Biklen, 2003). Methods used to conduct qualitative research may consist of case studies, multi-site studies, interviews, and focus groups (Bogdan and Biklen, 2003).

I chose to use a qualitative method because I wanted to use my status, as a fellow athlete, to get interpersonal descriptions about each athlete's drinking behavior. To understand the way athletes think about their

world, I needed to actually hear them talk and observe them (Bogdan and Biklen, 2003). This type of research also provides a better understanding of how people think about their lives, their experiences and particular situations. “Interviews are modeled after conversations between two trusting parties rather than on a formal question and answer session between a researcher and a respondent. It is only in this manner that an interviewer can capture what is important in the minds of the subjects themselves” (Bogdan and Biklen, 2003).

Interviews of eight athletes from a Midwestern university football team were used for this study. A series of opened-ended questions were used to get a better understanding of the participants’ attitudes, beliefs, and perceived norms toward college athletes’ drinking behaviors. The questions were intended to identify reasons why athletes frequently binge drink and what factors may contribute to their excessive consumption. The questions were also intended to find out if the social norms educational approach would provide an effective strategy for health educators to reduce athletes’ excessive drinking. Each interview took place in a private room and lasted an average of 25 minutes. The interviews were recorded and later transcribed. The transcriptions were then coded for common themes.

The participants were selected from a convenient sample of football players from a division 1AA Midwestern University team. The convenient sample was selected based on availability, year in school, and ethnicity. The subjects consisted of 2 freshmen, 2 sophomores, 2 juniors, and 2 seniors; and 1 white and 1 African-American representative from each class. There were no other races represented on this team, therefore only the previously mentioned racial groups were used for this study.

## RESULTS

The results of this qualitative study indicate that college football players consume excessive amounts of alcohol because of their isolated social environment. New players were more interested in fitting in with their teammates than they were with fitting into the larger campus community. Some directly admitted that they would feel left out if they were at a party and did not drink with the rest of their teammates. While describing a party that he previously attended, one player said,

“There were a couple kids that didn’t drink at the party and it just looked like they were feeling out of place. They just stood there and looked at the ground really bored because everybody else was having fun. They would just be in a corner or somehow they’ll find a way to get an x-box controller and play by themselves.”

Another player expressed the same feelings by indirectly admitting

that he felt left out. He talked about how things were before he started drinking alcohol. He thought that people looked at him as a typical jock who was cocky and arrogant. His peers would also say that he thought he was better than everyone else because he did not want to go out and drink with everyone else. Social networking seems to be very important to athletes because 6 out of 8 of them also said that alcohol has been beneficial to their social life. The same player that people saw as cocky and arrogant later said,

“It’s sad to say but when you go out and drink, you get more friends that way. People are more comfortable with you and I think that if you’re drinking they feel like you’re more of a fun person, or they can trust you. It’s kind of like when I was in high school, people just thought that I thought I was better than them because I wasn’t drinking. So if you go out then they just think that you’re one of them or whatever, and socially I think it helps a lot.”

Another indicator that athletes’ excessive alcohol consumption is due to their social environment is the fact that 6 out of the 8 subjects stated that they have never had a drink by themselves. The remaining 2 said that they drank by themselves at the most two times since they started drinking. Both times they were either extremely stressed or bored. Boredom was also frequently cited as a rationale for the athletes’ alcohol use. When asked about other fun activities that they could do, participants could not think of anything else to do other than go to a party or a bar. In both places, they are highly motivated to drink. However, all of the subjects were found to refrain from drinking if they were alone, even if they were bored. It appears to violate the norms of the athletic community to drink alone. In fact, one of participants had a facial expression suggesting that I insulted him by asking if he had ever had a drink by himself. He responded by saying,

“I aint never...it would feel too weird man. I could never drink by myself.”

This statement shows that the players have negative feelings toward drinking alone or away from a social environment. In addition to rarely ever drinking alone, 6 out of the 8 subjects also said that when they do drink, they drink to get drunk. All participants stated that the amount of alcohol they consume depends on the occasion. The bigger the party, the more they would drink. This information indicates that there is a positive correlation between the number of people that are around and the amount of alcohol they consume.

The results from this study also indicate that the social norms theory does provide a good explanation as to why athletes consume excessive amounts of alcohol. However, the social norms educational approach

would not be a good strategy for reducing their alcohol consumption. Results from the study show that there is not a significant difference between the athlete's perceptions and the actual norms of their drinking behaviors. Therefore, changing their perception would not reduce their alcohol consumption because they would still follow the norms of their environment, which is almost the same as their perceptions. In fact, from the information that I obtained from this study, it looks as if there were really no educational strategies or programs that could improve the athletes drinking behaviors because binge drinking is a norm within this community. It seemed as if they were going to drink in the same manner they had always been drinking unless they had a reason not to drink. The only reason not to drink was the same rationale given by every player which was football. All 8 of the football players that were interviewed were self motivated to either abstain or significantly lower their alcohol consumption if they thought it would be detrimental to their performance on the football field. Even the frequent binge drinkers took this very seriously. Each subject mentioned that their rare consumption of alcohol that occurred during the season usually took place after their games.

Players thought that the education and prevention programs they received in the past were ineffective for a number of reasons. First, they were only required to attend one or two seminars per year. All of the players interviewed (except the incoming freshmen) said that two seminars were not enough to have an effect on them. One player said

“I listened to them. I even thought about it for a moment, but two or three days later I forgot all about it. I think they should be held like once a month or something like that, you know, something on a regular basis, instead of once per semester, or one time out of a whole year.”

Another player, who was a senior, compared it to football and school, saying:

“It's just like school work, you go over it for a whole semester, then you have summer break and forget what you learned until it is brought back to you. Its no different from football either, you be off for a long period of time and forget what you went over until you come back and they reintroduce it to you.”

One player did not remember anything about the seminars that he attended. He only remembered going because he was upset that it was wasting his time. This shows that not enough is being done within the athletic community to address this matter.

Athletes also thought that the few seminars they attended were not very realistic. When asked to give some suggestions to minimize the athlete's alcohol consumption all of them suggested that they have speakers around their age come in to give some real life examples. One issue that

was frequently mentioned was that the speakers were not very realistic. When asked to give a suggestion to make the seminars more effective a junior football player said,

“I think that they should avoid the miracle stories about how . . . you know this is what I did and this is what happened to me, like that one girl who was like oh I drunk like 20 beers and I got into a car and I don’t have any arms anymore, because you know what, that’s probably not going to happen to most people. There is probably a .001% chance that something bad like that is going to happen.”

The players also thought that the idea of teaching abstinence was unrealistic. Therefore, it was meaningless for them to be lectured about it. They all concurred that there is nothing that could be done to make their teammates abstain from alcohol consumption.

The participants’ social environment was the only possible determinant of their consumption level. Demographics such as age, race, socioeconomic status and year in school did not have any significance in the athletes drinking behaviors.

## CONCLUSION

By conducting this study, I discovered that social isolation explains athletes’ excessive alcohol consumption. I also found that there was no significant difference between athletes’ perception of alcohol use and the actual norms within the athletic community.

Since all collegiate athletes binge drink significantly more than the general college student population, I recommend that further research be done to see if these results are accurate for other sports as well.

## DISCUSSION

There is no way to change a collegiate athlete’s social environment because of the time and commitment that is required to be successful. Therefore, reducing the frequency of binge drinking occurrences will be extremely difficult. While altering their social environment may be nearly impossible, changing the activities that the athletes participate in during their free time may not be as complicated. Since they consume the majority of their alcohol when they are bored or at social events, it may be a good idea for universities and their athletic programs to host more alternative alcohol free events. By doing this they would be providing the athletes with more options besides going to bars and parties.

Another suggestion to Athletic programs is to schedule athletic competitions later in the day. This would reduce the amount of time that they have to spend in the social environments that motivates them

to drink. Since most of the in-season partying takes place after the competitions, it may make sense to start the games one or two hours later so athletes will drink less. Reducing the amount of time that the athletes have to drink by just by one or two hours may significantly reduce the amount of binge drinking that occurs during the season. It may even discourage the athletes from going out at all because with it being later at night they are more fatigued. In addition, it may not be worth leaving the house because it may be too close to closing time by the time they get home and get ready to go to the bar. This may force them to stay home and drink which is good because even if they do binge drink at home they are far less likely to put themselves and others at risk from being hurt or injured as a result of their irresponsible drinking behaviors.

Teaching responsible drinking behaviors is also a good way to address the athletes' risky drinking behaviors. This is a strategy that would be beneficial for athletic departments, health educators, and parents to take part in. Six out of seven of the participants reported that they got drunk their first time drinking and had the time of their life doing it. As a result of them having the time of their life, they were inclined to strive for the same drunk feeling that they had during their first experience. These athletes don't know how it feels to have just two or three drinks because they never have. Therefore, they do not really understand that you do not have to get drunk to have fun and be sociable.

One player that did not get drunk his first time drinking has only binged once. He suffered a hangover the next morning and hated the feeling, so he has not binged since then. He was also 1 of the 2 athletes interviewed that has seen his parents, guardians or older siblings drink responsibly before he took his first drink. He has never seen his mother drink at all and his father would have one or two beers at cookouts or other special occasions. The other player behaved similarly; he did not see his mother drink at all and rarely saw his father have a beer or two. His father also took him out to have a beer before he left for college. The remaining 6 players that were interviewed had either seen their parents drunk or haven't seen them drink at all. The evidence suggests that the parents' and guardians' drinking behaviors may be a determinant for their siblings' future drinking behaviors. Parental guidance should be focused on demonstrating responsible drinking because binge drink is setting a bad example. Abstaining is not much better than allowing the siblings to see them drunk because it does not provide any example for the sibling to follow. Therefore, they have no choice, but to learn on their own by following their peers.

The social norms educational approach is a good way to address college binge drinking behaviors, but it has its limitations. Changing the athletes' perceptions would serve no purpose because the norms of the

social environment are to binge drink. This approach may be beneficial to the general student population, but it cannot be tailored to the athletic community.

As I mentioned in the results, the athletes seemed to need a reason to abstain or limit their alcohol use. A senior football player that was interviewed used his family's history of alcohol abuse as a reason to limit his alcohol consumption when he thought that it may be getting out of hand. Motives like that and football are ways to get athletes to drink responsibly.

To successfully reduce binge drinking within the athletic community, athletic departments and health educators should use the athletes' sport as a tool to assist them. The main reason that athletes considered abstaining or limiting their consumption is because of their sport. Therefore, ways that binge drinking can hinder their athletic performance should be incorporated more in the seminars and educational programs. In fact, this should be the main focus of the programs since it is the only way that has been proven to reduce the athletes' binge drinking.

## APPENDIX

What did you think college parties and social life would be like before you arrived? (*What were you disappointed/ impressed by? How is it different from what you imagine?*)

Tell me about the first time you tried alcohol. (*How old were you? Did you get drunk? Tell me more..*)

What mood were you in when you took that first drink?

How often do you drink now?

Where do you usually go to get drunk?

Do you prefer to drink before you go to the party or when you get there?

What do you prefer to drink?

Did you drink more in high school or college? (*Why do you drink more/ less now that you're in college?*)

What impact has alcohol had on you college life?

How has alcohol affected your college football career?

How many times have you drunk 5 or more beers in one sitting?  
(*Describe the environment that you were in and who you were with. Approximately how many times during the season/offseason? Have you ever had five or more in one sitting by yourself?*)

Tell me about your family's history with alcohol. (*Who used alcohol? Tell me more..*)

Have you ever tried to out drink someone? (*Tell me about it..*)

What do you think about the alcohol education that you have received as an athlete?

(What do you think can be done to make it more effective?)

What suggestions would you give them to minimize athletes' alcohol use?

What is the role of the athletic department when dealing with alcohol related issues? (*How do they express interest?*)

What does the coach think about alcohol use on the team (*what makes you think he feel this way?*)

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# A History of Swimming Pools from 1949-1975: How Racism has Impacted Municipal Space

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## ABSTRACT

*This project is an examination of the impact of segregation on municipal swimming pools. My research will compare Southern Illinois municipal pools to other communities such as Chicago and St. Louis to find similar patterns. Three factors that hardened racial attitudes at swimming pools were gender, the Great Black Migration, and the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Whites' hatred toward African Americans caused the two groups to strongly contest these municipal spaces and often violence was used as a method to gain or maintain control. After African Americans gained the right to access municipal pools, white Americans fled and pools often deteriorated due to lack of funding. Today, the effects of racism can still be found as a recent study has pointed out that nearly 60% of African American children cannot swim. Not only are African American children unable to enjoy one of the oldest pastimes in America, they are less safe due to lingering racial biases*

Public swimming pools hold an important place in the social fabric of American history, yet represent one of the least examined municipal spaces. Much scholarship has studied the segregation of the commons in the twentieth century, but the example of swimming pools presents a multitude of complex questions surrounding race, gender, sexuality, and community inclusion. The intimacy of public swimming aroused and agitated people because of the styles of swimwear, mixing of gender, and the thought of close interracial contact. Metaphorically, public swimming and sharing the same water converged as a conduit for larger issues, such as miscegenation, contamination, privilege, economic advantage, and white supremacy. These fear based issues led to the eventual exclusion of African Americans from swimming pools because whites believed African Americans would contaminate the water and segregation would preserve the purity of white bodies and social statues. For African Americans, integration of swimming pools meant equal access to public spaces. Just as Southern Illinois is a transition zone between the North and the South, municipal swimming pools in Southern Illinois became sites for the confluence of both “Northern” and “Southern” approaches to race relations.

This paper examines the history of race relations, and the onset of integration at municipal swimming pools in Herrin, Murphysboro, and Cairo. Using, newspaper articles, interviews with local residents, sociological studies, census data, and secondary source material, this

assessment will draw attention to the mixture of both “Southern” and “non-Southern” attitudes toward African Americans in Southern Illinois regarding the integration and maintenance of swimming pools.<sup>1</sup> Each of the three towns excluded African Americans from swimming pools between the 1920s and the 1960s, but their measures of exclusion differed. Herrin avoided direct confrontation on this issue through ethnic cleansing by forcibly restricting African Americans from settling in the town during the twentieth century. The creation of these “Sundown Towns,” such as Herrin, has received little scholarly attention, although historian James Loewen and journalist Elliot Jaspin have broached the subject.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, the lack of investigation allows thousands of American cities to remain all-white. Illinois in particular has an extremely high number of Sundown Towns; this paper will show the affects of ethnic cleansing on municipal space. Predominantly, Murphysboro’s white population has separated itself from the African American community, tolerating African Americans to live at the edge of town near the Big Muddy River. The pool that opened in 1927 required membership to enter, allowing the owners to believe they had the option to restrict access, thereby ensuring separation from African Americans. When the pool integrated and African Americans frequented the pool, civic leaders and community members abandoned and closed it. Segregation defined Cairo as the white population retained a high degree of separation through severe intimidation and terrorism to subjugate the African American population. The attitudes of whites indicated they would have preferred no African American presence, but the African American population was too high to expel, as in the example of Herrin. These findings in Herrin, Murphysboro, and Cairo correlate with Michael Emerson’s study, “Is It Different in Dixie? Percent Black and Residential Segregation in the South and Non-South.”<sup>3</sup> By placing Emerson’s model in a historical context, we can use Emerson’s theory to explain the diverse approaches of swimming pool integration in Southern Illinois.

Emerson studied the impact of the relative presence of African Americans and the amount of segregation needed to maintain separation. Emerson found that whites in regions outside the South responded differently to the presence of African Americans than people in the South. Non-Southerners segregated less when lower levels of African Americans were present. However, Emerson demonstrated that “as the relative African American population grows larger, increasingly higher levels of segregation must be imposed to keep white-black contact at levels acceptable to whites.”<sup>4</sup> People in the South reacted another way in that “southern segregation was based on the premise that intimate social contact between races was undesirable and would eventually weaken or destroy both races.”<sup>5</sup> Thus, while southern communities often followed policies of absolute segregation, communities outside of the South

typically instituted segregation measures based on the relative size of local African American populations.

Herrin's very small African American population, the product of Herrin's ethnic cleansing policies since the early 1900s, did "pose a serious threat" and thus did not lead to any significant change in the status of the swimming pool.<sup>6</sup> The example of Murphysboro correlates with the non-Southern model where whites legally followed integration, but white community members preferred to abandon swimming pools once the relative presence of African Americans increased.<sup>7</sup> Cairo followed the southern example of strict segregation and used violence and terrorism to maintain separation. Between 1890 and 1960, Cairo's whites subjugated African Americans to nearly a level of slavery. While some evidence suggests that the white population preferred to purge African Americans, there were far too many to do so. The Black Power movement challenged Cairo's status quo, and whites decided to leave en masse in order to avoid integration.<sup>8</sup> All three Southern Illinois towns evidenced variations of Emerson's model, which reflects the region's particular history as a transition zone between the South and the North.

### SWIMMING POOLS: A PECULIAR INTIMATE SPACE

Why were municipal swimming pools the source for heated controversy? Why did whites decide that swimming was a recreational activity that needed segregation? Jeff Wiltse contends that gender integration led to racial segregation at northern municipal swimming pools.<sup>9</sup> His book *Contested Waters: A Social History of Swimming Pools in America* addresses municipal swimming pools in northern American cities over a one-hundred year period and how these facilities followed a different trajectory than pools in the South. Wiltse found municipal pools in cities such as Chicago, New York, Cleveland, and St. Louis, started as public baths for the working-class poor, initially integrated by race and segregated by gender, during the Victorian era. During the 1930s, Progressive elites decided to construct swimming pools as family entertainment, allowing men, women, and children to swim together, which led these elites to segregate pools by race.<sup>10</sup> Additionally, Galen Cranz shows that urban planners used values-based judgments to develop intricate themes for recreational facilities, such as parks and swimming pools to guide the public into "wholesome" recreational activities. Urban planners intended recreational space to cure the "ills of rapid industrializing" and emphasize "mental refreshment" by stressing "physical exercise, supervision, and organization."<sup>11</sup> Planners felt they could reduce juvenile delinquency by offering playgrounds and swimming pools to keep children off the streets. Often, these elites decided that separation of race and gender was necessary to accomplish their goals and segregation became an institutionally accepted practice. Wiltse's research vividly

illustrates the migration of Jim Crow restrictions into northern urban areas during Progressive era and the Great Black Migration from 1916 to 1930. According to Wiltse, Progressives shifted their attitudes on race in northern urban areas and instituted racially based segregation at municipal swimming pools.<sup>12</sup>

As Phineas Indritz summarized, the *Dred Scott* decision “associated dark skin with slavery” and “inferiority,” validating the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision to legalize segregation, allowing whites to ban African Americans from the commons.<sup>13</sup> According to Wiltse, “Gender integration and the eroticization of swimming pools . . . were the most direct and crucial causes of racial exclusion and segregation at municipal swimming pools . . .”<sup>14</sup> Darryl Paulson explains that southern attitudes toward swimming brought out fears of interracial marriage and “resulted in disturbances more frequently than any other instances of desegregation.”<sup>15</sup> Whites in Florida reacted severely toward integration of swimming pools by privatizing or immediately closing them.

Wiltse asserts that swimming is extremely intimate and sexualized as men and women cavort half-naked, which stoked fears of contamination and old stereotypes about the sexual prowess of African Americans, especially men, and this allowed whites to justify segregation. A majority of whites believed that interracial relationships were forbidden and that white women must be protected from the “savage” nature of the “black” man who had no control over his desires.<sup>16</sup> Even photographic images of women in bathing suits were said to cause African Americans to have “a look like that of a hungry devil,” and it was the “duty [of the superior race]...to make the most possible out of the Negro.”<sup>17</sup> This fear was prevalent across the country but strongest in the South. The Eugenics movement further enflamed race relations. Doctors, scientists, historians, psychiatrists, economists, and social workers wrote articles and books reiterating sentiments such as “Black men and women are almost wholly subservient to the sexual instinct. . . . Negroes are purely animal.”<sup>18</sup> One scientist, Charles McCord believed genetics caused African Americans to be different from whites. He surmised that “blacks belonged to a child race,” and they were “shiftless” and “impulsive.” His findings contributed to the belief that African Americans were “a danger to whites as well as themselves.”<sup>19</sup> After 1915, racial violence rose dramatically; that same year, the racist film “Birth of a Nation” attracted thousands of viewers, grossing \$14,000 per day.<sup>20</sup> Using visual imagery, to portray African Americans as sexual savages wanting to assault white women, the movie endorsed the Ku Klux Klan as the only means to overthrow the African Americans of the South. This movie helped heighten anxieties toward the wave of southern African Americans migrating north. These anxieties over close physical contact extended to swimming pools, which became flashpoints for racial conflict in both the South and the North.

Fears of contamination also played a part in the collective conscience of American culture and swimming pools converted into a source of contact for disease before the induction of chlorine. According to Wiltse, “northerners generally viewed southern migrants as dirty, crude, and likely to be infected by communicable disease.”<sup>21</sup> Whites easily projected stereotypes of infestation coupled with the sexualization African American males onto African Americans as a group, and chlorine was no match for black skin.<sup>22</sup> Bernita Ward, an African American resident of Murphysboro, describes how whites believed the color of African Americans would rub off onto white skin, causing the staining of whites. In addition, Edgar Allan Imhoff, another resident of Murphysboro, writes about the first time he saw an African American. He asked his uncle, “Why are they that color?” and his uncle replied, “Because they are dirty.” Imhoff laments even though his mother and civic leaders tried to “[lecture] on the rights of man”, changing attitudes was an impossible task due to prevailing stereotypes, during the 1930s and 1940s.<sup>23</sup> Unfortunately, these stereotypes continue today, but now whites speak in coded language and whispers.

### THE DETERIORATION OF NATIONAL RACE RELATIONS

In 1900, 90 percent of all African Americans lived in the southern states. With increased racial violence and lack of job opportunities in the South, two million African Americans moved to northern and western regions of the United States. From 1910 to 1920, Chicago’s African American population increased from 44,000 to more than 109,000. For the same period, New York’s population increased from 92,000 to 152,000.<sup>24</sup> These dramatic increases occurred all over the country and led to changes in the attitudes of northern whites toward African Americans. Whites forced African Americans into segregation and limited economic opportunities when they felt threatened by the large numbers of new arrivals.

According to James Loewen, the Great Black Migration was the first of two migration patterns for African Americans following Reconstruction. The second he titles the “Great Retreat,” from 1890 to 1930, in which small towns forcibly banished African American populations.<sup>25</sup> These towns intentionally homogenized due to racial prejudices and stereotypes coming from the “wave of hysteria” caused by the “color question” in the United States.<sup>26</sup> A blue print for the all-white city began at the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition. Gail Bederman discovered organizers developed the “White City” exhibit to “depicted the millennial advancement of the white civilization” through urban accomplishment. This so-called “White City” also projected an image of white-male domination. These developers wanted to “suggest a millennial future – what a city might look like as advanced white races worked toward a perfect civilization.”<sup>27</sup> By white male design, women and ethnic groups displayed their

accomplishments on the outskirts of the exposition in an area titled the “Midway Plaisance.” The white male architects presented these groups as they saw them, “the undeveloped barbarism of uncivilized, dark races.”<sup>28</sup> Possibly the concept of the “White City” made an impression on civic leaders in Illinois because Illinois has a high percentage of all-white towns with populations over 1000. These 471 towns account for 71% of the towns in the state according to census data from 1970. Further, places, like Herrin, earned their nickname as “Sundown Towns,” because African Americans had to be out of town by sundown or they would suffer extreme consequences including intimidation and lynching. In 1915, “Herrin residents informally threatened [African Americans] with death if they remained overnight.”<sup>29</sup>

Table 1. African American Populations of Illinois Counties

US Census Year	Williamson County	Jackson County	Alexander County
1850	67 (1%)	33 (0.5%)	20 (0.8%)
1860	118 (0.9%)	29 (0.3%)	55 (1%)
1870	106 (0.6%)	995 (5%)	2296 (22%)
1880	253 (1%)	1528 (7%)	4568 (31%)
1890	197 (0.9%)	1555 (6%)	4878 (30%)
1900	610 (2%)	2122 (6%)	6318 (33%)
1910	866 (2%)	2692 (8%)	7775 (34%)
1920	963 (2%)	2733 (7%)	6426 (27%)
1930	1358 (3%)	2608 (7%)	6591 (29%)
1940	1162 (2%)	2920 (8%)	8478 (33%)
1950	897 (2%)	1968 (5%)	6420 (32%)
1960	703 (2%)	2901 (7%)	298 (33%)
1970	758 (2%)	3947 (7%)	3375 (28%)
1980	845 (2%)	5681 (9%)	3808 (31%)
1990	1147 (2%)	6342 (10%)	3496 (37%)
2000	1527 (3%)	7759 (13%)	3347 (35%)

*Note: Herrin is located in Williamson County, Murphysboro in Jackson County, and Cairo in Alexander County. The percentage of African Americans in each county is shown in the parentheses.*

*Source: University of Virginia:*

*<<http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/index.html>>*

*The United States Census Bureau:*

*<[http://factfinder.census.gov/home/saff/main.html?\\_lang=en](http://factfinder.census.gov/home/saff/main.html?_lang=en)>*

*The United States Department of Commerce Publications: Population Reports by States w/ Statistics for Counties. Illinois, 1970 & 1980.*

Table 1 provides census figures for the three Southern Illinois counties containing Herrin, Murphysboro, and Cairo. The data supports both Emerson’s model and Loewen’s description of ethnic cleansing as re-

sonable assertions. Williamson County in 1850 and 1860 had a larger African American population than Jackson and Alexander Counties combined. After 1870, the surge of African Americans is vivid except for Williamson County where numbers decreased. Equally startling is the depressed totals of African Americans in Williamson County over the last century and a half. What changed in Williamson County? Why did the African American population remain so low? In this county, two towns, Colp and Freeman Spur, allowed African Americans to settle.<sup>30</sup> Williamson County also produced large amounts of coal and companies used African American strikebreakers to reduce labor costs and eliminate union organizing. Paul M. Angel's book *Bloody Williamson* describes the chaos of violence invoked throughout the county's history over economic disadvantage and racial hatred.<sup>31</sup> Williamson County equally had a significant number of bootlegging operations that caused concern for advocates of Prohibition, and the Ku Klux Klan used bootlegging as a reason for terrorizing towns such as Herrin.

The African American population of Jackson County generally increased, but this growth led to residential segregation as show by block patterns found in the census data.<sup>32</sup> The influx of African Americans after Reconstruction caused residents to desire less contact. Therefore, Murphysboro followed Emerson's non-South pattern. Alexander County is particularly interesting for several reasons. It shows this region allowed former slaves to settle following Reconstruction, hence the large increase. Between 1910 and 1920, we see the deterioration of race relations as more than 2000 African Americans left Cairo probably due to increased persecution connected with an infamous lynching (discussed below).<sup>33</sup> Finally, the significant decrease from 1950 to 1960 highlights the civil rights struggle as whites and African Americans waged war on each other causing the overall population to decrease due to violence that begat loss of economic opportunity. It is hard to imagine industry would have remained in a town filled with National Guardsmen, Ku Klux Klan, and civil rights protestors. Cairo became a community filled with sentiments of retaliation, hatred, and despair.

After Reconstruction, African Americans found themselves the center of accusations of sexual assault at an alarming rate. Whites disproportionately charged African American males with crimes of rape to expel and murder these men, their families, and entire African American settlements.<sup>34</sup> In 1909, authorities found a white woman from Anna, Illinois, who had been raped and murdered, in Cairo. Witnesses discovered her body near an area of town designated for African Americans. Authorities used bloodhounds to track the scent of the perpetrator leading them to an African American male, Will James. Authorities arrested the man, but this arrest was not enough for the residents of Anna or Cairo. They formed a mob of angry white men and women outside of the jailhouse demanding

immediate justice. Fearing for the prisoner's safety, authorities tried to move James to a town less enflamed by rage and vengeance. Authorities could not protect the prisoner.<sup>35</sup> According to the *Carbondale Press*, a regional newspaper just 8 miles from Murphysboro, 15 miles from Herrin, 20 miles from Anna, and 53 miles from Cairo:

“The mob that hanged James was led by women, many of them wives of influential residents of Cairo. The rope was pulled taut by female relatives of Miss Pelley, aided by several score of their sex. As the Negro was pulled up into the air, these same women sang and screamed in delight . . . [When] the rope that was strangling the Negro broke . . . hundreds of revolvers flashed and 500 bullets crashed into the quivery form of the Negro . . . Women applied the torch to the bonfire that had been prepared and into which the body of James was thrown. Tens of thousands cheered and danced at the scene.”<sup>36</sup> (Photograph 1)



Photograph 1. 1909 Postcard of the lynching of Will James in Cairo, Illinois.

Before they burned his body, euphoric participants cut out the man's heart and pieces of it sold as souvenirs. Civic leaders displayed James' torched head like a trophy atop a pole in a community park serving as a reminder of white superiority to subdue the remaining African Americans. Vendors sold postcards of the grisly display for profit, disregarding the man's family or friends. Men and women returning to Anna from the spectacle consciously decided to expel all of Anna's African American residents including those in the adjacent town of Jonesboro. Anna-Jonesboro continues to be predominantly white to this day. Residents of Anna have described this incident as justifiable reasoning for the continued practice of ethnic cleansing in their all-white town.<sup>37</sup> Equally important were the actions of the white residents of Cairo, the reporter from Carbondale and his newspaper with the aim of profit from sales of the next day's paper, and the vigilante justice that engulfed the region during this incident.

While this account is specific to Southern Illinois, this type of lynching happened on a grand scale nationally. A few political leaders assisted in the hysteria by inciting hatred and violence. One such leader, James Vardaman, was Governor of Mississippi from 1904 to 1908 and a Mississippi United States Senator from 1908 to 1913. Vardaman promulgated racist hate speech at every public engagement including one in Cairo on May 21, 1910, just a few months after the lynching of James.<sup>38</sup> Vardaman was proud of his white heritage and defended lynching and violence towards African Americans. In his Cairo speech he declared, "Disposal of the Black race is not destined to be an easy route by the way of disenfranchisement. The impending crisis, how will American rid itself of Southern racial peace disturbers?"<sup>39</sup> He openly stated he would deal with the "coon problem" and the Fifteenth Amendment, and the Declaration of Independence did not apply to "wild animals and niggers."<sup>40</sup> Vardaman even declared, "If it is necessary every Negro in the state will be lynched; it will be done to maintain white supremacy."<sup>41</sup> According to William English Walling, one of the founders of the NAACP, Vardaman's words and hatred found a receptive audience in the North. He asserted that Vardaman was "transfer[ing] the race war to the North."<sup>42</sup> It is not clear whether Vardaman had a direct impact on Jim Crow laws extending North, but he definitely helped put white supremacy on the national agenda and lent credence to the lynching of James.

### HERRIN ILLINOIS

For the duration of the 1920s, violence besieged this settlement including gang and Ku Klux Klan warfare. In 1922, Reverend P. H. Glotfelty, speaking on behalf of the Klan, declared that Williamson County, "had a black reputation with the rest of the world . . . but it was not too late to make the name of Williamson one of which the state and nation could be proud of. It's time to show that we're one hundred percent Americans."<sup>43</sup> During the 1920s, reports indicate Williamson County held 7,000 Klan members, and in February of 1924, a member of the Klan became chief of police in Herrin.<sup>44</sup> By obtaining a position of authority, the Klan could ethnic cleanse Herrin.

According to the 1900 and 1910 censuses, the total population of Herrin was 1,559 and 6,881, respectively, with no African American residents.<sup>45</sup> As of 2000, there had been an opening along racial lines, and as many as 100 African Americans lived in the Herrin city limits. However, Herrin's total population in that year was 11,298, with African Americans making up less than 1 percent, hardly a challenging number for the white residents of Herrin. African Americans began moving into Herrin when the city built public housing. However, as Linda Banks, local historian and public librarian describes, there still

are not very many.<sup>46</sup> Herrin built its public pool in 1957, and it was extremely popular. Between 2004 through 2006, the pool underwent major renovations due to a crack in the concrete flooring. The city and community members spent between one and five million dollars to repair this civic facility.<sup>47</sup> It opened well after *Brown v. Board of Education*, yet the pool remained segregated because of Herrin's intentional homogenization of the town. Banks claims Herrin had an "unwritten law... that the blacks didn't come into town after sundown. [S]o the blacks just stayed away completely."<sup>48</sup> Banks never remembers seeing an African American in Herrin, much less its swimming pool. When Banks was younger she described the pool as always busy, and "There was always a lot of activity."<sup>49</sup> These questions brought back a memory about a "black beach" at Crab Orchard Lake, which was built and funded by the federal government. She then recalled the beach had a sign stating "black only."<sup>50</sup> African Americans desired swimming as a recreational activity, but they had to travel nearly ten miles to enjoy the water. She does not remember when the pool integrated.



*Photograph 2: Building of the Herrin Swimming Pool mid 1950s. Photograph courtesy of the Herrin Public Library and Herrin City Historical Society.*

It is important to recognize although Herrin was a "Sundown Town," photograph 2 of the pool construction in the 1950s displays at least one African American building the Herrin community swimming pool. The contradiction of the Jim Crow system reeks of irony; whites did not have a problem using African American labor to build the communities swimming pool, yet white residents would not allow African Americans to swim in it well into the 1990s.<sup>51</sup> Using Emerson's model, Herrin followed a predictable pattern. The town's small African American population suggests a "relative presence" that is nonthreatening to white social order. Throughout the Civil Rights Era, Herrin maintained its all-

white pool without any pressing need to address integration. Recently, the city chose to invest significant funds to repair the municipal swimming pool, and members of the community believe it provides a social benefit. As an outcome of Herrin's ethnic cleansing policies in the early- and mid-twentieth century, the town has not perceived African Americans as a "threat" to civic facilities, which has resulted in continued valuing and support for the municipal swimming pool.

### **MURPHYSBORO ILLINOIS: RIVERSIDE SWIMMING POOL**

John Henry, Frank Henry, and William Piggot built Murphysboro's Riverside Swimming Pool in 1927, two years after the devastating "Tri-State Tornado." The group intentionally kept the pool private to control patron access, particularly to exclude African Americans.<sup>52</sup> This facility was very popular drawing up to 6,000 people within the three weeks following opening day in 1938, providing showers and swimming for locals and commuter groups. The pool was nearly Olympic sized and held as many as 150,000 gallons of water. Cliff Swafford, local historian from the Jackson County Historical Society, recalls the pool was always busy and "it was a gathering spot, in fact it was the best recreational spot around . . . . Most of the kids I knew got in there every afternoon."<sup>53</sup> Old photographs illustrate the pool attracted mainly children, but adults sometimes found relief from the oppressive Southern Illinois heat.<sup>5</sup>



*Photograph 3: 1930-40 Riverside Swimming Pool in Murphysboro, Illinois. Photograph courtesy of The Jackson County Historical Society, Murphysboro, Illinois.*

Photograph 3 above alludes to another form of oppression. The image shows the grand pool with African Americans sitting on the other side of the fence surrounding Riverside Swimming Pool. By looking at the clothing of the African American adults, they appear to be hired

help, possibly waiting on some of the white children swimming in the pool. The African American children could be simply watching or with their parents who are working. Bernita Ward, an African American woman, who was born and raised in Murphysboro recalls she never had the chance to swim at Riverside Swimming Pool; in fact, Ward never learned how to swim. Ward remembers her white friends went to the pool and told stories of enjoyment, but when asked why she did not go, she would make up excuses stating her grandparents would not let her go without supervision. Ward stated her bother learned to swim in the Big Muddy River.<sup>55</sup> Just as the name sounds, the river is very muddy and not safe. Many African Americans taught themselves swimming in unsafe waterholes, rivers, or abandoned mining pits. Dr. Shirley Portwood remembers, "A lot of black people my age never did learn to swim and that's why- not having access."<sup>56</sup>

Berta Mae Turton is a 90-year-old woman well known in Murphysboro. Along with her husband and another couple, she purchased Riverside Swimming pool in the 1950s. Turton spoke fondly of her memories of ownership of the pool and that children truly enjoyed it. Turton's children all patrolled the pool to ensure the safety of the swimmers. Turton spoke truthfully and without hesitation about segregation.

"At that time the black situation [was] just beginning . . . and we had selfishly I guess I am almost ashamed to tell you this . . . We had some sort of a club we set. You had to belong to the club in order to swim. Like a private pool. We were in business quite a while before they challenged it. They asked for admission and we told them there was a club. [They asked], 'Could they join the club?' The answer had to be 'yes or no'; we told them yes and that was the end of it. They joined the club; I think it was a \$1 a year or something like that. It was just a sham . . . is what it was you know; but very few took advantage of it, but it was the fact that they could if they wanted to."<sup>57</sup>

The timeline for integration is still unclear.

Murphysboro's African American population is concentrated in a region close to the Big Muddy River in a small adjunct called Mount Carbon, which mining companies established. Bernita Ward grew up in this little adjunct and she recalls, "Mount Carbon...was the lower class...mainly black, some Indians, [and] a few other nationalities. It was a diverse culture...but mainly black. We were all lower income, poor people."<sup>58</sup> The pool sat at the end of this poor working-class neighborhood. In 1957, another tornado struck Murphysboro demolishing Mount Carbon and the region along the Big Muddy River. By this point, African Americans made up a sizeable percentage of this neighborhood. After the tornado, the city built low-income housing to replace houses damaged, and this area became known as the "projects." Turton recalled before the

tornado struck, “[The neighborhood] was run down homes not taken care of. When they put in the public housing they were just put in the public housing and they had much better living conditions and most of them were 2 family homes; up until today they’re still there.” Riverside Swimming Pool was untouched by the tornado, but the neighborhood changed, some say for the better, most state for the worse.

When this investigation started, I informally asked local residents why they thought Riverside Swimming Pool closed in 1978. Overwhelmingly, residents avowed it was the neighborhood or the “projects.” This neighborhood has had a reputation, real or imagined, for higher crime rates. With continued questioning, residents stated the pool experienced break-ins, vandalism, deterioration, and/or financial hardship. A couple of residents seemed clearly agitated during the conversation and implied Murphysboro’s African Americans did not respect the pool once they had access to it. One resident recalled, parents feared dropping their children off at the swimming pool because the neighborhood was not very safe. Young girls in bikinis might flirt with the men “down there.” This member of the community was clearly convinced of the supposed threat posed by African American men. When asked if another pool might be successful, this person adamantly stated, “not in that neighborhood.” Two different residents, clearly understanding some of the underlying issues, came out and stated the pool closed due to racial prejudice.

Turton stated vandalism or elevated crime rates in the neighborhood were “no different from anywhere else in the town.”<sup>59</sup> Turton recalled one incident where kids broke into the pool to go skinny-dipping, but the other alleged crimes did not occur at least while her family owned the pool. She stated after the skinny-dipping incident, her husband stayed through the night to monitor the pool for any further commotion. The reality of the demise of the pool seems to be more perception, rumors, and racial bias than actual destruction or crime from residents in the “projects.”

The pool entered another era when the YMCA purchased it in 1965. Although the pool recorded 23,000 swimmers in the summer of 1970, it was in the red by \$20,000.<sup>60</sup> Russ Marshall stated in a community meeting, “[A] great amount of work was done to keep Riverside Pool in operation. Most of this effort was done without the knowledge of the community. The city never realized how close they were to spending a summer without a pool.”<sup>61</sup> Indeed, but calls from the YMCA were not enough to keep this pool open. In 1978, Riverside Swimming Pool was closed, buried, and a concrete slab intended for basketball stands in its place. Murphysboro residents did attempt to gain civic support for a new pool through two ballot initiatives, but both failed. According to Turton:

“A group of us got together ...and we tried 2 different times to get on the ballot the local ballot. The first time we did it. It was so close, so close. I think maybe the next year or two we tried again and the people who were literally opposed to it went to all the people who lived in public housing, because they said ‘It will raise your taxes’; that was their cry. They went to all the people who lived in public housing who don’t pay taxes and persuaded them to vote against us.”<sup>62</sup>

There is no way to confirm this, but Turton states she and her husband actively attempted to help Murphysboro rebuild a community swimming pool. Other forces were clearly at work; in the early 1970s, Jackson County Country Club opened a pool and most of the residents with money no longer needed to support Riverside Swimming Pool.

Emerson’s model indicates that Murphysboro’s experience was closer to a “non-Southern” example, as the relative presence of African Americans was high enough that residents were unwilling to maintain the municipal swimming pool. Comments made by community members coincide with this conclusion. Murphysboro’s total African American population percentage in 2000 was 15.8 percent, higher than the national average, according to census data.<sup>63</sup> This has grown since 1910 from 9 percent to nearly 16 percent, and as Emerson indicates, this increase coincides with increased segregation.<sup>64</sup> As described earlier, Murphysboro’s African American population is highly concentrated in a region close to the Big Muddy River in a small adjunct called Mount Carbon, rather than Murphysboro proper.

### **CAIRO ILLINOIS: 1962 BLACK POWER MOVEMENT**

Cairo offers a very different past than Herrin or Murphysboro. Cairo sits at the southern tip of Illinois near the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. The town has large Victorian buildings and homes built during the Civil War, when Cairo became a refuge city for African Americans who fled the South.<sup>65</sup> During Cairo’s zenith, this river city held between 10,000 and 15,000 residents, but poor economic conditions and terrible race relations caused Cairo to nearly collapse over the course of the twentieth century. According to Dr. Shirley Portwood, an African American college professor at Southern Illinois University Edwardsville, Alexander County, which holds Cairo, had a “very rich African American community that was primarily one that was economically disadvantaged, but culturally, extremely rich.”<sup>66</sup>

In a sense, slavery never ended for Cairos’ African Americans. Children, some of them as young as nine years old, had to work in the cotton fields in Missouri for fifty cents an hour, because finding gainful employment for African Americans was nearly impossible, due to discrimination by

whites. Some of the parents sent their children into the cotton fields as they worked menial labor or odd jobs to make ends meet.<sup>67</sup> Some collected state aid to supplement their tiny wages. In 1970, the Human Rights Commission found that white males earned an average of \$6,428 annually with an unemployment rate of 6.5%, while African Americans earned only \$2,809 annually with an average unemployment rate of 16.5%. African Americans did whatever they could to survive on their low wages.<sup>68</sup> Massive cotton growers profited from the toil of Cairo's African American youth as late as the 1970s.<sup>69</sup>

Dr. Portwood described going to Cairo every few months because, “[it] was the place to go for shopping....At the time we looked at Cairo as being big city.”<sup>70</sup> She remembers how Southern Illinois had the same segregation system found in the South, as southern whites also moved into this region and brought their “segregated institutions.”<sup>71</sup> Portwood describes how Southern Illinois seemed even more rigid with its Jim Crow restrictions, stating, “I think that was to make the point that we might be in the North technically, but subordination is going to be a part of what is going on here.”<sup>72</sup>

In 1952, authorities arrested the leaders of Cairo's NAACP for “conspiring to force Negro children to attend Cairo's all-white school” and African Americans found large crosses burning in a “Negro neighborhood.”<sup>73</sup> That same week, “a wave of terrorism” followed with bombings causing one Cairo citizen to seek safe haven in Chicago.<sup>74</sup> Authorities eventually arrested twelve people, seven African Americans and five whites, but a jury determined their innocence because there was not enough evidence to proceed.<sup>75</sup> It is at this point we begin to see organized efforts challenging Jim Crow restrictions by African Americans in Cairo. The resistance put forth by the whites of Cairo was fierce even though Illinois state laws forbade discrimination and segregation.

In the 1920s, federal funding built Cairo's swimming pool and the Rotary Club operated it.<sup>76</sup> According to Marva Nelson, a former Cairo African American female resident:

“The swimming pool rested in the heart of Cairo. I was mesmerized by the pristine blue water....The pool represented innumerable possibilities—the most obvious, much-needed swimming lessons. More importantly, it would have afforded blacks and whites, adults and children, some of the most important lessons of life: the true construction of friendship and citizenship.”<sup>77</sup>

The challenge at Cairo's municipal swimming pool started on June 28, 1962. Members of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and the Cairo Non-Violent Freedom Committee attempted to pay

admission but management denied the activists entrance based on their skin color.<sup>78</sup> The two groups declared protests would continue until all facilities integrated in Cairo. Leaders of the protests included Mary McCollum, a white former Southern Illinois University student, and Charles Koen, a sixteen-year-old African American high school student.

On July 4, Koen and four others made a second attempt at integrating the swimming pool. The management of the pool denied the group access since they did not have a membership. Koen stated, “The cards cost \$8.25 each and would be available in a couple of days . . . . White bathers were handed cards when they appeared to use the pool.”<sup>79</sup> The Rotary Club leadership maintained segregation through privatization requiring membership. When the “freedom groups” approached Mayor Robert Peddie, Peddie refused to discuss the issue of segregation until they excluded McCollum from the meeting. She was not excluded and the meeting ended. Peddie believed “outsiders were agitating local Negroes.” The *Cairo Daily Citizen*, the local paper, took the mayor’s position, trying to triangulate between the “freedom groups” and local clergy receptive to the protests.<sup>80</sup> The white residents of Cairo did not understand why “outsiders” caused “our Negroes” to be so “militant.”<sup>81</sup> In their minds, the whites of Cairo decided how the town’s African Americans should behave and how they should conveniently fit into the white man’s world. Even the courage Cairo’s African Americans mustered up, whites believed, came from outsiders making decisions for them.



*Photograph 4: 1962 African Americans protesting Jim Crow segregation at the Cairo municipal swimming pool. Photograph courtesy of the United States Government.*

Protests continued in Cairo, and authorities arrested 30 activists who pressed for integration at the swimming pool and roller skating rink as seen in photograph 4. According to Cairo Police Chief Enloe Jones, “[activists at] the swimming pool sit-in . . . blocked the entrance to the pool and refused

to move away.” Authorities continued to assert the African Americans had to apply for membership to the pool to be admitted. According to courtroom testimony, Koen attempted to pay, stating, “[I] had \$16 in my hand.”<sup>82</sup> Clayton Boone, president of the Rotary Club, did not comment on the membership applications filed by the African Americans.<sup>83</sup> In the words of James Peake, SIUC student and member of the NVFC, “This is apparently a ruse to keep Negroes out of the pool.”<sup>84</sup>

While in custody, the youth began a five-day hunger strike vowing that “They would not eat until justice came about.”<sup>85</sup> On July 19, the activists had their day in court. The court found the youth guilty of “mob action,” disorderly conduct, and refusal to obey police officers. Bond was set at \$20,000, which was paid by a resident of Ava, Illinois, the home of a parent of one of the protesters. State’s Attorney Michael O’Shea argued, “If a man does something wrong, a mob doesn’t have the right to run up to change it.”<sup>86</sup>

On July 23, 1962, 200 peaceful protesters from Cairo and surrounding areas moved onto the streets of Cairo with signs declaring, “Segregation is evil,” which attracted the interest of state and federal officials.<sup>87</sup> Ten days after the initial swimming pool protests, activist continued to demonstrate outside of the pool, this time without arrests. According to one Cairo lawyer, “Their campaign has set racial harmony back five years. I haven’t heard so many racial appellations like ‘damn niggers’ used around here in years.”<sup>88</sup> It was clear to political leaders and persons from the NAACP that the only way change would come was through the ballot box because racial bias was too entrenched in this river city. The mayor and city council would not comment or move to find reconciliation, and tensions grew within both the African American and white communities of Cairo. The protests sent waves of fear out to other communities in Southern Illinois, as McCollum stated protests would begin in other Southern Illinoisan towns such as Centralia, Mount Vernon, and Herrin.<sup>89</sup> The NAACP appealed to Governor Otto Kerner to protect the protesters in Cairo, and he ordered an investigation into “violations of the demonstrators’ civil rights.”<sup>90</sup>

As the summer ended so did the swimming season, but the protests continued with activists gaining some ground. The following summer, the swimming pool integrated, along with restaurants, and the state promised funding for five new schools if they completely integrated. Nevertheless, the rigidity and racism of many white residents of Cairo caused the pool to close due to lack of participation as seen in photograph 5 below.<sup>91</sup> Nelson stated, “White families chose instead to instill the self-righteous lessons of segregation in their children. Fearing the contamination of, and integration by, African Americans, the city closed the pool as soon as it had been opened and filled it with concrete.”<sup>92</sup>



*Photograph 5: Cairo Swimming Pool 1967. Courtesy of Preston Ewing, Let My People Go: Cairo, Illinois, 1967-1973.*

The year 1962 marked the beginning of the long and brutal integration battle in Cairo. Marva Nelson believes the pool symbolized the continued deterioration of race relations in Cairo, stating, “The event that kicked the machine of racial resentment into gear was the opening in 1963 and summary closing of the city swimming pool.”<sup>93</sup> In 1967, all out warfare broke out between the African Americans and the whites. A white supremacist group called the “White-hats” tried to overtake the city, and the Illinois National Guard set up a post at one of the two motels to quell the violence. By 1969, Cairo’s population diminished to 3,800, as constant economic boycotts, gunfire, arson, and bloodshed drove away community members and businesses. Cairo’s once beautiful Victorian façade cracked, crumbled, and revealed what in 1842 Charles Dickens called, “this dismal Cairo, an ugly sepulcher, a grave uncheered by any gleam of promise.”<sup>94</sup> Nelson recalled “I can still see the closed pool: brownish-green algae floating on the water, choking the blue out, turning it a cloudy, sickly green.”<sup>95</sup> Some have stated the downfall of Cairo has been primarily economic, but in reality, the collapse is due to so much more.

According to Emerson’s model, Cairo resembled the “Southern” example of race relations, as Cairo’s white residents decided that any degree of African American presence required segregation. The large African American population, which comprised 39 percent of the town’s inhabitants in 1960, prevented whites from pursuing ethnic cleansing policies, as in Herrin. The actions of whites in Cairo did not resemble the example of Murphysboro, as well. While both towns closed their pools to avoid the long and difficult process of integration, many whites chose to dodge living in a legally equal and integrated town by leaving Cairo altogether. Between 1920 and 2000, the overall population of Cairo fell

by 76 percent.<sup>96</sup> The total population of Cairo as of 2000 had plummeted to 3,632. By the end of this period, the African American proportion of the population has risen to 61 percent.<sup>97</sup> In essence, a larger share of whites left the town, which created an African American majority following the era of integration. When African Americans stood up to the system of segregation and made significant gains, whites decided not only to abandon the pool, they decided to abandon their community.

## CONCLUSION

African Americans fought and won the right to gain access to swimming pools in Murphysboro and Herrin, but they could not change the engrained hatred felt by whites. This hatred left African Americans empty handed as whites walked away from a favored municipal space. Whites preferred to retreat to private pools in their either backyard or country clubs to avoid integration. The effects of white abandonment sometimes devastated municipal swimming pools and even communities as seen in Cairo. Without the large attendance of whites, swimming pools deteriorated and closed. Today, local, state, and federal budget cuts force communities to downsize or overlook new pool projects. Because of hatred of skin color due to the long imposed indoctrination of white supremacy, communities willfully neglected and even buried this once prominent space denying future generations a viable social setting for the community.

“Sundown Towns” such as Herrin, chose ethnic cleansing to rid their communities of African Americans, thereby removing any perceived threat. The first half of the twentieth century, enthusiastic threats of intimidation, lynching, and mutilation created all-white cities with the help of law enforcement, elected officials, and preachers. However, today’s continued existence of homogenized towns is hard to overlook since they are so wide spread. Herrin built a brand new pool with taxpayer’s money that children and families enjoy throughout the summer. According to Emerson, the pool will remain as long as the presence of African Americans is not a perceived threat.

Murphysboro and Cairo have not had a community swimming pool for several decades. Even though both communities have discussed rebuilding, it is difficult to predict if new pools will ever be built. Murphysboro holds similar characteristics to Emerson’s non-South model where the relative presence of African Americans was too high for the pool to remain open and it faded away after integration. Cairo on the other hand, showed signs that any African American presence was too much as the pool closed the same year of integration. Regardless of the model, both communities lost a once prized municipal space, due to unchanging beliefs of racial prejudice.

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# The effect of support, ZnO, on the structure and properties of Cu clusters

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## ABSTRACT

*The overall objective of this research is to explore new pathways for more efficient hydrogen production or synthesis of new energy carriers from coal gasification. This projects aims to find catalysts that maximize methanol formation and minimize the formation of methane from coal gasification. In this poster, we present the results of DFT calculations for the study of the adsorption of small copper clusters on the surface of zinc oxide. The calculations using PBE functionals were carried out using spin-polarized DFT method implemented in Vienna Ab-initio Simulation Package (VASP). In the calculations, Cu atoms as well as the first few layers of ZnO surface were fully relaxed to their ground state geometry. The structural and property changes of Cu clusters upon their adsorption at different surface coverage on ZnO surface will be discussed.*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The Cu/ZnO system has been extensively studied because it is well established as the leading industrial catalyst for the synthesis of methanol from coal gasification, and it is relevant to sensor applications.<sup>1-20</sup> The role that the high catalytic activity of Cu/ZnO in methanol synthesis is less understood. There have been several possibilities proposed to explain the significance of the ZnO supported Cu as a successful catalyst. Dulub et al. found that a Cu-Zn alloy form upon calcinations of the catalyst, and this alloy is the active phase for the catalytic activity for methanol synthesis.<sup>17,10,14,15</sup> In working catalysis, as Cu atoms run throughout the ZnO matrix their structural properties change. The interactions between the Cu atoms and the ZnO surface influence catalytic activity. Theoretical and experimental analysis suggests that in the Cu/ZnO system the metallic Cu-clusters are the active species. Experimental studies show Cu clusters are strained at the interface with ZnO particles, and this micro strain influences the electronic structure and catalytic activity of the Cu clusters.<sup>17,21</sup>

There have been a few theoretical studies that focus on the effects the different atoms have on each other.<sup>2,11,12,16,19,22</sup> Few have questioned if the Cu clusters prefer to adsorb stronger over the oxygen atoms on the surface or the zinc atoms. Beltran et al. stated that the full coverage of Cu atoms on the O positions anywhere on the surface is slightly more stable than the full coverage of the Cu atoms on the Zn atoms.<sup>20</sup> Coverage of the ZnO surface by Cu clusters has also been studied. Dulub et al. studied

the structure and electronic properties of Cu clusters on Zn (0001), by vapor-deposit of copper on single crystalline polar ZnO surface. They found that at room temperature copper grows at two-dimensional clusters only at very low coverages of 0.001-0.0 equivalent monolayers. At coverage greater than 0.01 monolayers, three dimensional clusters start to develop.<sup>17</sup> Even though their have been some study of the interaction of the atoms on the surface of Cu/ZnO, there has not been an intensive theoretical study of the interaction and coadsorption of  $\text{CH}_3$ , H, OH,  $\text{H}_2\text{O}$ ,  $\text{CH}_4$ ,  $\text{CH}_3\text{OH}$  on the Cu/ZnO surface at different Cu sites. After study the interaction of the Cu cluster on the ZnO surface, we will be able to screen the binding sites on Cu/ZnO to find those that maximize formation  $\text{CH}_3\text{OH}$  instead of  $\text{CH}_4$ . In this work, we studied the adsorption of various Cu clusters on various sites of ZnO (100) surface using DFT. In particular, the adsorption of the Cu clusters was observed on the atop sites, the face centered cubic (fcc-hollow) sites, and the hexagonal close packed (hcp) sites. The adsorption energy for the systems was compared and analyzed. There will be close observations of how the ZnO(100) surface effects the structural properties of the Cu clusters.

## 2. COMPUTATIONAL DETAILS

### *Computational Methods*

The present calculations to determine the adsorption energies and structures of Cu clusters on the nonpolar ZnO surface were carried out using a spin-polarized DFT method implemented in Vienna Ab-initio Simulation Package (VASP).<sup>23</sup> The electron-ion interactions were described by the projector augmented wave (PAW) method. The exchange and correlation energies were calculated using the Perdew-Burke-Ernzerhof (PBE) functional.<sup>24</sup> The electronic wave functions were expanded in a plane wave basis set with a cutoff energy of 400eV.

We first performed calculations for the ZnO bulk structure. The ZnO bulk consisted of two ZnO dimers in repetitive positions. Monkhorst-Pack  $k$ -point meshes were used.<sup>25</sup> To determine the  $k$ -point values for the bulk, several tests were performed. Table 1. shows the energies and  $k$ -points values obtained from these test. The data in Table 1. show that the free energies of the ZnO bulk are in the 0.3eV difference when the  $k$ -points values changed. Based on these result, the (5 × 5 × 5) points were chosen.

**Table 1.** Free energies (in eV) as a function of the  $k$ -points from ZnO bulk calculations

<u>K-Points</u>	<u>Free Energy</u>
5 × 5 × 5	-14.499104
7 × 7 × 7	-14.309658
9 × 9 × 9	-14.26091

Figure 1 shows the comparison in bond distances between atoms of the bulk after fully relaxing it to its ground state. There was a 0.017 bond difference between the Zn-O dimer in the bulk after the bulk was allowed to relax.

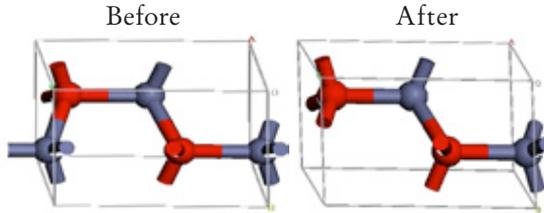


Figure 1. Comparison of bond distances of bulk before and after relaxation.

The lattice parameters and internal coordinates of the bulk ZnO was compared to Meyer et al. and experimental data. The lattice parameters, which correspond to previous research, for the bulk was  $a = 3.2493\text{\AA}$ ,  $b = 3.2493\text{\AA}$ , and  $c = 5.2054\text{\AA}$ . The computed lattice parameter agrees with Meyer et al. and experimental analysis, the comparison is shown in Table 2. The internal coordinate,  $u$ , of the structure determines the relative position of the anion and cation sublattice along the  $c$  axis.<sup>11,12,26</sup> Meyer et al. found that the  $c/a$  ratio strongly influences the internal parameter  $u$ . They stated that if  $u = \frac{1}{4} + \frac{a^2}{3c^2}$  then all of the nearest-neighbored bonds are equal.<sup>11,12</sup> In the current case, when using this equation the  $u$  value is 0.3799 and the calculated  $u$  value is 0.3830, the difference could be from either an over or underestimate of the  $a$  and  $c$  values.

Table 2. A comparison of the structural parameters for bulk ZnO.

	Our results	Meyer et al. <sup>11,12</sup>	Experimental <sup>26</sup>
$a(\text{\AA})$	3.2493	3.282	3.250
$c(\text{\AA})$	5.2054	5.291	5.207
$c/a$	1.602	1.612	1.602
$u$	0.3830	0.3792	0.3825

After the bulk was fully relaxed, it was cleaved into a ZnO (100) surface by cutting the crystal perpendicular to the hexagonal Zn and O layers. There is no mirror symmetry parallel to the nonpolar structure in the ZnO wurtzite structure, meaning that all slabs are Zn terminated on one side and O terminated on the other.<sup>11,12</sup> For the study of the adsorption of Cu clusters on a ZnO (100) surface, we employ a slab model with a  $1 \times 1$  surface unit cell consisting of a number of Zn-O bilayers and a vacuum layer of  $15\text{\AA}$  separating the slabs to reduce the residual internal electric field.<sup>1,3,11,19,20</sup>

To decide how many layers to use in our study, two models were studied. A model with eight Zn-O bilayers to represent the ZnO(100) surface

with the top three Zn-O bilayers allowed to relax while the bottom five bilayers Zn-O fixed at their calculated bulk positions to mimic the bulk substrate in our calculation of Cu cluster adsorption, as well as, a six Zn-O bilayer surface with the top three Zn-O bilayers allowed to relax while the bottom three layers are fixed. Figure 2 shows an illustration of the eight Zn-O

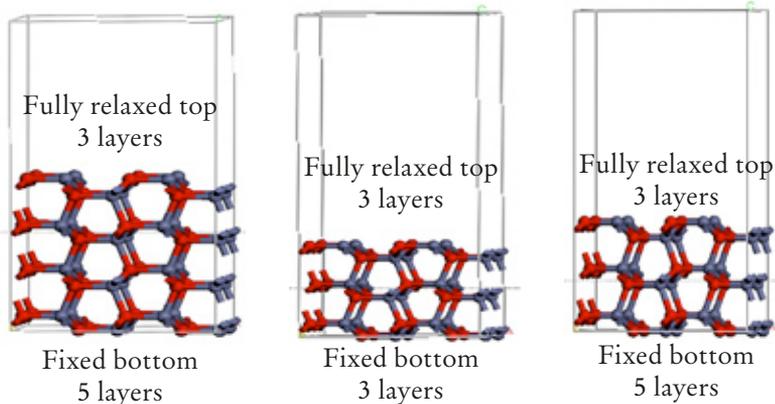


Figure 2. Illustration of eight Zn-O bilayer and six Zn-O bilayer ZnO (100) surfaces.

The eight Zn-O bilayer surface was intensely studied so that the fixed and relaxes layers could be determined. When studying the adsorption of molecules on different surfaces, the surface has to simulate the actual catalytic effect of the bulk. In the actual catalysis effect, most of the top layers of the bulk are the most active, while the layers close to the bulk core remain barely unchanged. This means that when doing surface calculations, a couple of the bottom layers have to be fixed to represent the behavior of the layers at the center of the bulk structure. To determine how many layers were going to relax to the ground state, we performed calculations varying fixed layers. An eight layer surface with four layers fixed was allowed to relax to the ground state and the energy was calculated to be  $-70.668\text{eV}$ . For comparison reasons, an eight layer surface with five fixed layers and three relaxed layers were allowed to relax and the ground state energy was calculated to be  $-70.661\text{eV}$ . Next another eight layer surface with six layers fixed was allowed to relax to the ground state and the energy was calculated to be  $-70.656\text{eV}$ . Based on these results, there was not a significant surface energy change between these two models. It was also found by others that this type of surface was efficient enough to get adequate results that compare to experimental analysis.<sup>1,2,11,12</sup> Table 3. shows comparison the free energies of various eight layer surfaces, varying the fixed bottom layers.

Table 3. Comparison of free energies of eight layer ZnO (100) surface, varying fixed layers

ZnO(100) surface	Free Energy eV
eight layers (four fixed)	-70.668
eight layers(five fixed)	-70.661
eight layers (six fixed)	-70.656

When compared to one another the free energies per atom for the six layer and eight layer ZnO(100) are somewhat the same. Since there were sixty-four atoms in the eight layers, the free energy per atom is -4.4174eV. Since there were forty-eight atoms in the six layers, the free energy per atom is -4.372eV. When comparing these results there were <0.5eV between the two ZnO(100) surfaces. Based on these analyses, the six Zn-O bilayer ZnO(100) surface was found to be efficient for this study. Table 4 shows a comparison of free energies of the eight and six Zn-O bilayer ZnO(100) surface.

Table 4. Comparison of free energies of eight and six Zn-O bilayer ZnO(100) surfaces.

Surface Layers	Free Energy	Free Energy per atom
Eight Zn-O bilayers (five fixed)	-282.72eV	-4.42eV/atom
Six Zn-O bilayers (three fixed)	-209.86eV	-4.37eV/atom

In the study of Cu clusters adsorption to the ZnO(100) surface, various high-symmetry adsorption sites on the ZnO (100) were taken in consideration, mainly focusing more on the atop sites, the face centered cubic (fcc) sites and the hexagonal close packed (hcp) sites. The atop sites would be the regular lattice site for the next atomic layer. The hcp-hollow sites are the positions above the atoms in the second atomic layer. The fcc-hollow sites are positions within the surface where there are no atoms beneath the Cu clusters, as shown in Figure 3.

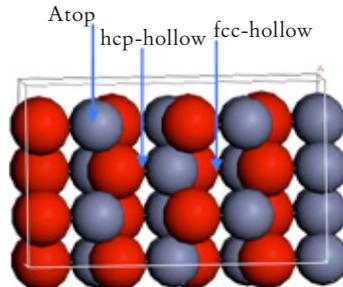


Figure 3. Schematic diagram of the high-symmetry adsorption sites on the nonpolar ZnO(100) surfaces from a top view.

The adsorption energy of the Cu clusters on the surface ZnO (100) is calculated by

$$E_{ads} = -(E_{system} - E_{surface} - E_{cluster})$$

Where  $E_{system}$  represents the total energy of the whole system, including the Cu and the surface,  $E_{surface}$  represents the total energy of the ZnO (100) surface alone, and  $E_{cluster}$  represents the total energy of the Cu atom or cluster.

### 3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

#### 3.1 Cu adsorption on ZnO(100)

There were twelve Cu/ZnO models studied. A Cu single atom and a Cu<sub>2</sub> dimer was studied at the atop site, hcp-hollow site and fcc-hollow site, as stated in the methods section. A single Cu atom was first adsorbed atop of an oxygen atom and zinc atom on the first bilayer. For the single Cu atom adsorption, the bond distance between the Cu atoms and oxygen/zinc atoms on the surface at the atop sites and hcp-hollow sites were  $2.005 \pm 0.005$ . Figure 6 shows a top view and front view of the initial of the adsorption of the Cu atom on the oxygen atom at the atop site and its adsorption energy. The bond distance between the Cu atom and the oxygen atom is  $2.009 \text{ \AA}$ . After relaxation, the single atoms moved closer to the surface due to the electronegativity of oxygen.

NOTE: FIGURES 4 and 5 WERE SKIPPED?

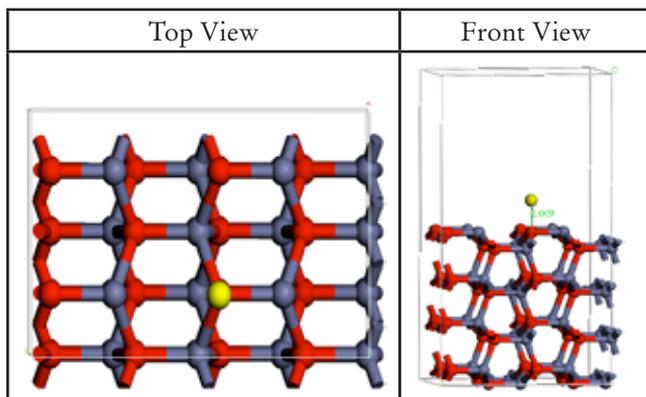


Figure 6. Cu atom adsorption on oxygen at atop site

Figure 7 shows a top view and front view of the initial of the adsorption of the Cu atom on the zinc atom at the atop site and its adsorption energy. The bond distance between the Cu atom and the zinc atom is  $2.002 \text{ \AA}$ . After relaxation, the single atom moved further away from the surface and it became more in a fcc-hollow position.

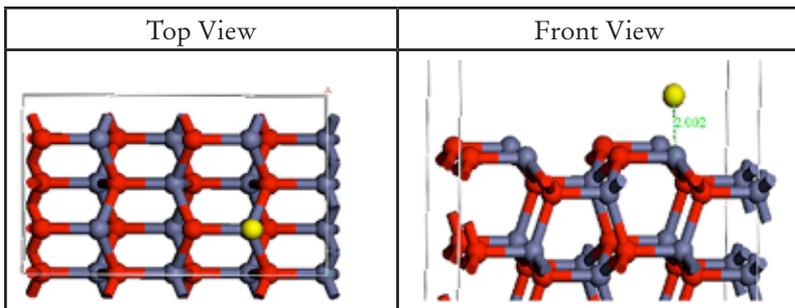


Figure 7. Cu atom adsorption on zinc at atop site.

Figure 8 shows a top view and front view of the initial position of the adsorption of the Cu atom at an fcc-hollow site on the first layer and its adsorption energy. The Cu atom is adsorbed at a position within the first layer that doesn't have any atoms beneath it. The bond distances between the Cu atom and the surrounding atoms on the surface were  $2.50 \pm 0.20 \text{ \AA}$ . After relaxation, the Cu atom moved closer to the surface and closer to the oxygen atoms on the surface.

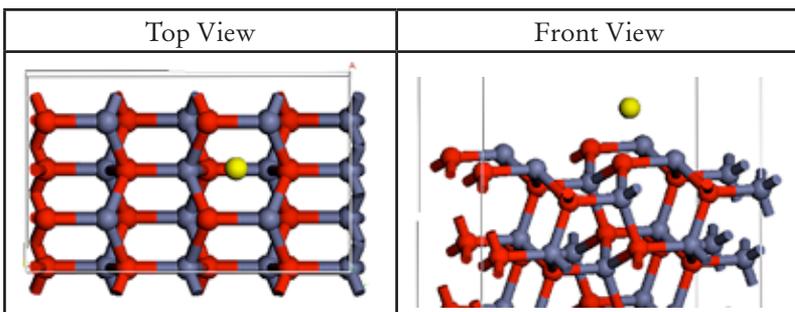


Figure 8. Cu atom adsorption at a fcc-hollow site on first layer.

Figure 9 shows a top view and front view of the initial position of the adsorption of the Cu atom at an fcc-hollow site on the second layer and its adsorption energy. Just as Figure 8, the Cu atom is adsorbed at a position within the second layer that doesn't have any atoms beneath it. The bond distances between the Cu atom and the surrounding atoms on the surface were  $2.20 \pm 0.10 \text{ \AA}$ . After relaxation, the copper atom had a strong adsorption energy to the surface most likely due to the interaction of the copper atom with the two oxygen atoms.

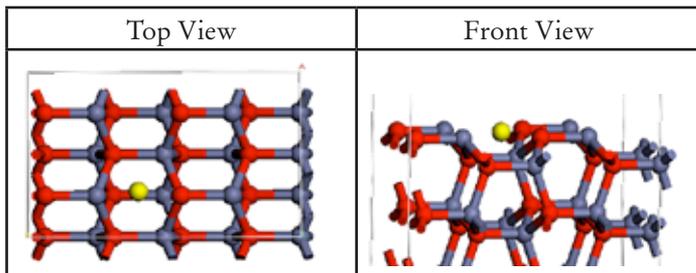


Figure 9. Cu atom adsorption at a fcc-hollow site on second layer

Figure 10 shows a top view and side view of the initial position of the adsorption of the Cu atom on an oxygen atom at an hcp-hollow site on the second layer and its adsorption energy. The bond distance between the Cu atom and the oxygen atom is  $2.008\text{\AA}$ . After relaxation, the copper atom moved closer to the surface due to its interaction with the highly electronegative oxygen atom.

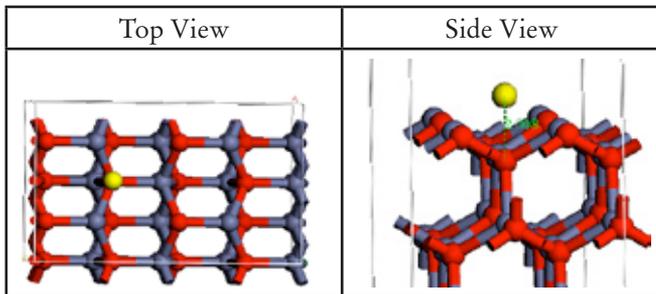


Figure 10. Cu atom adsorption oxygen at a hcp-hollow site.

Figure 11 shows a top view and front view of the initial and final position of the adsorption of the Cu atom on a zinc atom at an hcp-hollow site on the second layer and its adsorption energy. The bond distance between the Cu atom and the zinc atom is  $2.008\text{\AA}$ . After relaxation, the copper atom moved closer to the oxygen atoms on the surface and had the same adsorption energy as that of the fcc-hollow first layer adsorption energy.

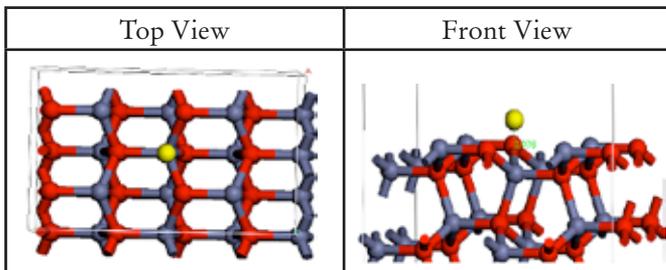


Figure 11. Cu atom adsorption zinc at a hcp-hollow site.

After fully relaxing the Cu single atom and the ZnO (100) surface, the distance between the Cu atoms and the zinc/oxygen atoms within the surface fluctuated. Table 5 shows a comparison of adsorption energies,  $E_{\text{ads}}$ , for all of the studied sites for the Cu single atom.

Table 5. Comparison of adsorption energies,  $E_{\text{ads}}$ , for  $\text{Cu}_2$ .

Adsorption sites	$E_{\text{ads}}$
Atop : oxygen	1.41eV
Atop : zinc	0.77eV
Hcp-hollow : oxygen	0.83eV
Hcp-hollow : zinc	0.74eV
Fcc-hollow : first layer	0.74eV
Fcc-hollow : second layer	1.02eV

### 3.2 $\text{Cu}_2$ adsorption on ZnO(100)

The bond distances between the  $\text{Cu}_2$  dimer and the oxygen/zinc atoms on the surface were slightly larger than the bond distance of the Cu single atom. The figures below shows only the front or side view of the  $\text{Cu}_2$  dimer adsorption at the various sites and not the top view because they are the same as the Cu single atom top views. For the  $\text{Cu}_2$  dimer adsorption, the bond distance between the Cu atoms and oxygen/zinc atoms on the surface at the atop sites and hcp-hollow sites were  $2.21 \pm 0.20$  Å. Figure 12 shows a front view of the initial position of the adsorption of the  $\text{Cu}_2$  dimer on the oxygen atom at the atop site and its adsorption energy. The bond distance between the Cu atom and the oxygen atom is 2.123Å. After relaxation, the  $\text{Cu}_2$  dimer formed a bent position and had the greatest adsorption energy of 1.05eV.

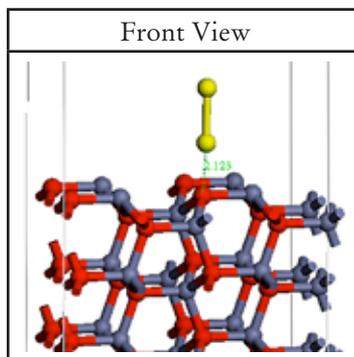


Figure 12.  $\text{Cu}_2$  dimer adsorption on oxygen at atop site.

Figure 13 shows a front view of the initial position of the adsorption of the  $\text{Cu}_2$  dimer on the zinc atom at the atop site and its adsorption energy. The

bond distance between the Cu atom and the zinc atom is  $2.115\text{\AA}$ . After adsorption, the copper atom formed a bent position while the one of the copper atoms moved very close to the oxygen atom versus the zinc atom.

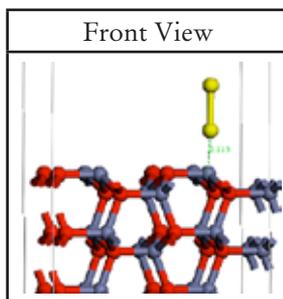


Figure 13.  $\text{Cu}_2$  dimer adsorption on zinc at atop site.

Figure 14 shows a front view of the initial position of the adsorption of the  $\text{Cu}_2$  dimer at an fcc-hollow site on the first layer and its adsorption energy. The bond distances between the Cu atom and the surrounding atoms on the surface were  $2.70\pm 0.20\text{\AA}$ . After relaxation, the  $\text{Cu}_2$  dimer went in to a bent position forming a monolayer at a low angle.

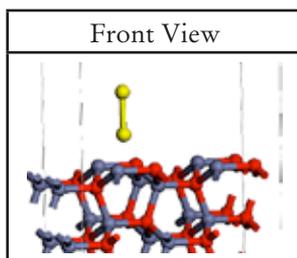


Figure 14.  $\text{Cu}_2$  dimer adsorption at a fcc-hollow site on first layer.

Figure 15 shows a front view of the initial position of the adsorption of the  $\text{Cu}_2$  dimer at an fcc-hollow site on the second layer and its adsorption energy. The bond distances between the Cu atom and the surrounding atoms on the surface were  $2.70\pm 0.20\text{\AA}$ . After relaxation, the  $\text{Cu}_2$  dimer moved closer to the oxygen atoms on the surface and formed bridge bonding and had one of the second highest adsorption energies of  $0.89\text{eV}$ .

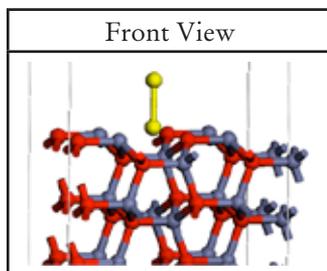


Figure 15.  $\text{Cu}_2$  dimer adsorption at an fcc-hollow site on second layer.

Figure 16 shows a side view of the initial position of the adsorption of the  $\text{Cu}_2$  dimer on an oxygen atom at an hcp-hollow site on the second layer and its adsorption energy. The bond distance between the Cu atom and the oxygen atom is  $2.192\text{\AA}$ . After relaxation, the  $\text{Cu}_2$  dimer moved closer to the surface and formed a slight bent position that had one of the second highest adsorption energy of  $0.89\text{eV}$ .

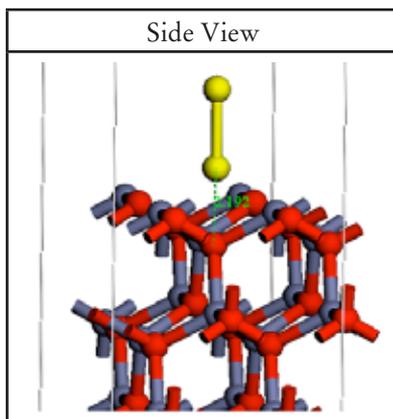


Figure 16.  $\text{Cu}_2$  dimer adsorption oxygen at a hcp-hollow site.

Figure 17 shows a front view of the initial position of the adsorption of the  $\text{Cu}_2$  dimer on a zinc atom at an hcp-hollow site on the second layer and its adsorption energy. The bond distance between the Cu atom and the zinc atom is  $2.125\text{\AA}$ . After relaxation, the  $\text{Cu}_2$  dimer formed a slight bent position that moved away from the zinc atom of the surface to about  $2.312\text{\AA}$ .

After fully relaxing the structures the  $\text{Cu}_2$  cluster changed slightly and the adsorption energy was determined. Table 6 shows a comparison of adsorption energies of the  $\text{Cu}_2$  dimer at the various adsorption sites.

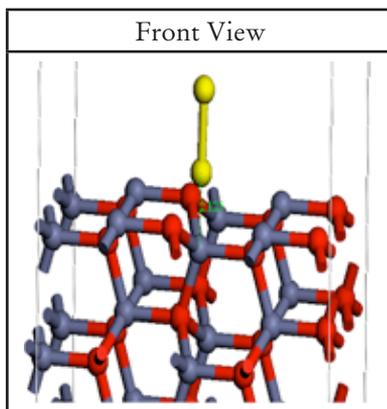


Figure 17.  $\text{Cu}_2$  dimer adsorption zinc at a hcp-hollow site.

Table 6. Comparison of adsorption energies,  $E_{\text{ads}}$ , for  $\text{Cu}_2$ .

Adsorption Sites	$E_{\text{ads}}$
Atop : oxygen	1.05eV
Atop : zinc	0.86eV
Hcp-hollow : oxygen	0.89eV
Hcp-hollow : zinc	0.74eV
Fcc-hollow : first layer	0.60eV
Fcc-hollow : second layer	0.89eV

#### 4. CONCLUSION

It can be concluded that copper clusters adsorb closer to oxygen atoms due to its electronegativity attraction. After relaxation, the copper single atom had the highest adsorption energy at the atop position on the oxygen. After relaxation, the copper dimer also had the highest adsorption energy at the atop position on the oxygen. No matter what position or geometry we placed the copper dimer on top of the surface, it relaxed to a bent position. This bent position suggests that the  $\text{Cu}_2$  cluster prefers slight monolayer geometry and rather has a huge surface area. Based on these results, it could be stated that indeed the surface of zinc oxide changes the structural and properties of small copper clusters.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly, I would love to give thanks to my mentor, Dr. Lichang Wang, who has been behind me with this long process research. She has given me guidance that has allowed me to accomplish as much as I could. I would like to acknowledge the McNair Scholar staff and graduate assistants. I will like to give a special thanks to Jim Stivers for all he has done to make this process easier and run smoother. Last but not least, I would like to acknowledge my fellow McNair scholars for having a shoulder I could lean on through these last couple weeks.

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# Narrow Casting or Narrowly Casting?: A Qualitative Analysis of Marketing Strategies Used on the Popular Social Networking Website Facebook

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## ABSTRACT

*Historically, marketing strategies and advertisements have perpetuated stereotypical and unrealistic representations of gender in the way they are presented in various forms of mass media. Specifically, men have been placed in roles which enable them to uphold traits of masculinity and dominance while women are often sexually objectified, reinforcing the binary opposition men superior/women inferior. The Internet provides the means to challenge and reconstruct such media representation. The purpose of this research project is to examine how men and women are being targeted on the popular social networking site, Facebook. This site allows marketers and advertisers to narrow cast or personalize ads to both males and females based on the information provided on their profile pages. By monitoring the pages of individual users and conducting a qualitative analysis of the data collected, I will be able to investigate whether Facebook implements marketing strategies that target individuals based on their profiles, or if it uses generic marketing practices that continue to perpetuate stereotypical gender roles.*

## INTRODUCTION TO RESEARCH STUDY

This study will allow me to explore the effectiveness of marketing strategies used in today's new media and learn how to successfully target the individual as opposed to a generic niche in which they belong. This research will contribute to the ongoing examinations of new media as it pertains to marketing and advertising. Through this study I will also address the problems that occur with stereotyping individuals into various groups and perpetuating unrealistic representations of gender through marketing strategies and advertisements.

In *Living Up to the Ads: Gender Fictions of the 1920s*, Simone Weil Davis notes that advertising has had a significant presence in national and local commerce since the 1870s. The American Association of Advertising Agencies set professional standards and truth in advertising as well as laid the groundwork for the industry's legitimization and self-regulation. Since that time, there has been a substantial amount of research published on the controversies of advertising, the ways males and especially females are portrayed in mass media, and how stereotypes and unrealistic representations of the male and female image are perpetuated throughout society and the way it view gender. *Gender and Utopia in*

*Advertising*, Marian MacCurdy addresses the historical resonance in modern ads in her article, “The Four Women of the Apocalypse: Polarized Feminine Images in Magazine Advertisements.” She states that there are four polarized images of women which can be seen in contemporary advertisements. These images include: the Courtly Lady<sup>1</sup>, the Virgin Mary<sup>2</sup>, the Temptress<sup>3</sup>, and the Sex Object.<sup>4</sup> Significantly, MacCurdy explains that none of these types construct women from a feminist lens; instead they depict women from a male perspective (Manca 34-40). Furthermore, she asserts that these images of women originated to reflect the problems of the male world; consequently, they have become the standard which many women have adopted.

Men also are categorized into stereotypical and unrealistic representations of gender within contemporary advertising; however, the way in which they are represented is not solely based upon how the opposite sex views them, but how they view themselves and each other. According to Peter Seely’s article “The Mirror and the Window of the Man of the Nineties: Portrayals of Males in Television Advertising,” men are classified by six types of male images. They include the Man’s Man<sup>5</sup>, the Wild and Crazy Guy<sup>6</sup>, the Wimp<sup>7</sup>, the Businessman<sup>8</sup>, the Hunk<sup>9</sup>, and the Sensitive Guy<sup>10</sup> (Manca, 98-105). As Seely’s paradigm illustrates, the categories associated with men are more numerous. Additionally, when relegated to these roles, it can be argued that men are presented in a more positive light because their sexuality is not emphasized as much as women’s. However, these are just a few examples of how stereotypes are perpetuated and how they can promote unrealistic representations of the male gender within various forms of marketing and advertising.

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1 The Courtly Lady is wealthy, aloof, powerful and admired.

2 The Virgin Mary lacks sexuality; however she has nurturing qualities and a significant concern and love for humanity.

3 The Temptress is a seductress who can lure men into delicious danger.

4 The Sex Object does not wield power; men have power over her. She is gazed at, objectified, used; and when she no longer offers the gazer what he wants, she is discarded. She is a commodity to be bought, sold, traded and shown off.

5 The Man’s Man is the broadest category including a variety of subcategories: the Yuppie, the Rugged Individualist, the Sportsman, the Macho Male, the Suave Sophisticate and the Blue-Collar Worker.

6 The Wild and Crazy Guy is generally too wild and too irresponsible and carefree to be neatly place into any of the other dimensions.

7 The Wimp is an unflattering and somewhat demeaning characterization.

8 The Businessmen possesses confidence professionalism and credibility.

9 The Hunk is often intended to titillate female viewers, but may achieve a certain amount of vicarious identification among males

10 The Sensitive Guy also seen as the role of the husband, father or boyfriend is undoubtedly a positive portrayal intended to appeal to both men and women. He has a strong self-image, multiple career choices and a marriage role that is not bound by traditional gender stereotypes. He is a liberated man, freed from the shackles by which gender stereotyping have traditionally bound him.

We have seen that the media presents views of women and men which are not in line with reality. Although men are portrayed as more multidimensional than women, the additional characteristics are stereotyped as well. Media producers, especially advertisers, argue that categorical images are what the public wants to see and that even if somewhat inaccurate, these portrayals generally reflect society (Lindsey, 330).

In the past, marketing strategies and advertisements have perpetuated stereotypical and unrealistic representations of gender. The Internet provides the means to challenge and reconstruct these marketing strategies, but perhaps it is not being used to its fullest potential. The Internet is a vessel of information and a significant communication tool that provides a new form of social media. There are a variety of new social media forms that allow companies to target individuals through various marketing strategies. Some of these new social media forms include blogging, podcasting and social networking sites (SNS). Popular social networking sites such as MySpace, YouTube, and Facebook are of interest to marketers and advertisers because they allow for a large number of people to be targeted without having to use other forms of media that are more costly and not as easily distributed.

Danah M. Boyd and Nicole B. Ellison, define social networking sites as “web-based services that allow individuals to (1) construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, (2) articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection, and (3) view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system” (Boyd and Ellison, 2). These sites allow individuals to meet new people and form friendships, share photos, music, videos, and blogs. This type of computer-mediated communication allows individuals to share specific information about themselves such as their hobbies, interests, organizational memberships, and companies or institutions in which they are affiliated. According to Boyd and Ellison, SNSs are becoming increasingly attractive and gaining much attention from academic and industry researchers who are intrigued by their affordability and reach. They also review the history and structure of such sites as well as discuss the key changes, developments and future research of SNSs. New social media networking sites such as Facebook present a great opportunity to challenge and reconstruct the ways in which men and women are targeted through advertisements. It is my intention to bring awareness to the fact that marketing and advertising strategies are continuously changing because of the advent of the Internet. Personal information from an individual’s profile page, web searches, and online shopping history are now being used to target them on the Web.

For this project, I will focus primarily on Facebook to see how individuals are marketed to through the use of new social media such as SNSs. In order to show the relationship marketers and advertisers have with specific

demographics, I will specifically focus on how male and female college students at Southern Illinois University, Carbondale are targeted on Facebook. By focusing on Facebook and the relationship the site has with their college-age audience, I will discover whether or not businesses using Facebook to market and advertise are taking advantage of narrowcast marketing or if they continue to market to a mass audience. I will also be determining whether these marketing strategies and advertisements perpetuate stereotypical and unrealistic representations of gender. In many instances marketing and advertising to a mass audience includes using stereotypical gender representations to target these audiences. I propose that through the use of SNSs and other forms of new social media, the internet provides corporations with unlimited ability and information to directly target individuals and their interests; therefore, social networking sites such as Facebook makes narrowcasting possible and more efficient.

SNSs like Facebook were launched to support niche demographics before expanding to a broader audience. In its beginning, in early 2004, Facebook was designed to support distinct college networks only (Boyd and Ellison, 11). It was founded by Mark Zuckerberg, a psychology student at Harvard University. "A Brief History of Facebook," an article out of the British newspaper *The Guardian* written by Sarah Phillips, explains how Zuckerberg developed a number of social-networking websites for fellow students. These sites included *Coursematch*, which allowed users to view people receiving their degree, and *Facemash*, a site that rated people's attractiveness. In February 2004, Zuckerberg launched "The Facebook," which was available to Harvard students as well as other Boston universities and Ivy League schools. The site became so popular that it was eventually introduced to the rest of universities and colleges across the United States. In August 2005, the network became known as "Facebook.com," and it became accessible to high school students. In September 2005, "Facebook.com" was made available worldwide and in September 2006, the network extended beyond educational institutions and became available to anyone with a registered email address. Today, Facebook is considered one of the most popular social networking sites.

According to Boyd and Ellison, there are currently no reliable data regarding how many people use SNSs, although marketing research indicates that SNS are growing in popularity worldwide. This growth has prompted many corporations to invest time and money in creating, purchasing, promoting, and advertising on SNSs. "Social network sites also provide rich sources of naturalistic behavior data. Profile and linkage data from SNSs can be gathered either through the use of automated collection techniques or through datasets provided directly from the company, enabling network analysis researchers to explore large-scale patterns of friending (finding and becoming friends with

others via the SNS), usage, and other visible indicators and continuing an analysis trend that started with examinations of blogs and other websites” (Boyd and Ellison, 14). This collection of data can be used to help corporations’ employ better marketing strategies to advertise their products or ideas. SNSs provide a wealth of information about potential consumers as well as a host of topics that will help corporations target any individual based on the information provided on their profile page. One’s profile typically includes key descriptors such as network, age, location, interests, and a personal “about me” section that allows users to further elaborate about themselves and/or their interests. Most sites also encourage users to upload a profile picture and enhance their profile by adding multimedia content or modifying it by using other applications. I propose that these specific details can help companies in their efforts to use narrowcast marketing as opposed to targeting a mass audience when promoting their products and ideas through new media such as SNSs. This approach might be helpful in reducing the number of marketing strategies and advertisements that enable stereotyping and unrealistic representations of gender.

### REVIEW OF LITERATURE

As the media evolves due to technological advancements, more literature is being written about how these changes are affecting and revolutionizing the way in which advertising is being used to promote products and ideas. The majority of the texts used in this research focus on the social networking site Facebook, marketing through new media, marketing strategies and research used for promotion, and gender representations in advertising. The information provided in these resources will help to demonstrate how new media, particularly SNSs, use marketing strategies to target men and women. Additionally, the texts also provide relevant information that focuses on Facebook and the relationship the site has with its users, marketing and advertising strategies used with new media as well as traditional marketing strategies, and historical stereotypes and unrealistic representations of gender roles that are used within many different forms of the media.

There has not been a considerable amount of literature written about social networking sites such as Facebook; however, recently, scholars have begun researching the history and influence of SNSs. In the journal article “Social Network Sites: Definition, History, and Scholarship,” authors Danah M. Boyd and Nicole B. Ellison focus on the features of SNSs and propose a comprehensive definition of the “emergent phenomenon.” Boyd and Ellison offer their perspective on the history of SNSs, discuss key changes and developments, and conclude with considerations for future research.

In *The New Influencers: A Marketer’s Guide to the New Social Media*, Paul Gillin explains how new social media forms have changed the way companies market to consumers. Gillin’s focal point is this transformation in media that

provide individuals with the opportunity and tools to express themselves like never before. He focuses primarily on blogs<sup>11</sup> and podcasts,<sup>12</sup> two forms of new media that present alternative strategies to traditional marketing. Gillin argues that marketers need to understand, accept, and participate in this new world of social media, because “[t]he tools they’ve been using to reach their customers for the last fifty years are becoming less and less effective” (Gillin, xiii). He argues that social media offers marketers the opportunity to break this gridlock and engage with their customers in a whole new way—“conversation marketing,” which creates a dialogue where useful information is exchanged to benefit both parties.

The internet provides narrow cast, individualized marketing that can target smaller groups of people. Gillin states that it is now possible to address small audiences cost-effectively by building affinity groups that had not existed before and by delivering information at a velocity that was impossible in print (4).

Larry Weber’s *Marketing to the Social Web: How Digital Customer Communities Build Your Business*, explains that marketing is currently exploding with possibilities and complexities as it reaches out into new forms, media, and models. He states that marketers have an exceptional opportunity to use these new tools and models to reach new markets, even in a fragmented media market. Weber also addresses how marketers and their companies should understand the context of new marketing, and prioritize what they need to do to build customer communities and maximize profit. He presents specific strategies to find and engage customers, describing newly available tools and platforms, and showing how to apply them to see immediate results and growth. In his book, Weber primarily focuses on who the Web will grow and transform.

The Web has and will continue to change everything. A world of transparent content, mostly user-generated, broadband, rich media and available on multiple devices continue to evolve. Marketing at its best is the influencing of opinion through compelling content; doing so through the Web will get harder before it gets easier, but the change is gaining momentum. The Web has consumed almost all the traditional media: television, print, radio, and direct mail will contribute to these dialogues. Companies will have to learn to contribute to these dialogues and share with their customers and potential customers (Weber, viii).

Weber explains that this way of new marketing is only the beginning. He

- 11 A blog is a blend of the term “web log”. It is a website, usually maintained by a person who makes regular entries of comments and descriptions of events. Blogs can consist of other material such as graphics or video. Entries are usually displayed in a reverse sequential order.
- 12 A podcast is a series of audio or video, digital-media files that are distributed over the Internet using web syndication that can be downloaded and played on portable media players and computers.

addresses the fact that corporations will have to create communities through content, through visual impact and through conversation, and allow friends and strangers to share their thoughts about a company's products, offers, sales weaknesses, and strengths.

*The New Rules of Marketing and PR: How to use New Releases, Blogs, Podcasting, Viral Marketing and Online Media to Reach Buyers Directly*, by David Meerman Scott shows individuals how to use the potential that Web based communication offers businesses. Scott explains how to take advantage of the power of the Internet. He shows how to identify audiences, create messages, get those messages to the right people, and lead consumers into the buying process. This resource is important to my research because it supports my claim of the importance of new media and marketing strategies that are changing the way businesses reach their customer. The book illustrates that media is changing the way people do business, market and advertise, and buy products. Scott argues that the problem is that "many people still apply the old rules of advertising and media relations to the new medium of the Web, and fail miserably as a result. I am firmly convinced that we're now in an environment governed by new rules... the old rules of marketing and PR just don't work" (Scott, xxiv-xxvi).

Jim Sterne's *World Wide Web Marketing: Integrating the Web into Your Marketing Strategy*, addresses several facts pertaining to World Wide Web marketing.

The internet is growing fast with 17 gazillion more people, more Web sites, and more spam every day. It works. It works well. It can be trusted to continue working. The customer has assumed control of the playing field and businesses of all kind better listen up. We have to build and deliver what people want, rather than what we think they should want (Sterne, xix).

These are important topics to consider in my research. It is important for me understand this competitive-edge issue and how closely it relates to marketing and advertising through SNSs. Sterne's book offers valuable information that addresses marketing on the Internet and brings readers up to date with the latest in technologies and techniques.

Charlene Li and Josh Bernoff, authors of the book *Groundswell: Winning in a World Transformed by Social Technologies*, are two Forrester analysts with practical, data-based strategies for companies that want to take advantage of social technologies like blogs, social networks, and YouTube (YouTube is a video sharing website where users can upload, view and share video clips). Li and Bernoff feature twenty-five full case studies, a complete road map for social strategy, and data from around the world to show how leading companies are gaining insights, generating revenue, saving money and energizing their own customers all through the use of new media. They explain that compared to the way things were in 2000, the trend of people connecting with and depending on each other online is accelerating. Li and Bernoff further state

that along with people's desire to connect, online economics has become a driving force on the internet—traffic equals money. (Li and Bernoff, 10-11) *Groundswell* offers valuable information for my research because it focuses on the trend of online advertising in addition to strategies crucial to online corporate development.

The following books all focus on research in the areas of mass media and/or marketing, and I find the authors' topics to be useful to my particular research. Alf H. Walle's book, *Qualitative Research in Intelligence and Marketing* discusses how to conduct qualitative review and how to take advantage of qualitative analytical techniques. *Doing Research Projects in Marketing, Management and Consumer Research* by Chris Hackley shows researchers how to familiarize themselves with the philosophical perspectives, data gathering techniques and analytical methods derived from interpretive research. Hackley also gives examples from existing studies and suggests new topics for consideration. *Mass Media Research: An Introduction* by Roger D. Wimmer and Joseph R. Dominick explore mass communication research and ethics of research. Wimmer and Dominick explore major approaches to research, including qualitative research, content analysis, survey research, longitudinal research, and experimental research. They provide a section pertaining to data analysis, research applications, and topics on media including the Internet. All of these books are helpful to my research because they are aimed at student researchers who are working in subject areas dealing with mass media marketing, qualitative and consumer research.

The following books deal with gender and self-image within advertising. They are important to this research because they provide a substantial amount of information concerning gender roles and representation. These books all have different interpretations of the impact of gender in marketing and advertising, but they all maintain that it can present negative representations of gender within media and society. I will be using these sources to see how the information can particularly relate to SNSs that use marketing strategies to target men and women online as opposed to more traditional media.

Articles from the book *Gender & Utopia in Advertising* explore the connection between gender and utopian imagery in advertising, and argues that utopian visions reflect traditional and nontraditional gender roles and have shaped consumer's fantasies. In *Living Up to the Ads: Gender Fictions of the 1920s*, Simone Weil Davis gives the history of advertisements and how gender roles were portrayed in society during that time. This book is important to my research because it provides a valuable history to the area in which I am researching and it also provides information that shows how society has changed over time when it comes to gender representation in advertisements and various forms of media. *Measuring Up: How Advertising Affects Self-Image* by Vickie Rutledge Shields and Dawn Heinecken shows

how the images display the values of a society that has more interest in the body than the mind. The authors look at advertising as more than just a way to extract money from unsuspecting people. Specifically, they also view it as a vehicle for conveying the larger views of a confining, body-obsessed culture. They explore theoretical and textual insights from feminist and cultural studies perspectives of real women and men, and examine the complex relationship between the idealized images of gender we see in advertising and our own thoughts, feelings, and behavior in relation to these images. *Controversies in Contemporary Advertising* by Kim Sheehan explores the negative effects of advertising and provides a broad context for advertising criticism. Sheehan looks at issues such as stereotyping, advertising of controversial products and advertising-media outlet interactions using a range of perspectives to effectively analyze issues regarding advertising. These books help show how marketing and advertising strategies are used within new media. They also explore traditional marketing strategies, historical stereotypes and unrealistic representations of gender that are used in many different forms of the media.

## METHODOLOGY

Social networking sites such as Facebook appear to use marketing strategies to stereotypically target individuals and present them with unrealistic representations of gender based on profile information provided by the users. I have conducted a qualitative analysis to (1) observe whether social networking websites use marketing strategies to stereotypically target individuals based upon profile information provided by website users; (2) examine if new social media perpetuate historical stereotypes and unrealistic representations of gender roles, and (3) find out if social networking websites are taking advantage of individualized marketing strategies or are these sites continuing to use generic marketing strategies even though they have the ability to directly target the individual? To find the answers to the abovementioned questions, I collected data from ten (six male and four female) college students' profile pages and the advertisements they received from their Facebook Ad Board<sup>13</sup> to examine whether there was a relationship between their profile page and the advertisements they received. In addition, I provided them with a questionnaire<sup>14</sup> to get further information on their thoughts about how they were targeted on the site. This randomly selected group of participants logged into their Facebook accounts where for three days, I gathered their personal information<sup>15</sup> from their profile pages and monitored the advertisements<sup>16</sup> they received from

13 The Facebook Ad Board is an application that allows advertisers to reach a targeted group of people on this particular social networking site.

14 See Appendix C: Participants' Questionnaire

15 See Appendix A: Participants' Profile Information

16 See Appendix B: Participants' Advertisements from the Facebook Ad Board

their Ad Board. I then categorized and examined the advertisements of each participant and related the information to their profile information in an attempt to find answers to the hypothesis and research questions abovementioned. However, there are limitations to the data collected for this research because it was limited to only ten students who were all from the same university, all of the participants were between the ages of 18 and 35, and they were all perceived as heterosexual. If I had been given more time and resources, I would have been able to look at individuals outside of these particular demographics and explore advertisements of a more diverse population of participants. To get a better sense of who participated in the research, the chart below provides the “name,” sex, relationship status, year in school, and major of each individual. This was the primary information taken into consideration when conducting the research and analyzing the results.

Name	Sex	Relationship Status	Year in School	Major/Interests
Alex	Male	Single	Junior	Radio Television
Ben	Male	In a Relationship	Junior	Aviation Management
Carla	Female	Not Available	Junior	Cinema & Photography
Derrick	Male	In a Relationship	Freshman	Accounting Education & Development
Elizabeth	Female	Single	Graduate Student	Workforce
Fred	Male	Single	Senior	University Studies
Gina	Female	Single	Graduate Student	Mass Communication & Media Arts – Professional Media Management
Hector	Male	Not Available	Senior	Mass Communication & Media Arts, Political Science
Ian	Male	Single	Sophomore	Aviation Management
Jennifer	Female	Married	Graduate Student	Media Management

## RESULTS

During the three days of data collection I recorded all of the information necessary to conduct this research project: the profile information from each of the ten participants, a total of approximately 630 advertisements, and answers to the questionnaire presented to each participant at the end of the data collection. The questionnaire had a total of six questions including space at the bottom for comments. I focused my attention towards three of the six questions asked in the questionnaire which seem to contribute the most information in answering my hypotheses. According to the advertisements accumulated from all of the participants during

the three days, 236 of the ads that were collected presented some form of stereotypical depiction and/or unrealistic representation of gender. These particular ads ranged in content from gaming ads for men, to high-heeled shoe ads for women; dating/relationship and body image ads for both males and females displayed the opposite sex (mostly women) in sexually enticing poses and presenting users with suggestive language relating to gender and particular roles men and women should exhibit.

*Result - Gender Roles: How gender is presented in the ads*

A majority of the participants had concerns with the types of ads they were receiving and in many circumstances were surprised at how they were being targeted. When male participants were asked: "What are your thoughts of how gender roles are presented in the ads?" Ben stated that "gender roles are played out a lot in the ads. Most of my ads were ads for meeting girls, or buying an engagement ring for my girlfriend." Derrick said that he believed the roles were presented very heavily. "I had engagement ring opportunities. I had male shoe ads, movies that were more masculine such as the *Gladiator*." Hector said that his first three ads on the first day of the data collection were for sex tips for men, hot cheerleader photos and how to meet women in Carbondale. "This makes me believe that gender plays a large role in the Facebook advertisement scheme."

When asked the same question most of the female participants commented on how they noticed gender roles playing a major part in how they were targeted. Carla said that she noticed that some of the ads try to target her because she is female. "The ads are for clothing and accessories or for dieting plans and pills. Sometimes, I receive ads for flowers or wedding rings." Gina said that everyday she received three to four ads that offer weight loss solutions. "In this sense I know marketers are generically reaching out to users. It is unfortunate that these types of ads should be mass circulated to users who happen to check the Female box on their Facebook profiles. Instead I would love to see this basic marketing strategy used with advertisements that are both appropriate and helpful to women like – education opportunities (earn your Master's degree online) or health care reminders (HPV vaccines, cervical cancer risks)."

While the abovementioned statements may hold true for the majority of the participants, some individuals did not mind the gender specific ads. Alex stated that they [marketers and advertisers] are simply trying to market towards our interests, which is just smart advertising" Elizabeth said she has 'girlie' interests like shoes so the gender roles were fair. "All of the other ads I received seem to represent both genders well." Ian responded by saying, "I'm glad they do gender roles, because advertisements aimed at women do not want to be viewed by men." During the data collection I noticed that while many people might not be offended by the types of ads they receive, most individuals would prefer

ads that better target their own particular interests that relate to the information they have presented on their profile page, especially when these ads are gender related. However, marketers and advertisers seem to find it easier to target individuals based on gender stereotypes.

Advertisements present brief dramatic stories with a message in a very short time period.... using stereotypes in advertising messages quickly sets the stage for the messages: Stereotypes convey characters and images quickly and clearly (Sheehan, 79).

This quote helps to explain common themes I found in my data analysis I have noticed that throughout gathering the data, new social media continues to perpetuate many of the traditional stereotypes and unrealistic representations of gender and many of the participants fed into it because it has become such a social norm.

#### *Results – Advertisements Received: Targeting One’s Personal Interests*

Throughout this research project, I not only wanted to observe whether social networking websites use marketing strategies to stereotypically target individuals based upon profile information provided by website users and examine if new social media perpetuate historical gender stereotypes, but I also wanted to observe whether social networking websites are taking advantage of individualized marketing strategies. I also wanted to observe whether these sites are continuing to use generic strategies even though they have the ability to directly target the individual via their profile information. When participants were asked if they feel as though the advertisements on Facebook target their personal interests based on the information they provided on their profile page, nearly all of the participants responded “yes.” Carla stated that she believed the ads did try to target her personal interests. “I am a photography major, so I receive a lot of ads about photography websites and photo contests. Also, I receive ads based on the musical information that I put onto my profile. The ads either tell me about new albums or concerts coming up for the artists that I like. Other ads say that I might like a new artist because of the artists I already like.”

On the contrary, there were a couple of individuals who felt as though the ads did not address their interests. Fred said that most of the ads were for dating and sex sites, which he does not visit. Gina stated: “Overall, I feel like ads were not strategically targeted towards me. Explaining further, oftentimes the ads would be relevant to me (single advertisement because I’m single) however; these types of advertisements were generic in nature. Furthermore, the only ads I felt that were actually geared toward me—and not a stereotypical profile on myself based on my Facebook interests—were the shoe advertisements from Ilike.com and the Root’s concert ad.”

*Results – Strategic Marketing: Using Your Personal Information to Market to You*

The most important aspect of this research is understanding the future of marketing strategies on new media and the response individuals have concerning the way marketers and advertisers target them using their personal information. I asked the participants the question: “How do you feel about companies taking your personal information to market to you? The majority of the participants responded by saying that they did not mind companies using applications to target them through social networking sites such as Facebook. These individuals specified that as long as credit card numbers were not being taken and phone calls and email were not being made, they did not see a problem with this new marketing strategy. “If they were hammering me with emails and forcing pop-ups it would be a very different story, said Derrick. One participant who was totally new to this concept stated, “At first it seemed strange and I was slightly put it off by it. However, the more I looked through the advertisements I began to appreciate the idea. There is nothing more annoying than watching TV and having an ad you’ve seen hundreds of times pop up. With the Facebook ads there is a special format that allows companies to try to appeal to what you may really want instead of depending on group demographics. The Facebook advertising is more efficient for everyone involved.”

However, three participants did have some reservations about the whole idea. Alex said “It makes me think more about how easily information can be obtained on the Internet. I will keep this in mind when posting pictures and making comments more-so than I did before. Carla stated, “I put all of my interests on my profile so that my friends or potential friends can know a little bit more about me. I didn’t do it so that companies could try and sell me a product. I do know, however, that I’m always being targeted in some form or another, so it doesn’t surprise me that Facebook lets companies see my information. I know that I am always being targeted to by something and that is the nature of our society. Everyone is always trying to make money.”

Frustrated with some of the ads that did not quite target her interest completely, Gina states, “I would prefer my personal info to be used by marketers to SELECTIVELY and ACCURATELY target me. I am hoping this will cut down on being exposed to pointless advertising.”

Jennifer was the only participant who was completely against the concept of companies using her Facebook profile information to target her with ads. She said, “I don’t like the fact that companies take my information and market it to me. I never go to the ads they put up and feel like if I want something, be it diapers, the new weight loss pill or whatever, then I’ll go get it. I think the ads rub in your face what you want or what they think you may need. But it is a smart tactic.”

## CONCLUSION

Whether the participants liked it or not they were being targeted through the use of the generic and/or personal information they provided on their profile page. However, after reviewing the data collected over the course of gathering the research, I found that most of the ads did not target the participants based on their individual interests. Even though the participants listed key information about their interests on their profile pages, they were still for the most part, generically targeted based on their gender. After having conducted this research I have learned that marketers use stereotypes to help them target individuals and despite the innovative technology, new social media still continues to perpetuate many of the traditional stereotypes and unrealistic representations of gender.

This research has provided me with the opportunity to explore many other avenues of strategic marketing via new media. Due to time restraints and the lack of a larger and more diverse group of participants I was unable to conduct research that would have allowed me to fully explore all the areas that are of interest to me concerning marketing on social networking site and new media. Given the opportunity to further expand on this research, I would like to explore how ads on Facebook differ from other forms of media and how these differences are accepted among the general public. I would also like to monitor patterns in the types of ads receive by individuals over a lengthy period of time; and most importantly, I would like to investigate whether any other stereotypical advertisements besides gender specific ads are used regarding other groups/areas in which individuals occupy such as age, sexual orientation, network/institution, hometown and/or other personal information listed on individuals' profile pages.

By furthering this research, I would like to contribute to the ongoing conversation regarding new marketing strategies and advertising used in today's new media. I hope to continue to address the problems that occur with stereotyping individuals, and I would like to find ways to successfully target an individual rather than having to use stereotypical and unrealistic representations of gender to reach them.

New social media networking websites present a great opportunity to challenge and reconstruct the ways in which members of different gender groups are targeted through marketing and I would like to continue to observe the changes and advancements these sites make to their marketing and advertising strategies.

This study will has allowed me to explore the effectiveness of marketing strategies used in today's new media and I have learned that there is not one way in which marketers and advertisers can successfully target the individuals on new social media such as social networking sites. The problems that occur with stereotyping individuals into various groups and perpetuating unrealistic representations of gender through marketing strategies and advertisements is

still apparent with new media; however this new trend is reshaping the way companies target potential customers.

This research study has examined how men and women are being targeted on the popular social networking site, Facebook, which allows marketers and advertisers to personalize ads to both males and females based on the information provided on their profile pages. I have monitored the pages of individual users and conducting a qualitative analysis of the data collected, and found that new media sites are using a hybrid approach to targeting potential customers. They use both a strategy that targets individuals based on their generic information provided on their profile pages. Though these strategies will continue to grow and change over time, I have found that using generic marketing practices more often than not perpetuates stereotypes and unrealistic representations of gender, perhaps being advantageous to a company, but insulting to its potential customers.

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# Expression of the Foxd1 gene in the pituitary during embryonic development

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Physiology

## ABSTRACT

*The pituitary gland is an endocrine gland the size of a pea, located beneath the brain, consisting of the anterior, intermediate, and posterior lobes. In spite of this gland being small in size, its role is significant. The pituitary gland is responsible for making hormones that control other endocrine glands. The anterior lobe is responsible for controlling the adrenal, reproductive, mammary, and thyroid glands by producing growth hormone, adrenocorticotrophic hormone, thyroid-stimulating hormone, gonadotropins, and prolactin [1]. Forkhead transcription factors are important for organ development [2]. RT-PCR results suggest that the forkhead factor, Foxd1, is expressed in both adult male and female mouse pituitary and in the developing pituitary at e12.5 and e18.5 (12.5 and 18.5 embryonic days after conception). We have detected expression of the forkhead transcription factor, Foxd1, in the mesenchyme, ventral diencephalon, and tissue surrounding the pituitary in mice at e12.5 by examining  $\beta$ -galactosidase staining of embryos at that age. We detect Foxd1 expression in the pituitary 10 days after birth (P10) and as an adult. Knowing where the Foxd1 gene is expressed will help us understand the function of FOXD1 protein in the pituitary gland. Without the presence of the Foxd1 gene, the developing embryos could have isolated growth hormone deficiency (IGHD) or combined pituitary hormone deficiency (CPHD). CPHD is most often attributable to defects in transcription factors [3]. These studies will provide information to treat and hopefully prevent pituitary defects.*

The pituitary gland is an important endocrine gland located at the base of the brain. It is needed to relay hormonal messages between the brain and peripheral endocrine organs. The pituitary gland is composed of three lobes: the anterior lobe, the intermediate lobe, and the posterior lobe. Development of this gland begins during embryogenesis [1] on embryonic day 8.5 (e8.5). At this stage, the anterior lobe placode thickens in the oral ectoderm and invaginates forming Rathke's Pouch [4], which then undergoes differentiation and proliferation leading to the development of the three lobes [1]. The anterior and intermediate lobes derive from the oral ectoderm, while the posterior lobe derives from the neural ectoderm [5]. The anterior lobe is responsible for producing adrenocorticotrophic hormone (ACTH), thyroid-stimulating hormone (TSH $\beta$ ), growth hormone (GH), follicle-stimulating hormone and lutenizing hormone (FSH $\beta$  and LH $\beta$ ), and prolactin (PRL) by corticotrope, thyrotrope, somatotrope, gonadotrope, and lactotrope cells respectively [1]. TSH, FSH and LH are composed of  $\beta$  and  $\alpha$ -subunits. The  $\alpha$ -subunits of these

hormones are identical, the  $\beta$ -subunit is what gives these hormones their unique identities. The posterior lobe secretes vasopressin and oxytocin, which are needed for childbirth, blood pressure regulation, and lactation [6].

The pituitary gland is a central regulator for growth and development in children [5]. Two types of deficiencies are isolated growth hormone deficiency (IGHD) and combined pituitary hormone deficiency (CPHD). The occurrence of short stature associated with IGHD is between 1/4000 and 1/10,000 live births. A child with this deficiency may have been born of normal length and weight but may progressively become developmentally delayed with age. Some effects of IGHD include: facial appearance younger than actual age, high pitch voice, and delayed puberty until late teens. Most cases are sporadic and may arise from cerebral defects in the pituitary [7]. CPHD includes growth failure secondary to growth hormone and thyroid-stimulating hormone deficiencies and delayed or incomplete secondary sexual development with infertility and secondary to follicle-stimulating hormone and luteinizing hormone deficiencies. Transcription factor genes play a significant role in pituitary gland formation and function and are the primary cause of CPHD.

Transcription factors are proteins that bind to DNA to activate or repress transcription. Forkhead transcription factors are not among the largest transcription factor family; however, their large diversity and involvement in biological processes make them significant. The nomenclature of forkhead transcription factors is derived from two spike-headed structures in the embryos of *Drosophila* forkhead mutants. These mutations affect the formation of the anterior and posterior gut [2].

Forkhead transcription factors are essential to the differentiation, proliferation, and morphogenesis in embryos [2]. They also play important roles in cancer, metabolic processes, aging [8], and in the maintenance of immune homeostasis [9]. Some studies may even suggest that the forkhead gene family may play an important part in lymphocyte development and effector function, macrophage differentiation, and T cell activation [8]. Recent studies suggest that forkheads appear to have an integrated multi-layered complex network in Th cells that modulate inflammatory responses used in the immune system [9]. Mutations in forkhead genes cause congenital malformations. Mutations in eight different forkhead genes are associated with human developmental disorders, including immune, skeletal, circulatory, and craniofacial defects. Four of the disorders cause eye abnormalities [10]. One type of forkhead gene is the *Foxd1* gene [2].

*Foxd1*, commonly referred to as FREAC-4 or the murine Brain Factor 2, is a member of the forkhead transcription factor family that is important for renal formation [2,10-12] and the establishment of binocular visual

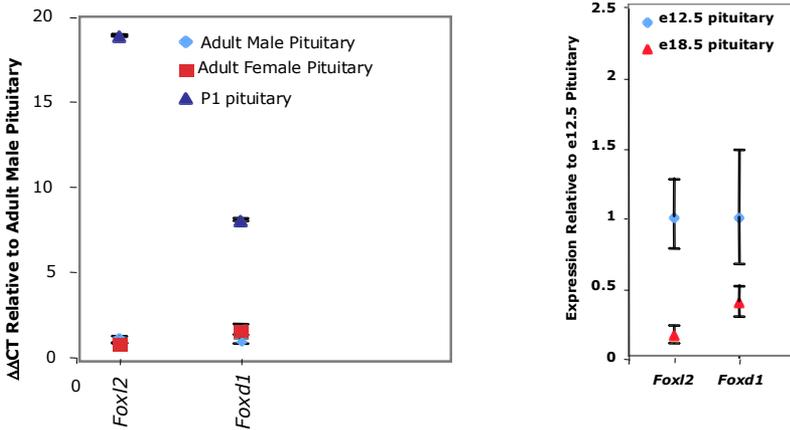
pathways [11]. Foxd1 is also essential for correct regionalization of the optic chiasm [11]. Foxd1 is expressed in the stromal cells of the kidney and is required for normal transition of induced mesenchyme into tubular epithelium. It also is needed for the growth and branching of the collecting system in the kidneys [2]. Studies show that the increase of binding of FOXD1 to a TGF- $\beta$  responsive element stimulates Smad6 expression, a signal transduction molecule that regulates plasminogen activator inhibitor-1 (PAI-1), a protease inhibitor. PAI-1 is needed to regulate vascular function and tissue remodeling [12]. FOXD1 coordinates the inflammatory transcription factors needed to maintain immune homeostasis, appears to regulate lymphocyte activation, and is a candidate regulator for other members of the forkhead family, such as Foxj1 [9]. FOXD1 also induces the Placental Growth Factor (PlGF), which contributes to stromal proliferation and differentiation signals [13] This forkhead gene has a domain with 100% amino acid identity and is one of the many transcriptional activators. Mutation or deletion of this gene can cause a variety of complications.

Studies have shown that a mutant Foxd1 gene can cause death in mice within 24 hours after birth due to renal failure [2]. Foxd1 mutation causes heterogeneous layers of cells to disrupt early patterning in nephron progenitors, which, in turn, delays and disorganizes nephrogenesis. In the maturing kidneys of subjects lacking the Foxd1 gene, the kidneys fail to separate from the midline. As a result, the kidneys fuse and remain localized in the pelvis rather than ascending fully to their normal position in the lumbar regions because [10] loss or gain of forkhead box function can affect cell fate and the development of tumors as well as cancer progression [14]. Sonic hedgehog (SHH) signaling controls the development of the main dorsal brain structures where the pituitary lies. Studies have shown that SHH may be required for tumor maintenance since its antagonist, cyclopamine, inhibits the proliferation of brain tumor cells [15]. Further research could be done to explain how there can be a relationship with SHH maintaining tumors that may come from forkhead transcription factor mutations.

## **RESULTS**

### *RT-PCR suggests that Foxd1 is expressed in the pituitary*

To discover whether Foxd1 is expressed in the pituitary, we ran a real-time polymerase chain reaction (RT-PCR) with Foxl2 serving as our positive control. Based on recent studies Foxl2 is present in the pituitary before and after birth [16]. The results for the RT-PCR ran for this experiment suggested that Foxd1 is expressed in both adult male and female pituitary and during embryonic development in the pituitary at e12.5 and e18.5 (Figure 1).



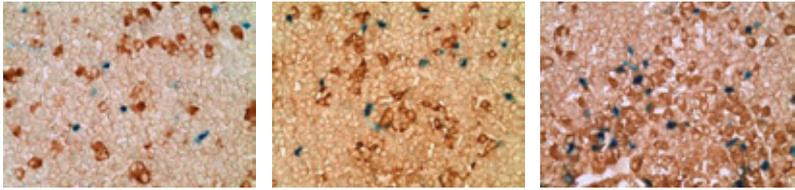
**Fig 1.** Real time RT-PCR revealed that *Foxd1* is present in mouse pituitary during embryonic development and as an adult. The forkhead transcription factor *Foxl2* serves as the control. Expression is set relative to an adult male pituitary. RT-PCR suggests that *Foxd1* is present in adult male and female pituitary, as well as in the embryonic pituitary at e12.5 and e18.5.

### *Foxd1* is expressed in the pituitary

There are no antibodies that work for immunostaining FOXD1; as a result, we replaced the *Foxd1* gene with a *LacZ* gene. *LacZ* produces the enzyme  $\beta$ -galactosidase, which then produces a blue color once activated. This blue color represents *Foxd1* expression. Wherever blue is on the staining, there is *Foxd1*. To discover when the *Foxd1* gene is first expressed in the pituitary, we performed  $\beta$ -galactosidase staining on frozen section of mice embryos on ages e12.5 and e14.5. After performing this staining, we discovered that *Foxd1* is expressed in the mesenchyme, ventral diencephalon, and surrounding tissue of the pituitary. We also performed stains on mouse pituitary 10 days after birth (P10) and an adult male. These data show that *Foxd1* is expressed in the pituitary in both the anterior and posterior lobe at P10 and in the adult male pituitary (Figure 3).

### *Which pituitary cell types express Foxd1*

To determine which pituitary cell types express *Foxd1* in the pituitary gland, we performed immunohistochemistry (IHC) on an adult male pituitary that was stained for  $\beta$ -galactosidase activity by whole mount. For the IHC we used antibodies that bind to ACTH, LH $\beta$ , and  $\alpha$ -subunit to mark corticotrope, gonadotrope and thyrotrope cells, respectively. Based on the IHC, these hormones do not co-localize to the same cells as *Foxd1*. Consequently, corticotrope, gonadotrope, and thyrotrope cells in the pituitary do not express *Foxd1* (Figure 2).

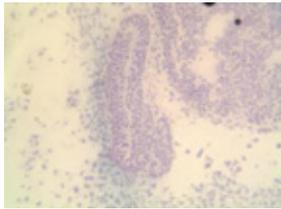


$\alpha$ -subunit hormone staining

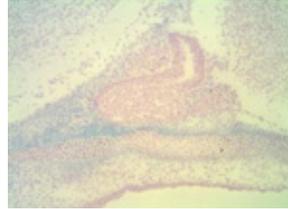
ACTH hormone staining

LH $\beta$  hormone

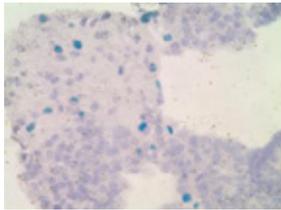
**Fig. 2.** An IHC staining was performed to identify which pituitary cell types express *Foxd1* on the male adult pituitary that had previously been whole mount  $\beta$ -gal stained. Antibodies that bind to  $\alpha$ -subunit, ACTH, and LH $\beta$  were used to mark corticotrope, gonadotrope and thyrotrope cells. Based on the staining, *Foxd1* is not expressed by these cells; the hormones representing these cell types do not co-localize with the *Foxd1* expressed cells.



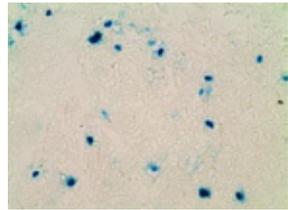
e12.5



e14.5



P10



Adult

**Fig 3.** A  $\beta$ -galactosidase staining (blue) was performed to identify when and where *Foxd1* is present in the pituitary. At e12.5, *FOXD1* is expressed in the mesenchyme and the surrounding tissue. At e14.5, *FOXD1* is expressed in the mesenchyme, ventral diencephalon, and the tissue surrounding the pituitary. *FOXD1* was detected in the pituitary at P10 and in the adult male pituitary.

## DISCUSSION

Forkhead transcription factors are essential for differentiation and proliferation during development [2]. With *Foxd1* belonging to the forkhead family, we examined whether *Foxd1* is expressed in the pituitary gland. Using RT-PCR, we found that *Foxd1* is expressed in mouse pituitary at e12.5, e18.5, and in adult male. Our  $\beta$ -galactosidase staining

supported the RT-PCR results that *Foxd1* is expressed in the pituitary after birth based on the expression of this gene at ten days after birth and in the adult male pituitary. However, our  $\beta$ -galactosidase staining also concluded that *Foxd1* is expressed in the mesenchyme, diencephalon, and surrounding tissue areas of the pituitary and not directly in the pituitary at e12.5 and e14.5. The formation of Rathke's pouch is initiated by secreted morphogens which come from tissue such as the infundibulum, mesenchyme [5], and the diencephalon. Consequently, *Foxd1* expression in this tissue may indicate that it is needed in pituitary development.

Mouse embryos at e10.5, e16.5, and e18.5 have not yet been tested for the presence of *Foxd1* in the pituitary. This idea would be used for further research in examining whether *Foxd1* is present in the pituitary at those embryonic ages using  $\beta$ -gal staining. Overall, our results concluded that *FOXD1* is not present in the pituitary before birth but it is present by 10 days after birth.

The anterior lobe is responsible for secreting hormones to other endocrine glands. These hormones include ACTH, TSH, GH, FSH and LH, and PRL via their hormone cells corticotrope, thyrotrope, somatotrope, gonadotrope, and lactotrope cells respectively [1]. Based on our immunohistochemistry results, *Foxd1* is not expressed by gonadotrope or corticotrope cells in the pituitary. The  $\alpha$ -subunit IHC staining marks thyrotrope and gonadotrope cells so this suggests that thyrotrope cell types in the pituitary do not express *Foxd1*. These findings indicate that *Foxd1* probably does not play a role in reproductive, adrenal or thyroid function. Further research will include IHC staining for TSH $\beta$ , GH, and PRL.

## MATERIALS AND METHODS

### *Animals*

Embryos were obtained from mating of wild-type mice, *Foxd1*<sup>+/+</sup>, with heterozygous mice, *Foxd1*<sup>+/*LacZ*</sup>. The day the copulatory plug was detected was taken at e0.5. The University of Southern Illinois Committee on Use and Care of Animals approved all procedures using mice. All experiments were conducted in accord with the principles and procedures outlined in the NIH guidelines for the Care and Use of Experimental Animals.

### *RT-PCR*

Pituitary tissue was dissected from mouse embryos and adult mice. Total RNA was isolated using the RNAqueous kit from Ambion (Austin, TX). RNA was reverse transcribed using the ImProm-II Reverse Transcription System from Promega (Madison, WI). Real-time RT-PCR was performed on an iQ5 Real Time PCR detection system (Biorad, Hercules, CA, USA) utilizing Taqman gene expression assays and 2X Taqman Universal master mix (Applied Biosystems, Foster City, CA, USA). Expression of *Gapdh* was used to normalize and obtain relative expression levels.

*Beta-galactosidase (X-gal) staining*

To visualize Foxd1 expression in the pituitary, beta-galactosidase was performed as follows. Post-fixed frozen section slides in 4% formaldehyde in 1X PBS for 5 min. Rinsed in PBS for 3 mins twice. Incubated slides in staining solution overnight at 37°C. Staining solution: 2mM MgCl<sub>2</sub>, 5mM potassium ferricyanide, 5mM potassium ferrocyanide, 1mg/mL X-gal (1:500 dilution; Abcam), 1X PBS. After incubation, slides were washed in PBS twice for 3 mins. Slides were stored in 1X PBS at 4°C for one hour to intensify stain, counterstained in hemotoxylin, then placed in distilled water twice for 30 secs each. Coverslips were mounted with IF mount.

Digital images of pituitary sections were captured with a Leica DM5000B microscope (Leica Microsystems, Wetzlar, Germany). X-gal section pictures were merged using Adobe Photoshop 7.0.

*Whole mount X-gal histochemistry of adult pituitary*

To visualize Foxd1 expression in the pituitary, x-gal staining was performed as follows. Pituitary was removed from an adult male mouse and fixed in fresh 4% formaldehyde/PBS for 1 hr at 4°C, then rinsed three times for 30 mins each with PBS at room temperature. The pituitary was incubated at 37°C in staining solution (mentioned above) for 48 hrs and then washed twice for 3 mins. Tissue was stored in PBS at 4°C overnight. After storage, tissue was placed in 4% formaldehyde/PBS for 30 mins, and then washed in PBS two times for 30 secs each. The pituitary was then dehydrated in 50% ethanol and 70% ethanol for 30 mins each respectively. After dehydration, tissue was embedded in paraffin wax, sectioned into 5µm thick slices and placed on glass microscope slides.

*Immunohistochemistry*

To determine which pituitary cell types express Foxd1, immunohistochemistry was performed as follows. Whole mount x-gal stained slides were deparaffinized in xylene, rehydrated using 100% and 95% ethanol, and washed with PBS. 1.5% peroxidase in distilled water was used to remove endogenous peroxidases then the slides were washed in PBS. The VectaStain ABC kit – peroxidase guinea Ag IgG (1:400; Vector Laboratories, Burlingame, CA) was used as per manufacturer directions for immunohistochemistry with rabbit anti-rat ACTH antibody (1:1000; Harbor-UCLA Medical Center, Torrance, CA). After 1 hr incubation in primary antibody, slides were incubated in biotinylated anti-rabbit secondary antibody (1:200; Jackson ImmunoResearch Laboratories, West Grove, PA) for 30 min at room temperature (RT). Following a 3 min rinse in PBST three times, slides were incubated in Advin: Biotinylated enzyme Complex (ABC) (Vector Laboratories, Burlingame, CA) for 30 min at RT. Following a rinse in PBST for 3 min, sections were exposed to 3,3'-diaminobenzidine (DAB) peroxidase stain for 5 min. The stain for α-subunit (1:1200; Harbor-UCLA Medical Center, Torrance, CA) was carried out

using the same protocol. Immunohistochemistry with the guinea pig anti-rat LH $\beta$  primary antibody (1:400; Harbor-UCLA Medical Center, Torrance, CA) with biotinylated anti-guinea pig secondary antibody (Jackson ImmunoResearch Laboratories, West Grove, PA) was carried out using the VectaStain ABC kit (Vector Laboratories, Burlingame, CA) according to the manufacturer's direction using the above protocol.

Digital images of pituitary sections were captured with a Leica DM5000B microscope (Leica Microsystems, Wetzlar, Germany).

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# Perceptions and Reflections of Democracy: A Qualitative Study

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## ABSTRACT

*Much literature exists about democracy: what it is and how citizenship might be cultivated in a democracy. Many scholars have critiqued current trends in citizenship education, especially the limited ways in which it is conceptualized, often as little more than voting. While we teach students about the procedural aspects of democracy in schools, we don't know much about how they make meaning of democracy in their everyday lives. There is gap in the literature about what exactly students are learning and internalizing about democracy. Critical scholars suggest that students are only learning a weak and/or thin vision of democracy, yet perhaps a richer understanding of democracy is being taught than the literature indicates. This study begins to address some of these gaps by adding the voices of College of Education majors on their understandings of democracy to the literature. I conducted seven in-depth interviews, guided by an overriding research question: what are students learning about democracy and from where? I also explored a number of secondary questions, including: Do youth have a multifaceted perception of democracy? How do young people make meaning of freedom in relation to democracy? Do young people relate their ideas about democracy to capitalism? Is there a conflation of market freedoms and democratic freedoms?*



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& Higher  
Education

Many scholars, educators, politicians, and citizens, agree that a central task of schools in a democracy is to educate students for citizenship.<sup>1</sup> If a typical school

day in the US goes from about 8:00 am through 2:00 pm, then young people are spending approximately a quarter of their day in school, 5 days a week, amounting to about 30 hours a week. The time spent inside educational institutions can, and often does, have a formative effect on young people. The values learned in these years may indeed become foundational, a jump-off point from which youth can begin to navigate the world, and to make meaning of their own lives as they grow to be adults. In the US, when students graduate from secondary school, they typically also walk into the world as fully enfranchised citizens. It is the hope of our education system that when this enfranchisement happens, these new citizens are prepared for the responsibility of living in a democracy. In turn, it is the responsibility of current citizens to ensure that newly enfranchised youth have the tools to be able to carry out their tasks, and carry on the democratic way of life. So, then, the question must be asked: *Are schools fulfilling their democratic imperative?*

## DEFINING DEMOCRACY

In order to assess the degree to which schools are cultivating the habits and behaviors necessary for democracy to function, it is important to begin with at least a preliminary description of democracy itself. Attempting to define democracy, in order to have a basic, shared understanding from which to begin conversation, may seem daunting to some; the word means many things to many people.<sup>2</sup> However, at a very basic level, “*Participatory* democracy stands in contrast to *procedural* democracy. In the latter, citizens maintain the right to vote and take part, while in the former, they actually do take part.”<sup>3</sup> Starting from here, one may be able to make the assessment that educating youth for participatory democracy would be preferable. In a procedural democracy, citizens delegate many rights and responsibilities to representatives through the procedure of voting, and participation in civil society is relatively minimal. In contrast, in a participatory democracy, a well-prepared citizenry would be fully equipped to critically engage in matters that affect their society, and many of the structural injustices we currently witness, such as de-facto segregation, would be challenged. This, however, requires a citizenry that has been educated to understand their role in such a democracy – a citizenry taught to think critically, reflect, and act.<sup>4</sup> Democracy, like peace, is not an ideal that is eventually reached at some point. It is a set of values to live by, and these values must be culturally instilled and transmitted.<sup>5</sup>

This being the case, if we are counting on our schools to impart the value of living a more meaningful life than one revolving around a time clock, we must continuously engage in an examination of how this democratic imperative is or is not being met. This examination requires a starting point from which to work, a common understanding to move forward from, which can at times be difficult to establish. Given the multiple ways in which people talk about and conceive of democracy, one thing we must have clear in order to effectively teach democratic citizenship is a working definition of what that looks like in the ideal. Apple and Beane provide us with a comprehensive and compelling definition.

Democracy is not only a “process.” It also involves values and principles that make up the foundations of the “democratic way of life” (Beane 2005). This “content” of democracy and its extensions through education is a central concern of democratic schools. Among such values and principles are the following: 1) A valuation of human dignity and concern for the “common good,” 2) Faith in the our creative capacity as humans to problem-solve, 3) An open flow of ideas and information, 4) A focus on the use of critical thinking to analyze information and problem-solve, 5) The understanding that democracy is not an ideal state to be reached but an “idealized set of values,” and 6) the use of social institutions to these ends.<sup>6</sup>

All of this is a tall order, however, and the last point on this list of principles puts the primary impetus on schools to cultivate these values.

There are also other, somewhat problematic, definitions of democracy circulating in the educational literature and public discourse. Apple and Beane note that, “Democracy is being increasingly defined as unregulated business maneuvers in a free-market economy.”<sup>7</sup> Arguably, this conflation of democratic freedoms with market freedoms may result in youth equating democracy with personal economic freedoms, consumer choices, or a number of other problematic interpretations. Other detrimental trends stemming from this problematic understanding of democracy include the increasing influence market practices have on US educational policy.<sup>8</sup> Since the 2001 inception of the No Child Left Behind Act, educators have quite frequently been left with little choice but to begin running their schools and classrooms like businesses: schools whose students don’t make the grades close, just as business whose workers aren’t making profits for the owners.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, the press for accountability has resulted in the implementation of high stakes standardized testing in only certain subjects, usually math, science, and reading. This has ultimately come at a cost of developing a solid foundation in civics and social studies: teachers may have little time to teach the kind of meaningful democratic curriculum that doesn’t get assessed by bubbling-in a Scantron.

### THE CONTRADICTIONS OF “STANDARDS”

In schools where standards-based education has become top priority, teachers have begun focusing on quantitative learning that can be assessed by a standard test, such as math and reading comprehension skills.<sup>10</sup> For example, in one California district, critical engagement and classroom discussion was stifled in a social studies class, because the production of high test scores began “taking precedence over issue exploration.”<sup>11</sup> Teachers who are supposed to be teaching the value of democracy to young people are more and more often being asked to do so using a contradictory, uncritical, undemocratic praxis: textbooks adopted for a number of disciplines have become standardized, which, without time for critical reflection and discussion, amounts to an unhealthy contradiction.<sup>12</sup>

The adoption and use of standard, seemingly unassailable, information-driven textbooks prevent students from valuing the knowledge they come to the classroom with. Teaching only the (pre-determined) ‘facts’ inhibits young people from being able to take agency over their educational development. Scaffolding, or making meaning of new content learned by relating it to pre-existing knowledge, is increasingly difficult in an educational climate that requires rote memorization of compartmentalized, disconnected facts.<sup>13</sup> If students are not given the skills to critique the information given to them, don’t learn how to construct personal meaning from new information, and

are not taught the value of their own experience, how can we expect that they will be able to responsibly participate in political processes?

### DEMOCRATIC RESPONSIBILITY

Democratic participation requires personal and social responsibility. Citizens must be responsible enough to take on problem solving, to engage in healthy debate about a number of political issues, and to balance their own needs against those of the community and society around them. But are youth learning these kinds of responsibilities? Wood laments that, “Faced with large numbers of students and very few adults, our main concern in high school is control.”<sup>14</sup> For example, Wood reflects on the fact that students typically must ask for a pass in order to use the restroom, exemplifying the reluctance of educators to place responsibility in the hands of students, opting instead for implementation of rules. Certainly government control over society is not one of the central ideals of democracy; hopefully, in a true democracy, it would be quite the opposite, where the population would have control over the government. But this is not the lesson youth get from our schools – the message is that they ought to be obedient, “like cattle.”<sup>15</sup>

Many scholars argue that our schools are failing to live up to the responsibility of educating for democratic participation.<sup>16</sup> Some assess that, if anything, schools are educating young people almost exclusively for economic participation: “Going to school is largely preparation either to punch a time clock or to own the company with the time clock – depending on how lucky you are in the social-class sorting machine.”<sup>17</sup> One simple, yet uncomfortable correlation between current educational trends and this chilling assessment by Wolk is the likeness of the Scantron to a time card.

If we expect that young people will grow to value the ideals of democracy, we must look more closely at the differences between these ideals and current practices related to how they are actually taught. Doing so requires a reflection on what these ideals are. Neumann writes “Democratic citizenship involves a disposition for social responsibility and civic engagement...critical habits of mind and the ability and inclination to deliberate and debate conscientiously on matters of social importance.”<sup>18</sup> If we as a society are committed to educating our youth to think critically, and we want them to inherit a rich, participatory, and critical understanding of democracy, and to have the skills and tools necessary to effectively participate as fully enfranchised citizens of a democracy, we must look at current trends to assess if this is what students are actually learning. James Mursell writes, “If schools of a democratic society do not exist for the support and extension of democracy, then they are either socially useless or socially dangerous.”<sup>19</sup> Given this foreboding warning by Mursell, one might hope that this democratic imperative is a priority in our education system. However, it may be the case that instead of lessons in democratic

citizenship, students are learning other, more troubling lessons, where citizenship is conflated with consumption and they are primarily taught to participate in the supposedly “free” market.

Citizenship being equated, or conflated, with consumption is not a new trend, although in recent years, it may seem more prevalent in popular discourse. Given President Bush’s State of the Union address following 9/11, in which he urges US citizens to go out and shop, it is no surprise that these kinds of troubling connotations have trickled down to our everyday lives. Problematizing this proves a complex task. Citizens in a democracy must be able to name and understand their economic system and how it functions; they must also be able to understand how it affects their lives, as well as knowing how to make it work for justice. Additionally, while citizens must be able to discern between political and economic systems, equally important is being able to recognize how they intersect. In the US, this means that students need to understand capitalism as well as democracy; this is especially important due to the tendency of capitalism to exacerbate economic inequity, and thus, injustice. This also means that students must learn to recognize the intersections of our political and economic systems if we hope that democracy will help us to ameliorate this tendency towards inequity.

### EDUCATING CITIZENS OR SHEEP?

To begin examining what kinds of democratic ideals are ostensibly instilled in students, one might look to the curriculum of various citizenship education programs. Civics and citizenship education has long been a part of our public school curriculum, and in recent years, there has been an increased addition of service-learning work to civics curricula.<sup>20</sup> In their recent study, Westheimer and Kahne examined civics trends in schools.<sup>21</sup> As they show in their study based around 10 schools whose programs were listed as a part of a Democratic Values Initiative, the main ‘democratic values’ being communicated in these programs were things like the importance of volunteering, being honest, having integrity, and being responsible for one’s actions – all things based largely on individual character and behavior. While these are all positive and admirable traits in people, “[they] must be considered in a broader social context or they risk advancing civility or docility instead of democracy...The vision promoted...is one of citizenship without politics – a commitment to service, but not to democracy.”<sup>22</sup>

Westheimer & Kahne’s study provides a useful lens for understanding the efficacy of citizenship education. Westheimer and Kahne offer three different frameworks categorize trends found in citizenship curriculum, ultimately concluding that a curriculum which mixes two out of the three is the most ideal for imparting the kinds of democratic values Apple & Beane write about.<sup>23</sup> They write that there is the trend towards creating the “personally responsible citizen;” an example of this citizen’s civic

behavior would be donation to charitable organizations. Then there is the “participatory citizen,” who might be an organizer of the donation drive. Following this level of participation, the authors write about curricula which they see helps form the “justice-oriented citizen,” someone who may organize a donation drive, but will ultimately work towards uprooting the inequity that causes the need for donations in the first place.<sup>24</sup>

While there is much literature problematizing current trends in citizenship and social studies education, there are also scholars documenting and offering alternatives. For instance, in *Developing Responsible Citizens*, Wood speaks of the importance of meaningfully engaging students in their own education, and describes how to impart a multi-faceted understanding of responsibility in young people.<sup>25</sup> Apple and Beane open their book, *The Case for Democratic Schools*, with a series of short vignettes, which give examples of democratic practices in schools. Students in these schools took on projects that had them asking critical questions about themselves and their communities, and reflecting to work towards action.<sup>26</sup> McGuire writes about an interdisciplinary curriculum in a project with kindergarten students in which an imaginary park was planned, where the children developed solutions to what are typically viewed as ‘adult’ problems.<sup>27</sup> All of these exemplify ways in which schools can work to impart rich, meaningful understandings of democratic citizenship, beginning in elementary school.

There is a wealth of scholarship that both problematizes educational policy and trends, and offers models for solutions; however, this literature tends to lack the voices of the students who have gone through our educational systems. There is a gap in the literature about what exactly students are learning about democracy, and how they are making meaning of living in a democracy with these ideas. We know that while students are ostensibly learning that we live in a democracy, we do not know what they think about that, or where the ideas they have about democracy came from. It may be the case that our youth are learning a more complex understanding of democracy than the critical literature leads us to believe. In this study, I begin to address these issues through a qualitative exploration of College of Education students’ perceptions of democracy. My central research question was simply, how do College of Education students understand the meaning of democracy and where have they learned this? Through in-depth interviews with seven College of Education students, I examine their ideas about democracy, how these ideas were created, and where their understandings were learned. I am interested in what students learning about democracy and where are they are learning it. Secondary research questions guiding this study include: Are students learning a multifaceted perception of democratic ideals and practices? How do College of Education students make meaning of the concept of freedom? Do they conflate of market freedoms and

democratic freedoms? Do College of Education students relate their ideas about democracy with our economic structure? If so, may the current trend towards schools being heavily influenced by market theory and practice have anything to do with this?

## METHODS

One of the simplest ways to find out how a particular group of people understands something is to have a conversation with them about it and ask them. Qualitative researchers are interested in people's stories and experiences.<sup>28</sup> This type of research involves locating a pool of subjects the researcher would like to interview, and creating some guiding questions to frame the conversation around in order to find out about the topic. Interviews are valuable because they allow the voices of people to come through, thereby accentuating their experiences and understandings, and the nuances of how they have made meaning of these experiences.<sup>29</sup> I chose this method because there is a lack of student voice in the current body of literature on this topic. Even as we have a good idea of what we try to teach about democracy in schools, we don't know how students are making meaning of this idea or how they conceptualize citizenship after they have completed public education. I hope that the voices and perspectives of my participants can help inform the direction we head in as we refine how we teach democracy in our schools.

## PARTICIPANT SELECTION

When I initially began this project, I hoped to conduct in-depth interviews with undergraduate teacher education majors from a large, public Midwestern university. I thought this pool would be ideal for various reasons: undergraduates would, for the most part, have recently graduated from high school, and thus might have more recent memories of experiences in social studies classes (the place where we most talk about democracy). Moreover, as future teachers, we might hope that they have given some thought to the kinds of citizenship they want to help cultivate – not just the material they want to teach.

As is common in qualitative research, finding my ideal participant pool proved difficult, especially since few teacher education students were on campus during the time of the study. Thus, I widened my subject pool to include any student in the College of Education, including graduate students. After securing human subjects approval (Appendix A), I arranged interviews with seven participants, each of whom signed informed consent forms (Appendix B). Participants included two graduate students: Sam, a single mother studying Health Education, and Jo, a student studying Social Work. The five undergraduates also included one other parent, Tyler, who was in the Teacher Education program.

Sam and Tyler both graduated high school in the Midwest before the No Child Left Behind Act was implemented; the others all graduated high school after 2001. The remaining four participants were Carlos, a Health Education and Recreation major; Curtis, a Rehabilitation major; Camille, a Teacher Education major; and Adriana, a Special Education major. All three of them graduated high school in the Midwest.

### INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

I developed a preliminary interview guide on the basis of my own experiences as a relatively recent graduate of high school and my read of literature on this topic. I began each interview with a question on the participant's understanding of the purpose of education. I then asked them several questions to help them to describe democracy, including asking them to talk about their experiences in high school classes. From there, I asked about their understanding of ideas related to democracy, including freedom and capitalism. Before interviewing my participants, I conducted a pilot interview with a colleague in order to gauge any potential difficulties respondents might have to the wording and order of the questions, as well as to become more comfortable asking these questions and drawing out answers without leading my respondents. My colleague's responses aided me in simplifying the meaning of the initial questions, and prepared me to move more slowly into the definitions section of questions, as she felt that the first questions began too broadly and were a bit difficult.

### DATA ANALYSIS AND CODING

After completing and transcribing all 7 interviews, I began the data analysis process. As a first step, I coded my data. As Bogden and Bicklen write about coding, it is like "A large gymnasium in which thousands of toys are spread out on the floor. You are given the task of sorting them into a pile according to a scheme that you develop."<sup>30</sup> For this research, I began simply by reading and re-reading each transcription and developing a color-coding system with which to begin, assigning each of three central terms, democracy, freedom, and capitalism, their own color. I then moved into assigning certain themes within these terms another, additional color and type of marking. I further noted any significant responses that were only given once, and any nuances. I then listened to my interviews again, and marked the transcriptions with symbols denoting emphasis on words, inflections in voice, and so on. I also consulted the notes that I took during the interview to add the 'live' layer of facial expressions and gestures when it was useful.

The themes that emerged within the interviews are presented in the following order: definitions of democracy, definitions of freedom, and definitions of capitalism. Within each of these three main concepts, I

delve into the subcategories that surfaced. In democracy, these include the terms choice, voice, and representation. In the section on freedom, the subcategories focus on freedom perceived within the context of rights, freedom perceived as choice, and comparative understandings of freedom. The section on capitalism also had three subcategories: limited definitions, capitalism as totalitarianism, and complex definitions.

### PERCEIVING DEMOCRACY: CHOICE, VOICE, AND REPRESENTATION

Critical scholars have made the claim that the standards set for citizenship education equip our youth for procedural democratic participation at best. When asked to define democracy, participants on the whole tended to indicate three words repeatedly: voice, choice, and representation. Their use of these words seemed largely consistent with a procedural definition of democracy. These words were repeated often throughout my interviews, indicating that the overriding collective definition of democracy was it is a system through which individuals are able to voice their opinions, have a myriad of choices given to them, and are governed by representatives whom they choose, presumably to have their voices heard.

In response to my questions about how they defined democracy, the term that most often came up was choice. For example, Adriana said,

I think democracy is being given the power of choice. Being able to choose, not only your leaders and people that you want governing you and making decisions for you, but also your own decisions and being able to choose what you want to do, what you don't want to do, what you choose to say, what your opinions are.

Here, Adriana clearly understands democracy as a system in which citizens have the ability to choose who governs them. Similarly, Sam associated democracy with a "freedom of choice." His comment was indicative of the trend in participant's responses to relate their understandings of democracy to a notion of freedom through choice. Describing democracy, Jo said people have the "right to choose...you know, you get the freedom of choice, [but] the government will actually give you the people...you get to choose between the two." Here she indicated understanding that while citizens do have the right to choose their elected officials, she thought that this choice is somewhat restricted by the mechanics of how our representative system functions in the U.S. These statements collectively speak to a definition of democracy where certain kinds of options abound. Participants also connected choice with freedom, as they suggested that they have many more options available, related to both consumer choices and how they want to live their lives, in comparison to others outside the US.

Similar to choice, voice was also a term that came up often in my interviewees comments. When asked to define democracy, many participants referred to voice, typically also in relation to voting. While speaking about voice, they brought up the concept of elected representatives, such as when Jo offered,

Well, I can explain government, I guess you know, just by allowing the little people in society having a voice with, you know elections and electing you know officials to represent them, um, to have a voice in, you know the government.

This was one of the most salient examples of democracy defined in terms of representation, however, some responses that speak to this theme were less direct, such as Sam's:

You have the obligation to voice your opinion, you have the obligation to vote, because I feel like if you don't voice your opinion or you don't vote, you don't have a right to complain about it later...it's a kind of freedom, freedom of choice, freedom, freedom to be able to voice your opinion.

Sam seemed to believe that voting was the primary action citizens should take in order to ensure their own social welfare. Here her ideas are consistent with a procedure understanding of democracy, where voting is *the* way in which citizens can express their voice, their opinions, and their ideas about society might be run.

In the ways in which my participants spoke about voice and choice, they often connected these ideas to the broader concept of representation. Often participants explained their understandings of having choices and the ability to have a voice, or 'speak up,' in relationship to their conceptions of electing representatives. Tyler made this connection most clear, by saying, "[Democracy is] No taxation without representation. It's the representation of being able to have a voice no matter how small, to speak up." When asked about what he understood to be the central principles of democracy, he responded, "The principle of representation, the principle of being able to have the freedom to speak or be heard...our constitution, I mean, freedom of speech, freedom of religion." These statements indicate Tyler's perception of democracy as primarily linked to the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. Similarly, several of the other participants brought up these documents in their discussions of democracy.

When asked where they recalled learning most of their ideas about democracy, most of the participants indicated that they learned them in various high school social studies classes, especially those where they studied the Constitution. This is probably not surprising, however, since in the state of Illinois, where most interviewees were educated, there is a required test on the Constitution for all high school students. This, then, would explain to some degree the relation of democracy to the rights (such as freedom of speech and the right to choose and elect representatives)

granted through the Bill of Rights. Indeed, a few participants spoke about the Constitution test they were required to take.

High school classrooms were not the only place, or even the main place, participants indicated learning their current understandings of democracy from. About half of the subjects said that they learned very little in high school, or remembered almost nothing of what they had been taught. For example, Curtis described how he, “had two big tests in order to move forward. I studied, studied, studied...until I was able to put it on paper, and just washed it out of my head.”

In contrast to their school experiences, my participants indicated learning a great deal about democracy from the various news media, such as the television, CNN, the internet, the radio, and newspapers. When asked what kind of information she’d gotten from these secondary sources, Jo responded,

More specifics, like, um, like learning more in depth about people, more in depth about policies...it’s like a textbook will teach you, you know, pretty much the black and white stuff, and I would say media and all that teaches you the grey areas.

Carlos also spoke about learning a great deal through conversations, and watching the recent presidential debates on YouTube internet television.

Disappointing, although not surprising, was that richer conceptions of democracy involving respect, responsibility, change, and collective action were given less frequently, and emphasized far less than the aforementioned procedural understandings. Three people spoke to the notion of collective action, although only briefly, and no one expounded much upon it. Additionally, ideas that spoke to richer democratic ideals, such as a focus on the common good, or the capacity of citizens to solve problems, were still understood within the larger context of a representative democracy.

### HERE COMES FREEDOM!

The concept that participants spoke about most freely and fully in relation to democracy was freedom. This was where students interviewed spoke the most freely and for the longest. While my understanding of freedom is that the concept is something that comes as part and parcel of the living with the kind of democratic principles Apple and Beane write about, this was not the case with my participants. As noted above, many participants mentioned the word freedom within their definitions of democracy; similarly, in defining freedom, they often referred to democracy. Interviewees tended to define freedom in three dimensions: 1) as it relates to their understandings of representative democracy; 2) within the context of the various choices participants perceived in their lives; 3) in comparison to participant’s perceptions of freedoms, and

the lack thereof, in other societies. This section will examine the three dimensions in which participants defined freedom, and explore these definitions in relation to participant's conceptions of democracy.

Many participants understood freedom within the context of Constitutional rights, as something that came to them as part and parcel of US-style representative democracy. When asked to define freedom, Sam's response stood out among others:

It's that right that we feel as Americans that we can do whatever, you know, we can do whatever we want, we can be whatever we want, um, we can go to college, we can not go to college...and we have, just kind of that, inborn right, we feel like we're free to do that and our Constitution say that we're allowed to speak our minds and we're allowed to publish what we want or say what we want in the newspaper and that's kind of the freedoms that we as Americans have and we a lot of time take for granted.

Carlos immediately responded that when he thinks of freedom he thinks of democracy, also adding, "There is no possible way to have a democracy without having freedom." Tyler's answer was slightly more complex, with a five-minute response as to how he came to this understanding. He recounted the dominant narrative of the Founding Fathers and the US Revolutionary War, saying,

You know, I use the term Founding Fathers [who]... gave up their entire fortunes, some of them lost their lives... to be able to stand up and say, "These are the values we believe in and we're going to fight for, and it's worth dying for." And it... was a great framework so that about 150 years down the road you can have civil rights, you know for the people at the time they created it... it was legal to have slaves, but they created a system such that... the document, the boundaries and the framework was created. It was light-years ahead of them, but they created it that it could allow for Civil Rights to take place...

This response indicated to me that he understood freedom in terms of Constitutional rights, such as civil rights and the right to collectively organize to create change in the Constitution or at the federal level. These responses all indicate a direct link between the participant's perspectives on freedom and their understandings of the mechanics of US representative democracy.

As in their definitions of democracy, participants also frequently mentioned choice when defining freedom. The word 'choice' seemed to be a key term that linked interviewee's understandings of democracy and freedom. For example, Adriana related her understanding of freedom

with her knowledge of the choices available to citizens in a democracy through voting. She said,

I think freedom is something that definitely not everyone has and I think people can improve their aspect of freedom, like I made sure that I vote, I make sure that I'm registered to vote, I make sure that I'm knowledgeable on issues that are going on. I think that's important to have that knowledge to be able to make a free choice...I think freedom is being able to have that choice...you have your rights and opinions and you can voice that through you know, who you vote for, what people you surround yourself with, what choices you make.

Camille spoke about another way in which participants understood the concept of choice as it relates to her perception of freedom, saying that, "I understand freedom as being able to do anything, anything I choose, anything I want to say." This was interesting because it implies that Camille understood freedom in terms of rights, but lacking the notion of responsibility. However, viewing democracy in the ideal sense, citizens are only able to do what they want within limits, such as when someone's right to act a certain way impedes on the right of someone else to lead a dignified life.

Many others also spoke about their understanding of freedom in terms of the choices they were able to make about their lives, both on a day-to-day level and in regards to life decisions, such as those about their education and career. Curtis, for example, described his ability to "Get up, come to the gym everyday, being able to, you know, go out to the bars and you know, having choices and being able to make choices and decisions on my own." Jo responded that the request to define freedom was "A good question. Well, I mean, I would say we're all, you know, we all have a free choice," and when asked in what context she thought about freedom, she said, "Individual's way of life, going back to like what we can and cannot do just in everyday life...you know, not everybody has the ability to do certain things."

I prompted different individuals to expound upon what they meant by choice, and in what contexts they thought about freedom. In these instances, five out of the seven interviewees spoke about these things comparatively, in relation to their understandings of the amount of freedom, or lack thereof, present in other parts of the world, such as the Middle East and Cuba. One example that stood out was when I asked Jo to speak a little more about what kinds of things certain people did not have the ability to do, and she responded,

Um, Afghanistan for instance, like I think they have to wear a cover over them, you know, because women can't be seen, you know, in public. Well that's not them being free. If they were free, they would be able to you know choose whatever, you

know clothing they wanted to, or you know, women being able to, you know, be teachers or doctors or things like that.

Interviews with Curtis, Adriana, and Tyler also brought out various references to their perceptions of women's freedoms in the Middle East. Curtis spoke about how "Being free to a Middle Easterner woman's point of view could be like, you know, sitting outside with another man, you know what I mean, without being looked at or stoned at because of she's not with her husband."

There were additional comments made by Tyler and Carlos in reference to perceptions of democracy and freedom as they function in Cuba. Carlos said he thought about freedom in the context of democracy, and told me,

I think about the democracy of...of, that America has, and I normally when...when, you know, think of communists... and when I think of that the first thing that come to mind is usually Cuba, and I kinda make the comparison between the two...you know they can be killed for saying something that, uh, uh, their former leader, Castro, disagreed with.

Tyler served in the US military in the mid-80s, and because of this had also traveled quite a bit. He painted a less dire picture of Cuba, saying, "I lived in Cuba for about seven or eight months. I lived in Okinawa, Japan for seven or eight months. I've visited some other countries and I've seen what their version of democracy is." In these comparative explanations of freedom, comments also surfaced regarding US military service, both as a harbinger of US-style democratic freedoms, and in terms of how military service limits one's freedom, such as when Tyler spoke about his military service, saying, "You know, once you join the military you are not your own so you're not free to do everything you want to do... so I know what it's like to live under limited freedom." When I asked Adriana to further explain what she meant when she said "not everyone has it [freedom]," her reply seemed to be a summation of everything else participants spoke about in this section. She said,

I actually have some friends who are in the Armed forces right now and, um, since I've been older especially in college, it's taken on a new meaning on how people gain that freedom. I don't think it dawns on you when you're in school and you read about the revolutionary war that that people actually lost their brothers, sisters, friends, and so on and so forth to protect this concept, this small little word, and then I have friends who are overseas trying to do that same thing...in countries where woman don't necessarily have the choice to work out of the home or stay home and be mothers if they choose...Being able to make their own choices even if it's

as simple as what they wear, how they, you know, express themselves. In a lot of parts of the world you don't see that.

The responses given in this section of the interview all displayed perceptions of freedom in relation to US-style representative democracy, and the perceived freedoms citizens (especially women), have here, as opposed to how these concepts are understood to function in other societies.

### (MIS)PERCEIVING CAPITALISM

As I was interested in perceived relationships between market and democratic freedoms, and how economic and political systems tend to be conflated, I asked my participants about their understandings of capitalism. On the whole, interviewees did not have a clear conception of capitalism, responding that the knowledge they had of it was not learned in a classroom. When asked to define capitalism, many responded with much hesitation, stammered, and asked for information that would lead them to an answer. The answers given often lacked in complexity. There were also two participants who replied with a definition of the word capitalism that sounded similar to what one might hear if asking for a definition of totalitarianism. When clear, confident responses indicating a slightly more sophisticated understanding of capitalism were given (which only happened twice), they showed a conflation of capitalism with the concepts of democracy and freedom. The tendency to conflate capitalism and the political system was not limited to those respondents with clear definitions of the term, however, as other responses also intoned this, either directly or indirectly. This section showed that participants generally did not have the ability to differentiate between the political and economic systems of the US, nor understand the intersections between them.

Five out of seven people interviewed were unable to clearly define what capitalism is and how it functions, and three of these five expressed a great deal of hesitation and ambiguity in their answers. Camille said, "It's like, America's market, you know. I don't, that's something that's really not talked about a lot in schools, or a lot at all." Others asked for more information that might lead them to an answer. When I asked, "So, if you had to explain capitalism to somebody, how would you explain that?" Curtis, who said that his senior year economics class was his favorite in high school, responded,

I probably wouldn't be able to do it...There's capitalism and what is it, wasn't it two different things, capitalism and... Around the same topic of capitalism, what's the other one? Isn't there one that goes vice versa to that? If you refresh my memory a little bit about it I'll probably be able to talk about it a little bit.

Carlos hesitated for a moment and said,

Uhh...I'm not sure...I...I, you know, I would have to go and look that one up first. I'm not completely sure what capitalism is...I have learned about it in school, but uh...I think I learned about it in economics, was it the, uh...did it have anything to do with trade? Or freedom to trade and kinda, uh...I'm not sure I don't wanna...Uh goods and services, maybe? Uhh, that's about it.

When asked where these things were learned, these participants said either in economics classes, through conversations, or in the news.

The other two participants with unclear definitions of capitalism ironically were graduate students, and both showed much less hesitation in their answers. Although their responses to the request for a definition sounded more like definitions of totalitarianism, both acknowledged that they might be wrong. Sam said,

I may be way off, but I feel like a capital, and I couldn't even tell you a country that is capitalistic, but it just seems like kind of the opposite, you know, you have to do A and it's chosen for you. It's kind of like more of a, um, I don't know, I'm not even sure what the right word for – it's like you don't get to choose what you want to be, that they tell you what, that you want, what you should be, or what you're going to do with your life and you may not like it but that's how it is.

At this point, I asked her where she had learned about capitalism, to be sure she had not heard me wrong. I then asked if she knew much else about capitalism, being sure to repeat the word again. While this response was unexpected, it indicated to me that Sam was unable to differentiate between what she might have heard about things like communism or totalitarianism and capitalism. I am still unclear on how Sam reached this understanding of the word, however, her definition made a little more sense when it was echoed by Jo, who said,

Um, capitalist society. I would say that there is one leader that makes all the decisions and I could be completely wrong. But one leader makes all the decisions and the society that uh, you know, that that particular power's ruling over doesn't have any say so, what kind of policies or what kind of things are able to go on. Pretty much, somebody's making the decision for them, but on a larger scale.

When I asked Jo where she learned this, she replied immediately, "World History. Yep." Sam recalled learning her definition of capitalism in either a government or history course, but couldn't quite recall which, saying,

I know they talk about capitalistic societies, um, outside of a history or a government class but I still can't put that in

context because it's not, I mean, they discuss it, but being a democrat, a democratic, being in a democracy society they talk about that more...but in a capitalistic society they don't, I don't think they talk about it as much here in the United States or where I grew up because that's not how we are.

Not surprisingly, neither Sam nor Jo had a clear conception of whether capitalism is an economic or governmental system. Together, however, these two definitions make one thing clear: the word capitalism is not something these two women encounter in their daily lives. This is not only surprising, but also problematic. How might these women go about differentiating between political and economic policies if they cannot name the economic system they live under?

The aforementioned definitions were not the only places where an inability to differentiate between political and economic systems surfaced. Indeed, even those with the ability to name capitalism were unable to differentiate it from democracy. The other two participants, who both had more sophisticated understandings of capitalism, also had the most conflated understandings of how the term relates to democracy and freedom. Adriana had by far the most sophisticated understanding of capitalism and how it functions on a number of levels, and gave a definition without hesitation, saying,

Capitalism is obviously economics, and economics being, you know, they way countries make money...Um, capitalism is where you have the potential to make as much as you want. The government doesn't sanction what you do, how much money you can make, it doesn't distribute those things almost on an equal, or what they term is an equal basis. Capitalism is being able to, um, start something, whether it's a business or a vocation, even a job, and being able to progress that, being able to make your own money, spend it how you choose and to profit, or, obviously, you can not profit from it...The other half is seeing smaller businesses, or even larger businesses and how they function, how when you have something as large as a well-known brand like Wal-Mart some into a small town, seeing how that affects other business owners, the mom and pop shops, if you will.

However, she also had one of the most troubling understandings of the relationship of capitalism to democracy and freedom, going on to say,

Capitalism is simply an execution of democracy and freedom, hopefully...I think one directly affects the other, I think that capitalism is a broad sense of how you execute freedom of choice, and by, in doing so you have democracy, being able to have that freedom of choice.

Adriana indicated that she learned the concepts of capitalism in school, but the practical applications were things she learned through experience, “Going into adulthood,” she said, “I think you definitely learn a lot more about the economic system and how to make it work the best you can.”

In this section, it became clear that one thing schools are not teaching students is how to discern between a political and economic system. If this is not being learned, then it follows that students are not learning how to tease out the nuances of the ways political and economic systems often intersect. This is problematic for many reasons, not least of which includes the inability to see distinctions between what democracy is or might be outside of the context of capitalism.

### CLOSING

On the whole, the idea of citizens taking on the work of creating and sustaining democracy and its ideals in their own communities, or in their daily lives, outside of the notion of representation, was non-existent in my interviews. Even when the ideas of change and collective actions were spoken about, these ideas were spoken about in the abstract, and with the presumption that these were actions to be taken to encourage intervention on an issue by a political representative, such as a senator or congressman, as opposed to intervention by an individual or group of individuals working collectively. Furthermore, my participants were unable to successfully differentiate between the economic system and the political system of the US; indeed some were only nominally capable of explaining how the two systems function. To my surprise, I was told at times that my questions made participants feel stupid. Sam told me she prepared for the interview by ‘brushing up’ on democracy so as to not be made to feel stupid by an undergraduate. Camille told me that doing the interview was concerning for her, as she would be teaching in a few months, and the interview highlighted things she felt like she should know but didn’t.

People who had recently taken economics courses (such as Sam and Jo), those who expressed favoring their economics courses over others (like Curtis), and participants with sophisticated understandings of democracy and capitalism (like Adriana), all served as a litmus test on perceptions and misperceptions about capitalism. The irony of people who recently studied economics, claimed it as a favorite high school subject, or had complex understandings of democracy and capitalism being unable to differentiate between the US’s political and economic system was not lost on me. As I re-read through the interviews, I reflected on what my data says about the lessons people may or may not be learning, and from where; although I had hoped they would be, the conclusions I came to were not unexpected, though they were sobering. I had anticipated that respondents might conflate market freedoms and democratic freedoms; I was unprepared for the way in which this happened, and completely taken off guard by responses such as

Sam and Jo's, which defined capitalism in totalitarian-sounding terms.

A few participants expressed surprise and apprehension when asked to define the terms democracy and capitalism, although they tended to speak with more ease to their understanding of the concept of freedom. Although I imagined that these apprehensions might arise, I did not anticipate that so many participants would so quickly define their understandings of freedom. I also did not imagine that conceptions of freedom in terms of perceptions about the Middle East would be so common. However, given ongoing US military engagement in the region and the dominant narratives used to justify this engagement (such as those involving the 'oppression', or 'liberation' of Middle Eastern women), in retrospect, these responses are not surprising.

In order to address social problems, and carry on a democratic way of life, students must be able to concretely define concepts like democracy, freedom, and capitalism, and explain how these concepts apply to their lives. They must learn to differentiate between an economic system and a political system, as well as recognize where the intersections between these systems lie. It is my belief that it is the responsibility of citizens in a democracy to address the inequities in their society. I further believe that the principles and ideals of a rich, participatory democracy are tools that can be used to help combat these kinds of inequities. If we wish to cultivate these ideals in the coming generations of citizens, we must engage in continuous, critical examination of the ideals we value, and the effectiveness of the praxis with which they are taught.

Apple and Beane, Westheimer and Kahne, Neumann, Sleeter, McGuire, Wood, and many others have written about what we might do help cultivate in students the kinds of democratic ideals mentioned earlier. One way to begin is by recognizing that educating for democracy is not something that can happen using standardized media that for some students is culturally inappropriate. Indeed, if the ways in which we teach democracy does not humanize and value our differences, how can we expect that students will learn to do so?

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# Abstracts



# Rhox Gene Expression During the Ovarian Cycle



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Biological Sciences

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Mentor: James MacLean, Assistant Professor, Physiology

Mammalian ovulation is a complex, hormone-dependent developmental program in which several events must take place in an ordered progression to ensure that the oocyte is competent for fertilization. This process requires the coordinated expression of many genes which must be turned on and off in the right place at the right time for proper development of the follicle. While the hormone signals from the brain that initiate ovulation are known, the master control genes which regulate this process are not well known. Homeobox proteins are potential candidates to perform as master regulators. Homeobox proteins are DNA-binding proteins that regulate the transcription of downstream genes and thereby control biological events. We recently identified a new homeobox gene cluster on the mouse X chromosome that are only expressed in reproductive tissues. These reproductive homeobox (Rhox) genes are expressed in the ovary, placenta, testis, and epididymis, and thus are good candidates to regulate both male and female reproductive tissue development and physiology. In this report, we investigate the expression patterns of the Rhox cluster during ovulation using a PMSG primed, hCG induced superovulation model. Rhox gene expression fell into three categories: Class I exhibited peak expression prior to ovulation (0-8 hours after hCG), Class II were predominantly expressed during ovulation (8-16 hours after hCG), and Class III peaked after ovulation. The slightly overlapping windows of peak Rhox gene expression suggest that these genes may regulate specific events during the ovulatory cycle.

## Assessment of College Students' Food Choices when Comparing Their Home Choices to the College Campus Choices



CONISHA BROWNLEE

Food and Nutrition

College of Agricultural Sciences

Mentor: Sharon Peterson, Assistant Professor, Animal Science, Food and Nutrition

College students have a variety of eating habits and college campus dining halls play a major part in students' dietary choices. Eating habits may change drastically during students' transition from home to on-campus living. The purpose of this study is to assess the types of changes in food choices that a student reports when transitioning from home to a college campus. The 70 subjects were recruited from all of the University Hall residents that ate in the dining hall this summer. These participants were entered into a drawing to win a gift card. The data will be analyzed using SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences 16.0 Chicago). Of the 70 subjects who completed the questionnaire, 85% reported a change in their eating habits since they came to college. A lot of different factors affect college students' eating habits which show a need for nutrition education and research programs for college students.

## Recycled - Repurposed - Revalued



C. GRANT COX, III

Art - Painting

School of Art and Design

Mentor: Najjar Abdul-Musawwir, Assistant Professor,  
School of Art and Design

This study investigates the use of recycled materials by using two art styles: assemblage and abstraction. Assemblage is the construction of recycled objects, and abstraction is the distortion of representational accuracy. Discarded elements found alongside major highways and around dumpsters will be collected then reconstructed. The collected material will then be assembled in a composition of elements representing human past experiences; meaning, items that individuals have once owned and now have discarded. Assemblage, abstract forms, and theory will be used to transform each discarded piece into a work of art. When each art piece has been completed for a total of three pieces, the discarded items will be transformed from recycled items to items that have new purpose and value.

## The Matrix Model of Hope: Does Attendance Affect Employment After Treatment?



JENNIE IRWIN

Rehabilitation Services

College of Education and Human Services

Mentor: Shane Koch, Clinical Instructor,  
Rehabilitation Institute

This study will offer an opportunity to demonstrate that the treatment offered by the Matrix Model can contribute to achieving successful outcomes in post-treatment job employment. This project may aid the treatment program in achieving more positive employment and income outcomes for persons who are recovering from methamphetamine. The goal of this project is to examine the pre-existing attendance and employment records of the consumers utilizing the Matrix of Hope Methamphetamine Treatment Program located in Southern Illinois. This is to further determine if the amount of treatment sessions (under 49.5% or over 50%) attended by treatment consumers is directly correlated with post-treatment employment and income. This study will offer an opportunity to demonstrate that the treatment offered by the Matrix of Hope can contribute to achieving successful outcomes in post-treatment job employment. The 38 participants' attendance and employment were compared and analyzed to determine correlations. The group was then further divided to determine correlations between attending <49.5% and >50% of treatment sessions and employment. Income was also analyzed among 23 of the participants to determine significance between attendance and income.

# Communication Breakdown: A Critical Assessment of Type 2 Diabetes Education Efforts Directed Towards African-American Students at a Midwestern University



VERNON JOHNSON

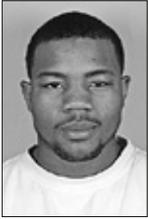
Healthcare Management

School of Allied Health

Mentor: Mark Kittleson, Professor, Health Education and Recreation

There is a growing consensus among those within the health care community that more preventive measures should be taken to combat Type 2 Diabetes among African-Americans. In the case of Type 2 Diabetes, the illness is preventable if proper precautions are taken. Most health officials agree that lifestyle factors, such as diet and physical activity, contribute to Type 2 Diabetes. Even though prevention options are readily available, African Americans are reactionary in their method of retrieving information about Type 2 Diabetes, often waiting until their condition becomes unmanageable. Many attribute this mistrust of health care providers to the historical mistreatment of African Americans. Consequently, it is vital for African-Americans to receive Type 2 Diabetes preventive education through various venues, including university and college wellness centers. This project examined several strategies used by the Southern Illinois University Carbondale Wellness Center and offers recommendations on how to enhance health education programs that target African-American students.

## Examining Consumer Perceptions of Saluki Athletics



LEVELL MABLES

Marketing

College of Business and Administration

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Marketing

The purpose of this research project is to measure SIU sports fans' motivation by using the Motivation Scale for Sport Consumption (MSSC) and the Public-Private Athletic Identity Scale (PPAIS) to better understand segments of their fan base. Trail and James (2001) created the MSSC scale which measures the motivations of the sport fan consumption behavior. Although the scale is not perfect, it shows good reliability and validity while others scales developed had weaknesses in content, criterion, and construct validity. In addition to the MSSC, another scale that will be used in the present study is Nasco and Webb (2006) Public Private Athletic Identity Scale (PPAIS). This scale is intended to measure an individual's personal athletic identity divided into public and private dimensions. Along with the literature cited, I will include questions that will aim to get a better understanding of ticket buyer's perceptions of SIU sports. These questions will be directly related to the depth and breadth of involvement that ticket buyers have with Saluki Athletics. The questions will aim to get a better understanding of how the ticket buyers perceive SIU sporting events and can be used by Saluki Athletics to better tailor their marketing and customer relationship efforts.

# Assessment of Cross-Cultural Adaptability of Graduate Students in Communication Disorders and Sciences



ALÉC PERRY

Communication Disorders and Sciences

College of Education and Human Services

Mentor: Shawna Pope, Clinical Instructor,  
Rehabilitation Institute

In this study, I will utilize the Cross-Cultural Adaptability Inventory (CCAI) to examine the cultural adaptability of Southern Illinois University Carbondale new and continuing graduate students enrolled in the communication disorders and sciences program. Participants will also complete a demographic sheet. I will use descriptive statistics to present my results. I believe the graduates' score will replicate the findings found in Kelley and Meyer's research. It is not expected that the graduates' score will be lower in the four dimensions of the inventory. As members of a "helping profession" it is essential that we as practitioners are both aware of and adaptable to the needs of clients belonging to cultures other than our own. Failure to incorporate cultural considerations into our therapy may lead to poor client outcomes.

## “Perceptual Play”: An Investigation of the Perception and Motive of Playful Aggression in Intimate Heterosexual Relationships



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Psychology

College of Liberal Arts

Mentor: Rebecca Weston, Associate Professor,  
Psychology

This project explores avenues to better understand the initiation and continuation of interpersonal aggression in heterosexual relationships, specifically examining the playful aggression by college students and their perception of such aggression. Gender differences in the perception of violence and aggression as it applies to intimate heterosexual relationships will also be examined in order to identify how women and men's perceptions of said violence or aggression differ. Moreover an examination of playful or intentionally harmless aggression and its potential to lead to non-playful or intentional aggression is necessary as well.

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# Autism in the Classroom: Exploring the Professional Development Needs of Teachers

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## ABSTRACT

*Approximately 1 in 150 children representing various communities in the United States have an autism spectrum disorder (Autism Diagnosis, 2008). Most teachers will have at least one student with autism in their classroom during their career. However, many teachers do not have the necessary skills to provide appropriate and effective instruction to students with autism (Al-Shammari, Zaid, 2006). It is therefore, necessary to provide effective professional development among teachers in order to promote effective learning of students with autism. The purpose of this study was to explore the professional development needs of teachers who work with students who have autism and what challenges teachers face when teaching students with autism. In this study, autism spectrum disorders were defined, concerns of teacher readiness to educate children with autism and the research to practice gap were discussed. Data was collected through a structured interview. The participants in this study were four special education teachers. From the responses given by the participants, the study yielded important preliminary data, which may help both teacher preparation and professional development personnel in designing effective programs.*

## INTRODUCTION

Approximately one in 150 children in the United States has an autism spectrum disorder (Center for Disease Control, 2007). Autism is a pervasive developmental disorder which is characterized by impairments in communication and social interaction, and restricted repetitive and stereotypic patterns of behaviors, interest and activities and usually manifest before the age of three (American Psychiatric Association, 1994). It is referred to as a spectrum because the symptoms can be present in a variety of combinations, and range from mild to severe (Bristol et al., 1996; Minsheu, Sheeney & Bauman, 1997). Disorders included in the spectrum include Autism, Childhood Disintegrative Disorder (CDD), Asperger's Disorder, Pervasive Developmental Disorder Not Otherwise Specified (PDD-NOS) and Rett Syndrome. Currently, there is no known cause or cure for autism (Center for Disease Control, 2007). However, intensive, early treatment has been found to make an enormous difference in the lives of many children with autism (Autism-Mayo Clinic, 2008). Autism was added as a special education category in 1991, and it is the sixth most common found disability acknowledged in public schools today (Autism Diagnosis, 2008).

Children with autism present teachers with a variety of challenging behaviors making it difficult for teachers to provide an appropriate education to this group of students. Problem behaviors such as property destruction, physical aggression, self-injury, and tantrums, all major barriers to effective social and educational development, are common among children with autism (Horner, Carr, Strain, Todd, & Reed, 2002). Academically, students with autism display general difficulties such as poor problem solving, difficulty with abstract concepts, and difficulty with comprehension (Saskatchewan Education, 1999). Children with autism also exhibit language and communication deficits ranging from those who are nonverbal to those who have extensive vocabularies but may have deficits in social language (Saskatchewan Education, 1999). About 40% of children on the autism spectrum do not speak at all. Others have a hard time using and understanding gestures, body language, or tone of voice (Center for Disease Control, 2009). These deficits affect the academic performance of children with autism as they may not be able to communicate effectively to school personnel and peers, they may fail to express themselves appropriately or voice their opinions and they may not ask for clarification or help when needed (Center for Disease Control, 2009).

Because of the social interaction deficits, children with autism may have difficulty attending to relevant cues, and shifting attention as necessary. In so doing, they may miss a lot of social information (Saskatchewan Education, 1999). Furthermore, social skill deficits can lead to poor academic achievement and can impede one's ability to establish meaningful social relationships, which often leads to withdrawal and a life of social isolation. Social skills are critical to successful social, emotional, and cognitive development (Bellini et al., 2007). Unfortunately, children with autism have trouble interacting with peers and difficulty adapting to change (Center for Disease Control, 2007). They also have difficulty with initiating interactions, maintaining reciprocity, sharing enjoyment, taking another person's perspective, and inferring the interest of others. Without effective intervention, these deficits predispose them to poor academic achievement (Autism-Mayo Clinic, 2008).

However, research has identified several effective interventions and strategies for children with autism. These strategies include systematic instruction, social stories, applied behavior analysis and positive behavior supports. Systematic instruction involves carefully planning for instruction by identifying valid educational goals, carefully outlining instructional procedures, evaluating the effectiveness of the teaching procedures, and adjusting instructional procedures based on data (Iovannone et al., 2003). Systematic instruction strategies are constructed to minimize the opportunities for student's error, which increases the efficiency of learning (Heflin & Alberto, 2001). Social stories are an increasingly popular strategy for improving the social skills of children on the autism spectrum

(Sansosti, 2004). A social story is a description of a social situation, which includes the social cues and appropriate responses, and is written for a specific situation for the individual student (Saskatchewan Education, 1999). Apart from social stories, behavioral analysis methods are also used in interventions for children with autism (Yanqing, 2006). The principles of applied behavioral analysis provide educators the opportunity to select from a broad array of strategies those combinations that will help their student be the most successful. It also presents a framework for testing the validity of the strategies selected against student performance, thereby linking student outcomes to instructional decision-making (Heflin & Alberto, 2001). Finally, positive behavioral supports are a set of supports designed to improve lifestyle outcomes through environmental redesign and adjustment (Becker-Cottrill, 2003). These interventions, among others, are some of the research interventions that have been proved effective interventions for children with autism.

Unfortunately, not many of these strategies are actually implemented in the classroom (Kornbelt, 1997). For years, there has been a problem of bridging the research to practice gap that exists in special education (Lloyd, Weintraub, & Safer, 1997). For instance, most teachers receive little instruction in evidence-based practices for children with autism (National Research Council, 2001). The shortage of qualified professionals to educate children with autism is a significant challenge in the field (Simpson, 2004). For example, Al-Shammari (2006) states that Kuwaiti universities lack courses that help pre-service and in-service special education teachers understand issues related to autism. Therefore, the teachers are not prepared to teach students with autism. One problem with personnel preparation in the field of autism is the lack of accepted professional standards in autism (Scheuermann, Webber, Boutot, Goodwin, 2003). There is therefore, need to identify ways to bridge the research to practice gap and promote the adoption of research-validated practices in today's classrooms (Kornbelt, 1997). This study was designed to identify the professional development needs among special education teachers who work with students with autism. The researchers wanted to answer the following questions:

- 1) What challenges do teachers face in teaching students with autism?
- 2) What are special education teachers' professional development needs in relation to teaching students with autism?

## METHODS

### *Participants*

Convenience sampling was used to obtain participants. The participants were chosen based on availability and willingness to participate in the

study and therefore, the findings interpreted cautiously. The participants were four special education teachers who were all contacted through their school principals. All four participants had taught children with autism in the past and had a child with autism in their classroom during the course of this study. The participants' years of experience varied from four years to nineteen years. The participants had an average of eight students with autism in their classrooms throughout their teaching careers. All the participants taught in a mid-western public school district area. The participants' students ranged from pre-K to twelfth grade. Two of the participants worked at the elementary school level, one worked at the middle school level and one at the high school level. Two of the participants had a bachelor's degree in special education. One had a bachelor's degree in elementary education and certification to teach special education while the other one had a bachelor's degree in general education, a master's degree in teaching strategies and, a master's degree in administration and certification to teach special education. The last participant was also nationally board certified. Two of the participants were Caucasian American, one was bi-racial (Asian and European), and one was African American. All the participants were female.

### *Instrumentation*

A structured interview was used to elicit responses from the participants. The structured interview was developed by the first author and it comprised of 15 open-ended questions. Two of the questions were to gather background and demographic information about the participants. Four of the questions gathered information about training. The four questions allowed the participants to discuss the previous training they had received and the perceived effectiveness of that training. They were also asked to identify future training needs. Five of the questions solicited information on the teachers' curriculum decisions for students with autism (i.e. how they planned instruction and designed their curriculum). The last four questions asked teachers' to identify characteristics of students with autism (i.e. their strengths and weaknesses).

### *Procedure*

The interviews took place at the schools in the participants' classrooms. Three of the teachers had students in their classroom during the interview. Three of the interviews were digitally recorded. Handwritten notes were also taken during the interviews. Each interview lasted between 20 and 30 minutes. One participant would not allow the interview to be recorded. Once the interviews were completed, the first author and a professional transcriber transcribed the interviews. After the interviews were transcribed, the responses were categorized to find common themes.

## **RESULTS**

### *Feelings*

*How did you feel when you found out you would have a student with autism? Why?*

When the participants were asked to describe their initial feelings about teaching a student with autism their responses varied. Participants stated that they felt overwhelmed. They were overwhelmed because they knew that having a student with autism would be time consuming. Each child with autism has different needs. The participants felt scared when approaching children with autism. They were afraid they would not be able to meet the needs of children with autism. Curiosity came from entering unknown territory and wanting to know more about autism, and how to meet the needs of children with autism. One participant stated that she was up for the challenge because she jumps at the chance to meet children's needs to help them to become the best they can be.

### *Factors*

*What factors do you consider in deciding what to teach your students who have autism?*

The participants identified the following as the main factors that they consider in deciding what to teach to children with autism: results from tests given to children with autism, information from the student's IEP, the learning environment such as noise levels and seating time, what the parents want the student to learn, job skills the student may need, functional skills that are needed to carry out basic living skills, and what to do in an emergency situation. One participant stated that she will teach the student everything that is in her curriculum that her other students would learn but the delivery of the information will be based on where the student is placed on the continuum.

### *Strategies*

*What teaching strategies do you use with your students with autism?*

The participants stated that they use small groups, one-on-one instruction, and teaching to a student's strength, modeling appropriate and inappropriate behaviors, social stories, tactile stimulation, and maintaining a routine in their classrooms to teach students with autism. The participant also stated that they use visual aids, manipulative, and hands-on instruction to appeal to the students' different learning styles. In order to promote social interaction the participants stated that they used peer tutoring, parallel play, and free time to allow for social play.

### *Challenges*

*What challenges do you experience when teaching students with autism?*

Two of the participants stated that they never know what to expect from students with autism and that their needs and wants constantly change. This presented a challenge when it came to preparing and delivering instruction. The other two participants stated that students with autism take things different than they were intended. Therefore, the teachers had to be careful the way they communicated with such students so that the student understood the information. The other challenge that one of the participants mentioned was the costly materials. She stated that the materials to enhance learning for her students with autism were expensive and she had to purchase things with her own money. Some times the student would have to go without certain materials.

*What do you think are the major challenges that students with autism experience in school/classroom?*

All the four participants stated that students with autism had social skills deficits. Specifically, they cited lack of social skills, low social comprehension, hard time making friends, not being able to communicate, and poor eye contact as major challenges for students with autism. Another challenge that was identified was that children with autism have poor concept of time. One participant stated that the students take things too literal that means you have to mean exactly what you say when you communicate with them. The other challenges that were also identified included not finishing assignments, daydreaming, being non-verbal, handwriting skills, sitting for a long period, and being accepted throughout the school.

### *Strengths*

*What strengths do you think students with autism exhibit?*

When asked this question the participants had a hard time thinking of any strengths of children with autism. All the participants had different responses. One participant stated that the students are friendly and always willing to help. The participant also stated that this was a challenge too because it makes them susceptible to being taken advantage of. Organizational skills were a strength that another participant identified. Another participant stated that children with autism had strong memorization skills and accurately recalled information while another, stated that children with autism have average or above average intelligence.

### *Training*

*What training did you receive prior to teaching children with autism?*

All the participants had received no formal pre-service training to prepare them to work with children with autism. One of the participants received informal training; the class she did her student teaching in had children with autism.

*How many autism training/workshops have you attended in the past two years?*

Responses to this question varied. Two of the participants had not been to any training or workshops in over 10 years. One participant had attended a training workshop in the summer of the previous academic year. The other participant had attended a training workshop in the spring of that same year.

*What did you like about the trainings you attended?*

The responses to this question were different for each participant. One participant stated it was so long ago she do not remember anything about the training. One participant stated that what she liked about the training she attended was that she learned about different communication devices, about things parents need to know, about medical issues and about the battle to cure autism. Another participant stated the training she attended was beneficial because the parents were involved in the workshop and they were able to give their perspective and their understanding about autism. The parents also identified what their needs and concerns were. The last participant stated that the training she attended allowed hands-on experience with actual children who had autism. Real teachers taught them research-based strategies. The teachers implement the strategies in their classroom with their students with autism. Once the participant was introduced to the strategy, they had to utilize the skill taught with a child or children that was available to them during training. The same participant also learned what autism feels like and looks like.

*What did you not like about training that you attended?*

One participant stated the training was unpredictable and she did not know what was going on ahead of time and she did not like them. Another participant stated that the training was only geared towards elementary students. She works with high school age students and the information in the training was not age appropriate. Another complaint was that there was not enough training available in the region.

*If you were to receive training on how to teach students with autism, what should the training focus on?*

All the participants stated that they needed updated information on the new findings on autism. One participant wanted to know the causes of autism. One participant wanted to know the latest medical findings and the latest medical trends. The participants wanted to know the latest trends on teaching students with autism, information on effective tools to use in the classroom, research-based strategies and high school age appropriate strategies. One of the participants wanted information on different kind of communication devices that have whose effectiveness for children with autism has been demonstrated and how to use them.

## DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to explore the professional development needs of teachers who work with students who have autism and what challenges teachers face when teaching students with autism. A major challenge that the participants identified was that students with autism are constantly changing and that they never know what to expect from their students with autism day to day. This may demonstrate a lack of knowledge about the characteristics of children with autism among the participants. One of the characteristics of children with autism is that they need predictability. Children with autism have difficulty with change and they may exhibit an anxious response to new situations and last minute changes (Saskatchewan Education, 1999). Consistent schedules and routines were not being implemented in the classroom of the participants who were faced with this challenge. The participants may have misunderstood the students' anxious responses toward change as erratic behavior.

The participants may not have been prepared well to teach students with autism. This can be inferred from challenges that they identified such as, for example, when they stated that children with autism are too literal. This is a known characteristic of children with autism and there are strategies that can be used to provide effective communication and thus overcome this challenge (Saskatchewan Education, 1999).

It is interesting that the participants with over 15 years of teaching experience had not attended a training related to autism in over 10 years while those with less experience had attended a workshop the previous year. This may indicate that newer teachers like to participate in professional development more than their more experienced counterparts do. However, given that, there is always new research on autism, autism training workshops needs to appeal to all teachers regardless of experience level. Offering incentives for all teachers to participate in professional development programs could encourage participation in these trainings. In addition, a clear explanation of the expected learning outcomes of the training may encourage participation.

It is clear from the participants, responses that they would like to know more about autism. The participants were interested in many aspects of autism. The more they know about autism, such as the characteristics and teaching strategies, the more they would know what to expect from the students. There is therefore need for more training to be available in the area of autism. Professional development should focus on different aspects of autism including the latest research on autism.

Furthermore, the teachers lamented the lack of training available for teachers of older children. The participants stated that the available training programs tend to focus on younger children to the exclusion of middle school and high school students. However, because effective

instruction should also be age appropriate, there is need for training that focuses effective research-based interventions for older children. Hands-on training would be the ideal format. Parents play a major role in the relationship between student and teacher. Training that includes the importance of establishing and maintaining cooperative relationships with parents would benefit the participants in providing effective instruction.

This study is not without limitations. A major limitation of the study was the small sample size. Because the sample was very small and not random, readers should interpret the results of this study with caution. Results may not be generalized to represent views of all special educators. However, this is not to diminish the importance of the study in providing insight into professional development needs of teachers of students with autism.

### CONCLUSION

In conclusion, while the result of the study may not provide an accurate representation of teachers' views on the professional development needs of teachers, who work with students with autism, the study yielded important preliminary data, which may help both teacher preparation and professional development personnel in designing effective programs. Future research should consider using large sample sizes in order to establish a more accurate representation of teacher's professional development needs in the area of autism.

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# Black Male Stereotypes in Modern American Film: A Content Analysis

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## ABSTRACT

*This project investigates the extent to which Hollywood continues to use three predominant historical archetypes--the Buck, the Coon, and the Tom (Bogle, 2001)--when casting black males in contemporary films. The study critically examines the 2008 blockbuster film Hancock starring actor Will Smith, a well-known black actor. A qualitative analysis approach was used to identify and interpret the film in order to ascertain whether traits of the three archetypes historically played by black males are present in modern day cinema. The analysis supports that negative images of black males are still prevalent in today's films. These images are harmful and reinforce racial and cultural stereotypes, thus perpetuating negative feelings and fear of black males. As this study demonstrates, it is important to continue to examine film in order to make positive changes for the future.*

## INTRODUCTION

In 1903, the first black character in film was introduced to American audiences in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (Bogle, 2001). Ironically, the actor was not black at all. He was a white actor dressed in blackface. Since then, black actors have often been typecast into specific archetypal roles. In *Toms, Coons, Mulattoes, Mammies, and Bucks*, Donald Bogle discusses the three principal archetypes played by black males in American film: the Tom, the Coon, and the Buck. As Bogle states, "All were character types used for the same effect: to entertain by stressing Negro inferiority" (Bogle, 2001, p. 4). The purpose of this project is to investigate the extent to which Hollywood still includes traits of the historical archetypes—the Tom, the Coon, and the Buck—when casting black male actors in contemporary film. Using these archetypes, this project will be a critical analysis of the 2008 summer box office film, *Hancock*, starring Will Smith.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

Bogle's definitions of the three archetypes will be used as the foundation for this project. The Tom was a socially acceptable character (Bogle, 2001). Although he was "chased, harassed, hounded, flogged, enslaved, and insulted," he "n'er[sic] turn[ed] against [his] white massas [sic] and [he] remain[ed] hearty, submissive, stoic, generous, selfless, and oh-so very kind" (Bogle, 2001, pp. 4, 6). As a result, according to Bogle, the Tom endeared himself "to white audiences and emerge[d] as a hero of sorts" (2001, p. 6).

Although Bogle discusses two other variations of the Coon—Pickaninny and Uncle Remus—, for this analysis I primarily use Bogle’s definition of the “Pure Coon” (2001, p.17). The Coon first appeared on screen in *Wooring and Wedding of a Coon* in 1905; however, like the Tom and the Buck, this type was also predominant in D.W. Griffith’s 1915 production of *The Birth of a Nation* (Bogle, 2001). The Coon was used to depict “the Negro as [an] amusement object and black buffoon” (Bogle, 2001, p. 7). The Coon “emerged as no-account niggers, those unreliable, crazy, lazy, subhuman creatures good for nothing more than eating watermelons, stealing chickens, shooting crap, or butchering the English language” (Bogle, 2001, p. 8).

The Brutal Black Buck was also first introduced in *The Birth of a Nation* (Bogle, 2001). The Black Brute was a “barbaric black out to raise havoc. Audiences could assume that his physical violence served as an outlet for a man who was sexually repressed” (p. 13). The Pure Black Buck was what Bogle describes as “. . . always big, baaddd niggers, oversexed and savage, violent and frenzied as they lust for white flesh” (Bogle, 2001, p. 13). This type “revealed the tie between sex and racism in America” (p. 14) and emphasizes the importance of protecting white womanhood from black men. The Buck expressed the great fear that a white woman was the desire of every black man (Bogle, 2001). For the purpose of this analysis, I will use the term Buck to represent both the Black Brute and the Pure Black Buck.

Bogle (2001) argues that as much as Hollywood actors try to forget the existence of these archetypes, “the familiar types have most always been present in American black movies” (p. 4). Bogle contends that since these characters were first introduced, they have been “brought to life” by various actors such as Bill “Bojangles” Robinson, Stepin Fetchit, Richard Pryor, Eddie Murphy, and Danny Glover (Bogle, 2001).

The black man has been historically portrayed as sexual, animalistic, brutish, and violent (Dines, 2003; see also Wiegman, 1993, & Snead, 1994). This image is a product of white supremacist ideology. According to Wiegman and Snead, white supremacists perceived that the end of slavery would unleash the innate trait of violence they believed every black man possessed. Snead (1994) argues, “In all Hollywood film portrayals of blacks . . . the political is never far from the sexual” (Snead, p. 8). Dines asserts that “the image of the Black man as a sexual savage serves to construct white male sexuality as the protector of white womanhood” (Dines, 2003, p. 453).

As Nagel (2003) states, “. . . there remains in U.S. society today no ethnic boundary more sexualized or scrutinized than the color line dividing blacks and whites” (2003, p. 117). She continues by saying, “the black-white ethno sexual frontier is a less deadly danger zone today than it

was a century ago . . . however, the color line remains a controversial intersection where black men and women are still hyper sexualized” (Nagel, p. 118). Nagel (2003) suggests that interracial relationships often reinforce the fear of miscegenation among blacks and whites. In *Hancock*, where there is the presence of a past interracial relationship between a white woman and a black man, further analysis is needed to understand how this image presented may challenge and reinforce stereotypes.

Bogle argues that the assumption was made that “the white woman was the ultimate in female desirability, herself a symbol of white pride, power, and beauty” (2001, p. 14). When considering the history of black men and white women in the media, the evocative image is of King Kong clasping a white woman as he violently charges through Manhattan to the growing economic emasculation of Whites (Dines, 2003). Snead suggests that King Kong [from the movie, *King Kong* (Blenkin, Cunningham, Jackson, & Walsh, 2005)] is “a monster movie about blackness which stretches all boundaries, temporal, spatial, and natural—we see that repression and oppression are inescapably bound one to another” (1994, p. 7). According to Nagel, black critics and white supremacists alike speak out about their views of miscegenation being unacceptable between black men and white women (2003, p. 118). As Nagel suggests the message of “don’t mix sex and race” leads to a desire to keep the black man and the white woman separate. These stereotypes and images so dominant in American history may be suggested when an over sexualized black man is put together with a white woman.

What is interesting about *Hancock* is that some similarities can be drawn from the MAAF (Magical African American Friends) in contemporary American film (Hicks, 2003). In her article, Hicks (2003) suggests, “that in each film economics and magic are intimately linked. Specifically, the black men’s magical powers become the means of recalibrating the relation between their white counterparts’ gendered identities and work roles” (¶ 7). Although Hancock is not magical per se, he does possess superhero powers. He is also a black man in a leading role. These factors make him stand apart from any of the other characters in the film.

Hancock’s actions and whom Hancock chooses to help with his powers in the movie make Hick’s study relevant. In each of these films, according to Hicks, the black man is reinscribed as a child which “suggests that the superficial understanding of the black men as “friends” to their white counterparts must be rethought; instead, the relations between white and black men emerge as far more complex and equivocal” (¶ 7). Bogle says that the American Negro was often portrayed as a “nitwit or a childlike lackey” in film (2001, p. 4). This idea is fascinating when examining Hancock’s relationship with his white male counterpart.

In his 2002 article, scholar Marc Singer analyzes “the dominant genre of superhero comic books” and its “stereotyped depictions of race” (p.

107). He argues that the representations of racial identity in comic books work as tools of defamation and vehicles for even more manipulations of race (Singer, 2002). While much literature has been published that focus on the black superhero in comic books, there is a lack of literature that discusses the portrayal of the black superhero in film.

## METHODS

The 2008 summer box office film, *Hancock*, starring Will Smith, is the focus of this study. *Hancock* was chosen because of its financial success at the 2008 box office and because its lead actor, Will Smith, is a black male. *Hancock* was the fourth highest grossing film of 2008, grossing \$624.4 million nationally and worldwide (boxofficemojo.com). The film grossed a total of \$227.9 million in the United States and had a total of \$396.4 million in countries outside of the United States. The domestic distributor of the film was Sony. A qualitative analysis approach was used in order to ascertain whether traits of the three archetypes historically played by black males: the Tom, the Coon, and Buck were present in this modern American film. This was completed through an in-depth content analysis. This approach has been researched and elaborated upon by such scholars as Babbie (2005) and Krippendorf (2004).

For this analysis, the film was reviewed a total of five times. The unrated version of *Hancock* was first viewed. This viewing was done in order to get an overall feel and to form a preliminary analysis of the film. The first viewing revealed the theme, Will Smith's role and different elements of the film that set the tone (i.e. music). In addition, notations were made on scenes exemplifying characteristics of the Tom, the Coon, and the Buck. This viewing also helped me understand and examine the strategic choices the film's editors made prior to its theatrical release.

The Theatrical version of *Hancock* was viewed second. This method of viewing allowed minor notations to be made about the differences between the two versions of *Hancock*. It also allowed the opportunity to focus more on scenes previously noted and to make notations of scenes that may have been missed in the first viewing.

The purpose of the third viewing was to complete an in-depth analysis of the film. Each scene was viewed thoroughly and full notations were made including: the time code in relation to each scene, music, theme of the scene, and if character traits of the three archetypes were present.

The fourth and fifth viewings assured that the previous notations were correct. Also, specific scenes were viewed additional times if needed. The information was then organized into three categories that corresponded to the three archetypes. In addition, new discoveries that were made were also noted.

This study is a critical analysis of *Hancock*. The research methods used to critically analyze the film were structured to address the following questions: What role did Will Smith portray in Hancock? To what extent do the traits of the Tom, the Coon, and the Buck exist in the character Will Smith portrays? In what ways are they present? How have these traits evolved since their first appearances in film? Finally, in what ways do these stereotypical character traits have a connection with the overall theme of the film?

### SUMMARY OF *HANCOCK*

John Hancock (Will Smith) is a black, vigilante, selfless, superhero in Los Angeles. Hancock is also heavily flawed as a super hero. He is a lonely soul believing that he is the only one of his kind and is also an alcoholic. Hancock has the heart, desire, and superhero powers to help others; however, his efforts are not welcomed by anyone. Rather, his reckless behavior and careless actions only exacerbate situations. This results in negative feelings from the people of Los Angeles and leaving the city with millions of dollars in damages.

One day Ray (Jason Bateman), a white public relations spokesman, is on his way home after unsuccessfully pitching his new idea, the All-heart symbol, to corporate giants interested in charitable giving. He finds himself trapped on railroad tracks between two cars as a freight train approaches. Hancock steps in just in time to save Ray's life. However, in the process, Hancock also destroys the train's engine and causes the derailment of the train's freight cars. This only aggravates the situation between Hancock and the people of Los Angeles. As the people yell at Hancock about their displeasure with how he handled the situation, Ray steps in thanking Hancock. Hancock gives Ray a lift home, where he is introduced to Ray's son from a previous marriage, Aaron (Jae Head), and Ray's wife Mary (Charlize Theron), who are also white. Mary and Hancock exchange looks both of intrigue and inquiry, hinting that there is more between the two of them than the audience knows. As Hancock leaves, Ray asks Hancock to give him a pitch, referring to his All-heart symbol. Ray, in exchange for Hancock's pitch, offers to change the public's negative perception of Hancock into a positive image. Not really wanting to go along with Ray, Hancock grudgingly agrees.

The next day as Hancock and Ray are talking at Ray's house, Mary turns on the news to see news commentator Nancy Grace addressing the hundreds of subpoenas issued by the city for Hancock's arrest. Ray proposes that Hancock allow himself to be incarcerated for his outstanding subpoenas. Ray believes that this will allow the people of Los Angeles to see how much Hancock is needed to help fight crime and save lives. While incarcerated, Ray visits Hancock to teach him how to be a superhero, working on everything from his speech to his landings.

As Ray predicted, the crime rates rise dramatically until finally the Chief of Police calls Hancock to help the LAPD stop a brutal bank robbery. Hancock is successful at stopping the bank robbery and is applauded for the first time in the movie for his efforts. Ray, Hancock, and Mary go out to celebrate later that evening. After Hancock helps a slightly inebriated Ray to bed, he finds out that Mary also has superhero powers after they nearly share a kiss. Mary warns Hancock not to tell Ray about her powers.

The next day Hancock stops by Ray and Mary's house in order to find out what information Mary knows about his and her origin. Mary agrees to meet Hancock at his place later that evening. At Hancock's place, Mary tells him they are God's angels. They are the only two that remain as the others of their kind have all died. However, Mary does not tell Hancock the entire truth, which he knows. He threatens to tell Ray which results in a battle between the two. The battle ends outside of a building where Ray is giving a presentation. He is shocked to see his wife and Hancock wrestling in the middle of the street. Most importantly, he sees that his wife also has powers similar to Hancock's.

Ray and Hancock are both confused. Mary explains that Hancock is actually her husband but she left him decades before Ray was born. Hancock, because of his memory loss, had no recollection of anything but is upset that she chose to let him think that he was the only one of his kind and therefore alone. Ray is also upset because Mary lied to him. Later Hancock is shot as he stops a robbery at a liquor store and is rushed to the hospital. Mary visits him and tells him that he is becoming mortal because of their close proximity. Ray and Aaron also arrive at the hospital to visit Hancock.

As Mary tells Hancock stories of their past, she is shot multiple times by escaped convicts. The convicts share a hate for Hancock as he has had a negative impact on their life in the past. As Hancock's powers weaken, he is easily attacked and beaten. He and Mary are connected in a way that causes Mary to feel everything that is done to Hancock. Finally, Ray hits Hancock's attacker over the head before he can kill Hancock. As Mary is close to death, Hancock forces himself, with his remaining strength, to leave in order for the two of them to regain their powers. One month later, Hancock draws Ray's All-heart symbol on the moon to thank him. The All-heart symbol is now available for everyone in the world to see.

### ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF *HANCOCK*

In this analysis I will argue that *Hancock* includes character traits of the Tom, the Coon, and the Buck. I will critically analyze the film with a lens that focuses on the portrayal of Hancock, the film's star, and the character traits of the three archetypes. I will look at Hancock as a black male and his interaction with others in the film. I will also argue that the film has many underlying themes that comply with these archetypes.

As noted earlier, the Buck is a barbaric black man out to raise havoc often lusting after white flesh (Bogle, 2001). He is “oversexed and savage, violent and frenzied” (Bogle, 2001, p. 13). The Buck was used to emphasize the need for the protection of white women from the lecherous hands of black men. He expressed his sexual repression through physical violence (Bogle, 2001, p. 13).

The Buck is the first archetype to appear in *Hancock* and also the most dominant throughout the film. As the film progresses, Hancock seems as if he struggles against displaying Tom character traits but finally concedes. However, he refuses to give up his overly sexualized Buck behavior. The first introduction of Hancock also displays character traits of the Coon. At different times throughout the film, these character traits overlap and each play a significant part of Will Smith’s portrayal of Hancock.

### *The Buck and Homophobia/Sexuality*

The audience’s first introduction to Hancock is an interesting one. Within the first three minutes of the film Hancock exhibits character traits of the Buck. These pivotal minutes inform us of Hancock’s overly sexual nature and his lowly position in society.

A young boy awakens Hancock to inform him of a police chase. Hancock tells the boy to “get the hell out of my face.” The boy responds by calling Hancock an asshole. This word becomes the most significant word in the movie. Throughout the film “asshole” provokes and enrages Hancock whenever anyone refers to him as that multiple times. As Hancock grabs his sunglasses from under the bench, a white woman walks by in a tight black skirt. Hancock aggressively hits her behind. This also provokes the woman into calling Hancock an asshole.

Hancock bolts off into the air in order to stop a police chase. His take off is notably Buck-like and destructive, violently tearing apart the asphalt surrounding him. *New York Times* film critic Manohla Dargis describes his takeoffs and landings as “. . . a mess: sloppy and violent, they invariably leave a heap of trouble and general rubble in his wake” (2008, ¶ 2). The background music being played with a chorus line of, “Move bitch, get out the way. . .” sets the tone for what to expect of Hancock; he does not consider the lives he puts in danger from his careless actions.

Destructive and violent traits of the Buck continue to prevail in the following scene. It is evident that he is intoxicated as he crashes into a bird, barely misses a plane, takes swigs of his liquor, and smashes through an overhead highway sign causing debris to fall onto a police vehicle below. This causes a disastrous accident as the vehicle flips multiple times. Finally reaching the vehicle being chased, he pulls the roof off and attempts to talk to the men. There are three men in the car who are of Asian descent. They yell, “Beat it soulja [sic] boy,” in reference to a black rapper as Hancock sits down in their vehicle.

Hancock attempts to negotiate with the three men but also infers that there is something very homosexual about them being in a car together listening to rave music without girls. He then says, “. . . I’m not going to judge. But if you don’t pull over and give yourselves up quietly, I swear to Christ, your head is going up the driver’s ass, his head is going up your ass, and you drew the short stick cuz [sic] your head is going up my ass.” This is the first of several homophobic statements Hancock makes in the film. Hancock has an unusually strong interest in homosexuality, which he expresses through homophobic comments and threats throughout the remainder of the film. Further examples will be discussed later. As the scene progresses, Hancock’s violence continues as the men begin to shoot at him but are shocked that he is resistant to bullets. However, the bullets did break his sunglasses and liquor bottle. Pointing at the liquor bottle and shaking his head, he puts his feet through the bottom of the vehicle, stopping it in its tracks. After tossing the car around, he pushes the car down onto a pole on top of a building.

As the film continues, Hancock has been invited to stay for dinner with Ray and his family. When Mary, Ray’s wife, puts the food on the table, Hancock greedily piles food onto his plate. He begins to barbarically eat the food displaying no table manners. After pouring himself a glass of liquor below the table, Hancock is brought into a conversation about a problem that Ray’s son, Aaron, is having with a bully. Ray tells Hancock that they are trying to teach Aaron about conflict resolution. Nodding, Hancock agrees saying, “Yeah, turn the other cheek, all that.” Offering his own advice to Aaron he taps Aaron’s side, close to his behind and says, “Just never turn that one, never let them punk you.” He then suggests a very violent way for Aaron to defend himself. His comments not only convey his homophobic attitude but also his overly aggressive demeanor. Angrily, Mary says to him “And maybe you don’t know this but not everything in this world gets resolved with brute force, not everything has to be bang, scream, blood, more blood, you know, just destruction.” With this statement, Mary confirms Hancock’s Buck character traits, even mentioning brutish behavior. Mary continues to express her displeasure with Hancock. However, she is silenced when Ray tells her to not say anything because Hancock may kill them. Although violent and savage, this comment is perplexing, as Hancock never threatens to kill anyone during the film.

Hancock’s preoccupation with homosexuality continues. At his house one day, Ray tells Hancock that he is going to teach him how to interact with the public. Ray shows Hancock some videos of Hancock’s past “not great” super hero rescues that he believes will be helpful. Deciding that all of the videos are redundant Ray gives Hancock what he calls his “basic diagnosis of [Hancock’s] fundamental problem,” which is that Hancock is an asshole. Hancock looks upset as Ray continues, “I call it like I see it though, it’s not a crime to be an asshole but it’s very counterproductive.

Not a crime, but you are an asshole, don't you think?" Ray shows him some comic book heroes and asks Hancock to tell him the first thing that comes to his mind when he sees them. When shown the first cover Hancock says: "Homo." When shown the second, he says "Homo in red." As he is shown the third, the first thing that comes to his mind is, "Norwegian homo," which Ray agrees.

Later in the film, Hancock helps Ray to his room after a celebration dinner. Since Ray is slightly intoxicated, Hancock offers to take off his shoes for him. Ray agrees saying, "That's all you're getting off of me though." Ray's comment has a very strong homosexual undertone. In another scene, Hancock is incarcerated at the California Department of Corrections. The music playing in this scene is a "gansta rap" song as he walks to his cell. A group of inmates angrily surround him, upset because his heroic actions resulted in their detention. Hancock tells them that he wants no trouble. He tries to proceed to his cell but is blocked by other prisoners. He politely asks them to excuse him, which only causes laughter among the inmates. He then threatens them by saying that if the men did not move he would put one of their heads up the other man's "ass." This only results in more laughter among the inmates. Just as an inmate threatens him again, Hancock grabs the man's head and does exactly what he said he would do, causing everyone to scream in disgust. Subsequently, the two men, feeling violated by Hancock, appear soft and weak, feminized if you will. They are persuaded by another prisoner to "take their power back."

### *The Buck and the Great Fear of Miscegenation*

In addition to an unusual interest in homosexual activities expressed through homophobic comments, there is an underlying theme that stresses the need to separate sex and race. This is represented through Hancock's sexuality with Mary and other females.

Hancock has just been asked to help stop a bank robbery by the Chief of Police. He walks in the middle of gunfire, the bullets repelling off of his body, to where there is a female officer trapped behind a car. He asks her, "Do I have permission to touch your body?" He continues, "It's not sexual. Not that you're not an attractive woman. You're actually a very attractive woman." His jabber is cut off as she yells at him to get her out of there. He picks her up, holding up a police car to shield her from the gunfire, and takes her to safety. This shows that Hancock still clings to his overly sexualized Buck behavior acting as if he has no self-control with his sexuality when around women.

There are hints that Hancock and Mary share something the first time they meet through their eye contact. However, the audience does not know why they continue to share these moments until later in the film. Mary seems to have an interest in Hancock. In one scene, she greets

her husband with a kiss but her eyes remain on Hancock as she does it. Hancock also expresses an interest in Mary when he inquires about her whereabouts when she is not home.

Numerous shots of Hancock stress his loneliness. The focus on Hancock's loneliness also demonstrates the boundaries set between him and Mary. As Hancock lays in bed incarcerated and alone, shots of Ray and Mary are shown in bed cuddling, laughing, and talking, then the scene cuts back to Hancock alone. He is an outcast in society and his desires for Mary and her desires for him cannot be reached. A deep connection with Mary is shown later in the film as Hancock shares the little knowledge he has of his life with Mary and Ray at dinner. It is in this story that Hancock mentions his immortality and the only recollection of his past when he woke up in a hospital eighty years ago in Miami. He also mentions that his body has the ability to rapidly heal itself by telling a story that not even a needle could penetrate his skin. Later when Ray is asleep at home, Mary touches Hancock's hand in the kitchen after noticing a bruise. This is the first sign that something is wrong. It is at this point that they nearly share a kiss and as noted earlier, Hancock discovers that Mary has similar powers when she aggressively throws him out of her house.

Mary also is sexualized in the film. Her superhero outfit is dark, low cut and seductive. Hancock and Mary's connection causes unusual heat and weather changes when they are close together. Later they are both sexualized as they wrestle in downtown Los Angeles. Hancock is on top of Mary in a very sexualized position as she screams, "Get off of me!"

Finally, in one of the last scenes of the film, the need for the separation of Hancock and Mary demonstrates the film's underlying theme stressing the separation of sex and race. Together, Hancock and Mary only cause harm to themselves and society. Their previous argument now leaves the city of Los Angeles with millions of dollars in damages. Mary tells Hancock stories of their past when Hancock asks her to tell him what happened eighty years ago. Although Mary does not mention race, she tells Hancock that they were attacked in an alley and that he was violently beaten after he held her hand walking home from a movie. Mary's story seems to correlate with "the great push of the eugenics movement to stop marriages between blacks and whites [which] drew from the racism of the time (eugenics-watch.com). In the 1920s, eugenicists passed laws in more than half of the states that prohibited such marriages (§ 4)." From this statement, these anti-miscegenation laws were still active eighty years prior to when *Hancock* was made.

Mary's story is quite significant. An interesting finding in the film is that Hancock's identity as a black man is never discussed. However, this story hints at the idea. Hancock and Mary's close contact is now resulting in their mortality. Hancock and Mary are both severely wounded and near death. The only way for the two of them to survive is if Hancock

gets as far away from Mary as possible. This sends a message that Mary, as a white woman, and Hancock, as a black man, are not beneficial to themselves or society when together. This is the very definition of the fear of miscegenation.

The final scene of the film involves a black man being chased by police cars in the middle of the street in a city. He grabs a white woman to hold as a hostage when he is told to freeze. Hancock comes to the rescue to stop the chase. The man being chased refers to Hancock as “hand job.” He then tells Hancock, “You’re gonna [sic] get us out of here with that tight-ass Wolverine outfit on. Now let’s make it happen, asshole.” His gestures are overly feminized as he speaks. However, the man has made a mistake by calling Hancock an asshole. Hancock turns around. From his previous actions, the audience is aware that he acts very aggressively when called “asshole.” Therefore this time is no different. This is the last shot of the movie. While this analysis does not accuse Hancock’s filmmakers of purposely placing stereotypical archetypes into the film, one cannot ignore this last scene. From this scene it appears as if knowledge existed of the connection between the second syllable in Hancock’s name, “cock,” and sexuality, in particular the male penis (Dines, 2003).

It is important to mention the most notable difference between the unrated version and the theatrical version. This involves Hancock in a very intense sex scene. In this scene, Hancock is in a bar drinking. A young black woman approaches Hancock very seductively. They head back to Hancock’s place where she makes numerous sexual innuendos before jumping on top of him. A friend calls her on the phone and she replies, “No, I haven’t seen it yet.” The “it” in this phone conversation was interpreted as a reference to Hancock’s genitalia. She continues making sexual innuendos to his genitalia as Hancock tells her that it is important that she focuses. He also tells her that when he climaxes, she needs to get as far away from his penis as possible. As they have sex, the entire trailer shakes. True to his word, as Hancock climaxes, the woman is thrown onto a chair and a large hole is torn through the roof of his trailer. The woman appears frightened and runs away. This scene sexualizes Hancock to a new level. Not only does he talk about his sexuality but his sexual actions with this random young woman prove him to be a very sexual being.

#### *The Reformation of a Buck and the Introduction of a Tom*

As noted earlier, The Tom “emerge[d] as a hero of sorts” to white audiences (Bogle, 2001, p. 6). He was a socially acceptable character (Bogle, 2001). He remained “submissive,” “stoic,” “generous,” and “selfless.” (Bogle, 2001, pp. 4- 6) Although he was “chased, harassed...flogged, enslaved, and insulted,” he never turned against his white masters (Bogle, 2001, pp. 4-6).

Many of Hancock’s Buck traits are transformed through his interaction with Ray. Hancock’s first sign of Tomish behavior occurs after he saves

Ray's life. Hancock gives Ray a lift home and drops Ray's vehicle in front of the house. Ray thanks Hancock but also complains that it would have been better if he had put the car in the driveway. Without saying a word, Hancock is obedient and puts the car into Ray's driveway.

When Ray first proposes that Hancock be incarcerated for his 600 court subpoenas, Hancock refuses. Hancock seems as if he struggles against displaying these Tom character traits but finally is submissive. He even announces his decision to go to jail at a press conference. Looking hurt, he says exactly what is written on a note card, as Ray smiles on. Subsequently, in a visit to the jail, Ray informs Hancock that the state's District Attorney wanted him to be incarcerated for a total of eight years. Upset by Ray's news, Hancock proceeds to walk out of the jail, removing the doors that constrain him. This scene draws an interesting comparison to the giant ape in the movie, *King Kong*, who continuously evaded human captors who tried to subdue him with shackles (Blenkin et al., 2005). So, too, does Hancock try to break himself loose from the chains that constrain him. However, Hancock's Buck like actions are quickly tamed by Ray. Ray tells Hancock that he needed to stop pretending that he did not care. Ray continues by telling Hancock that he would live a miserable life until he accepted that he was called to be a hero.

Ray continues to visit Hancock in jail to teach him how to be a superhero although Ray possesses no superhero power of his own. First, he teaches Hancock how to land. As noted earlier, Hancock's take-offs and landings were notably destructive. Ray tells Hancock not to come in too destructive or "too boozy," because people should be happy that [he] has arrived. Ray continues by telling Hancock that he should use the door. In a later scene, Ray brings Hancock a superhero outfit emphasizing that it represented purpose. Upon seeing the outfit, Hancock refuses to wear it saying, "I will fight crime butt-ass naked before I fight crime in that."

Hancock officially becomes a Tom as he lands very smoothly in Ray's superhero outfit to help the police. Equally significant is the change in music. While Hancock's previous rescues were accompanied by rap music, a fanfare of superhero music is now played. He is no longer an outcast in society; he has now conformed and as a result has become a member. In the final scenes of the movie as Hancock fights off the escaped prisoners, he selflessly takes time to knock a vending machine down to shield Ray and Aaron from any stray bullets. In one of the final scenes of the film, Hancock finally accepts that he will be alone and will never be with Mary. He expresses his gratitude to Ray and paints Ray's All-heart symbol on the moon. Ray now has worldwide advertising thus a successful career in Public Relations.

Hancock's vocabulary is also refined which is evident through his use of larger vocabulary words when speaking. Before his reformation, an

example of Hancock's sentence is "He all right." After his reformation, Hancock's sentences were similar too, "Doctor's were astounded... they wanted to know my story." This improved vocabulary can also be considered a reformed Coon character trait. It is during this scene that Hancock eats dinner with Mary and Ray. He no longer eats like a barbarian but eats his dinner displaying excellent table manners.

### *The Intertwining of a Coon*

Intertwined with character traits of the Buck and the Tom are traits of the Coon. As noted earlier, the Coon was used to depict "the Negro as [an] amusement object and black buffoon" (Bogle, 2001, p. 7). The Coon "emerged as no-account niggers, those unreliable, crazy, lazy, subhuman creatures" (Bogle, 2001, p. 8). Coons are also notorious for butchering the English language (Bogle, 2001, p. 8). The Coon is the least dominant of the three archetypes but is also very present.

Hancock's Coonish traits are evident when he is first introduced to the audience. The camera slowly pans across Hancock's legs to a wider shot of his upper body and face, where we see a vagabond-like Hancock sleeping on a bench. His hands are shown dangling from the bench as empty liquor bottles roll away from them. A young boy calling his name awakes him. Hancock wakes up obviously vexed. The young boy speaks to him in a patronizing manner as he informs him of a live police chase. This scene is very important as it establishes the audience's perception of Hancock. Here, Hancock is introduced as lazy. When he is desperately needed, he is asleep on a bench.

In a later scene Hancock is visited by Ray in jail. Ray condescendingly speaks to Hancock. Ray advises Hancock to say "good job" whenever he notices any police officers excelling at their work. First Hancock does not understand why he has to say "good job," or even assist if a situation had already been solved by police officers. The manner in which Hancock expresses his confusion aligns him with the buffoonish trait of the Coon. Ray continues, now speaking to Hancock as if speaking to a child. Ray asks Hancock to say "good job" for him. Ray then sounds the word out as if he is teaching a child to read or pronounce a word properly. This implies that Hancock lacks the knowledge to correctly pronounce words in the English language.

An interesting discovery in the film is that Ray treats Hancock as a child on numerous occasions speaking to him in a very condescending manner. For example, Hancock lands in the middle of the street in front of Ray's house. He apologizes to the kids playing in the street for his destructive land. As he walks toward Ray's house, he is stopped dead in his tracks when he overhears someone call him an asshole. Hancock recognizes the kid as Aaron's bully and asks him to "lay off of [Aaron] a little bit." The boy continues to call Hancock an asshole, ignoring Hancock when

he tells him to stop. Upset with the boy, Hancock grabs him and thrusts him miles into the sky just as Ray comes outside excited that Hancock has decided to visit. Hancock nervously tries to tell Ray that he will meet him inside the house, not wanting Ray to find out about what he did to the boy. Ray continues just as Hancock reaches out and catches the boy as he falls back down. Ray says to Hancock, shaking his head as if speaking to a little child, "Not Okay. Okay?" Hancock responds, "He all right." Ray continues, "Really not okay. This is some of the stuff we're gonna [sic] work on" as they walk into the house.

After Ray finds out that his wife also possesses super human powers, he takes his condescension of Hancock a step further. As Mary reveals her and Hancock's identities to both Hancock and Ray, she tells them that it is very hard to explain. Ray says, "I'm all ears." Hancock agrees and pulls up a chair. Ray tells Hancock "Do me a favor; just give me and my wife one moment. Hancock, suggesting that Ray redirect his anger says, "Don't bring it here, Ray," as they are both confused and have been lied to by Mary. Ray then says, "The adults are talking for one second," and dismisses Hancock as if talking to a child. This statement openly expresses Ray's belief that he is superior to Hancock.

Hancock also seems to share an interesting bond with Aaron. In one scene, Mary and Aaron visit Hancock in jail. Mary tells Hancock that Aaron really wanted to see him; she also brings spaghetti, which Hancock eats. Before leaving, Aaron gives Hancock his favorite toy. When Hancock is asked to help the police, the toy Aaron gave Hancock is seen lying next to him as he sleeps. In a critique of *Unbreakable*, Hicks (2003) argues that Elijah's actions, played by Samuel L. Jackson, "increasingly align him with the world of childhood." This similarity to the world of childhood is comparable to Will Smith's portrayal of Hancock.

## CONCLUSION

The purpose of this analysis was to investigate the extent to which Hollywood still includes traits of the historical archetypes, the Tom, the Coon, and the Buck, when casting black male actors in contemporary films. This was investigated through an in depth content analysis of *Hancock*, starring Will Smith. Viewing the film with the traits of these characters in mind, I found that these archetypes continue to exist in film. The most dominant of the three was the Buck, which portrays the black male as an excessively violent, savage, and over sexualized being. The Tom, which portrays the black male as submissive and selfless, emerging as a hero although he was abused and mistreated, was the second most dominant archetype in the film. Intertwined with these two archetypes were less dominant traits of the Coon, which portrays the black male as lazy and buffoonish. An interesting discovery was also made that Hancock was also presented as childlike to his white male counterpart, Ray.

In *The Whites of Their Eyes: Racist Ideologies and the Media*, scholar Stuart Hall (2003) claims, “the media are not only powerful sources of ideas about race. They are also one place where these ideas are articulated, worked on, transformed, and elaborated” (Hall, 2003, p. 90-91) and, therefore he suggests that media help to classify the world in terms of race and also define what race means to us. These harmful images created over a century ago, continue to exist in our society, through the most powerful mass message system, the media.

Negative images of black males are seen every day in the media. These images are harmful and reinforce racial and cultural stereotypes. As a result these stereotypes oftentimes perpetuate negative feelings and/or fear that some may associate with black males as a whole. These archetypes emerged as tools of social oppression and became the lens through which Americans outside of the black community perceived black America. It is important to not only continue to examine modern day cinema, but also to strive to make a change in our media content to ensure that these harmful images will one day cease to exist.

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# Watching What You Say: The Contents of Disclosure to Friends about Romantic Relationships

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## ABSTRACT

*The current study is an interview based analysis of romantic relationship disclosure. This study examined the content of disclosure between a romantic partner and a friend, specifically what type of information and accuracy of the information presented. The participants were eight students of a Midwestern university involved in a romantic relationship. Participants were asked a structured set of questions inquiring the types and accuracy of information which is disclosed to a particular friend. Results show participants disclosing eight types of information, both positive and negative. Participants reported being partially inaccurate at least some of the time. Findings suggest individuals in romantic relationships attempt to manage friend perceptions by filtering information during acts of disclosures to social network members.*

Romantic relationships play important roles in the lives of people which make understanding the factors that contribute to relationship quality and stability important. Many different factors have been found to predict relationship quality and stability including personality variables (Conger, Donnellan, & Larsen-Rife, 2005,) and family of origin characteristics (Conger, Cui, Bryant, & Elder Jr., 2000) among others (See Berscheid & Reis, 1998 for a review). In addition, past research has shown support for the idea that social network opinions about a romantic relationship can influence that romantic relationship (Sprecher, Felmlee, Orbuch, & Willetts, 2001). However, few studies have examined how these social network opinions develop.

One possible variable that could influence social network opinions is the nature and extent of the information network members learn about the relationship. Members of a romantic dyad's disclosure to social network members has been argued to contribute to the development of network members' opinions about the romantic relationship (Loving, 2006). This suggests that disclosure about a romantic relationship is important because the network opinions formed based on the disclosure may then influence the romantic relationship. Despite the potential importance of disclosure to understanding social network influence, little research has examined this important topic. The present research attempts to study disclosure about romantic relationships to social network members, specifically what information members of romantic relationships

disclose, the accuracy of the information which is disclosed, and if there is a sex difference of disclosure.

### *Romantic Relationships*

Romantic relationships have been linked to an increase of happiness (Diener & Seligman, 2002) and a sense of security as well as positive beliefs about the relationship. Research has shown unrealistically positive beliefs or positive illusions about a relationship and a romantic partner can contribute to positive aspects of a romantic relationship (Murray, Holmes, Griffin, 1996). However, romantic relationships are embedded in larger social networks which influence the nature of the relationship (Felmlee, 2001). Thus, the importance of the topic has led researchers to examine how social networks influence romantic relationships.

### *Social Network Influence on Romantic Relationships*

Whether the romantic relationship is marital or dating, it can be assumed that no relationship exists in a vacuum and that family and friends (social network members) impact the relationship. Prior research has found that social networks characteristics have an influence on romantic relationships (Sprecher et al., 2001). Many studies have focused on the influence of friends on romantic relationships, and how this influence effects the nature of the romantic relationship, specifically quality (Felmlee, 2001), commitment (Etcheverry & Agnew, 2004), and persistence (Sprecher et al., 2001). A social network's influence on a romantic relationship can be positive or negative for the relationship depending on whether the social network approves or disapproves of the romance. For example, prior research has found that when social networks have negative feelings toward a romantic relationship, they are more likely to interfere in that relationship (Parks, Stan, Eggert, 1983).

### *Social Network Approval or Disapproval*

Prior research has shown that social network's approval or disapproval of a romantic relationship is predictive of the quality and stability of that relationship (Felmlee, 2001; Etcheverry & Agnew, 2004; Krain, 1977). There are several possible explanations for this finding. Social network approval or disapproval of a romantic relationship may contribute to the amount of support provided to the romantic couple (Bryan, Fitzpatrick, Crawford, & Fischer, 2001; Felmlee, 2001; Sprecher et al., 2001). Prior research has also suggested that social networks can influence a member of a romantic relationship's emotional attachment to a relationship, interaction with a partner, and perceptions of whether the relationship will continue (Parks et al., 1983). Approval from friends and families may help stabilize a romantic relationship by providing comfort and encouragement (Felmlee, 2001). However, friend disapproval may lead to more interference by social network members (Parks, et al., 1983) and a lack of relationship support from social networks (Felmlee, 2001).

*Perception of Social Network Approval or Disapproval*

Sprecher et al. (2001) found that the perceptions of approval or disapproval by social networks are associated with relationship quality and persistence. Although social network approval or disapproval of a romantic relationship has been suggested to impact support provided by social networks (Bryan, Fitzpatrick, Crawford, & Fischer, 2001), it may be hard for individuals in romantic relationships to know if a social network member genuinely approves or disapproves of the romantic relationship. Even though friends may be presented with the same information from a member of the romantic couple, the information may be perceived differently and therefore result in a variation of perceptions (Larsen & Williams, 1997). For example, a romantic partner may interpret a friend's feelings toward their relationship as approval or disapproval when, in fact, it is not. Prior research has suggested that members of a romantic relationship's perceptions of social network member's approval or disapproval of a relationship are not always accurate and tend to be overly positive (Etcheverry, Le, & Charania, 2008). As prior research has suggested that disclosure is an important component of how network members form their opinions (Loving, 2006), it is important to study disclosure to understand how disclosure informs actual network opinions as well as members of a romantic relationship's perceptions of network opinions.

*How do Friends Form Their Opinions?*

Although there has been advancement in the study of the influence of social network opinion on romantic relationships, there has been a lack of research on how these opinions are developed initially. It may be possible that friends form their opinion about a romantic relationship based on the information provided to them during acts of disclosure by a member of the romantic relationship (Loving, 2006). However, little is known about what is disclosed to social network members about the romantic relationship. Disclosure about a romantic relationship acts as persuasion and influence on social network opinion, therefore it is important to understand what information is disclosed to about the relationship and the nature of how this disclosure occurs.

*Disclosure to Friends*

Self disclosure is the process of revealing the self to others. There are many uses for disclosure. However, the primary advantage of disclosure is for social support which can be beneficial to a person's well being because it provides emotional and informational support (advice) (Forbes & Roger, 1999). It is no secret that people disclose important aspects of their lives to close others. So, it can be assumed that individuals in romantic dyads tell their friends about their romantic relationship and the disclosure is how friends form their opinions about the relationship (Loving, 2006). However, what is disclosed and how much may vary from

person to person based on the level of closeness between the person in the romantic relationship and their friend. Closeness between two people is determined by the level of intimacy and proximity (Planalp, 1993).

#### *Closeness: Proximity*

Does how much as person discloses depend on how close in distance a person is? A person may or may disclose certain information to members of social networks based upon location. Rubin & Shenker (1978) found that proximity is important for disclosure. Findings suggest that individuals disclose more intimate topics in a friendship, such as information about their relationship, when the proximity is close. The proximity may be associated with the idea of a person as a friend or acquaintance (Planalp & Benson, 1992). Proximity may be associated with intimacy and in result in greater intimate topics (Planalp, 1993). As proximity is an important determinant of disclosure, focusing on friends as a target of disclosure is warranted, especially for a college sample.

#### *Closeness: Level of Intimacy*

Intimacy, in regards to interpersonal communication, is what distinguishes the difference between friends, acquaintances, and complete strangers. Research suggests individuals will disclose more intimate, detailed emotional topics of self disclosure to persons who they believe are their friends as opposed to an acquaintance (Planalp, 1993). The intimacy of conversation between two friends is thought to be close. Conversations among friends, to whom information is disclosed, are different than conversations with acquaintances (Planalp & Benson, 1992). Close friends with whom a person is likely to feel a high level of intimacy are an important subject of research for understanding disclosure.

#### *Types of Information Disclosed*

Many social network members source of information about a romantic relationship comes from the individual in the relationship (Loving, 2006). Individuals in relationships may disclose different aspects of their romantic relationship to social network members, such as partner behavior and interactions between the couple. The difference in categories of information disclosed, such as current events, disagreements between partners, and emotional feelings, disclosed to social network members are important because it infers the type of information presented. Information can also differ in valence, being positive, negative, or neutral. Depending on the type of information presented, the reaction from social network members may result in either support or disapproval for the romantic relationship (Felmlee, 2001). Thus, when disclosing to social network members, individuals in romantic relationships may provide biased information to elicit support or disapproval of their romantic relationship (Loving, 2006).

Depending on how the person in the romantic relationship views their relationship, they may want others to view their relationship in the same light. Thus, if a person feels negatively about their romantic relationship they will provide negative types of information about their relationship to social network members. If the individual in the romantic relationship feels confident about their romantic relationship, they may disclose more positive types of information not excluding but limiting the negative aspects of their relationship. The examination of the categories, types, and valence of information presented to social network member may lead researchers to understand why individuals in romantic relationships disclose the information they do.

#### *Positive Information vs. Negative Information*

The valence of the information being disclosed is important. The information presented to friends maybe positive or negative about the romantic relationship. Positive information refers to the good aspects of the romantic relationship or the romantic partner. When individuals tell their friends all of the good aspects of their romantic relationship, social networks tend to feel better about their romantic relationship (Loving, 2006) and therefore becoming supportive and approving (Felmlee, 2001). Negative information refers to the bad aspects of the romantic relationship or the romantic partner. When individuals in the relationship reveal negative information about their relationship, they risk receiving a negative reaction from their social network (Baxter & Widemann, 1993) which leads to the social network being unsupportive (Felmlee, 2001). The distinction between the two may lead individuals to disclose positive information if they want support and approval of a romantic relationship or the disclosure of negative information if they want disapproval or support for ending the relationship.

#### *Accuracy*

The link between disclosure and friends has been far more studied than what information is actually being presented during disclosure. There has been evidence suggesting that people lie to friends and about themselves frequently (Depaulo, Epstein, Kashy, Kirkendol, & Wyer, 1996). Other research has suggested that the lies are unconsciously told and the information may not be lies but simply inaccurate (Woodyard & Hines 1973). Accuracy is important in the world of self-disclosure because it leads to perception of what is being disclosed. The level of intimacy and proximity may contribute to the accuracy of the information being disclosed.

Disclosure about the self is a fact of life. As a result, the self is presented to others daily (Depaulo et al., 1996). However, the self which is presented may be distorted (Woodyard & Hines, 1973). Although individuals disclose information about their personal lives to members

of their social network, there is evidence that suggest the information presented is both accurate and inaccurate (Woodyard & Hines, 1973). When people become inaccurate about the information they present purposefully by falsifying information, they are lying. Lying is not uncommon in everyday social life. In a study done by Depaulo et al. (1996), the results found that individuals lie to 30% of the people in their lives. In addition, findings suggest that individuals told more faked positive lies, lies which present positive information, than faked negative lies. These findings suggest that individuals may tell faked positive lies about themselves (Depaulo et al., 1996) as a defense mechanism to avoid embarrassment, admitting weaknesses, or hurting other people (Woodyard & Hines, 1973). This defense mechanism may be used to manage perceptions about them from social network members (Baxter & Widemann, 1993). This research about lying and accuracy of self disclosure has clear relevance to understanding self disclosure about a romantic relationship.

### *Management of Friend Perception*

Members of romantic relationships disclose information about their relationship to members of their social network because of the closeness between them (Planalp, 1993). However, individuals may use deception as a management tactic by presenting information to social network members that they want them to know. The acts of revealing or concealing information about the self are a strategy used to manage social network perceptions (Baxter & Widemann, 1993).

Individuals in a romantic relationship may seek support for their position about a romantic relationship and may disclose information or withhold information to gain support from a social network member. Although some social network members, such as friends, are less likely to be targets of acts of concealment, the perceptions of all social networks are managed through disclosure (Baxter & Widemann, 1993). The valence and accuracy, or lack of, all contribute to the management of social network perceptions. Members of a romantic dyad may use disclosure to manage social network opinions by disclosing information which has content that is positive or negative. The valence of the information presented can be either accurate or intentionally falsified (Depaulo et al., 1996). The accuracy or inaccuracy of the information can result in a social network's perception being persuaded.

The goal of the present research is to examine disclosure about a romantic relationship to a social network member. This research focuses on what information is being disclosed and the accuracy of the information provided. By examining self disclosure to social network members about a romantic relationship, we hope to understand how disclosure impacts the formulation of network member opinions about the relationship.

## METHODS

### *Participants*

Participants were undergraduate and graduate students at a large Midwestern U.S. university participating for a five dollar Wal-Mart gift card. A screener was given to all participants to assess if they were enrolled students at the university and currently involved in a romantic relationship. Eligible participants consisted of 8 students (4 males and 4 females; 5 undergraduates and 3 graduates) involved in a romantic relationship. The majority of participants indicated they were Caucasian (4, with 3 African American and 1 Hispanic).

The participants in this study reported different demographic information which could have had an effect on the results such as gender of friend, years in dating, age, and relationship status. Of the 8 participants interviewed, 7 participants reported disclosing romantic relationship information to a same-sex friend; 1 participant reported disclosing to a cross-sex friend. Participants were in a romantic relationship for the following duration of time: 4 participants (0-1 years); 3 participants (2-3 years); and 1 participant (4-5 years). The age range of participants varied as well. Participant ages ranged from 18-30 years. Of the 8 participants, 5 participants were between the ages of 18-22, 1 participant was between the ages of 23-27, and 2 participants were between the ages of 28-30. Participants in the romantic relationship reported different relationship statuses; 3 participants described their relationship as we date only each other and 5 participants described their relationship as we live together.

### *Procedures*

This study was reviewed and approved by the university's Institutional Review Board, and all responses by participants were kept confidential. Participants were recruited when passing a table that was located in front of one of the university's buildings. Potential participants were then given a screener to establish if they met eligibility requirements of being a current student at the university and currently involved in a romantic relationship. Participants who met eligibility requirements were then taken to a room, reserved for this study, in a university building for an interview for no longer than 30 minutes.

Upon arrival of subjects, participants were informed that this experiment is interested in their romantic relationship and their disclosure to a friend. Once inside the reserved room, participants read and signed informed consent forms that acknowledged the usage of audio recording. After signing, participants were then informed audio recording was going to begin. When audio recording began, participants were instructed not to use their own name and only the first name of their romantic partner and friend during the interview for confidentiality. The researcher then

identified the participant by number and proceeded with the interview by asking a structured, sequenced set of open ended questions about what type of information they disclose and the accuracy of the information disclosed to their friend (See Table 1). Participants were allowed to answer in responses they felt were appropriate.

After all set questions were asked, the researcher informed the participant the interview portion was finished and stopped audio recording. Participants were then provided a demographics questionnaire inquiring information about their romantic relationship and the relationship with their friend to complete (See Table 2). When participants completed the demographic questionnaire, they were provided a five dollar Wal-Mart gift card as compensation for their time.

After each interview, the audio recording was sent to the person hired for data transcription. When transcriptions were received, coding and data analysis began. Based upon participant responses, a coding system was developed by grouping common types of information disclosed. For the duration of the study, data collected was locked in the researcher's cabinet for confidentiality.

## RESULTS

### *Type of Information Presented*

Participants reported different types of information which they disclosed to their friend (see Table 3 for list of topics disclosed). Overall, participants disclosed more information about partner behavior and relationship problems than other topics of discussion. Among the different types of information presented, the topic of marriage and participant behavior was discussed least. Table 3 provides information about how many participants discussed each topic.

### *Positive vs. Negative Information Presented*

Of the types of information disclosed by participants to their friend, five topics were reported as relatively positive information which they discuss with their friend. Table 3 provides information about the topics of disclosure which was at least partly positive in nature. These topics include relationship events, relationship characteristics, participant's feelings towards their romantic partner, sex life, and participant behavior. Based upon analysis, relationship events is subject for discussion more so than any other topic of positive information. Participants reported a number of different types of information disclosed to a friend which they classified as negative information. Again, Table 3 presents this information. Among the negative information presented are partner behavior and relationship problems which are the top topics for negative information discussed.

*Both Positive and Negative Information Presented*

Based upon participant responses, the types of information were categorized as positive or negative information. Although participants identified certain types of information disclosed as predominately positive or negative information, there were cases where the information was presented in positive and negative aspects of the relationship. Three types of information were discussed in terms of both positive and negative information.

*Accuracy of Information Presented*

When participants were questioned about the accuracy of the information which they disclosed to their friend, all eight participants reported disclosing inaccurate information, at least some of the time, to their friend. Participants provided inaccurate information about both positive and negative information. The participants differed in the type of information they were inaccurate about; two participants reported being inaccurate about positive information and six participants reported being inaccurate about negative information.

*Withholding Information*

When participants were asked if they withheld information about their romantic relationship from their friend, all participants reported withholding information from their respective friend. Participants intentionally withheld both positive and negative information. Participants reported withholding information about relationship characteristics, partner behavior, participant behavior, relationship problems, and/or sex life. Although the majority of participants withheld similar types of information, the reasoning behind why they withheld information from their friend differs. The most frequent response for withholding information reported by participants was to protect the friend's perception of them and/or their relationship as well as to protect the image of their romantic partner. However, one participant reported withholding information certain types of information to protect the friend's feelings at the time in which the friend was single.

*Partner Behavior towards Participant*

The disclosure of partner behavior and their actions towards the participant was the most frequently disclosed topic reported from participants as well as the most predominately negative information disclosed. All seven participants who disclosed this information perceived the information as negative. However, the accuracy of the information differed between the participants. Three out of seven participants stated they overplayed the negativity with of their partner's behavior and emphasized the negative aspects for support. One participant stated, "I want her to agree with me even if he's right." Another three participants reported they disclose

information about their partner behavior but do not place emphasis on the topic and tend to underplay partner behaviors to protect the image of their romantic partner. Only one participant reported being completely accurate when disclosing about this information.

### *Relationship Problems*

Disclosure about relationship problems was frequently discussed between participants and their friends. All six participants who reported disclosing this type of information perceived relationship problems as negative information. Of the six participants who disclosed relationship problems, four reported being inaccurate when presenting some pieces of information by exaggerating the relationship problems and overplaying the negativity. The reasoning suggested for this behavior by participants is primarily for support from the friend. Another form of inaccuracy presented was limited discussion of relationship problems to protect a negative perception of the relationship.

### *Events*

The disclosure about relationship events was somewhat frequently discussed and was the most positive information disclosed between the participant and their friend. Five out of the eight participants reported discussing relationship events such as trips, anniversaries, and outings. All participants perceived the disclosure of events as positive information. Of the five participants, two participants reported being inaccurate when presenting pieces of event information about the relationship by fabricating events to their friend for unknown reasons. One participant stated, "I think I tell her that me and him are going to go off and do something fun, sometimes when we end up doing nothing at all."

### *Relationship Characteristics*

Relationship characteristics were somewhat frequently disclosed to friends. Of the eight participants, five reported disclosing their romantic relationship's characteristics such as how much they enjoy the relationship and how well the relationship is going. However, there was a difference in how the type of information was perceived. Three of the five participants viewed the disclosure as positive, in contrast to the two participants who viewed the subject matter as negative information disclosed. In addition, the accuracy of the participants is similar. No participants reported being inaccurate at all about the disclosure of relationship characteristics.

### *Feelings Towards Partner*

The disclosure about the participant's feelings towards their romantic partner was commonly discussed and predominately viewed as positive information. Of the participants interviewed which disclosed their feelings towards their romantic partner, three participants perceived the information as positive; only one participant perceived the information

as negative. Only one participant reported being inaccurate about some their feelings towards their romantic partner. The participant stated the reasoning for this behavior as such, "I do care about him but I tend to hide my feelings of how I really feel. I don't tell anybody."

### *Sex Life*

Relationship sex life was reported to be rarely discussed between the participant and their friend. Of the three participants who reported disclosing this information, two perceived the information as positive and one perceived the information as negative. The participant who perceived the information as negative was also the only participant who reported being inaccurate about some of this type of information by withholding details about the relationship sex life. The participant's reasoning for withholding this information was the respect for their friend's political and religious views.

### *Getting Married*

Although marriage was rarely reported as topic of discussion between the participant and their friend, it is interesting note the two participants who did disclose this information perceived the information as negative. One participant stated, "We talked about our relationship then and about our fear of marriage." Both participants reported being accurate about all parts of information when presenting to social network members.

### *Participant Behavior Towards Partner*

Although the disclosure about how participants behaved towards their romantic partner was the least frequently disclosed information to friends, one participant reported disclosing this type of information as negative information. Although only one participant reported disclosing personal behavior towards their partner, it is notable to mention three other participants withheld this type of information for similar reasons. Participant suggests the reason for their actions was to protect their friend's perception of them.

### *Sex Differences*

Based upon the responses given by the participants, women generally disclosed more information about their romantic relationship. However, there were no significant differences in topics discussed by participants. Both positive and negative information were discussed by both genders.

## DISCUSSION

Social networks play a major role in romantic relationships (Felmlee, 2001; Sprecher et al., 2001). The results from this study show individuals in romantic relationships report attempting to manage social network perceptions about their romantic relationship. By managing social

network opinions, individuals in romantic relationships may gain support for the approval or disapproval of their relationship. Individuals attempt to manage social network perceptions through disclosure by presenting information which is positive or negative. The information presented can be either accurate or inaccurate. Individuals in romantic relationships may intentionally falsify the information presented to social networks for different reasons such as garnering support for the relationship and to enhance the image of themselves or romantic partner.

Prior research has shown individuals in romantic relationships attempt to manage members of their social networks perceptions of their relationship (Baxter & Widemann, 1993). Participants in this study all indicated their involvement in changing members of their social network by using disclosure. The inaccuracy of information reported by participants is similar to what is suggested by Depaulo et al. (1996); the disclosure presented may be accurate or intentionally falsified. However, due to the lack of research on the content of disclosure between social network members and individuals in romantic relationships, researchers have not been able to determine how disclosure influences the opinions of social networks. This research provides a preliminary expansion to prior research of what is being disclosed by individuals in romantic relationships by inquiring about the type of information presented and the accuracy of the information.

### *Limitations*

Due to the small sample size, there are many ways the results from this study would not generalize. The participants in this study range in age and in ethnicity which allows researchers to get a better understanding of a broader amount of people. Although all participants in this study were involved in romantic relationships, due to the limited number of participants interviewed, the results of this study may not generalize to larger populations of individuals in romantic relationships. The age of participants in this study vary as well which may not be generalized people who are younger or older than the range of participants in this study. Participants may have been selective in the information reported to researchers. Due to the nature of the questions being asked, participants may have responded in a manner which they felt were favorable leading to them over reporting their own good behavior or underreporting their bad behavior. Although the sample size was small, it is important to if the results from this study will replicate with a broader sample.

### *Future Directions*

Findings in this study may be used in a future study surveying romantic relationships and disclosure to social network members. The results from this study allow researchers to gain knowledge about what type of information is disclosed and how often and accurate the information is

presented. Responses given by the participants can be used in creating questions for future participants which will allow researchers to get a deeper understanding of how the content of disclosure between an individual in a romantic relationship and a social network member impacts how network members' opinions develop about the romantic relationship.

Future research can also attempt to understand why social network opinions are perceived as important to individuals in romantic relationships. The majority of participants in this study indicated friend approval as relatively important. Understanding the psychological factors may help researchers understand why social network opinions are important to individuals in romantic relationships.

### *Conclusion*

Results from this study strengthen the argument that romantic relationships are embedded in social networks. The influence of social networks on romantic relationships is strong (Sprecher et al., 1992). For this reason, individuals in romantic relationships attempt to manage social network opinions through disclosure in hopes of gaining support for approval or disapproval for their romantic relationship. This study suggests that one basis for the development of social network opinions is through disclosure. However, this research is only a stepping stone in understanding how social network opinions develop. Future research on content or disclosure and social network opinions is anticipated.

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### Table 1

#### Interview Questions asked of the Participant

Today, I am going to interview you about your romantic relationship and how you discuss your relationship with others. I will ask you questions and you can respond with any response you feel is appropriate. You will be recorded so we ask that you do not use your own name and ONLY the first name of your friend or romantic partner. Please be honest when answering all questions.

#### BEGIN BY STATING PARTICIPANT ID # ON AUDIO RECORDING.

1. To whom do you disclose the most information about your romantic relationship? What is your relationship with this person?
2. How long have you known this friend?
3. Why do you disclose to this friend about your relationship?
4. Do you seek advice from your friend about your romantic relationship? Why?
5. What type of information do you tell your friend about your romantic relationship or your romantic partner?
  - What other types of information do you tell your friend about your relationship.
  - Can you think of any specific examples of information you tell your friend about your relationship?
  - Think about the last time you talked to your friend about your romantic relationship. What did you tell them?
6. Is the information you tell your friend always accurate? What information are you inaccurate about when you talk to your friend about your romantic partner and your relationship?
7. What type of positive information do you tell your friend about your relationship? Is the information you disclose always accurate?
  - What other types of positive information do you tell your friend about your relationship or partner?

- Can you think of any specific examples of positive information you tell your friend about your relationship?
  - Think about the last time you talked to your friend about your romantic relationship. What positive information did you tell them?
8. Is the positive information you tell your friend always accurate. What information are you inaccurate about when you talk to your friend about your romantic partner and your romantic relationship?
9. What type of negative information do you tell your friend about your relationship? Is the information you disclose always accurate?
- What other types of negative information do you tell your friend about your relationship or partner?
  - Can you think of any specific examples of negative information you tell your friend about your relationship?
  - Think about the last time you talked to your friend about your romantic relationship. What negative information did you tell them?
10. Do you sometimes withhold information from your friend about your romantic relationship to change your friend's perception of your relationship?
11. Do you emphasize the positive or negative aspects of your relationship in order to change your friend's perception of your relationship?
12. Do you believe it is important for your friend to approve or disapprove of your relationship? Why or Why not?
13. Does your friend approve of your romantic relationship?
14. How does your friend feel about your romantic partner?
15. Do you attempt to manage or control your friend's opinion of your romantic relationship?

## Table 2

Demographic questions asked of the Participant.

1. How long have you known this person? \_\_\_\_ Years \_\_\_\_ Months  
(e.g. 3 Years and 5 Months)
2. What is your friend's gender/sex \_\_\_\_\_
3. Is your friend currently in a romantic relationship? \_\_\_\_ Yes \_\_\_\_ No

4. What is your partner's gender/sex? \_\_\_\_\_
5. How long have you been dating your current partner? (please fill in the number of months and years – for example, 2 months, 1 year)  
\_\_\_\_\_ Years \_\_\_\_\_ Months
6. How would you describe your current relationship? (please check ONE)
- We are married
  - We date each other more than we date others
  - We are engaged and we live together
  - We date others as much as we date each other
  - We are engaged
  - We really are only friends
  - We live together
  - We date only each other
7. What is your age? (please fill in the number of years)
8. What is your race/ethnicity? \_\_\_\_\_
9. What is your gender/sex? (please fill in the blank) \_\_\_\_\_
10. Please check which of the following describe you best: (please check ONE)
- Heterosexual (sexually attracted only to members of the opposite sex/gender)
  - Bisexual (sexually attracted to members of both sex/gender)
  - Homosexual (sexually attracted only to members of my own sex/gender)

**Table 3**

Type of Information Presented	Total # Participants Disclosing	Disclosing as mostly positive	Disclosing as only positive	Disclosing as mostly negative	Disclosing as only negative	Disclosing as equal
Partner behavior toward Participant	7	1	0	4	0	2
Relationship Problems	6	0	0	2	4	0
Events (Couple Outings)	5	1	4	0	0	0
Relationship Characteristics	5	4	1	0	0	0
Feelings toward Partner	3	1	0	1	0	1
Sex Life	2	1	1	0	0	0
Getting Married	2	0	0	1	1	0
Participant Behavior	2	2	0	0	0	0

# Secondary Victim Advocates in the Latino Community: A Qualitative Test of the Ecological Model of Victim Advocacy

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## ABSTRACT

*This project explores the role of workers serving as secondary advocates, i.e., those who operate as peripheral staff, in regard to domestic violence issues in the Latino community in Southern Illinois. Interviews with key members of the Latino community were conducted in order to examine the interactions that take place among secondary advocates, victims, and support networks. Interview data revealed that some of the particular characteristics that hinder advocacy, as well as those that facilitate advocacy in some way, can be understood using an ecological model to explain advocates' interactions. The examination of intervention patterns and advocates' roles in the community revealed the most readily available and most utilized resources in the domestic violence support network for this population. Interviews illustrate several culturally-specific obstacles, such as communication barriers and the effect of the cultural value placed on family. Cultural resistance to help-seeking behavior, based mainly on specific fears, reduced the utilization of government-based help resources. These fears often revolved around legal status concerns, but also a culturally learned rejection of law-based intervention. Implications for more effective advocacy include more bilingual workers who are culturally sensitive, as well as a larger support network that works with secondary advocates and helps accommodate victims' primary needs more comprehensively.*

This project reports research describing the role of workers and advocates who peripherally deal with issues of domestic violence within the Latino community in Southern Illinois. This exploration consists of interviewing key members of the Latino community that serve as secondary advocates due to their position and/or role in this community. This project also explores the role of social support and community services that work with Latino victims and families in which domestic violence occurs. In addition, this research will address macrosocial factors, such as cultural values and beliefs. Using an ecological model, this project considers the interactions between victims, secondary victim advocates, and support networks. Additionally, this project will discuss methods of intervention and help resources available to secondary advocates, ultimately aiming to discover some of the factors that inhibit secondary advocacy and those that facilitate secondary advocacy.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### *Domestic violence*

Domestic violence includes many different aspects of abuse within the home or intimate relationships, commonly referred to as battering, spouse abuse, and intimate partner violence (IPV). Rodriguez, Quiroga, and Bauer (1996:153) define domestic abuse as “abusive and controlling behaviors between people in intimate relationships . . . [including] physical, sexual, and psychological abuse; they are generally repetitive, and often escalate.” The definition used in relation to this project includes all forms of abuse, but this project focuses more on partner relationships rather than parent-child relationships. Viano (1992), referencing Levinson’s 1989 cross-cultural study, states that spouse abuse against wives is the most common form of family violence worldwide. The widespread nature of wife abuse demonstrates the need for culturally specific approaches to victim services.

Most scholarly sociological literature focuses on victims of domestic violence themselves (e.g., Banyard, Cross, and Modecki 2006; Fife et al. 2008; Levendosky and Graham-Bermann 2001). There are multiple government-related instructional and handbooks for advocates (e.g., Block 2003; Hook, Murray, and Seymour 2005; Taylor and Gaskin-Laniyan 2007), but scholarly research focusing on informal advocates (a.k.a. secondary advocates) is practically non-existent. Sims, Yost, and Abbott (2005:362) state that victim services have been around worldwide since the late 1970s, and that this began in the United States with “the President’s Commission on Crime in 1967 [which] stated that crime victims should have a systematic method for alleviating the negative effects of victimization.” The victim services world exists to assist those affected by various forms of victimization, including domestic violence victim services such as shelters and counseling (Sims, Yost, and Abbott 2005). Logan et al. (2004:38) state that, in particular, “health, mental health, and criminal justice services are all potentially important services to help women with victimization experiences,” yet these services are often underutilized by victimized women.

Those who work within the victim services world are advocates in various ways; those who serve victims by helping to secure resources to meet needs and providing other services. Those who work in formal agencies are primary (official) advocates. There are also secondary advocates, or informal advocates, who operate as advocates in a given community but are external to the victim services world. These secondary advocates help understand how services are provided and needs are met outside of the victim services network.

Various approaches to studying domestic violence issues exist (e.g., cross-sectional studies, linear models). When studying victimization, researchers often use the ecological model as a way of exploring the issue beyond the

individual. The ecological model can be described as “a series of concentric circles of influence, which include intrapersonal, family, peer, community, and wider societal influences on behavior and development” (Banyard, Cross, and Modecki 2006:1315). When applied to domestic violence in particular, the ecological model becomes “a tool that includes both the individual and sociological pathways to couple violence and encompasses a far wider and diverse environment than the linear-type model. . . .” (Sliwka and Macdonald 2005:2). The World Health Organization lists the four main levels of this model as the individual, his/her relationships, the community level, and the societal level (Sliwka and Macdonald 2005).

### *Ecological model*

Although the ecological model is frequently used to study victimization, Miller and Dunn (2009) expanded this model to apply it to victim *advocacy* as well. Applying the ecological model to domestic violence advocacy, researchers can focus on the role of the exosystem, which includes referral and support services. In my paper I apply the ecological model in this way to address secondary victim advocates and the exosystem they both fit into and work with. Two prominent exosystem factors that are found to be correlated with domestic violence are isolation (both social and locational) and low socioeconomic status (Benson and Fox 2004; Heise 1998; Hook, Murray, and Seymour 2005). Hook, Murray, and Seymour (2005) point out that these two factors often go hand-in-hand; victims in rural, isolated areas are often of lower socioeconomic status and more socially isolated due to limited means of communication. Large physical distances paired with a lack of public transportation also create social isolation in these settings (Dunn and Miller 2009; Hook, Murray, and Seymour 2005). Although low socioeconomic status is more common in rural areas (Hook, Murray, and Seymour 2005), Hispanics are overrepresented in poverty (U.S. Census Bureau 2008). These two demographic statistics demonstrate the impoverishment of the population relative to this study—Hispanics and Latinos living in a rural area.

Heise (1998:275) notes the importance of social support and suggests that social isolation can be “both a cause and a consequence of wife abuse,” including both the socially isolated female victim and the isolated family. Isolation can affect more than just the actual occurrence of domestic violence issues. Isolation often affects the amount and quality of support services and help that is available to victims (Hook, Murray, and Seymour 2005). In addition, cultural attitudes about victimization impact assistance (Hook, Murray, and Seymour 2005). In this sense, both types of isolation can affect help-seeking behaviors of victims, both for tangible reasons and social reasons (Dunn and Miller 2009; Hook, Murray, and Seymour 2005). In addition to isolation leading to abuse, domestic violence can also create [further] isolation (Heise 1998; Nielsen, Russell, and Ellington 1992).

*Exosystem factors*

When focusing on Latino and Hispanic populations in relation to domestic violence, these interrelated factors can become even more exaggerated. Certain exosystem factors are common among Latino communities, such as gendered social support networks, and can affect attitudes about domestic violence (Walter 2006). In addition to being gendered, social support networks within many Latino populations are quite limited. Walter (2006:¶1) states that Hispanic women "...may be particularly vulnerable to domestic violence problems....because immigrant women often have so few options other than to remain living with the men who abuse them." Even when victimization occurs, immigrant women tend to resist leaving their partners; this could be especially true for Hispanic women, who are less likely to fully utilize help services than women of other ethnicities (Walter 2006; West, Kantor, and Jasinski 1998). Because of this resistance (Walter 2006), advocacy workers and support staff face even more obstacles—those which are unique and specific to Latina victims and Latino cultures, such as language barriers (Hook, Murray, and Seymour 2005; Kernic and Bonomi 2007). These added barriers to victim advocacy hinder both efforts to protect victims and to help families in which domestic violence occurs.

Victim-blaming is a barrier to effective advocacy that is present in many different manifestations at various levels. Little and Kantor (2002) find that victim-blaming attitudes present problems even within the victim services world amongst professionals; this affect could be multiplied in certain cultures and communities in which victim-blaming attitudes are more common or accepted. This view interferes with the help-seeking process due to bias and victim-blaming which often place blame on the mothers of abused children, even when the mothers themselves are victims (Little and Kantor 2002). This type of approach also reduces support and understanding for women who return to their abusers after staying at a shelter (Little and Kantor 2002). With Hispanic women being less likely to seek help (Fife et al. 2008; West, Kantor, and Jasinski 1998), less likely to leave their abusers (Walter 2006; West, Kantor, and Jasinski 1998), and more financially dependent on their abusers (Lipsky et al. 2006; Benson and Fox 2004), victim-blaming attitudes, combined with a lack of options for victimized Hispanic women, creates a very difficult situation.

Some domestic violence research focuses on racial and ethnic differences in relation to victimization and abuse (e.g., Block 2003; Lipsky et al. 2006; West, Kantor, and Jasinski 1998). Several studies suggest that, specifically for Hispanic/Latina victims of domestic violence, low acculturation is one of the most common factors related to victimization and the underutilization of many help services (Lipsky et al. 2006; West, Kantor, and Jasinski 1998). Low acculturation, lack of education, and

alcohol consumption—by the victim, the batterer, or both—have all been found to be important factors associated with lower rates of help-seeking activities and access to fewer resources (Fife et al. 2008; Hook, Murray, and Seymour 2005). Block (2003) states that attempts to leave an abusive partner can cause violence in the home to increase. Using the Chicago Homicide Dataset, Block (2003:6) states that “her attempt to leave was the precipitating factor in 45 percent of the murders of a woman by a man.” Factors correlated with victimization within the home need to be incorporated into advocacy approaches in order to protect the victim and minimize risks. Block (2003:6) specifically lists the need for culturally sensitive resources for Latina/Hispanic women, stating “a fifth of Latina/Hispanic women reporting a severe or life-threatening incident did not seek any help, formal or informal.”

### *Advocates in the community*

When studying the ecology of victim advocacy, it is necessary to consider the advocates themselves in relation to the communities that they serve. There is a lack of information on the ecology of victim advocates, but Kolb (2008) acknowledges the effect of the perception of advocates and the social construction of care work. Kolb (2008) states that work in women’s-care related jobs is often devalued, such as advocacy of domestic violence and sexual assault victims. Workers in these positions are often viewed as unskilled and sometimes workers take counteractive measures to combat this view of their work (Kolb 2008). This finding is especially relevant to this project working with a rural Latino population. The position of the advocates within the community can greatly influence their effectiveness. Generally speaking, advocates can hold a somewhat unvalued position within certain communities due to the field of work they are in. Kolb (2008:2) states that this setting is “managed by women, composed almost entirely of women, and organized specifically to help women.” This arrangement is common among the social work profession and its agencies. Research suggests that these female workers find ways to challenge the devalued view of their work (Kolb 2008). This is an important point when dealing with effective advocacy, since the majority of advocates are women. This provides insight into the gendered nature of advocacy barriers and the devaluation of women’s care work. The perception of advocates within the community also affects the ecology of victim advocacy; societal influences affect this because they spread beyond the individual victims and advocates. Advocacy positions can vary greatly, depending on which community is being examined. Healthcare workers fill one of the most universal advocacy roles. Rodriguez, Quiroga, and Bauer (1996) find that, for various reasons, many abused women do not disclose information about victimization, even with their medical care providers. Healthcare givers need to become more effective as support staff to domestic violence victims. Fear of police involvement can be a restraining factor in help-seeking activities (Rodriguez, Quiroga, and Bauer 1996). Fear

of police involvement creates a need for non-police authority and support staff within communities in order to help tackle domestic violence issues from a less-threatening approach.

### *Macrosystem factors*

Certain macrosocial factors affect domestic violence issues differently for the Latino population than they do in other communities. Heise (1998:277) finds that masculinity is cross-culturally constructed with associations of aggression, often in the form of “dominance, toughness, or male honor.” Research also suggests that these social constructs of masculinity decrease empathy-based responses (Heise 1998). Gender roles and traditional beliefs about gender roles within the home are linked to domestic violence issues as well (Heise 1998). Walter (2006) stresses the value placed on family, both by perpetrator and non-perpetrator Hispanic males. This cultural value of family could also relate to domestic violence issues and treatment strategies. Walter (2006) discusses the possible impact of U.S. laws on the behavior of Hispanic immigrant men, including domestic violence laws. Heise (1998) states that the cultural ethos of a population often affects domestic violence issues as well.

The lack of literature that exists on the ecology of victim advocacy guides this project’s questions. There is a gap in our knowledge about community members who serve as secondary advocates and the peripheral staff to the Latino/a community. Focusing on key members of a rural Latino community will highlight the relationships between victims, secondary victim advocates, and support networks of victim services agencies.

## METHODOLOGY

This project seeks to explore the interactions between people who have a connection to domestic violence issues within the Latino community in Southern Illinois. This includes victims, victim advocates, and support networks. I focus on the extra barriers that victims and workers face when dealing with domestic violence issues and help-seeking behavior within this specific community, attempting to discover some of the specific barriers that prevent effective secondary advocacy. In addressing this issue, I expand on Miller and Dunn’s (2009) ecological model of barriers of victim advocacy in rural areas. I expanded this model to the 3<sup>rd</sup> level or “ring”—which is the community/exosystem level that addresses referral and support services—by focusing on the workers within this level at key organizations and services in the Latino community who serve as secondary advocates.

### *Sample*

Human Subjects Committee approval to conduct research for this project was requested and obtained before the commencement of any data gathering or interview solicitation. Potential interviews were obtained by using snowball

and purposive sampling methods to recruit subjects. Purposive sampling was based on the researcher's own knowledge of certain organizations within the Latino community and suggestions from individuals familiar with the community. Snowball sampling was taken from from interview subjects' recommendations and contacts. The first interviewee, a 71 year old female daycare worker, was selected through purposive sampling. In addition, I solicited an interview from an English as a Second Language instructor through purposive sampling. Snowball sampling was then utilized for securing two interviews, based upon recommendations from the first interviewee.

Using these sampling procedures I conducted four face-to-face interviews with members of the Latino community in Southern Illinois. These members of the community are significantly connected to the population in various ways, mostly through their employment and social connections. They have a peripheral position to domestic violence issues in the sense that they are not primary or official advocates for domestic violence victims, but they often serve as secondary or unofficial advocates for victims and social issues in the Latino community. Of these four individuals, two are in leadership positions within the organizations that they serve—a 49 year old male religious leader at a church and a 71 year old female daycare worker dealing with family services. The other two workers are not in authoritative positions, but still serve as peripheral staff to domestic violence issues within the population—a 44 year old female English as a Second Language educator/instructor and a 61 year old male staff member at a housing complex. The clientele served at all four of these organizations are majority Latino, mostly Hispanic.

### *Measures*

Interviews were conducted in a public domain chosen by the interview subject, such as an office. The interviews lasted 30 minutes to an hour and were audio recorded and later transcribed. The subjects were given a consent form, in their choice of Spanish or English, and asked to select a fake name to be referenced by at the beginning of the interviews. Three of the four subjects spoke English fluently. One spoke very limited English and this interview was conducted in Spanish and translated into English by the researcher during transcription. Two of the subjects were self-identified as Hispanic, one as Mexican, and one as White.

Interviews consisted of qualitative questions based on a reviewed guide. In addition to basic demographic questions, the guide contained three types of questions: 1) *how do secondary advocates interact with victims*, 2) *how do secondary advocates interact with the support networks within the community and area*, and 3) *what specific issues or barriers arise for secondary advocates working with a rural Latino population?* The following is a synthesis of the types of questions used to address these three areas of exploration, with the actual guide attached as Appendix 1:

*Secondary advocates and victims*—Questions revolved around the interactions that take place between the secondary advocates and the population they serve, particularly victims. These include their responses to domestic violence issues and their activities regarding these issues. Advocates were also questioned about their relationship to the community, their role in the community, and their public reputation.

*Secondary advocates and support networks*—Questions focused on the interaction between secondary advocates and other organizations, agencies, and institutions that create the support network for victims and families in this population. This includes services available to the secondary advocates, as well as who they work with and how they work with them. Questions also examine the communication between agencies and referral patterns and practices between agencies and workers.

*Issues and barriers*—Barriers to effective and comprehensive advocacy were examined, as well as factors that could facilitate advocacy. Some examples include what advocates stated as obvious barriers to victim assistance, as well as issues that arise with batterers. How do advocates deal with these issues? The specific impact of the Latino culture on this issue was brought up, well as how these characteristics have affected the advocates' work in regard to DV victims. The advocates' placement within the community and its affect on domestic violence issues was also questioned, as well as other services, agencies, or organizations [or improvements to existing ones] that could improve advocacy.

### *Analysis*

The interviews were transcribed (and translated when necessary) by the researcher. Content analysis was then applied to the transcriptions using different coding techniques. Open thematic coding was followed by axial coding. The content analysis consisted of both manifest and latent analysis, noting the overt vocabulary used and evident problems discussed alongside the underlying meanings and implications (as interpreted by the researcher).

The first round of open coding was applied to search for any theme present within the dialogue of the interview. The second round of coding reviewed the first round, searched for deeper meanings among the themes that were found, and noted more relevant and/or reoccurring themes. The third round of coding, axial coding, specifically looked for themes related to the three questions presented in this exploratory project: interactions between victims and secondary advocates, interactions between support networks and secondary advocates, and factors that hinder [or facilitate] secondary advocacy for the Latino community.

Several themes that were sought out concerned victim-advocate interaction: specifically, how relationships formed between victims and advocates. However, other themes related to this area arose, such as

the relationships between batterers and advocates. Themes concerning interaction between secondary advocates and support networks were classified into two main categories: presence of interaction and absence of interaction. Lastly, I analyzed themes related to Latino-specific advocacy barriers such as the effect of certain cultural values that are widely identified with many Latino communities and populations. This includes the values placed on family and religion. During open coding, themes that had not been considered arose within all three categories of questions, but the dominant themes analyzed were cultural values, cultural norms, and advocacy barriers.

## RESULTS

Below I discuss the most common themes and findings for each of the research questions. Many of the themes were repeated in multiple interviews and were relevant to more than one question. The interview subjects are referenced by self-chosen pseudonyms and direct quotes are used to illustrate the themes that arose.

Research Question 1 – *How do secondary advocates interact with victims?* The primary focus within this question was the formation and characteristics of relationships between victims and secondary advocates. A reoccurring theme concerning the formation of these relationships was the idea of relating to victims in different ways. Three of the advocates stated that relating to the victims was important for several reasons, one of which being the need to develop trust in the advocate. This was done by first relating to the victim as a peer in some way or just as a *person* rather than a worker. Pastor, a religious leader in the Latino community, stated that “[victims] relate it through [us being] trustworthy...” This trust is also built through a long history of close ties with the community’s population, as overtly stated by two of the advocates. Jose, the housing staff member, also indirectly affirmed this factor, stating both that he had been closely tied into the community for over thirty years and that he was thought of as a fellow worker amongst this population.

This primary form of relation allows advocates to develop a mutual bond with the victim that can be carried over into other relationships outside of domestic violence issues, based on this trust-building strategy. This relationship creates an opportunity for further help and development. Informal advocacy work often fostered other work done by these community members, such as their official job duties. Pastor stated that, after first working with the individuals in the Latino community on social issues and personal problems, “then they say, ‘Well, now talk to me about God.’ If you talk to him about God first, ‘Well, yeah, okay, but I have problems. Who’s going to help me?’ And that’s true . . .” Pastor then stated that the majority of his time is spent helping with social issues and that “then I need to figure out a way to keep the other part” (his religious

leadership role). Barb, the ESL teacher, also stated a similar pattern of interaction of building trust and then using that trust to foster advocacy: first being a longtime peer within the community (through friendships, romantic relationships, and family interactions) and then using those bonds to be viewed as an advocate and source of help and advice.

As secondary advocates, the individuals interviewed did not always feel required to directly interact with victims who sought help. An example that utilized peer relations was an approach that Pastor created within his church, using his congregation members as the victims' peers and doing small group sessions arranged by similar demographic factors (such as sex, preferred spoken language, and age). Although this is not a direct interaction between victim and advocate, Pastor created this approach and monitors these groups and interactions. Pastor believed that these were also very helpful for individuals. The groups are not exclusively for victims of domestic violence, but were thought to be especially helpful for individuals suffering in some way, because it allows the individual to relate to peers who are non-threatening and who have often gone through—or are going through—a similar experience.

Direct interaction was the most common type of interaction between the secondary advocates and victims. During those interactions, a strategy invoked by the advocates sometimes involved sharing similar personal experiences, as in the case of Barb, a former victim of domestic violence herself: "I tell them I've been through that, that I know how it feels." Barb thought that the ability to relate to the victim through shared experiences affected her level of effectiveness in helping the victims as well. "Sometimes my opinion's valued and sometimes it's not, it all depends...I try to let them see, 'Yeah, it's hard, I'm struggling, but I can do it, and you can do it, too'." Barb described various experiences she had lived, both before seeking help and after leaving her husband, and stated that she sees similar behavior in the female victims she works with. She emphasized the importance of empathizing with the victims' experiences, especially whenever victims were resistant to seek help due to social factors such as public opinion. "I'm like, 'I can understand where you're coming from because I did that, too'...I [tell them] 'They don't live behind your doors. They don't *know* what you go through. They don't have the mental and physical abuse that you have'."

Particular characteristics of victim-advocate relationships were found among the majority of the interviews. The three main characteristics of these relationships were in the form of the advocates serving a guardian and/or educator role for the victim, having a shared identity in some way, and advocate authority (or lack thereof). Three of the advocates directly discussed engaging in educational activities, such as distributing information and/or materials to victims, and the fourth advocate mentioned posting information and materials without involvement

in direct education. Shared identity was constructed through three characteristics: culture, experience, or gender. The two respondents who self-identified as Hispanic cited their ethnicity as helping them to relate to the population in general. Shared experience was directly cited through Barb, a former victim, and indirectly through Jose, who discussed a family member's victimization and his role in that. Interestingly, gender arose as a theme in various formats and in relation to different questions. For characteristics of victim-advocate relationships, gender and using gendered help was cited by the two males. Jose stated that he was more likely to send a female victim to other females for help in order to avoid problems for himself with the batterers. Pastor mentioned that he often utilizes his wife to further relationships with victims who may be somewhat resistant to male help. Pastor also mentioned shared advocacy strategies in which his wife is a co-advocate, in order to make female victims more comfortable and more accepting of help.

Authority roles affected the relationships between victims and secondary advocates, either through their presence or absence. Those who felt or were seen as authoritative often made efforts to remove this authority in order to be more effective in victim advocacy, such as the relating efforts described above. Jose, who serves a formally less authoritative position, sometimes made efforts to remove authority placed on him by referring victims to other workers and agencies. However, Jose also indirectly stated a lack of authority as occasionally being problematic because he felt that his help services were limited in ways he did not want them to be, such as a lack of power in relation to securing needed resources for the population he serves. Occasionally this perceived authority also served in Jose's favor; he stated that some of the people he works with perceive him as government-related and often show him respect in this way. This facilitated meeting certain goals of his, such as keeping the housing complex cleaner, quieter, and safer for the families living there. Pastor strongly stated his role as a guardian, saying that "It's with me, because I am the protector of her...whatever, [the victim] needs to be safe." This statement was in relation to victims who have attempted to leave their abusers and are confronted or in danger because of this.

The secondary advocates' relationship to the batterers is another theme that came up within this question. Three of the advocates noted the importance of these relationships and its effect on victim advocacy. The two advocates in less authoritative positions within the community, Barb and Jose, attempted to avoid batterer interaction [that resulted from their work as informal domestic violence advocates]. These interactions were often described as threatening and dangerous. Though Pastor tried to avoid negative interactions with batterers, he did form relationships with them through neutral interactions. Whenever threatened by batterers he states to them, "Take it easy with those words, because even that thing

can be [used] against you, and I don't want to be against you in any way." Pastor also discussed forming relationships with batterers in order to get them out of the house in an attempt to lower stress levels.

*Research Question 2—How do secondary advocates interact with the support networks within the community and area?* Interaction between secondary advocates and support networks—such as other organizations, groups, and agencies—was cited by three of the four advocates in relation to domestic violence issues. Overall, informal advocates' interactions with the victim services network increased their efficacy as advocates. Most of the advocates were somewhat outside of the victim services network and had to seek out their own connections for help resources, whether it were with official victim services agencies or with other informal advocates.

Jose described interaction with support networks in terms of going through other advocates or sending victims himself to other agencies. He specifically mentioned one time when an organization contacted him and his interactions with this group. "A man came here [from a legal program] in Chicago, and I became his friend. And I told him everything that was happening here, and he said to me, 'Don't worry, Jose, I'm going to send every year an assistant of mine . . . so that when you have a problem, you can tell her and she can help you with that.'" Through this formed relationship with a program director, Jose obtained a larger support network and more services available to himself that enable him to serve the Latino community more effectively. The reliability of other agencies increased efficacy for secondary advocates, as well; Jose mentioned the fact that this interaction followed in consistent, repeated help from this organization every year and stated that the problem has decreased dramatically since he has been working there due to this consistent help.

Barb and Maria both mentioned the use of and interaction with other agencies, with Barb emphasizing government-related help such as police and DCFS and community-related organizations such as crisis centers and women's shelters. This use was often mutual, but in different ways. Barb mentioned that other agencies had contacted her in order to utilize her for translation services, whereas she used agencies to assist in obtaining the resources to meet victims' needs such as shelter and protection. Maria stated that she used anything and everything available to her, and that "social workers never take no for an answer. I go the whole nine yards and until the sun goes down to get what they need." Maria also stated that other organizations had contacted her in order to inform her that "they're accessible and available to our needs, for those in need." This was one of the few times that a secondary advocate mentioned other agencies contacting her.

Absence of interaction between secondary advocates and victim support networks came up through one of the interviews. Pastor stated that

some victim agencies have contacted him for various services—such as translation, cultural education, and so on—but never in relation to domestic violence issues. He mentioned efforts that he and his wife have taken in order to counteract this absence of communication with agencies. The role of other community members factored into this situation strongly; Pastor mentioned that, because of this lack of communication, his knowledge of Latina victims in nearby women’s shelters was almost exclusively through people other than the organizations. “The [shelter] has never called me . . . Whenever I know someone there, it’s because of someone who knows that they’re there and tries to find some help and then they call me through another source.” Pastor also mentioned a change in interactions with victims going through one organization—the hospital. He stated that he and his wife used to be there very frequently, but since the development of a translation services group in the area, “Now if I know someone and I go to visit them, it’s a *visit*. But, before, I needed to stay there until that person got out of the hospital” [because of translation needs]. Pastor stated that, because of this translation services agency, he is now able to interact with organizations in other ways and provide more specialized services and knowledge. He cited an organization that contacted him, wanting to reach out to better serve Latino clientele in the area, asking for cultural knowledge on approaching someone in need. He stated that he was able to think and give them a better understanding of the cultural aspect of their work, which is a special knowledge that he was not able to share previously.

Research Question 3 – *What specific issues or barriers arise for secondary advocates working with a rural Latino population?* Cultural values were specifically investigated in relation to advocacy barriers, specifically the value placed on family and on religion within the Latino community. Family was one of the strongest, most consistent, and most repeated themes throughout all four interviews. Family was cited as being a large factor in resisting help for many victims, with reasons such as a lack of family ties for victimized women, negative family member reactions to victims for seeking help, and cultural mores against separating families. Religion also played a factor in regard to family, with an advocate stating that marriage through the church created a very strong bond and was taken very seriously, both by the individuals marrying and by the community. Another advocate mentioned that female victims were resistant to file for divorce, even upon separating from the abusive husbands, because “culturally it’s not seen as good.”

Cultural norms for the population being studied were also found to affect advocacy efforts. Gender roles, once again, arose as another strong theme within the focus of cultural norms and advocacy. Jose stated that this is a specific problem for him. “Well, I really haven’t tried to help the women a whole lot, because sometimes there are problems because of that . . . it’s better

if I tell them, ‘Well, go to Maria, go look for...people that are female.’ That way they can get help with their problems.” Upon further questioning he followed this with the statement that if another man is trying to help a female “helping the women changes into something different, you know? It’s better to avoid that . . .” All of the help services available that Jose mentioned in the interview were female-based: female-headed groups, individual females working with the population, or female assistants to male colleagues within help organizations. The other male advocate also cited the use of gendered help (through his wife and female peer groups he formed). This issue will be addressed more thoroughly in the discussion.

Gendered help and gender roles limiting advocacy could be related to another theme that came up—sexuality. One advocate, Barb, explicitly stated how victimized females are often socially regarded in terms of their sexuality: “The woman’s usually seen as, ‘Well, she must be whoring around on her husband, that’s why it happened.” This was especially relevant for females who wanted to leave their abusive partners or had done so: “There’s always rumors, all the time. There’s always rumors saying, ‘Well, she must be with her boyfriend. Look, there’s her boyfriend’...You’re seen as a bad person if you leave your husband in that culture, that all you want to do is just run around and fool around with somebody else.” Jose also indirectly stated sexuality norms in relation to gendered help, stating that a male helping another male’s wife or girlfriend is viewed as “something else,” something sexual or romantic, and offensive.

Substance use came up among other cultural themes, with three of the four advocates stating that alcohol and drug use was a common occurrence among the families they work with, with alcohol being most dominant. The advocates felt substance use both contributed to the problem of domestic violence in the home, affecting victimization, and also affected advocacy efforts. The advocates all stated that dealing with a drunken batterer was especially difficult and usually resulted in police services being utilized. The police were almost always called by the advocate, but Pastor mentioned an interesting point regarding police services and culture. “The children call the police, not the mother, you see? Because for the mother, it’s not possible, ‘I cannot do that’...But for the children [who have grown up here]? No, they can call [the police].” Pastor stated that this was because “most of the ladies, they don’t grow up with that culture of receiving help from the government. Not in our countries. There is not a lot of protection that everybody uses.” Pastor stated that the most common solution in the cultures he deals with is to rely on the father-in-law to fix a domestic problem. “The father-in-law is the one who talks to his son and fixes the problem. And if the father-in-law is not in place, they don’t feel that anyone can fix it, unless it’s the minister.”

This reliance on family and the influence of religious leaders was also cited as part of a cultural norm that clashed with those of the United States.

During interviews, U.S. cultural norms of relying heavily on law and government protection came up as a contrast to the family-based approach utilized in many Latino cultures. Pastor stated that first generation women in the U.S.—at least those who understand that they have the right to call the police when needed—who utilize legal protection services are either reprimanded by family members or only want partial protection. “Sometimes when they do that (call the police), immediately, not even 12 hours later, they call me and say ‘could you go and get my husband?’...I mean, ‘You can’t do anything now . . . it’s not about you.’ That’s why the system is in place, for protection, and it’s not the way the culture works. And they expect something like the cultural thing to happen, you see; in their part of the country they call the father-in-law.”

Pastor also cited that some victimized women were resistant to use police and other legal services to begin with because “she wants to be around the law, she doesn’t want to do that (call the police).” Although all of the advocates utilized police services, the victims viewed calling the police negatively because it often resulted in more trouble for them later. This theme of “negative” support resources was brought up in other interviews; as few resources as are available to this needy population, the resources which are utilized and actually help the population deal with their issues are even scarcer. Of the few service workers in the area that worked with the Latino community, Barb stated that they “need to *help* the families. What I hear about, it’s always negative help, you know? It usually ends up being negative... Drug rehab and all that... They see DCFS as negative, because they take their kids away or they come and threaten them.” Barb also stated that there are very few resources to begin with that cater to the specific needs of this population, emphasizing a lack of bilingual workers, and especially bilingual mental health workers and counselors. Pastor noted a similar issue with government-related help, stating that victims often do not desire police intervention and say “‘No, I don’t want to make more problems. I want to fix the problem.’ And they don’t see that as fixing it, you see.”

Many culture-related issues become barriers to effective advocacy for workers with this population. The three largest themes that arose within culture-related barriers were family, fear, and communication. These three themes were the most mentioned issues related to domestic violence in both interaction-related study and barrier-related study. These three issues also tended to be at the top of the “chain” as far as events, actions, and effects related to domestic violence issues. In many senses, these three themes had a “trickle-down” effect, affecting many other issues and causing a vast array of different outcomes.

Family-related concerns were mentioned in every single interview, in different ways. The first issue related to family that was often mentioned was the tradition of being more closely related or bonded with the man’s family than with the woman’s. Pastor stated that whenever a couple wants

to marry it is often seen as necessary for the woman to take steps to become a part of the male's family, so the focus is more on bonding with his family. Unfortunately, Pastor stated that in some ways, the woman becomes a part of his family but almost has to leave hers in the process. Barb also stated that many Hispanic families revolve more closely around the male's family and culture. Pastor stated that, "that's why when they move here, most of the time, it's around *him*." This occurrence can be especially hard on first-generation immigrant couples. This lessening of ties to the female's family later creates a lack of a personal support network for female victims: "...she's not related to a lot of people, her own family. And when those problems come up, she doesn't have that protection around."

Several advocates talked about the family of origin, especially the batterer's family, "turning" on the victims and isolating victims. Pastor stated that this is one of the biggest reasons that victims resist seeking help; they do not want to anger their family (both hers and his, but more so his), they do not want to experience the isolation that takes place with these issues. "Families are very close-knit, but when you're dealing with someone abusive, they turn against the person that's being abused. Especially if you want to get out of the situation," (Barb). Barb stated that this was not limited to immediate family: "I mean everybody . . . the aunts, the uncles and everybody, on his side." When asked about the victim's family she stated that "they come around . . . it takes them a while to understand, but they usually come around." This isolation and anger on behalf of the family was often related to concern for the batterer and concern about keeping the family together in which domestic violence has occurred. Pastor stated that "when someone like a woman who was abused calls the police and the guy goes to jail, all of the relatives are angry with *her*. Because the guy is in jail...and then the girl is the bad person, the villain in the picture."

This family theme greatly affects help-seeking behavior and often gives batterers leverage over the victim in terms of averting a victim's help-seeking actions. Pastor stated that "the thing is, there is a lot of pressure with all of the relatives against her," pointing out that a woman's in-laws are sometimes her only family [for many first-generation immigrants living in the area]. "The family isolates the person, they isolate her," (Pastor). Barb described experiences in which her husband's family had taken away relatives on his side of the family that she was caring for, stating that "I was real close to his family . . . I was raising his niece . . . she was nine years old when it happened, and they just yanked her away from me; knew that would hurt me most." Barb also echoed the Pastor's description of family isolation. "I had a lot of family . . . and they have no ties to me now," in addition to the isolation that began when she finally attempted to leave the abusive relationship.

Families of creation also presented barriers to help-seeking, stating that many women with children do not seek help because of having

children with the batterer. This was a frequent barrier to advocacy. In some cases, however, older children actually fostered advocacy because [as previously noted] they are often more likely to utilize government-related help resources than victims. Children could also be seen as facilitating advocacy due to the fact that there is someone else witnessing the abuse and this creates the chance that someone else could seek help for the victim, or be a victim him/herself and receive help from support network resources. However, it is important to remember that in many ways children were seen as only worsening a domestic violence situation, because it makes victims less likely to seek help and complicates an already difficult situation.

Having children with an abusive partner created a fear in many victims of somehow losing their children through the help-seeking process, which creates an obvious barrier to advocacy. Other culturally relative fears that were frequent in the community studied included a fear of police and government-related services, fear of public opinion, and fear of isolation. Fear of police intervention and fear of isolation are obvious factors in the above mentioned cultural barriers, but fear of public opinion was somewhat more latent within the analysis of barriers to advocacy. Many of the advocates mentioned respect as a theme that affected this issue, and Barb specifically stated that, for many victims, it is a “fear of being seen as the person out there on the street, you know, that’s whoring around. The fear of losing the respect of others.” Barb repeatedly mentioned the importance of appearances and public opinion within this particular community, both for batterers (presenting a positive image in public) and for the victims (being seen as faithful). As previously mentioned, this public appearance concern was related to another latent theme—issues surrounding sexuality. Barb often mentioned victim-blaming attitudes; especially those centered around a woman’s faithfulness to her husband, and stated that this was a frequent form of victim-blaming that occurs in the community for battered women.

Public opinion issues were one of several community-related barriers to advocacy. Fears of a negative public image were very relevant to the particular community being studied, particularly based on the fact that it is a very small rural community. Several advocates mentioned a lack of privacy in the community, which clearly affects such a personal issue. Although it could be presumed that this lack of privacy could in some ways foster advocacy—due to others knowing about the victimization—it was most often considered a negative thing by the advocates.

At times, the actual geographical layout and physical placement of support network components greatly affect the issue and its outcomes. Part of this is due to the rurality of the area, with a considerable distance often separating different help resources. Pastor also mentioned the problem of the physical placement of a shelter they use for victims: “The problem

is that [the shelter] is on the corner of the property. The building here is where people kind of move around, but during the night there is nobody here. You're going to be alone in that building, you know . . . I live on the other side of the property. But eventually, if I leave for another reason, there is nobody here. This is the big difference." Pastor described this as being especially relevant if the woman is in immediate danger, such as when the batterer shows up at the shelter. Barb also stated that this the lack of privacy combined with the smallness of the area becomes problematic for advocates. "There's always fear that they'll come after you next. Especially if they're drunk. And they show up at your doorstep."

The other aspect of physical placement in the community concerns the placement of the advocates themselves. In the case of the maintenance man, his physical placement within the community actually fosters advocacy. Jose is always around, in and out of the residencies within the housing complex, and physically present. The physical presence of Jose, along with his long history with the population and the way he is viewed by the community, create a large advantage for advocacy opportunities. Not only is he closely interacting with families in the community, he is physically present to observe behaviors, interactions, and needs. This physical placement theme also arose with Pastor and the close, person-to-person work that he does with the community. Whereas many advocates are often in offices for most of the day or work within a larger agency, these two advocates have a unique advantage in that they are constantly *physically amongst* the population that they serve.

The third culturally relative barrier to advocacy was communication issues. This is somewhat obvious considering the population being studied, but it was present in more than one way. Although communication is one of the largest barriers in help-seeking activities, all of the advocates interviewed spoke Spanish; obviously an inability to do so would hinder any type of work with this population. However, advocates mentioned this as a major problem with other resources in the victim services world, stating that there is a lack of bilingual workers in almost every institution and organization that deals with this population. On top of actual verbal communication impediments, cultural knowledge and sensitivity was a large factor that affected communication. Pastor acknowledged that some of the institutions had translators, but still saw limitations. "I think they do a good job in some ways, translating papers or with the lawyers, you know, but . . . you need to be here, you need to live here . . . you need to understand the other side." He saw a great need for workers to be bilingual *and* bicultural, or culturally sensitive, stating that this affected many other aspects of this issue such as building trust in the victim and understanding the specific effects of the Latino culture on victims' experiences, fears, needs, and activities. A lack of communication between agencies within the support network was also problematic,

and when communication did take place, it was either for basic services such as translation or through another person. "The thing is, whenever I know someone [at a shelter], it's because of someone who knows that they're there and tries to find some help, and then they call me through another source . . . then we go and pick her up and talk to her...and then they know that we are trying to help her. The [shelter]? No, we go there, because they never call me to see if I can be an answer for them." By needing the use of outside sources (such as the workers interviewed) for issues like translation, the effectiveness of other agencies working with this population becomes questionable. If certain agencies cannot even communicate on a basic level with the victims and individuals they serve, their work is surely compromised in some ways. This is especially pertinent on the less concrete levels such as understanding the victims' experiences and seeing the full extent of victims' needs. This demonstrates some of the inadequacies of victim services agencies when working with this population and one of the many manners in which secondary advocates add to the victim services world.

This lack of basic services for victims also affected the advocates in this study in other ways. By using these workers for basic services such as translation and communication-related issues, these advocates are not able to fulfill their roles within the community and their specialized services and skills are wasted, such as the example previously mentioned with Pastor doing hospital visits, giving spiritual guidance, and working as advocate for the Latino community in other ways. By fulfilling the role of a basic translator, he was not able to implement his specialized skills and knowledge due to the lack of translation services and was forced into the role of translator instead.

Multiple themes arose within each research question. Family was a huge cultural value which strongly affected domestic violence issues in multiple ways, as well as Latino-specific issues such as communication issues and rejection of help services. This rejection of help services was often culturally learned or fear-based, with fears relating to legal status anxieties and fear of worsening the problem through seeking help. Gender and sexuality factors also arose in relation to support networks, public opinion, and secondary advocates' relationships with victims.

## DISCUSSION

This project explored the barriers to effective secondary victim advocacy for the Latino community in Southern Illinois, focusing on the interactions between members of victims' support networks. Interviews with secondary advocates in the Latino community revealed multiple barriers to effective advocacy. The main foci of this study were interactions between victims and secondary advocates, secondary advocates and their support networks, and barriers to effective advocacy. Several interesting

and impactful themes arose within each of these areas. Large portions of the barriers were culturally specific.

Much of the findings of this project are consistent with other literature on victim services and domestic violence services in the Latino population. As found in previous research (Walter 2006), gendered social support networks were a common factor relating to domestic violence issues in the Latino community. Cultural values also played a role in help-seeking and victims' interactions, supporting previous research in domestic violence issues for immigrant populations (Bui 2003; Erez, Adelman, and Gregory 2009; Walter 2006). One of the most frequent manifestations of this was the cultural value placed on family and its effects on domestic violence issues. Walter (2006) stresses the importance of this family value for domestic violence issues within a Hispanic immigrant population. Walter (2006) also stresses the large influence of social support networks, which became extremely evident in this project—public opinion and family opinion and reactions played a huge role in victims' actions and interactions with advocates.

Spatial issues presented interesting aspects within this project, including geographic distances and the effects on successful help-seeking activities for victims. Miller and Dunn (2009) find that these characteristics are extremely relevant in rural areas, as well as the effects of a lack of privacy on advocacy. Privacy issues also arose to a certain extent within the context of the interviews, including in relation to advocates and their interactions in the community, especially with batterers.

The position of the advocates themselves within the community presented interesting effects on victim services, a point which is somewhat demonstrated by Kolb's 2008 work on the social construction surrounding victim services work. However, in addition to the status and role of secondary advocates in the community, the actual physical location of secondary advocates in the community affected their work. This is extremely relevant to secondary advocates because of their social position in the community and their lack of formal authority and organization. Informal advocates' daily schedules and ease of accessibility was a prominent factor related specifically to secondary advocates that affected how they helped victims and the degree to which they helped victims. The maintenance man, for example, is in and amongst the people he serves every day, compared to other advocates—especially primary advocates—who are in less readily available locations such as office buildings and within organizations. In many ways, secondary advocates often face the same barriers as primary advocates, but these barriers are often exaggerated for secondary advocates. This was seen in the lack of authority that Jose mentioned as problematic when trying to get things done in order to protect and serve victims. In some ways, however, secondary advocates' informal positions fostered their advocacy

in the sense that they often more closely tied into the community that they served and were more accessible than primary advocates and victim services agencies. Secondary advocates also have the advantage of being seen more as a peer than an official, which fostered advocacy for many of the people interviewed in this project. This was helpful both in helping and reaching out to the victim, as well as dealing with batterers.

Gendered help patterns became relevant to this issue, especially in relation to cultural values. Heise (1998) finds that traditional beliefs about gender roles also relate to domestic violence issues, a characteristic that was discussed by several secondary advocates. The term “respect” came up frequently, an obvious cultural value—and one of many cultural-related issues that needs to be explored further. The need for culturally sensitive resources became evident throughout this project, as similarly concluded by various sources (Bui 2003; Block 2003; Lipsky et al. 2006; West, Kantor, and Jasinski 1998). Communication presented a large deal of problems with this issue. Hook, Murray, and Seymour (2005) and Kernic and Bonomi (2007) find similar barriers when dealing with victimization within minority groups.

Cultural factors also played into victims’ resistance to utilize help resources, especially law enforcement services. The underutilization of victim services has frequently been found as a contributing factor to domestic violence issues within Latino population studies (Fife et al. 2008; West, Kantor, and Jasinski 1998), especially law enforcement services (Rodriguez, Quiroga, and Bauer 1996). This culturally learned fear—often related to legal status apprehensions—demonstrates an important contextual understanding of domestic violence within this community. This fear of police involvement also ties into a larger issue penetrating the lives of immigrant populations in the United States—immigration services. These culturally specific fears related to larger issues such as the role and regulations of the United States government demonstrate one of many social institutions that has such a strong effect on the lives of members of certain populations. Due to the larger social context for this population, everyday issues such as communication barriers and interpersonal violence are often the least of problems for first-generation immigrant populations. Whenever put into the larger picture of societal factors’ influence on victims’ lives, it is easy to see that the barriers to effective victim advocacy are present on every level of social functioning.

The barriers to effective advocacy discussed in this paper are most relevant to secondary advocates within the community, but the context of secondary advocacy itself affects effectiveness for these workers. Maria’s job, for example, is to serve the entire family, not only the victim. This could result in less effective victim advocacy because her attention and efforts are demanded in many different areas. Although not included in this

interview, this is sometimes attempted to be resolved through specialized advocacy, such as child advocacy. However, as previously mentioned, many child advocacy services were viewed negatively because they only focus on the children and often have little regard for the parents' needs and the family as a whole. The social institution of family is often viewed as a very powerful influence on the individual, and one of the largest sources of socialization. In this regard, barriers to effective advocacy are not only harming the individual victim, but also the entire family and the other members of the family in which domestic violence occurs. This argument is sometimes taken one step further to say that this type of harm is then detrimental for society as a whole, which is the basis of the legal prosecution process in which the *state* is against the batterer, not the victim.

It is also important to note the difference in advocacy opportunities based on the specific unofficial roles of the advocates studied, especially through employment roles. While Maria fulfills a more employment-oriented advocacy role, Jose and Barb are advocates almost exclusively through social ties. This can be a barrier in the sense that they have less formal authority and power to intervene, but could also foster advocacy in the sense that they are not bound by an official set of rules and regulations concerning advocacy. Although they presumably do not have to deal with as many "red tape issues," this informal advocacy could also be negatively affected by a lack of regulation, depending on who the advocate is, the extent of his/her knowledge, and what actions he/she takes in regard to domestic violence issues. This also bestows a great deal of personal discretion on the informal advocate, which can be either a barrier or a facilitator of advocacy. In this larger context of advocacy, the role of secondary advocates in the community can be viewed as a rather powerful position, even though often going somewhat unnoticed. This could add to the obstacles to advocacy in the victim services world and support networks; if secondary advocates are not given the full regard and attention respectful to their roles, primary advocates and agencies are neglecting a large piece of the picture surrounding domestic violence issues. This issue was mentioned by several of the advocates in this study, citing that translation was the most common—and often the *only*—reason that they were contacted by agencies in the support network.

Due to the constraints of this project, there are still many unanswered questions and unexplored issues within the role of secondary advocates in this community. The need for more bilingual, culturally sensitive workers is obvious. However, the means of securing these workers is unclear. The location of this community—in the midst of an already poverty-stricken region—extremely limits employment opportunities, even those that cater to the needs of the general population. Specialized care services are even harder to come by, especially in the face of budget cuts and other funding

issues for the victim services world. The effects of funding distributions to rural areas need to be explored in relation to this topic. A further exploration of secondary advocates could also focus on the interactions in the victim services world, paying more attention to the relationships between primary and secondary advocacy resources. The role of religious leaders was somewhat limited in this study; further research leads to a more detailed understanding of religion in this Latino community and its effects on domestic violence issues. This would be especially relevant for the Catholic religion, since it has a strong root in many Hispanic and Latino cultures and was excluded from this research due to study limitations. This project clearly demonstrates the large role that many informal advocates fulfill and informal advocates must be taken into consideration when studying advocacy and the victim services world.

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# Who takes Whom? Identity Politics against Institutional Power in Spike Lee's *Bamboozled* (2000)

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## ABSTRACT

*The business of film and television, as Corina Marculescu (2003) and others have shown, has under capitalism, invariably been centered on the sale and commodification of images, and throughout these years the sale and exploitation of African American culture has served as amongst the most lucrative a means of capital gain in film and television (Marculescu, 2003). Dating back to the late 19<sup>th</sup> century with blackface minstrel shows, the media industry has capitalized on selling images of African Americans. In the 1915 silent film, *The Birth of a Nation*, by D.W. Griffith, blackface and minstrelsy conventions was introduced to American audiences (Cripps, 1974). The film, although helmed by film scholars as one of the greatest, groundbreaking films in American cinema, is a propaganda piece that used images of black taking over the United States after the civil war and invoke "white panic" (Barlowe, 2003). Recently, filmmaker Spike Lee, in his *Bamboozled* (2000), re-appropriated blackface in order to criticize the consumption and commodification of "blackness" in the film and television industry. While the film has been seriously debated, I will contend that a Marxist analysis of *Bamboozled* (2000) can reveal the contradictions of film's critique of racism within the media industry. The film offers at once a critique as well as participates in the commodification of African-American culture in contemporary media culture, especially film and television. In this paper, I discuss *Bamboozled* as a historical artifact that can provide insight into the limits and traps of tackling race within commercialized media structures. I will be organizing this literature using first, the literature written about the film *Bamboozled*, second, Marxist theory and critique of commodity culture, and finally race and commodity culture.*

## SPIKE LEE AND BAMBOOZLED

Spike Lee has captivated film audiences with his daring and often controversial films. He emerged on the film scene straight out of New York University and he was determined to work towards building an independent African American film industry with other black filmmakers such as Charles Burnett (Merritt, 2008), who would produce and distribute films promoting Black filmmakers for Black audiences. This effort was originally initiated by Black silent filmmaker Oscar Micheaux (Baraka, 1993). At the beginning of his career, Spike Lee focused primarily on topics directly involving the culture of African Americans. His first film, *Joe's Bed-Stuy Barber Shop: We Cut Heads* (1983), was independently produced by Lee. *Joe's* is based on the barbershop space

as a cultural safe haven for African American men. The film also focuses on the economic hardships African Americans faced in the inner city of Brooklyn during the 1980s (Baker, 1991).

As his career progressed, Spike Lee began to produce films that focused on engaging issues of race and class. In 1989, Lee wrote, produced, directed, and starred in the controversial film, *Do the Right Thing*. The film is set in the 1980s against the backdrop of the heat stricken Bedford-Stuyvesant neighborhood of Brooklyn. *Do the Right Thing* focuses on the highly publicized racial tensions between inner-city Blacks, Puerto-Rican Americans, Korean, and Italian Americans. The Italian Americans in the film represent white privilege of American society. The story revolves around the character Mookie (Spike Lee), a pizza delivery boy who works for Sal (Danny Aiello) alongside Sal's two sons Pino (John Turturro) and Vito (Richard Edson) at *Sal's Famous Pizzeria*. As the temperature intensifies, the characters become hostile toward each other and are motivated by racism and prejudices. In the climax of the film, the Black characters from the neighborhood storm into Sal's Pizzeria demanding he place prominent pictures of African American figures on the restaurant walls, such as Malcolm X and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Refusing to do so, Sal incites rage and anger from the mob of black patrons which ultimately results in the death of the character Radio Raheem (Bill Nunn) at the hands of the police, and the destruction of Sal's Pizzeria by Mookie and the angry black patrons. The movie ends with the lingering question of whether or not Mookie does the right thing by inciting the race riot that destroys Sal's store. The film is ultimately an exploration of the deep racist anxieties in a neighborhood with a plurality of ethnicities. *Do the Right Thing* was controversial and heavily criticized. It was mostly criticized for its presentation of racial violence and images without suggesting any resolution to the problem (Sullivan et al, 2003).

Although *Do the Right Thing* is considered one of the most controversial films of all time (Barlowe, 2003), the film propelled Spike Lee's career to new heights and has since then gained him recognition as a respectable filmmaker. He still remains, despite his popularity, one of the most outspoken and controversial figures in US-American cinema. Eleven years after the release of *Do the Right Thing*, Lee once again challenged audiences with the release of his fifteenth film *Bamboozled* (2000). This time, however, he turned his attention towards institutionalized racism within media, specifically the film and television industry. In this film, Spike Lee uses blackface minstrel conventions as a plot device intended to satirize the ongoing negative images of Black Americans in film, television, and advertising. Jamie Barlow writes, "Spike Lee's fifteenth film *Bamboozled* (released in October 2000) confronts its audiences with the continuing but unacknowledged consequences of minstrelsy and mimicry in the United States as a post colonialist slave society"

(Barlowe, 2003, p. 1). Unlike traditional minstrel shows during the antebellum slavery period, which consisted of white actors in black make-up, *Bamboozled* uses African American actors performing in blackface.

In the 2000 Spike Lee once again shocked the world of cinema and society with his controversial fifteenth film *Bamboozled*. Eleven years after the controversial *Do the Right Thing*, Lee once again tackled issues of racism in the twenty first century. This time he shifts his focus to the institutionalized racism within the film/television industry by using blackface minstrelsy as a satirical force to illustrate his point of the subliminal racism and mistreatment of Black Americans. The film debuted in American theaters on October 20, 2000 grossing two million at box office. *Bamboozled* is set in the present and focuses on images of minstrelsy, advertising, and the “gatekeepers” of film and television.

*Bamboozled* opens with the voiceover narration of Pierre Delacroix (Damon Wayans), a struggling African American television producer. Lee portrays as Delacroix an uptight, articulate African American man who speaks with an absurd proper accent. As the camera follows Delacroix to his office at the fictional Continental Network System, Delacroix makes his best effort to greet his white co-workers who actively ignore his greetings. Once he enters the board meeting, Delacroix is immediately scolded by his prejudiced white boss Thomas Dunwitty (Michael Rapaport) for being late. Delacroix, in return, scolds his assistant Sloan for her failure to alert him of the meeting. Sloan contends that no one told her about the meeting.

Delacroix is then forced by Mr. Dunwitty to come up with a show that depicts Black Americans as buffoons. Delacroix, upset by his boss's blatant racist expectations, wanted to quit the studio but could not do so because of his contract and high mortgaged apartment. Paula Massood (2003) writes, “In *Bamboozled*, Lee's main point is to argue, through satire and irony, that what might appear to be innovative in urban popular culture actually has deep roots in the long and perhaps forgotten history of American cinematic, televisual, and theatrical representations” (2003, p. 208).

Delacroix decides to create the show *Mantan: The New Millennium Minstrel Show*, a proposed satirical weekly variety show that would have Black actors wear blackface and perform in the style of the early minstrel shows. Delacroix's intentions were to pitch a show so offensive in nature the network would fire him and pay out his contract. However, Dunwitty and the network executives are thrilled by the idea and decide to produce a pilot. Hoping to get a strong protest from the audience, Delacroix decides to go along with the show. He enlists the aid of his assistant Sloan Hopkins (Jada Pinkett-Smith) to format the show. Sloan and Delacroix cast two homeless men Manray (Savion Glover) and

Womack (Tommy Davidson) to play Mantan and his partner Sleep-n-eat. The show is an instant success with the audience and Delacroix and the other characters are faced with choosing between sticking to their morals and the thrill of personal success.

Lee's *Bamboozled* sought to denounce racist stereotypes by presenting the same stereotypes through the images of minstrelsy and blackface. These images were first introduced to cinema with D.W. Griffith's *The Birth of a Nation* (1915), a silent propaganda film intended to invoke the fears of an African American takeover after the post-civil war, an apprehensive attitude held by many White Americans in the South. Much like *Bamboozled*, the film uses blackface conventions to establish its message of the fear of an African American uprising. Using the traditional style of blackface, "*Birth*" uses white actors covered in burnt cork to make their skin black:

Form and content meet in D.W. Griffith's 1915 *The Birth of a Nation* when the film relays its white supremacist vision through minstrel conventions. The film's production works from two assumptions with which 1915 audiences would have been familiar: blackface provides authentic recreations of African American culture and that minstrelsy implicitly excludes African Americans from stage and identity performance. Crucially, *Birth* provides a narrative to 'explain' the ambivalence of its stereotypes: 'black' behavior is the direct result of 'white' politics or, perhaps more precisely, as in blackface, whiteness controls the performance of blackness. Form thus meets content when blackface minstrel stereotypes are invoked and 'explained' to reinforce the ideological assumption of 'white' control over 'black' performance. (Epp, 2003, p. 21)

In discussing *Bamboozled*, Michael Epp (2003) examines the arguments of scholars on both sides of the debate regarding whether or not blackface minstrel stereotypes are negative. He states, "At stake in these conflicting arguments are differing conceptions of stereotypes and how they function discursively as representation. Key to these articulations of minstrelsy's impact are the relationship between stereotype and humour" (p. 19). He cites conflicting arguments from critics Eric Lott and W.T. Lhamon. Lott and Lhamon contend that minstrelsy was not intended to maliciously stereotype African Americans but it was created as a means of making money for the American working class. It is the historians that proliferated nineteenth century magazines to "discredit the working class stage" (Epp, 2003, 18). Although Epp, Lott, and Lhamon make intriguing arguments, as a black man I agree more with Michael Rogin's position. In his book, *Blackface, White Noise: Jewish Immigrants in the Hollywood Melting Pot*, he criticizes Lott and Lhamon

on their position on Blackface minstrelsy stating:

So anxious are they to find points of identification across racial lines that, protests notwithstanding, they dwell insufficiently both on the exclusion of actual African Americans from their own representations and the grotesque, demeaning, animalistic blackface mask . . . Driving free blacks from the stage, burnt cork substituted for African American entertainers. Blackface took hold . . . not because it challenged racial subordination but because it replaced African American performance. (37)

Corina Marculescu (2007) examines the use of blackface in *Bamboozled* by analyzing the idea of commodifying the ethnic other and the “cultural schizophrenic.” The “cultural schizophrenic,” according to Marculescu, is when one is “torn between a broken racial ethnic history and the damaging stereotypes of popular culture, and also between being a member of a tribe and being an artist, often mutually exclusive things” (2007, p. 97). In the article, “Blackface, ‘Redface,’ Commodifying the Other in Ethnic Film,” Marculescu discusses the blackface as a fetish for commodifying the other. Since many cultural identities in the United States are shaped by the images portrayed in the media, blackface minstrelsy, as depicted in *Bamboozled* as a satire, is a stride towards removing the power of “cultural products” (2007, p. 92). She states:

Commodification of the other is a matter of control and power, of creating a safe zone for commodifiers. But there is also self-commodification, ranging from complete internalization (as in *Bamboozled* and blackface minstrelsy) to the acute awareness of being commodified and the use of this to one’s advantage, as a means of overcoming mental and spiritual confinement, of survival and active resistance” (Marculescu, 2007, p.98). The commodification of one’s self for commerce is a reoccurring element in the plot of *Bamboozled*.

In the article, “Black is Blak”: *Bamboozled* and the crisis of a postmodern racial identity” the authors contend that the film serves as a postmodern test that seeks to reclaim a cultural identity through postmodernism:

. . . the postmodern age has effectively challenged the stability of all racial identities, and of African American identities in particular. Spike Lee’s *Bamboozled*, as a decidedly postmodern document, serves as a useful lens through which to examine the process of identity building and reinforcement in contemporary times. By focusing on the primacy of the authentic self, by reinforcing the centrality of the image in contemporary thought, and by

engaging a self-reflexive critique of its own message on race, *Bamboozled* both reflects and speaks to the ongoing struggle to forge and maintain a strong sense of racial self in a postmodern America (Childester et al. 2006, p. 287).

Childester use the lens of postmodernism to examine the stages of claiming authenticity to black identity in *Bamboozled*. The authors contend, “In keeping with this approach, we argue that Lee’s *Bamboozled* is a key document in the contemporary struggle of African Americans to forge and maintain a meaningful sense of racial identity” (Childester et al. 2006, p. 289).

### MARXIST THEORY AND COMMODITY CULTURE

Karl Marx, in 1872, was asked by a group of radical workers in Germany to write a document that served as the basis of the ideologies and beliefs of the Communist Party. The document became known as the Manifesto of the Communist Party (Tucker, 1978, p. 469). “The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles,” Marx believed that a struggle existed between classes (Tucker, 1978, p. 473). In the Communist Manifesto, Karl Marx contends that throughout the history of civilization people have been broken into two class types: the bourgeois and proletarians. The bourgeois is the term Marx uses to describe “the class of modern capitalist, owners of the means of social production and employment of wage labour” (Tucker, 1978, p. 473). The Proletarians are the “class of wage-labourers who, having no means of production of their own, are reduced to selling their labour-power in order to live” (473).

Marx claims that the bourgeois, if given the upper hand, “will put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations . . . and has left remaining no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous “cash payment” (Tucker, 1978, p. 475). He contends that this system creates a free trade system in which personal worth is turned into exchange value through the means of exploitation (Marx, 1872). The proletariat therefore, according to Marx, are laborers who are without any social status unlike their bourgeoisie counterparts.

Marx goes on to discuss the differences between the proletariat and the Communist Party. He admits that both are working towards a common goal, which is the critique of the bourgeois and its capitalist domination (Tucker et al., p. 484).” In other words, based on Marx class distinctions, the bourgeois represents the elite powers within a society who gain and control capital through the exploitation of the proletarians, or modern day working class (Tucker, 1978, p. 484).

Marx explains the value of property to both the bourgeoisie and proletariat by contending that they consist of two antagonisms: wage labour and capital (Tucker, 1978). A capitalist, according to Karl Marx,

is not just having private property but it is individualism and a stride towards social status, “To be a capitalist, is not only purely personal, but social status in production (Tucker, 1978, p. 485). The “wage-labourer” works in order to sustain or appropriate bare existence as laborers. Both are two opposing ideologies of class differences (Tucker, 1978, p. 485). *Bamboozled* can be interpreted from a Marxist perspective as a battle between class differences and individualism. These traits are present within the major and minor characters in the film, but if one is to study commodity culture in Spike Lee films, especially *Bamboozled*, you have to examine issues of race as well.

### RACE AND COMMODITY CULTURE

Like many other Spike Lee films, *Bamboozled* is a text that extensively deals with issues of race, but it is also filled with arguments centered on the commodity culture. Mike Wayne in his book *Marxism and Media Studies* discusses the commodity fetishism and the subject saying:

The theory of commodity fetishism, which Marx developed most systematically in *Capital*, is the social and economic counterpart to the philosophical concept of alienation, which refers precisely to that process through which the subject in autonomous free will sense becomes subjected to the powers of someone or something else. The force of the term fetishism depended on Marx subverting its prior history within Eurocentric and emerging colonial discourses (2003, p.185-187).

### A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF MARXISM IN *BAMBOOZLED*

Although Karl Marx died before the creation of the cinema industry, his writings and ideologies about class structures serve as a useful lens in understanding class and racial differences in commodity culture in modern film. *Bamboozled* can be studied as a text that deals extensively with issues of class and the commodity culture. According to Marx (1848/1978):

The essential condition for existence, and for the sway of the bourgeois class, is the formation and augmentation of capital; the condition for capital is wage-labour. Wage-labour rests exclusively on competition between the labourers. The advance of industry, whose involuntary promoter is the bourgeois, replaces the isolation of the labourers, due to competition, by their revolutionary combination, due to association (p. 483).

*Bamboozled* makes three critical arguments from a Marxist perspective: First, the consumerism of blackface—in the film, blackface is the central plot device used to create the show in which the audiences as mass

consumers demand the culture of blackness represented by blackface minstrelsy. Second, African American self-commodification—Marx often referred to members of the proletariat class as “prostitutes” asserting their willingness to sell themselves to the bourgeoisie for economic relief; this critique manifests through the Black American characters in the film. Finally, in true Marxist fashion, *Bamboozled*, in its climax, seeks to bring down the bourgeoisie and provide a victory for the proletariat characters within the film.

### CONSUMING THE BLACKFACE

If *Bamboozled* functions as a Marxist critique, then the biggest indicator of the film’s content is the mass consumption of blackness represented by selling of images of blackface in the film. For the characters, both main and minor, there is a need to actively participate in objectifying and consuming the images of “blackness” sold to them through the show *Mantan: The New Millennium Minstrel Show*. Like many other fads in successful pop culture, blackface is heavily demanded and consumed by its audiences all over the world. According to Jamie Barlowe:

The U.S. history of the minstrel show and its sequential forms of vaudeville and film are not only entertainment histories Spike Lee draws on, reproduces in blatant form, and thus exposes and interrogates in *Bamboozled*. Through its narrative and cinematic strategies, the film also examines the complicitous relationship between the early fetishized images and the history of television and advertising, as these industries have contained even the possibility of change, or open discussion of slavery and its racist aftermath, and as they have perpetuated the fetishized stereotypes and co-opted African Americans, making them servants of these capitalist ventures (2003, p. 9).

As Pierre Delacroix proclaims in the film, “When the US American people want something they want it now,” referring to the demand for *Mantan* blackface products. For the film, Dunwitty and CNS (the producers of *Mantan: The New Millennium Minstrel Show*) represent what Karl Marx described as the bourgeoisie with the characters participating in the performance of *Mantan* being the proletariats (Marx, 1847). At the start of the film, we see the characters Manray and Womack, who are poor, dancing in the street in front of an audience composed of mostly white spectators, a clever manipulation of *mise-en-scene*<sup>1</sup> by Lee.

Dunwitty is the film’s representation of the bourgeois desire for blackface consumption. Forcing Delacroix to create a show that depicts Black Americans as buffoons displays his personal craving for a piece of black

<sup>1</sup> *Mise-en-scene* are objects visible within the frame that aid in the narrative

culture. This point is driven home after Dunwitty asserts that he grew up around “black folk” and he probably knew them better than they knew themselves, and because he has a black wife and two biracial kids he has the right to say the word “nigger.” His office is covered with artifacts of black culture including pictures of black athletes and African statues. To solidify his hunger for Black American culture, Dunwitty gleefully makes the claim to Delacroix that he is Blacker than Delacroix and is “keeping it real.” Dunwitty even challenges Delacroix to name a Black basketball player on a poster on his wall, but Delacroix could not. Dunwitty is the complete representation of the bourgeois in the film because he holds the means of production that the other character seeks to achieve.

As the film continues, *Mantan* debuts on television as an instant success. In order to stave off protestors of the show, the network hires a public image consultant. The exchange in this scene captivates the ongoing consumption and selling of Black American culture. For example, the image consultant suggests that the network hire more blacks into several positions and make certain the cameras capture images of these black proxies to sell the message that the show is not racist. The image consultant also suggests that Delacroix himself be flaunted in front of the camera because he is a “non-threatening African American man” and because he, as a black man created the show, it’s not offensive.

Although the characters within the film space are mass consumers of the blackface phenomenon that represents blackness, they are also self-reflexive and recognize this consumption. Lee cleverly utilizes the minor character June-Bug (Paul Mooney) who is Delacroix’s father. June-Bug is a comedian who consciously chooses to perform in back road night clubs instead of big Hollywood venues and films. June-Bug proclaims that he has too much pride and dignity to perform the way “they” want him to. Although some might argue June-Bug is not a proletariat because he creates his own “means” of production with his comedy, it can be argued, however, that he is a proletariat due to the fact that he does not participate in the manipulation and exploitation of blackness by the bourgeoisie of the Hollywood institution.

*Mantan*’s success proves to be a direct result of the commodification of African Americans. The audiences members and fans all over the country began to actively desire *Mantan* and blackface. To convey this point in the film, Lee flusters several scenes with images of *Mantan* products worn by white children all over the world, including t-shirts, masks, and hats with large pictures of characters in blackface. The city streets are filled with billboard advertisements on buildings, poles, and public transportation. The show is consumed by millions. During the weekly tapings of the show, the audience members are covered with blackface make-up. At this point in the film, Lee fully acknowledges them as mass consumers of blackface when the character Honeycutt moves through the crowd and

several audience members proclaim they are truly “niggers.” Dunwitty himself is now wearing blackface make up while viewing the show. The fetish of blackness has been sold and consumed in the film. *Bamboozled*, as a Marxist text, openly criticizes the consumption of blackness but it actively participates in the process as well. Even at the climax of the film with the public execution of Manray over the internet at the hands of the Mau Maus, CNS acquires a court order to allow them to broadcast it for audience members who did not have computers. As Manray is made to do the “dance of death,” the audience is shown the reactions of all the characters who are now spectators and thus part of the consumption cycle. In the closing moments of the film, Lee gives the film’s audience a final montage of blackface which is a compilation of racist cartoons from the early twentieth century, minstrel shows, such as Amos and Andy, The Little Rascals, *The Birth of a Nation*, and several other images of black exploitation from the media. After viewing the film several times, evidence of the consumption of blackface continued to resurface, but the film is also a commentary on what Marx discusses as the “prostitute” in commodity culture.

#### AFRICAN AMERICAN SELF-COMMODIFICATION IN BAMBOOZLED

The characters of *Bamboozled* all have different motivations that develop over the course of the narrative, but one of the commonalities that most of the African American characters have is the desire to make money no matter the consequences. They are seemingly willing to, for a lack of a better term, “prostitute” themselves for economic relief. Although the show begins as satire seeking to destroy the stereotypes created in the media, characters both involved with the production of *Mantan* and the audience within the film embraces the material despite the show’s provocative and offensive content; especially the black characters and audience members. The film critiques the position of African Americans as a working class and the desperate desire for work. Delacroix, in his voice over narration, asked the question, “Are negroes that desperate for work,” speaking about the massive turnout for the auditions for a role in the degrading *Mantan: The New Millennium Minstrel Show*.

The characters Manray and Womack, the two homeless men who become the stars of the hit show *Mantan*, are poor at the beginning of the film. The two men act as manager and talent to one another; Manray tap dances in the streets and Womack serve as promoter and they politely ask bystanders for donations. Through dialogue, we learn the internal economic desires of both characters. Manray says he wants to make big money so he can buy jewelry and designer jeans to which Womack replies “that’s just like Black people to get money and buy designer clothes and expensive jewelry.” As Jamie Barlowe suggests, “The enthusiastic re-embracing of blackface by Black Americans in *Bamboozled*, as well

as by Latinos, reveals painfully the continuing problem of mimicry of the white colonizer by the formerly colonized. In the film, mimicry is depicted primarily through the internalization of self-commodification among Black Americans as a consequence of capitalist desire and as an example of neo-colonialism” (2003, p. 9).

Essentially, what Manray and the other characters desire is a piece of the same capitalistic society that excludes them every day. After Delacroix decides to use Manray and Womack as the actors in *Mantan*, Manray, without hesitation is willing to instantly sign on to the project as long as he is making money. Once again, Manray represents a proletarian in the film who is the wage labourer of the bourgeois Pierre Delacroix. This fact is highlighted when Manray discovers Delacroix is making a show that is exploiting and stereotyping Black Americans. He once again reminds the film’s audience that as long as he is making money he will wear blackface and “shuck and jive” for the camera. Lee uses the scene in which Delacroix is pitching the show idea to Dunwitty to further establish Manray’s wiliness to be objectified for money when Dunwitty asks him to show him his dance moves. Manray eagerly jumps on the table in front of a sitting Dunwitty and begins to dance. Lee uses a wide angle shot to show the act of the black Manray performing for his future white boss Dunwitty. Lee seeks to illustrate Manray’s willingness to sale himself for money to CNS.

The characters are driven by their individual desire to capitalize on economic success. Manray is shown through the rest of the film to disregard any criticism of the show because he was “living large” as he put it. In viewing the film through a Marxist lens, we can see that Lee asserts that African Americans such as Manray are willing to sell themselves for money to the bourgeoisie. As the film progresses Manray becomes even more driven by his need to gain money. In addition, he distances himself from his friend and fellow *Mantan* actor Womack, who after participating in the show decides to no longer contribute to his own self commodification and the degradation of African American culture. Manray proclaims to Womack that he has been riding his coattails since they met and refused to quit the show because of the economic stability it has brings him.

Perhaps the person most willing to participate in his own commodification is the character Pierre Delacroix. Although he initially desires to use the show’s satirical, offensive materials to anger audiences and eventually have CNS fire him for creating the show, Delacroix realizes that *Mantan* is a hit and very successful. As a Black television executive, Delacroix realizes that success is not easy to come by, and therefore there is nothing wrong with becoming a “prostitute” for the industry as long as it generates financial stability.

This decision, for Delacroix, comes in the form of an epiphany; his realization that he would rather make money than have pride and dignity. Lee once again expresses this sentiment through the character June-Bug. Delacroix visits his father at one of his stand up shows in which, as mentioned before, June-Bug tells him that he would rather work in the small clubs than sale himself to Hollywood. He tells Pierre that he has too much pride and dignity. At that moment, in the turning point of the film, Pierre delivers a voice over declaring that he will not be another version of his father working for little to nothing, a man who Delacroix respected, but viewed as being mediocre because he was not a big name comedian. He enjoyed his success and was willing to sacrifice all of his original good intentions in order to see the success of the show continue. Delacroix, in a dream sequence, begins to fantasize about his extensive success and the awards he would receive, but more than anything Lee is sure to include that Delacroix is willing to sale himself for not only money but for the approval of his bourgeois white oppressors. As seen throughout the film, Delacroix ultimately seeks to commodify himself to not only gain financial success but to gain his place amongst the bourgeois class.

#### BRINGING DOWN THE BOURGEOIS: A VICTORY FOR THE PROLETARIAT IN *BAMBOOZLED*

Finally, in true Marxist fashion, the climax of the film seeks to do away with the bourgeoisie class of the film in revolutionary fashion. However, for Spike Lee's *Bamboozled*, each proletariat character is pushed towards an individual revolution against each of their bourgeois oppressors. For the character Manray, the oppressor is represented by Dunwitty and Delacroix. Manray, in his own revealing moment in the film, realizes he has been used for the consumption of the public and for the economic success of CNS, Dunwitty, and Pierre Delacroix. He proclaims in his final soliloquy on stage without his blackface that he is "sick and tired of being a nigger and I'm not going to take it anymore." Manray, using one of his famous tap dancing routines, attempts to appeal to the audience members to stop contributing to the ongoing offensive nature of *Mantan: The New Millennium Minstrel Show*, but is the studio officials eject from the building by Dunwitty who claims he will just move Honeycutt into Manray's position because "nigger's like him are a dime a dozen."

Manray, who desired to be a part of the bourgeois, is viewed by the characters the Mau Maus as their bourgeois oppressor. After being ejected from the studio, Manray is then abducted by the Mau Maus who plan to publicly execute him over the internet. If one is to look at the film as a Marxist document then you have to believe that Lee uses the Mau Maus group as the blunt instrument for a violent revolution and final attempt to bring down the bourgeois class. In essence, the actions

of the Mau Maus not only serves as an uprising against their oppressor Manray, who they blame for his active willingness to participate in the buffoonery created by the show, but they are revolting against Delacroix, Dunwitty, and the entire CNS network. Much like previous films, Lee keeps with the violent climax that dictates the characters who participate in the problem have to be executed. In their final declaration, the Mau Maus shoot Manray in an act that for the film was the ending of the proletariat's suffering at the hands of the bourgeois.

One of the most interesting declarations of a proletariat character in the film came in the form of Sloan Hopkins. Throughout the film, Sloan is constantly oppressed by Pierre Delacroix who treats her like a servant rather than an assistant. Delacroix's actions prove to be a direct result of the way Dunwitty treats him. At the beginning of the film we see Delacroix scolded by Dunwitty for being late for an important meeting. Delacroix claims he did not know about the meeting but Dunwitty continues his ridicule him. He, in return, scolds Sloan for not informing him of the meeting although Sloan claims no one alerted her of the meeting either. Delacroix subtly abuses Sloan verbally.

Sloan's ideas are constantly ignored by Delacroix and she is forced in most of the film to take a back seat to her boss. Although it is clear that she is an assistant, the character considers him a friend until it becomes clear to her that he only seeks to control her after he tries to force her to end her personal relationship with Manray. Delacroix tells Sloan that he made a mistake by getting romantically involved with the help referring to his previous off screen relationship with Sloan. Like many of the other characters who represent the proletariat in the film, Sloan finally realizes that Delacroix has merely been using her to fulfill his own bourgeois desires. After the execution of Manray at the hands of the Mau Maus, whose leader is Sloan's older brother, and the subsequent execution of the Mau Maus by the cops, Sloan confronts her oppressor Delacroix who she holds responsible. In her final act she proclaims, "You gonna listen to me now. You never listen to me," as she holds a gun to Pierre and shoots him. Finally, Lee chooses to violently destroy the character that, although initially on the side of the proletariat, becomes a puppet to the bourgeois class.

## CONCLUSION

A Marxist reading of Spike Lee's *Bamboozled*, as a historical artifact of the early 21st century reveals the heartbreaking complications and compromises imposed on creative producers on account of race, class, gender, and the commercial nature of the media industry in capitalism. In exposing these restraints with brutal honesty, Spike Lee cuts through postmodern cynicism to offer a modernist document which takes issue with the commodification and alienation of contemporary life

in general and media production in particular. The film seems to ask several questions about the presumed role of African Americans in film and television. Among these questions is how can blacks working within commercial Hollywood escape the constant consumer culture that seems to engulf them every day. *Bamboozled* not only suggests that in order to escape this ongoing fetish of society a violent revolution is needed. In the film it is expressed through the actions of the characters that, from a Marxist critique represent the proletariat class waging a battle against the oppressive bourgeois class represented by the executives and producers at CNS.

The problem with the consumer culture in *Bamboozled* is the mass consumption of the black culture through racist and negative images. In the film this is represented by the fetishized blackface. Blackface is used by Lee to describe the way black culture is treated not as an exclusive culture but merely as a mask or product. For the characters in the film, blackface is the means of production for which they gain economic stability and tranquility. As a plot device, *Mantan* represents the fad in US-American culture of commodifying images and exploiting a particular culture for the means of mass production and sale.

Perhaps one of the most intriguing points of the film is the African American characters open willingness to sell their labor in order to receive economic relief. Astonishingly, they are willing to actively participate in the process of self-commodification. Despite the degrading and demoralizing nature of the show *Mantan: The New Millennium Minstrel Show*, the characters are still enthusiastically accepting of their roles as characters with names such as “Little Nigger Jim,” “The Alabama Porch Monkeys,” and “Sambo.” The only thing that seems to matter to them is how much money they will make. This reading of the film makes one question whether or not Spike Lee believes African Americans are willing to do anything for money in the United States. Certainly the climax of the film seems to suggest a revolutionary victory for those who are oppressed and do have what Marx calls “the means of production.” But whether or not Spike Lee had the theories of Karl Marx in his head when writing and filming *Bamboozled*, one can view the film as a Marxist commentary on race and class. This is a lens that can help understand how the roles of both race and class have historically and politically effected the film and television industry for many years.

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# Reconsidering Insurance Markets to Maximize Social Welfare: Medicaid through Young Adult and Current Public Policy Frameworks

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## ABSTRACT

*This project examines the young adult risk pool in the market of health insurance through the analysis of data in the Illinois Medicaid handbook. In order to find a fit between young adult needs and Illinois Medicaid, we developed a framework of young adult needs merged with the proposed framework that President Obama and his administration developed to address current health care reform. Then, a content analysis of the Illinois Medicaid handbook allowed us to test out the framework. The findings disclose how young adults needs can be met through current health care policies. Additionally, if policy changes occur, they should address the gaps in health care coverage that individuals already have.*

## PURPOSE

The available health care agencies and insurances that specifically service young adults are few in number and often in locations that young adults, especially those with limited incomes, are unable to access. This paper examines Illinois Medicaid by using a framework developed from President Obama's health care plan and the needs of young adults. Specifically, this study seeks to understand the fit between the current health benefit plans for the Medicaid Plan in Illinois with the two policy frameworks: young adult needs and the proposed Obama health care plan. The findings presented within a broad framework that combines the insurance needs of young adults with the Obama Plan and reports the results in terms of benefits desired and factors influencing the limits of coverage.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### *Statement of the Problem*

Of all the mounting cost to deal with on a college campus, student health insurance is not one that has received much attention (Wagner, 2006). The pervasiveness of school policies and extensions of coverage under parental policies has increased the number of insured college students (Markowitz, Gold, and Rice, 1991). Even though this may be the case, there are still factors that may influence the quality of coverage they receive. Employer insurance in most industries is available to full time

employees and young adults typically comprise the inexperienced workers part time workers, who only make minimal wage.

As a result young adults lack the knowledge for how to adjust to life where they no longer qualify for school issued insurance and their guardians are no longer able or willing to pay them to be covered under their private insurance (Collins, Schoen, Kriss, Doty, and Mahato, 2006). At educational institutions all over America, there are little or no educational opportunities for students to gain knowledge about their options after they graduate and become independent of their parents (Solera, 2006). In addition to this, students commonly do not become aware of the gaps in their school issued health insurance until a severe accident occurs or they become extremely ill (Buchanan, and Witlen, 2002).

Furthermore, because young adults are categorized as being immature, inexperienced, and risk takers, they are not provided comprehensive, age appropriate choices and information concerning their health care (Collins et al., 2006). Among this age group, confidentiality is an existing barrier when young adults inquire about their personal health care. Perhaps this is why many young adults do not seek help or support for their health care needs. The available health care agencies that specifically service young adults are few in number and often in locations that young adults are unable to access. Those among this group typically have low socioeconomic status. By the time they obtain health care services they use more medical services because their health conditions have become more severe (Ross and Mirowsky, 2000).

The sheer diversity of students demand for health insurance is one main barrier that statewide policy maker's face is (Wagner, 2006). The age of a student and the size of the student body are two very critical areas of cost in universities' student health insurance plans. Concerning the demand for changes in students' health insurance plans at colleges and universities, there have been significant reductions in the on staff-specialists at student health centers. However, Robin Wagner (2006) suggested that universities and colleges could actually get more for their student's health dollars by hiring some specialists through the student's health fees.

Current discrepancies in student health insurance are not a focus in research policy studies. As young adults transition out of student life and into adulthood, they may likely face challenges' relating to health care transition and adult-oriented medical care. They risk losing the familiarity, guidance, and support of a pediatrics type system and are subject to pressure about independently embracing a very complex health industry (Collins et al., 2006). The overwhelming environment of independent health insurance, format and presentation, guidelines and qualifications of private health care insurance prove a challenge even for young adults with exceptional cognitive abilities. Research has proven

that this discourages young adults from making the proper preparations to insure some form of independent health care and insurance (Reiss, Gibson, and Walker, 2005).

Perhaps, policy makers should decide how to put a stop to the problems, and then put into practice successful policies on a large scale. This would allow them to critically analyze how their policy changes affect the health industry as a whole. The individuals on the boards that make policies that determine and establish student based health insurance plans' methodology is in need of a new direction. Evaluation and modification are critical areas of focus in the policymaking process regarding student health insurance. Current policies that continue to provide evidence for improvement should not stay in place and repeatedly be overlooked.

Is providing consumer-satisfying health insurance in higher education viewed as a necessity for a student to sustain himself or herself as a human being (Karsten, 1995)? It especially is, considering how the fees and cost of student health insurance are increasingly adding to the burden of expenses that young adults already have on them. These expenses include the cost of attending a university or college, cost of gas and vehicle maintenance, cost of food, and living cost. The Preamble of the U.S. Constitution promotes the pursuit of "justice," "domestic tranquility," and "general welfare" (US Constitution). The significance of that statement in the U.S. Constitution should be reason enough to avoid forcing students to choose between their own private interests and school health insurance that is inadequate. Professor Siegfred Karsten (1995) suggests that creating health insurance plans at universities and colleges where the students have a more active role could allow each young adult to develop his or her full potential.

Two major gray areas in health insurance plans at universities and colleges are prescription drug coverage and deductibles. Given the circumstance, health insurance plans for young adults in higher education are set in place for emergencies. In this instance, if a student wants to go to their student health center and fill a prescription that they use regularly, they will most likely have to pay for it themselves if they do not have outside private insurance that will cover the cost. For example prescription drugs, behavioral-health services, and outpatient surgery will be at their own expense. The initial cost of things of this nature may seem small but for a college student these expenses add up fast. Health care cost is a primary area of conflict that results in many students postponing or going without recommended care (Arias, 2006).

These particular interests have proven true for the majority of the universities and colleges in Illinois. Illinois along with New Jersey, Idaho, Montana, and California are the only states that require their students to have some form of health insurance to enroll in a university or college

(Williamson, 2008). In these states, each plan is different and more often than not only covers medical care inside the college's geographical area and normally stop coverage for the duration of the summer. Graduate students are subject to different qualifications concerning the students' insurance plan. In some states, graduate students lose coverage under student insurance plans because of their age. This would mean that once a graduate student ages out of their school health insurance plan they are faced with the decision to pay for private insurance.

Buying an individual health insurance plan is out of financial reach for many graduate students (Williamson, 2008). Additionally family members do not have coverage under student health insurance plans. The coverage is often minimal when universities cover spouses and children. For example, an individual's spouse or child may only go to the health center to receive diagnoses but they cannot receive referrals to any specialist, or prescriptions coverage. The majority of universities and colleges do not offer pediatrics care at their student health centers. This is because most of their populations are young adults (Williamson, 2008). According to Jennifer Williamson (2008), even though most colleges and universities consist mainly of young adults, the number of students with children and spouses are continually increasing.

Another thing of concern for young adults is continued coverage once they graduate and do not have a job lined up for them at the completion of their education. It is widely known that health care transition is often unsuccessful; very few studies are available to help understand and explain the difficulties (Reiss, Gibson, and Walker, 2005). Pre-existing conditions are an additional factor associated with young adults not having coverage after they complete their education. In the health insurance industry clients are more appealing, sought after if they are healthy, and have no pre-existing conditions. Ideally, health insurance companies' bi-laws should decree that they first service those individuals who greatly need their services. The occurrence of an agency purposely denying service to those with pre-existing or chronic illness is an unacceptable injustice.

#### *Literature on Young Adult Needs and Current Policy*

“President Barack Obama and vice president Joe Biden have commenced a plan to lower health care cost and make certain that it is affordable, and accessible health coverage for all” (Barack Obama and Joe Biden's plan to lower health care costs, 2008). To do this they will create a policy that will make employer-based coverage stronger and more available, hold insurance companies responsible for their behavior, and make certain that patients have the opportunity to choose their doctor and care provider. Individuals who want health insurance will have the information they need to obtain the kind of care they require. This administration seeks

to work with the health insurance industry to reduce and ultimately eliminate the nation's cost for inefficient and poor quality care. In addition to this, they will seek to reduce high administration and overhead cost. To achieve this, the administration proposes to provide incentives and support to help physicians and administrators work together to progress excellence of care while at the same time reduce cost.

These new policies will further aim to reduce the costs for families and individuals in four ways. First, the administration seeks to initiate a transition from a paper system to a "state-of-the-art health information technology system," (Barack Obama and Joe Biden's plan to lower health care costs, 2008). Second, they will inform health care institutions to make certain that patients receive and providers articulate the best possible care, including prevention and chronic disease management services. Third, they seek to make it very clear to health insurance providers that unanticipated or tragic illnesses should not be reason to make health insurance too expensive or unattainable for businesses and their employees. Finally, the administration will seek to encourage competitive research and reviews on comparative efficiency.

The administration's plan calls for an end to monopolies created by drug manufactures to stop competition from generic drug makers. This will include importing safe drugs from other countries. In addition to expanding generic prescription coverage, this plan may increase the number of opportunities for young adults to get coverage by allowing young adults up to age 25 to maintain coverage through their parents' plans. Additionally, the administration proposes to work with educational institutions to create environments such as "school-based health screening programs and clinical services, and health educational programs for students" (Barack Obama and Joe Biden's plan to lower health care costs, 2008).

Other concerns in the administration's health care reform is targeting the decline in primary care providers and public health practitioners encouraging each individual who wants health care to take an active role in monitoring their health. To make sure the individuals accomplish this they will need to eat right, stay active, and avoid negative activities like smoking and other such habits. The President proposes to see more healthy environments that include "biking paths and walking trails, local grocery stores with fruits and vegetables" (Barack Obama and Joe Biden's plan to lower health care costs, 2008). This puts an emphasis on helping individual as a whole verses just helping those in present need. Likewise, the administration would like to see limited publicity for tobacco and alcohol to children and more wellness and educational promotions.

Since proposing his health care policies, President Obama signed into law the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009. Under this

act, Obama designated “1.1 billion dollars for comparative effectiveness research to compare medical treatments” (Barack Obama and Joe Biden’s plan to lower health care costs, 2008). Furthermore, advancements in health information technology have become possible through the disbursement of funds to hospitals and physicians to implement technology systems.” President Obama FY 2010 budget identifies several implications to aid in health care reform (United States Office of Management and Budget, 2009). For instance, minimizing health care premiums and decreasing inefficiencies in the health care system, such as high administrative costs and unnecessary tests, allowing individual choices in health plans and physicians, and investing in public health and prevention would all benefit the health care system.

Recently, Illinois passed legislation designed to help uninsured young adults. Public Act 95-0958 revised insurance laws so that young adults can be covered under their parent’s insurance until they turn 26 years old (HB 5285). In reference to this law, colleges have begun to modify their student health insurance plans to replicate their main concern of making insurance premiums inexpensive for students while still providing plans that meet the desires of the students. “Colleges’ student insurance plans were beginning to coordinate in a variety of ways with colleges’ on-campus student health centers” (GAO, 2008, p.28). More colleges and universities have started to put into practice health insurance plans for their part-time students. There have even been suggestions to have separate health care plans for students who have pre-existing or chronic conditions. Students with medical conditions that require expensive care and treatment would not force cost increases on plans for all students.

On the other hand, some colleges and universities justified having more expensive student insurance plans that in turn allows for them to offer more advanced preventive services and prescription drugs. Another strategy considered as an incentive to young adults is to provide special assistance for students who do not smoke (GAO, 2008). Similarly, there have been suggestions to include an allowance for students who receive federal assistance to obtain health insurance and to expand coverage for generic drugs. The health insurance administrative boards are considering the idea of onsite interventions at universities and colleges. Therefore, it will be more appealing for students to use the student health center prior to going in search of outside care in non-emergency circumstances. Educational institutions can sometimes negotiate with their local providers for exclusive student-plan rates and shave off significant cost (Wagner, 2006).

Some problems that have occurred with trying to make these proposals for policy occur are the decline in medical doctors and nurses on staff at student health centers. According to the Department of Health and

Human Services, low salaries and high caseloads are two major factors that contribute to the decline in medical doctors and nurses on staff at student health centers. Included in these inconsistencies is how health care's effectiveness as a competitive market presents the idea of "enabling each person to develop his or her potential" (Siegfred, 1995 p. 135). There is a belief that it is acceptable for individuals select a health care provider that they know will not adequately meet their needs. Accordingly, proposed tax increases to fund many of these projected plans are providing challenges to many private universities and colleges as well. Additionally, high cost of obtaining an maintain diagnostic equipment is a critical road block in the type of service that student health centers at colleges and universities are able to provide (Wagner, 2006). Without these types of equipment, campuses are coming across students with more serious health issues who are not receiving the care they need.

More policy changes need to address the unheard voice of the many individuals who do not have health insurance. Siegfred Karsten (1995) wrote that "the basic question no longer is whether the U. S. should have universal health care insurance, but what specific health care policy the country should adopt in order to strengthen the market system and to maximize social welfare as effectively as possible," (p. 144). The claims for new health care policies need the support of new and sufficient evidence that proves these are achievable goals. Adding more monetary values to proposed policies could make the goals appear even more reachable. To support this, President Obama and his administration continue to highlight how it costs the country at least 50 to 100 billion dollars every year under the current inefficient insurance system (Barack Obama and Joe Biden's plan to lower health care costs, 2008).

Every state should be working to redesign their health care policies to implement many of the requests listed above. America could look to other countries for suggestions that others have tried and determine can help improve an insufficient health care system. America's health care industry needs to come to a point where they are educating the disempowered about their role in effective health care reform. Each client could receive the most innovative and new technology and treatment available at any given time. Highly skilled and educated physicians, nurses, and health care providers will receive compensation for excellent service to the field.

The county as a whole could take pride in seeing that they, as well as their neighbor, received the appropriate health care and insurance. There would not be qualifications or cut offs for when and how a person would receive or no longer have health care insurance. Furthermore, health care industries would function as a competitive market because of its wiliness to perfect the practice.

## *Medicaid*

Medicaid is a “joint federal-state program” that has the role of providing health care insurance to a qualified subset of an entire population funded under the federal Title XIX of the Social Security Act (Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services, 2009). In Illinois, Medicaid is a Medical Assistance Program that operates out of the Department of Public Aid (Illinois Department of Public Aid, 2003). This group of individuals must demonstrate they meet eligibility criteria, which may include a combination of low-income, pregnancy, having a disability, or children under the age of 21. Even though these are the basic requirements for coverage, the government allows each state to regulate the guidelines for eligibility within each group (Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services, 2009). Therefore, having low income alone does not automatically qualify an individual for health insurance coverage under Medicaid. If an individual receives coverage under Medicaid, they may be subject to co-payments or premiums. These additional provisions are commonly at the client’s expense and vary in cost depending on the type of medical service.

Given the position and role that Medicaid has in the health care industry has led many to believe that Medicaid is an insurance company. In reality, Medicaid is not an insurance company. Rather, Medicaid is an administrative expression used to categorize public health insurance. In fact, Medicaid consists of contracted interactions with several private health insurance companies. Then the private health insurance company covers services and pays for the healthcare individuals receive. Therefore, the insurance coverage is subject to the regulations of the private insurance companies as well. The main way that the private insurance companies are able to balance their goal of making profits with their responsibility to cover Medicaid recipients is their use of risk pools.

Risks pools are ways the insurance companies distribute the recipients so that the costly patients, or high-risk patients, are even across insurance companies. Risk pools allow insurance companies to justify why they do not provide or do not seek to provide coverage to certain individuals. The insurance companies justify “health insurance risk pools as special programs created by state legislatures to provide a safety net for the medically uninsurable population” (NASCHIP, 2009). These individuals fall under the high-risk category because they generally have “pre-existing health conditions, or they can only access private health insurance that is extremely expensive” (NASCHIP, 2009). Risk pools are for the most part the reason why so many college students do not qualify for coverage under Medicaid because they are expensive to cover due to pregnancies and unhealthy behaviors such as smoking, drinking, poor eating, and high incidents of accidents.

Risk pools are not the only barrier that makes it difficult for young adults to get insurance. Complicating their access is the lack of knowledge that individuals have about the complex benefit packages that the many different insurance companies offer. In many cases, the process of applying for Medicaid consists of a long application process. In addition to this, clients have to be able to read and understand which benefits package would best meet their needs. For many individuals there is a Medicaid benefit pack that is available and will provide them with the type of care they want, but often they are unaware that such a package exists. These gaps between need and coverage may continue to occur as long as health insurance companies continue to operate as the intermediary for states between clients and their health care providers.

## METHODS

### *Research Questions*

Can a framework address current health policy that incorporates young adult needs and current policy goals of the Obama administration?

What is the fit between Illinois Medicaid and those frameworks?

### *Experimental Design and Methods of Data Gathering*

This project examines the young adult risk pool in the market of health insurance through the data of the Illinois Medicaid handbook. This study merged the framework of young adult needs with the proposed framework that President Obama and his administration developed to address current health care reform. Then a content analysis of the Illinois Medicaid handbook tested the framework. In addition to contributing to a general understanding about the social problem of fitting insurance coverage for young adults to their needs and public policy, this report addresses this topic's significance for social work practice and policy.

The current model of examining health insurance benefits emphasizes resource allocation across diseases and looks at balancing costs between consumers and providers (Wong, Mulrow, and Sox, 2009). That usually means looking at health insurance benefit plans in terms of premiums, deductibles, eligibility, and out-of-pocket costs (Student Medical Insurance Plan, 2008). This project seeks to redefine how Medicaid plans in Illinois move beyond economic models that emphasize cost effectiveness to include benefit types that are important to young adults and that match the current health reform initiatives of the Obama administration.

This exploratory qualitative policy analysis had two parts. The first part involved developing two frameworks for analyzing health plan data. Reading and coding literature that addressed young adult needs in health care is the framework developed in this study. The codes identified

the issues that young adults had. These included prescription, dental care, dependent care, provider choice, eye care, access to services and preventive services. The themes that occurred in the literature more than once were included in the framework. A method of triangulation assured that the theme was present in other research before it was included in the framework. The key policy points published on the white house web site addressing the President's position on the current health debate is what the second framework describes.

The second stage of the study analyzed the documentary benefit data. A qualitative analysis of the existing policies for health providers who enroll as Medicaid providers in Illinois involved locating the handbook for health providers effective for 2009. This analysis seeks to test those frameworks in an analysis of state Medicaid plans. This primary document came from the state of Illinois website at <http://www.hfs.illinois.gov/>. This manual contained 97 pages of instructions and policy descriptions detailing the Medicaid plan.

This data analysis consisted of coding the data and organizing each of the statements in the 97 page benefit plan into categories using two frameworks developed as part of phase one of this study; the modified health insurance benefit needs framework for young adults and the Obama Plan framework.

### *Importance of the Project*

This study seeks to build a method of understanding insurance from the point-of-view of young adults, a high risk group, that are often excluded from insurance markets and as a result lack access to preventive or necessary health care. Of all the above health care disparities, the American Journal of Public Health states that the biggest savings can only come from prevention of chronic and communicable disease. The basic question no longer is whether the U.S. should have universal health care insurance, but what specific health care policy the country should adapt to strengthen the market system and to maximize social welfare as effectively as possible (Siegfred, 1995). Furthermore, as Martin Luther King Jr. stated in 1963, "An injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere."

## FINDINGS

The findings presented within a broad framework that combines the insurance needs for young adults with the Obama Plan and reports the results in terms of benefits desired and factors influencing the limits of coverage. The interests represented in the two frameworks combine to provide an important overview of how the Illinois Medicaid plan meets current policy agendas.

## *Benefits Desired*

### *Dependent Coverage*

The findings indicate that there are several ways that Medicaid policy classifies dependent coverage.

*Coverage.* This study, defines coverage as the types of services people automatically qualify for when you enroll in the insurance plan. These services may include dental or eye care. The Illinois Medicaid Plan offers dependent child coverage through four different insurance plans called Kids Care (Ch. 100.2 p. 16) These plans differ based on how people qualify that also includes different premium and copayment rates for each plan. The Kids Care plan includes insurance coverage for over twenty-two different services including preventive, physician, hospital, chiropractic, hospice, Renal Dialysis, and medical supplies (Ch. 100.103.1 p.28). The Kids Care insurance plan does not only cover children's, but it also covers pregnant women for prenatal care. The State Family and Children Assistance Program provide coverage for children until the age of 18. If they turn 19 and are still in school, they may continue to receive medical insurance until they graduate, as long as they can provide proper documentation stating that they enrolled in a higher education institution (Ch. 100.114.1 p.75-76).

*Consumer Cost.* In this study, the term "consumer cost" means the portion that the person with Medicaid pays towards the cost of either their insurance or their services. These consumer costs are in terms of deductibles paid before the insurance company pays the providers. It can be a premium paid each month or a co-payment made directly to the doctor or health provider that patients pay at the time of service. This category indicates that Native Americans and Alaska natives are exempt from consumer costs for Medicaid Ch. 100.114.1 p.75-76). The plan specifies the amount that patients pay for each Kids Care plan when they get services, generally copayments ranging from \$2 to \$5 for doctors visits and \$2 to \$5 for prescription drugs (less for generic drugs), \$25 for emergency room visits(Ch. 100.114.1 p.76). Medicaid also specifies a cap at \$100 a family of consumer costs each fiscal year (Ch. 100.114.1 p.76). That means that after spending \$100 a year for your family's medical care then it is free to the consumer (Ch. 100.114.1 p.76). Therefore, while there is co-pay for the initial emergency room visits, after the \$100 is spent, those and other services are free to the consumer (Ch. 100.114.1 p.76).

### *Prescriptions*

The findings show that there are only a few available options offered through Medicaid policy about prescriptions.

*Services.* In this study, services refer to the type of health care benefits that insurance companies offer to their clients. Kid Care covers the cost

of prenatal vitamins and any other supplements that expecting mothers may need to assure a normal pregnancy (Ch. 100.103.1 p.28). Participants in the Managed Care Program also have prescription coverage as a part of their health care package. Medicaid's Family and Children Assistance Program provide pharmacy services for the adult participants. These prescriptions must fall under the vital pharmacy services in order to qualify (Ch. 100.103.2 p. 30). Medicaid defines vital pharmacy services as "those items or services that are necessary for maintenance or to avoid life threatening situations" (Ch. 100.103.2 p. 30). Because of this, some prescriptions may be at the patient's expense.

### *Dental Care and Eye Care*

*Services.* In this, study dental and eye care is an optional services. Medicaid provides dental care to dependents through programs like Kid Care and SCHIP (Ch. 100.103.1 p.28). These services include "essential preventive and restorative services." Dental care for adults is not available through public health programs like Medicaid. Medicaid has many of the same financial restraints when it comes to providing eye care (Ch. 100.103.1 p.28). Through its dependent programs optometrist services, eyeglasses, or corrective lenses are covered (Ch. 100.103.1 p.28). Adults on the other hand do not receive this same coverage by the public health programs even if they meet the required eligibility.

### *Prevention and Wellness*

*Coverage.* The prevention and wellness care that is provided through different Medicaid programs such as those for children and pregnant women must be classified under "necessary medical programs Handbooks (Ch 100, p. 15). "Necessary medical care is defined by Illinois Medicaid as standard medical care that is required because of disease, disability, infirmity, or impairment" (Ch 100, p. 15).

### *Choice of Doctor and Health Plans*

*Coverage.* Individuals covered under a health insurance plan within the system of Medicaid may not always have a local health care provider to receive consultation and care (Ch 100, p. 15). The different health insurance companies that network with Medicaid have different procedures regarding how their clients receive a practitioner for their medical care (Ch 100, p. 15). Many health insurance companies that associate with Medicaid do not always present their clients with the option to choose their doctor (Ch 100, p. 15). In addition this, the type of health insurance plan that a client has is not always the one that they initially applied for, but the one the insurance company determined was the best fit for them based on their qualifications (Ch 100, p. 15). A child who a wards of the state or whose care is subsidized by DCFS receives their health care through the Department of Children and Family Services (Ch. 100.102.1 p.23).

*Eligibility.* In this study, eligibility is what makes the fit between patient and health insurance. Eligibility is the criteria that health providers use to enroll an individual in their health insurance plans. Each health insurance company that contacts with Medicaid is in charge of establishing their own standards of eligibility (Ch. 100.102.1 p.23). Along with this, each state has additional credentials that an individual may have to meet in order to receive service (Ch. 100.102.1 p.23). The process of obtaining health insurance is complicated by a long and complicated process (Ch. 100.102.1 p.23). In addition, the medical fields' continued process to stay up-to-date with the advancements in technology presents one of the main challenges to patients. Some Medicaid programs such as the "Renal Dialysis Program" provide their patients with assistance to fill out the appropriate forms for their health care coverage (100.114.4 p 78).

Other factors such as pre-existing medical conditions, coverage when you change or lose your job, age, socioeconomic status, and college type play major roles in the process of acquiring health insurance. Having a pre-existing medical condition is not present in these Medicaid findings, but they also are under any categories of barriers to accessing services either. An individual that may have a pre-existing medical condition many times may have an exact plan or program that may fit their desired needs. In these findings, insurance companies that contract with Medicaid grouped individuals into age categories based on qualities that they all have in common. The level of socioeconomic status is another characteristic that these results show as a recurrent quality that many of Medicaid patients have in common. Concerning young adults, these findings on Medicaid do not specifically address them as a target population.

#### *Access to Information about Insurance*

The findings provide a number of ways for patients to access knowledge about their health insurance.

*Programs.* Medicaid offers many specialized services for its clients. For instance, the Illinois Medical Assistance Program is the program, which implements Title XIX of the Social Security Act (Ch. 100.1 pg. 16). The Department of Public Aid under the Illinois Public Aid "creates and regulates medical policy in conformance with federal and state requirements" (Ch. 100.1 pg. 16). Other programs that Medicaid offers through the direction of the Department of Public Aid are the "Transitional Assistance Program" and "The Family and Children Assistance Program" (Ch. 100.3 p. 16). The Department of Public Aid is also, who individuals should contact about any questions that they have about their health care plan or program. The programs listed above are just a few of the programs and plans that the Department of Public Aid oversees. Because the Department of Public Aid administers so many programs, it may be difficult at times for a client to get answers or even service for their needs and concerns.

In addition to providing patients with information about the different programs that Medicaid offers, these findings seek to define coverage, benefits, and services. Each program has a unique breakdown of how they classify their coverage benefits and services. It can be very critical if a patient is not aware of the specific guidelines that their health insurance plan has on coverage, benefits, and service. The findings illustrate the fit between the services and coverage that insurance companies offer and the benefits for their clients. These findings about Medicaid also reveal how comprehensive the information about services and coverage is. Medicaid does a very detailed job of stating the exact condition whereby they will provide coverage and services. In addition to this, the findings present the importance Medicaid and other health insurance companies place on acknowledging the services and coverage they do not offer. For example, the Medical Assistance and Kid Care program an individual may enroll in comes with a long list of services not covered. These services include “routine examinations for well persons, autopsy examinations, and medical or surgical procedures performed for cosmetic purposes.

The result also sheds some light on restricted participations and restricted services within Medicaid. Restricted participants are those who “overuse medical services” (100.106 p37). Once a patient meets eligibility requirements under restricted participant, they receive a medical card that describes their specific restriction. In many instances, these restrictions are in relation to the use of prescription drugs. Restricted services on the other hand are those that are not included in a patient’s health care plan.

In addition, according to the findings, eligibility plays a major role for many individuals who seek health care from public health institutions like Medicaid. This most frequently occurs when an individual is applying for services and discovers that they have a quality that disqualifies them from the coverage. In this case, many people are unaware of the next step to take to overcome this obstacle. These findings on Medicaid provide specific contact information and instructions to gain access to information about the different health insurance that Medicaid provides. Another area of focus in these findings was the co-payments and proper documentation of services. Co-payments are a key aspect for the “effectiveness of administrative or organizational structure for service delivery” (Chambers 1993 p.77). Proper documentation of services is an important aspect of the health care industry because it can create financial restraints in the process of administering health service.

#### *Cost for (purchasers of insurance) Businesses or Government*

The findings give explanation for the breakdown of cost for purchasers of insurance.

*Coverage.* Health insurance, providers seek to provide patients with health insurance, but usually charge a fee to the patients (100.114 p

75). The fees are in terms of deductibles, co-payments, or premiums. Medicaid describes process as “Patient-Cost-Sharing” which is when a covered member must pay a portion of the cost associated with receiving care (aspe.hhs.gov). “For Medical Program participants the provider may not charge eligible participants for copayments, participation fees, deductibles, or any other form of patient cost-sharing except when noted otherwise” (100.114 p 75). For an individual in the State Renal Dialysis Program and the State hemophilia program only requires participation fees for their health care services (100.114.22 p 77). According to the results Medical Program individuals covered under Medicare are those individuals who are eligible for not having to pay any of the “Patient-Cost” (100.114.22 p 77). This subject matter is discussed in a way that provides purchasers of insurance with the resources they need to know what their “Patient-Cost-Sharing will amount to. In addition to this the findings give examples of “third party resources such as Veterans Administration benefits and liability insurance that are available to pay for the patients services” (100.120 p 80). Spend down “is also a program that provides medical assistance to individuals covered under Medicare who would otherwise be ineligible because of income or assets” (Ch. 100.113 p. 72). Another resource provided by these findings is a “patient’s right to choose whether or not he or she wants to execute an advance directive” (100.140 p 96). “Advance directives are required by law and help assure that a patient’s wishes are carried out even when they are no longer capable of making or communicating their decisions” (100.140 p 96). Even though these third party resources are available, “providers retain the responsibility for determining the status of patient’s eligibility (100.120.11 p 80).

### *Coverage for Everyone*

For the most part these finding infer that Medicaid provides its services with the condition that everyone who meets eligibility requirements will have coverage.

## DISCUSSION

Young adults identify the need for dependent coverage for their children as a priority. Because of the funding issues, many states fall short of setting up care for less than half of their qualified children. Medicaid programs like Kid Care in Illinois make it possible for individuals covered under its plan to purchase their prescriptions at little or no cost. The findings disclose a number of barriers that prohibit Medicaid from providing adequate dental care and eye care. Although Medicaid provides coverage dental services because Medicaid plans are chronically underfunded, the quality of care faces tremendous challenges. Instead, adults must purchase separate dental insurance to maintain good oral health.

The findings explain why prevention and wellness is a very critical area that lacks major funding in Medicaid programs. Given that Medicaid receives funding from the state, when funding is low it follows that prevention and wellness are among the first areas to experience budget and program cuts. These funding cuts also lead to there being a reduced amount of available up-to-date medical equipment and fewer numbers of specialists on staff at health care institutions.

The results explain how a patient's choice of their medical provider works within the system of Illinois' Medicaid. In addition, the findings show how eligibility determines the type of service that a patient receives. Individuals may encounter fewer health care providers who accept Medicaid than patients need. Thus, an individual may have to travel far from their neighborhood for an appointment with a doctor who takes Medicaid.

Traditionally, individuals had to obtain the proper forms for the specific type of health insurance they wanted and mail the application. This process is very tedious and often has to occur several times. The documentation process today consists of submitting an online application. This allows for a more specific and faster application process. However, this will require many individuals to have access to a computer that also has internet access and have sufficient computer knowledge.

The process of finding the right plan is often the challenge that causes individuals to believe that their pre-existing medical condition automatically disqualifies them from services. Employer based health insurance is a positive feature for many working individuals. Although if one was to lose or be in the process of changing their job their health insurance may be terminated during that period. Additionally many health insurance providers look at age alone as a qualification for services. While these factors may present limits to coverage, there are other programs that Medicaid offers that specifically accommodates patients need for services and coverage. An individual's willingness and perseverance for finding the right Medicaid health care plan for them could be the difference in one having or not health insurance.

The primary goal of Medicaid that is described throughout these findings demonstrates that Medicaid has policies that are changing to meet demands for services. A continued regard for those in need of health care drives this vast social service. The various health care programs and plans that Medicaid offers adhere to the population of individuals who desire their services. Therefore, as described by Donald Chambers in his book *Social Policy and Social Programs*, "the provision of services or benefits is never, by itself, a legitimate goal or objective of a social program" (1993 p. 98). Furthermore, the general objective guiding operations of Medicaid are not permanent or even very comprehensive at times. Even though this is, the case Medicaid does seem to develop services based on the eligibility and benefit of those who seek their services.

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# Neighborhood Tracks: Railroads and the Construction of Space in Chicago 1887-1917

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## ABSTRACT

*In the nineteenth century, the State of Illinois used legislation to empower the railroads through expansion of their businesses. This was accomplished through the use of land grants, and more importantly, eminent domain legislation. Eminent domain is the power of the state to take private property for public use. By analyzing primary documents, this project uncovers the relationship between state statutes and local ordinances that exercised eminent domain. Through the analysis, I provide the basis for evaluating how the laws contributed to the expansion of corporate power in the form of railroads. The railroad tracks eventually structured the neighborhoods in Chicago in significant ways. Therefore, the ways that communities are formed by their specific geographic locations in relation to land legislation was of concern. The research presented here contributes to our knowledge of the ways in which commercial enterprises and the government used power to take land, which not only benefited railroads, but also geographically and sociologically structured Chicago neighborhoods. Ultimately, this research contributes to the growing body of literature in critical legal geography and public law, which is concerned with understanding the formation of racialized spaces created through legal and political strategies.*

## INTRODUCTION

What are the limitations regarding private property for the public use and public good? Eminent domain, as enacted by the state of Illinois in the nineteenth century, requires just compensation for private property when the state takes property for the public good. Yet the law provokes contradiction: what is “the public good”, what is “just compensation” (Eminent Domain Stat. 303 1872)?<sup>1</sup> In the case study presented here, the state of Illinois determined that railroad commerce was for the public good because it provided economic stimulus. Therefore, the state passed statutes to enable more business for these private corporations. Railroad companies used government land grants and eminent domain statutes to lay tracks and stimulate commerce. In order to gain a better understanding of how railroad companies utilized these various pieces of legislation and the effects they had on neighborhoods and communities in my larger

1 The U.S. Constitution requires “just compensation” for property taken for the public use in the Fifth Amendment: “nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.” The states themselves exercise eminent domain through statutory law. For the purposes of this paper, we are concerned with the way Illinois, in particular, exercises eminent domain.

project this work examines, the history of the legislation and railroads. The goal of this article is to bring together all three components, i.e., eminent domain, railroad companies, and the physical attributes of the land, in order to understand the construction of space through their interaction.

The decision of how to interpret the public's good and whether or not to grant eminent domain is in the power of the state legislature, which has had its share of disputes over how to exercise its power. However, eminent domain statutes can be used to the advantage of those who desire to attain property, provided they can argue it is for the public's good, for whatever commercial intentions. This, at times, creates considerable political conflict. The Author Benjamin Twiss provides us with one example involving a court case involving Granger legislation. Cary, the lawyer representing Granger argued in his brief, "whether the legislature has the right or power to assume the management and control not only of the railroads of the state, but also of the whole business of common carriers by railroad, and to fix their compensation, regulate the method and mode of transacting their business, and prescribe the number, time and speed of trains" (Twiss 1942:71).<sup>2</sup> Cary continued, "the right to control one's property and fix the price for its use is an attribute of ownership, and the right to fix the compensation for services, and risks is a personal right necessary to man's freedom and independence" (Twiss 1942:72). Arguments over legislation for railroads took place during the 1830s and were, as Twiss points out, "[o]ne of the most important manifestations of the American Industrial Revolution in its early years was the development of the powerful railroad corporations" (Twiss 1942:63).

For the purposes of this article, the power of these corporations as it was constructed through the exercise of eminent domain is of particular importance. Railroad companies were not permitted to lay railroad tracks without government permission, in part because they had to build tracks through public lands (which required the government's permission) or because they would have to build through private lands (which required the permission of property owners). So, the railroads sought the assistance of the state legislature in expanding their business through legislative enactments. The Illinois Central Railroad Company received a land grant in 1850 which allowed for construction of railroad tracks. This legislation "marked the first time that public lands from the national government were to be used directly to help the private construction of a major rail line" (Stover 1975:15). It thereby provided the Illinois Central Railroad Company hundreds of acres of land to lay railroad tracks.

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2 Granger is legislation that was concentrated on individualism against the corporate Laissez-Faire. There were a series of cases during the late nineteenth-century, "Railroad and other public utility corporation lawyers, aided by specially retained counsel steadily fought state control of rate fixing" (Twiss 1942:63).

Due to portions of land that was privately owned, the railroads had to find a way to fill in gaps between the public lands they had been granted and areas they already owned. So, the state legislature passed laws that allowed the taking of private land from private owners. According to the eminent domain statute, “[t]he word ‘compensation’ in the constitution of 1848, means that which is given as an equivalent for a loss, but that instrument does not determine how that equivalent should be made up” (Eminent Domain Stat. 584 1872). Private land owners were required under legislation to receive the equivalent of what their property was worth, yet this compensation is not described necessarily in the form of funds in the language of the statute. Not only were inner city private land owner’s affected by eminent domain, rural farmers were too, “The measure of damages is not merely the value of the land taken, but also such other damages as may result, as breaking of the convenient arrangement of the farm” (Eminent Domain Stat. 583 1872). In order to understand this history better, we will consider the ways land grants and eminent domain statutes were created by state legislatures to further the business interests of railroad corporations.

### RAILROADS, LAND GRANTS AND PUBLIC LANDS

Eminent domain was not the only law at the federal and state level that contributed to the construction of the Illinois Central Railroad. Access to public land can only be granted through the government. Proposals could be submitted for the request of public lands. The only way to receive public land is through grants. Private lands are different, but still the power to grant land is through the government. The right of power to eminent domain is granted by the legislature only. The only way to be able to exercise this power is to prove that the land will be used for the public good. The grants from the legislation for railroad companies will be discussed next. The combination of land grants laid the foundation to the land that was given for railroad companies to construct railroad tracks.

#### *Internal Improvement Act (1837)*

The Internal Improvement Act of 1837 was for development of land for railroad purposes, but also contributed funds to owners where there were no pre-existing tracks. Improvement funds were provided to a large portion of the population, mainly for the benefit of the railroads. However, sometimes funds were also provided to places neighboring the railroad towns, to assist in the economic development in those areas. The Illinois Central Railroad Company was the greatest single beneficiary for funds in the Internal Improvement Act of 1837. The sum of \$3.5 million had been designated for the North/South rail line running from Cairo to Galena, IL. The Internal Improvement Act failed, funds were limited and the Illinois Central went under consolidation.

*Land Grant Act (1850)*

The Land Grant Act of 1850 funded the Illinois Central Railroad Company land to lay railroad tracks. There were several advocates that contributed to progress and finally grant to the Illinois Central Railroad Company. Earlier efforts were sought by Sidney Breese, “Judge Breese had been one of the first (earliest) advocates of a North-South railroad” (Stover 1975:16). The areas of land that Sidney Breese asked for was adjacent to other railroad lands which would not immediately accumulate commerce. The stimulation of economy would only happen after the land was granted then sold to various railroad companies within those specific areas. However, as Stover points out, “The proposals that Sidney Breese submitted were not seriously considered” (Stover 1975:16). Sidney Breese had political interests that were sought within the Holbrook’s Great Western Railway.

His political interests were not pleasing to the citizens, “[More] and more citizens viewed Holbrook as a shrewd easterner who was promoting the north-south railroad only because he thought it would help his investments in land down in Cairo” (Stover 1975:16). Along with citizens there was not a higher demand of railroad connections from Cairo to Galena. Most of Sidney Breese fellow lawmakers favored a northern terminal for the railroad which was Chicago instead of the South where Galena and Cairo are located. Stephen Douglas a newly sworn in Senator had taken special interest in land especially in Chicago. Shortly after the election of Stephen Douglas, who later famously debated Abraham Lincoln, submitted proposals on behalf of the Illinois Central Railroad Company. Stephen Douglas held several positions of political power gaining political influence. Douglas’s efforts succeeded after several proposals were sent to the Legislature of Illinois and were granted in favor of the Illinois Central Railroad Company. So while Breese was the first advocate for the railroad, Douglas was the lawmaker, “who obtained a federal land grant for the long-sought rail line in Illinois,” (Stover 1975:16).

Douglas’s proposal consisted of a request to the state legislature to connect the railroads through federal land grants. Connecting the railroads was complicated because they would have to run through public lands as well as private property. There were issues regarding the areas that the Illinois Central wanted to penetrate beyond the acres of public lands provided through the land grants. During an extensive period of time, the Illinois Central Railroad was the only company that ran from North to South instead of East to West. This made the public land grants very favorable to them because it opened major opportunities regarding the expansion of their corporate railroad company.

*Interstate Commerce Act (1887)*

In 1887 Congress passed the Interstate Commerce Act, making the

railroads the first industry subject to Federal Regulation (Act of February 4, 1887 Interstate Commerce Act). Before the Interstate Commerce Act was passed in Congress, railroad companies were privately owned and unregulated. Without the regulation requirement this allowed the railroad companies to make up their own prices and guidelines for specific areas they would like to service. This allowed the railroads to discriminate when it came to race, locality, and economic status, “The railroad monopolies had the power to set prices, exclude competitors, and control the market in several geographic areas” (Act of February 4, 1887 Interstate Commerce Act). The affect of unregulated railroad companies extended well beyond the state, it went into the West and South of Illinois.

The Interstate Commerce Act legislated of just and reasonable rates. The Interstate Commerce Act also prohibited preference in rates for specific areas, and pooling of traffic or markets. In addition, the Interstate Commerce Act established the Interstate Commerce Commission which consisted of five members who enforced the Interstate Commerce Act. Since the Act made the railroads the first industry subjected to federal regulation, the clarity of the guidelines within this statute was pertinent though there were discrepancies within the statute. Guidelines and protocol for the railroad corporations, for example, included a requirement “that railroads submit annual reports to the Illinois Commerce Commission” (Act of February 4, 1887 Interstate Commerce Act). The Interstate Commerce Act challenged the philosophy of *laissez-faire* economics by clearly providing the right of Congress to regulate private corporations engaged in interstate commerce (Act of February 4, 1887 Interstate Commerce Act). The Interstate Commerce Act served as a model for other regulatory agencies in that it specifically focused upon regulating corporations.<sup>3</sup>

### RAILROADS, EMINENT DOMAIN AND PRIVATE LANDS

Eminent domain was an aid to the land grant process which gave right away through privately owned property to the Illinois Central Railroad Company. As stated previously, have the ultimate power to exercise the right of eminent domain. They decide this based upon their judgment regarding the appropriate public use to which the land will be dedicated. The decision made in the legislature, ideally, promotes economic growth

3 *Laissez-faire* economics was the individualistic, small-enterprise, free-competition economy contemplated by Adam Smith, then the Grangers, by attempting to preserve free competition in the interest of shippers possessing inferior economic power (Twiss, 1942:65). Also, *Laissez-faire* means the state’s complete abandonment of economic activity to supposed beneficent natural laws, with complete freedom for men acting solely as economic automata to take whatever direction they choose, including combination and accumulation of the power of wealth (Twiss, 1942:65).

for all. Economic growth, then, is always understood in these arguments to be for the public good. The consideration of the entire population within the communities and neighborhoods may outweigh the individual. Private property value to the individual owner can get lost in the mix when it comes to the consideration of granting the right of eminent domain to railroad companies and other corporations. Their business is understood, then, as a benefit to the public because it stimulates economic growth for everyone in the community. While the state could do these grants and eminent domain, the federal government was also providing a legal framework in which the railroads could expand their power by expanding their business. All of the statutes and ordinances below fit within that framework<sup>4</sup>.

Table1. Eminent Domain Statutes that Refer Directly Railroads

Name of Statute	Year	Brief Description	Cases
333. Who May Enforce Eminent Domain	1872	Right to eminent domain for agents of government or through medium corporate bodies exercised within the United States. Government does not have power over states to exercise this power	Beekman v. S. & S. R.R., 3 page 45
334. Same-under law of 1849	1872	Railways under Act of 1849 cannot condemn lands for right away, unless legislature approves	Gillinwater v. Miss. & Atlantic R.R., 13 Ill. 1
336. Same-power not exhausted by its exercise	1872	Power to condemn land for railroad purposes is not over once road is completed, if further road needed then can be permitted	P. & R. I.R.R. v. Warner, 61 Ill. 52,55
339. Right to Construct Road in City	1872	Power to a rail company to acquire property and acquire right of way therein	Moses v. P. Ft. W. & ch. R.R., 21 Ill. 516
341. Power of Railway Company-to take public property	1872	Authorization to enter land and usage of resources therein i.e. streams, depot, etc...the ground connected for education is excluded	St. L.J. & C.R.R. v. Trustees, &c., 43 Ill. 303

*Note.* These statutes were passed during 1872 and continued to withstand throughout the early nineteenth-century. They specifically contributed to the land that was taken from the public for private use to construct railroad tracks. This took place through.

The eminent domain statutes above directly structure the way land was taken to be given to the railroad company. Eminent domain was

4 For an extended discussion of this framework and how it came into existence, see Twiss's excellent 194 study.

exercised by the state, in partnership with railroad corporations. The legislature continues to hold the power to entitle property condemned and accessible for eminent domain. There is also the extension for the railroad corporations beyond land that may have been previously granted by the state or federal government. Last, the statutes authorize entering. This authorization has only one exclusion which is the ground connected to for education.

Table 2. General Eminent Domain Statutes

Name of Statute	Year	Brief Description	Cases
303. Compensation-jury	1872	Right to eminent domain for agents of government or through medium corporate bodies exercised within the United States	N/A
304. Legislature-its power in respect to eminent domain	1872	Eminent domain may be exercised upon the general assembly by that clause of the constitution who vests in "legislative power" of state	L.S.&M.S.Ry. v. Ch. & w. Ind. R.R., 97 Ill. 506
306. Statute Mandatory-strict compliance	1872	Statute providing of how private property may be condemned for public use	Mitchell v. Ill. & St. Louis R.R. & Coal Co., 68 Ill. 286
307. Deprivation of Property-only under power of eminent domain	1872	A person cannot be deprived of his property except by the exercise of right of eminent domain, just compensation is required	Lake View v. Rose Hill Cemetery Co., 70 Ill. 191,199
316. Change in Law-effect on proceeding	1872	State has power to allow right of eminent domain to be exercised if anything more is to be done by corporation then complete condemnation	S. & I.S. Ry v. Hall, 67 Ill 99

*Note.* These statutes deal directly with eminent domain and the exercise of its power.

The eminent domain statutes in Table 2 deal directly with the power of eminent domain power and who exercises it. Also, the statutes show the difference between condemned property and deprivation of property, which are not the same. Condemned property means that it has been declared to have no value. If the land is condemned then this means that just compensation is not required. On the other hand deprivation of property is not "condemned" property and requires just compensation. Accessibility of additional property through eminent domain is also granted in these statutes.

Table3. Ordinances to aid the Illinois Central Railroad Company

Name of Statute	Year	Brief Description
[City Joins with Company to Secure Branch Road] Section, 1.	1862	The mayor is instructed to unite with I.C.R.C. in an application to the Legislature of the state of Illinois
3. [Right to Enter City –City not Liable], Section 1.	1862	Admission is hereby granted to the I.C.R.C. to enter the city of Chicago within its limits
4. [Side Track Located and Extension Allowed], Section 4.	1862	Designation of proceeding streets in Chicago to construct tracks

*Note.* These ordinances are directly to the aid of the Illinois Central to lay railroad tracks.

The ordinances in Table 3 directly reference the Illinois Central Railroad Company. At the local level the Illinois Central had multiple implications for railroad advancement. The political power of the town officials and the power of the railroad corporation were combined in these ordinances. This allowed the authority of the law for the Illinois Central Railroad Company to be implicated through the mayor. Specific guidelines were given within ordinances as to where the Illinois Central could enter and construct its railroad tracks. There was designation of streets specifically on the south side of Chicago that was allowed to the Illinois Central for the continuance of its railroad tracks. In addition, further extension into the Southside of Chicago was given through these city ordinances.

## POLITICS OF CONSTRUCTING SPACE

Railroad companies produced a lot of commerce for the state and there was a constant struggle for power between the government and the railroad companies. Although the government allowed and granted acts in the favor of railroad companies, the companies did not want them to have control over their use of the grants and the income from this investment, “The railroads did not want the government to have federal control over their industry” (Gabriel 1965:21). The division between the government and the railroad companies had to do with the separation of the revenue. One of the main purposes of the railroad construction was for economic purposes. From a historical standpoint private enterprise was considered key to our national development (Twiss 1945:5). The railway system was viewed as a way to stimulate and regulate commerce to those in specific positions of power.

### *The Construction of Neighborhoods*

The message of eminent domain, “Be a good citizen and move for the benefit of everyone else” is troubling. The power of the state to take

private or public property for public use changed at the state level, but has remained consistent at the federal level since the Civil War. Property owners are not necessarily protected within eminent domain, despite the promise of just compensation<sup>5</sup>. For the purposes of this research, we will consider the implications of this in the racialization of space and the construction of neighborhoods rather than the justness of eminent domain itself. While this article outlines the laws that empowered the railroads, further work will plow into the following issues more deeply.

The laws granting land to the Illinois Central Railroad Company structured neighborhoods and communities. There are several other causative factors that have a role contributing to the construction of neighborhoods. Such examples include, the geography of the land, i.e., bodies of water, hills and rivers, etc; socioeconomic status, race and ethnic background of people, all contributed to the construction of the neighborhoods. The selections of locality, the purpose, and people who were possibly effected by the plans of the Illinois Central Railroad Company may not have been strategically chosen by either the legislature or the railroad.

Slavery played a substantial role in conducting business within railroad companies. Southern railroad companies not only owned slaves, but relied on their labor through limited employment opportunities. Railroads used slaves primarily in constructing railroad tracks, while others were hired as bondsmen (Ely 2001:135). The labor required from slaves is only one example of the operation of railroad companies. Laws were issued around railroads in reference to the nature of the environment from which the tracks were built, "The law governing railroads interacted with the legal rules pertaining to such contested matters as slavery, race, and gender relations, religious observance and criminal behavior" (Ely 2001:135). Slavery was just one aspect of using the laws of the time to promote and establish working labor for the railroad companies. Expansion of the Railroads in the 1850s, then was done with this labor pool in mind.

Later, the demand for work was also influenced by time period. For example the Civil War, World Wars, and Cold War had different effects on people, their communities, and the railroad companies. The people and their communities could be disadvantaged, when on the other hand, the railroad companies benefited a great deal. The demand for transportation, whether for people or goods, influenced the structure in which railways were created. As Mayer comments, "The location of industries within metropolitan Chicago is intimately related to the pattern of the railways" (Mayer 1943:1943). The supplies offered through

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5 The Illinois statute reads, "A person cannot be deprived of his property except by the exercise of the right of eminent domain, in which case just compensation must be made" (Eminent Domain Stat. 303 1872).

railway industries helped contribute to the structure of communities within these areas. This especially holds true to the areas that were located by industrial developments and plants, “each of the first railways that reached Chicago sought to operate its own routes into the heart of the city, because then the industrial, as well as commercial activities, were concentrated in and near what is now the central business district” (Mayer 1943:129). The railways were a way to easily ship and supply merchandise. The idea for mapping the railroads, dealt a lot with the way to import and export supplies. This is one way that train tracks played a major role in assembling neighborhoods and communities, “The present terminals were developed as the result of the competition of the railway companies to secure the most favorable routes into Chicago and the best and most centrally located terminal sites” (Mayer 1943:128). This supports my idea of railroads having a strategic plan in order to construct railroad tracks through communities and neighborhoods.

### *Community Reconstruction and Power*

Communities that were near industrial plants were highly regarded as places for railroad tracks to have entry in the nineteenth century. Today some of these areas still have tracks throughout the neighborhoods, which were constructed during the nineteenth century. However, in the present day the neighborhoods have continued to be effected from the railroad companies over the two previous centuries.

The effect of the railroads through communities is not widely considered in the legal literature. It is also considered to contribute to the economic stimulation of that neighborhood. The fluctuation between the revenue within a community can sometimes expose it to reconstruction, “Out of every three dollars raised from general tax revenues, the government collects two” (Groh 1972:135). The government collects two-thirds of the total revenue from taxes collected within a community. If the community is subject to substantial housing and other variations of government assistance programs, then the funds received is decreased. There are different factors that can contribute to the possibility of reconstruction to a community.

According to Groh, conditions of a neighborhood can be linked to the social welfare policies of that particular community. If money is not coming into the community from housing or businesses of a neighborhood then not only will the people be affected by the lack of funds to promote, and establish a thriving and successful community, but the neighborhood may be subject to reconstruction. One way is when the private corporations come into communities and contribute to gentrification. Due to the lack of commerce, the reconstructions of neighborhoods play a role to the mobility of creating neighborhoods and reconstructing others. Those who have power are in the legislature

and usually do not live in the communities that are affected by their decisions; “[These] cities have literally no constitutional rights” (Groh 1972:136). Thus, the effect of legislation passed within certain towns may be unknown.

Another variation of control, when it comes to creating neighborhood and communities, consists of political, social, and economic power. David Delaney explains, “Territoriality for humans is a powerful strategy to control people and things by controlling area” (Delaney 2005:72). Also, there is the question of power when it comes to those who are doing the controlling and those that are being controlled. Again, there is the suggestion of advantages to this control of territory when it comes to the human race. The advantages and disadvantages depend on which end of power people belong to. In the case of the railroads, the exercise of eminent domain was highly favorable to their business. There were statutes instituted just for the purpose of constructing railroad tracks through areas and expanding their business. The eminent domain statutes set up the possibility for private property owners to lose their property for the good of the community. This had long term consequences for the communities around the railroad tracks, including determining who would live where, and what type of housing they would live in.

The race of a population may contribute to the power of that community and its people. Historically there is a pattern between the “segregated minority communities that are impoverished and politically powerless” (Ford 2001:87). As stated previously, Groh describes the limited power of the cities having literally no constitutional rights (Groh 1972:136), which relates to an argument made by Richard Ford, who suggests that segregated minority communities are politically powerless (Ford 2001:87). Thus a connection can be considered between poverty and the influences of political power within communities. Ford continues, “Today’s laws and institutions need not be explicitly racist to ensure that this state of affairs continues; they need only to perpetuate historical conditions” (Ford 2001:87). The institutions of political influence have continued to evolve over the centuries. Similarly, in the nineteenth century, eminent domain may not have been explicitly racist, yet there is evidence through its exercise that created racialized spaces.

The foremost issue causing the conditions of poverty within communities appears to be a combination of political influences along with the economic resources available in those communities. This situation is a cycle that was initiated during early American history. One example most relevant would be racialized space created through slavery. During slavery, African Americans were assigned to a designated space or place, “This account begins on the ground, which is to say on the plantations and farms where the vast majority of black people lived and worked as slaves” (Delaney 1998:29). The Confederate States instituted a boundary

between the North and the South, “One attempt to crystallize this fluid morphology of slavery was expressed in political geographic terms as ‘the Confederate States of America’” (Delaney 1998:31). A closer look at boundaries and human territory can be seen through the way plantations were organized, “The plantation-like slavery itself—was many things; it was a rural factory, it was a political institution it was a community, it was real estate” (Delaney 1998:33). The master’s home was commonly luxurious compared to the slave quarters. The slave quarters were a great distance from the master’s home and were made like a shack. As Delaney explains, “It is important that we neither disregard nor overemphasize the significance of the spatial arrangement of the slave quarters” (Delaney 1998:34). The arrangement of various housing projects and the people who occupy them may be considered racialized space, or a boundary line around those people.

The relationship between slave and master is important in order to understand the type of status that is accepted and expected when it comes to location of African Americans. As famous historian C. Vann Woodward explained, “Slavery was only one of several ways by which the white man has sought to define the Negro’s status, his place; and assure his subordination” (Woodard 1966:11). The designated location for slaves was for the purpose of control, “They made sure numerous ways that the Negro understood his ‘place and that he was severely confined to it” (Woodard 1966:18). One of the ways to insure that African Americans were confined to a specific space was through segregation. African Americans were often separated from whites on multiple levels. There were exclusions or separation in the form of restaurants, railways, and hotels. The work here lays the foundation for an investigation into how eminent domain and corporate power racialized space and drew boundaries by building railroad tracks.

## CONCLUSION

Eminent domain was exercised in the favor of the Illinois Central Railroad Company when it was time for the tracks construction and many laws were written in order to provide the railroad with the ability to run north and south. Illinois passed numerous statutes on railroad companies and eminent domain simultaneously. Eminent domain was a support system for taking property when the railways were under construction. Acres of land were provided to the Illinois Central through the Land Grant Act of 1850. However, the public land grant effects on communities and neighborhoods are not completely understood. The circumstance in which land was turned over to the railroad company at times is hard to identify. Yet, the important point is that the state was determining what land could be owned and by whom. As David Delaney explains, “In a very fundamental way, the concepts ‘state’ and ‘property’ are, in liberal thought defined in terms of each other”

(Delaney 2005:34). He continues, “The conceptual boundary between ‘the state’—which includes municipalities and other local governmental units—and ‘property is often drawn with reference to the distinction between ‘taking’ and ‘regulating’” (Delaney 2005:36).

The legality when it comes to eminent domain is difficult to understand yet scholars agree that, “Railroads significantly influence the law governing real property” (Ely 2001:189). Eminent domain at the state level changed in relation to the growing railroad corporations. “In particular, the growth of railroading did much to define the parameters of eminent domain” (Ely 2001:189). Not only did eminent domain and railroad corporations help define the laws of private property takings but, “[I]n addition to formal exercise of eminent domain, railroads contributed significantly to the evolution of takings jurisprudence by defining which governmental actions, short of outright acquisition of title or possession, effectuate a taking for which compensation must be made” (Ely 2001:199). This sets up a disadvantage for private property owners who disputed the taking of their land and the compensation to be provided if the land was used for the public.

Future research will consider the way in which the regulations through railroad companies and eminent domain contributed to space formation. The designation of space had the input from, “Activists in the various cities with the assistance of lawyers, often city attorneys and public officials, drew lines, created spaces, and conditions rights and social power according to the meaning assigned to these lines and spaces” (Delaney 2005:67). A lot of the evidence is found through historical analysis of conditions and environments of people within these neighborhoods and, the railways agenda planned during that specific time period. Other factors matter as well. The example of the wars demonstrates how that effected the construction of railroads and communities.

The systematic structure of railroad tracks and there location is about commerce. Trading was a trend during the nineteenth-century; railroads were used to carry goods to and from different towns, even different states. The purpose for building tracks would be to transport goods and people in the least amount of time, while simultaneously gaining the most income. There were railroad statutes instituted to construct railroad tracks in towns for specific reasons, “Under the 1836 Legislature act Section twenty-five provided that the construction of railroads should be commenced simultaneously at each end-at important trading-towns, and at their intersections with navigable streams, to be thence built in both directions” (Ackerman1884:21).

The location of people in reference to the railroad tracks could have a substantial advantage or disadvantage. In most instances benefits of railroad tracks through neighborhoods would be to those who worked in

factories that shipped goods between towns or those people that worked and contributed to keep the railroad companies successful. There were several factors that contributed to the success of the southern railroad companies. Among them, was the ownership of slaves. Future work will focus on the racial boundaries concluded through the construction of railroad tracks. The idea is to expand upon the laws that contributed to the benefit of railroad corporations, specifically the Illinois Central Railroad Company to examine how the federal, state, and local laws in relation to the Illinois Central constructed neighborhoods and communities on the South side of Chicago.

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# Abstracts



## The Experiences of Latinas in Graduate School



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The purpose of this study was to explore factors that have contributed to the success of Latinas in higher education by looking at individual experiences as a means to identify key influences that motivated their success. Ultimately, the goal of the study was to provide insights that can enhance the experience of Latina/os in higher education. Over a period of eight weeks, I interviewed seven Latina graduate students who were selected via internet solicitation and snowball sampling. After transcription, I coded and analyzed the interviews using concepts from Latino Critical Race Theory. Findings from the research provided three key themes attributed to the success of Latina women in higher education: Obstacles/barriers and sponsorship/mentorship where the two most prevalent themes while the theme of tokenism was also established in the interviews. Findings from this research can help increase the success of future Latina scholars.

## The (Re)Poetics of Hip Hop



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This project examines the potential for using Hip Hop music, lyrics and performance traditions as a method of critical pedagogy. Drawing on scholar-ship in performance studies, arts-based education for social justice, and cultural studies, I designed and shared an interactive workshop that explored Hip Hop as “aesthetic communication” that can help develop voice, agency and identity within individuals and communities who have been historically marginalized, particularly within mainstream education. By (re)visioning Hip Hop as a powerful poetic vehicle of social change, this project contributes to the theory and practice of teaching for social justice.

## A Qualitative Analysis of Sexual Harassment Policies from Illinois Colleges and Universities



KRYMESE FRAZIER

Psychology

College of Liberal Arts

Co-Mentors: Peggy Stockdale, Professor, Applied Psychology

Michelle Miller, Associate Professor, Sociology

Sexual harassment is a form of sex discrimination that is prohibited by both Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and 1991 (addressing employment discrimination) and by Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 (addressing discrimination in educational institutions that receive federal funds). The purpose of the present research is to deeply analyze ten university sexual harassment policies in the state of Illinois to understand how such institutions craft their policies. A group of experts on this topic found very little guidance on best practices to follow in developing sound sexual harassment policies for public universities. Therefore, this study will use qualitative research methods, specifically content analysis. A coding system will be developed to analyze each policy on a number of elements. The codes will address the manifest content, latent content, victim perspective, accused perspective, and the institutional liability perspective to analyze sexual harassment policies. It is hoped that by reviewing the sexual harassment policies of other similar state universities, we will be able to better determine and identify the key elements that are essential and appropriate in a sexual harassment policy for an institute such as SIUC. It is also hoped that the results we obtain will enable us to make recommendations that would align current state university sexual harassment policies with federal, state, legal, and agency guidelines. The end result of this research study is to publish a paper that will describe our findings and recommend best practices for developing university sexual harassment policies.

# Foxd1, and Its Role in Pituitary Morphology During Embryonic Development



ELIZABETH PATTERSON

Biological Sciences

College of Science

Mentor: Buffy Ellsworth, Assistant Professor, Physiology

Foxd1 is a recently discovered forkhead transcription factor that is important for development of the kidney and optic nerve. During development, Foxd1 is expressed in the mesenchyme surrounding the pituitary. This mesenchyme is a source of growth factors, such as Bone Morphogenetic Protein (BMP), which is essential for normal pituitary development. We observe a developmental delay at age e10.5 and abnormal morphology at e14.5 in mouse embryos that are Foxd1 deficient (Foxd1lacz/lacz). These abnormalities are consistent with abnormal BMP signaling. Therefore, we hypothesize that Foxd1 is important for proper function of BMPs, and ultimately normal pituitary development. To test this hypothesis, we propose to stain for PSMAD1 and Noggin. BMP phosphorylates SMADS 1, 5, 8. In Foxd1lacz/lacz embryos BMP signaling is elevated and ectopically expressed in the kidney. Phosphorylation of the transcription factors SMAD1, 5, 8 is expected to be increased in Foxd1 deficient embryos due to increased BMP signaling. It is anticipated that expression of Noggin, a BMP inhibitor, will be significantly reduced in Foxd1 deficient embryos.

## A Examination of How College Students Received Financial Aid Information While They Were in High School



MALCOLM SLACK

Finance

College of Business

Mentor: James J. Musumeci, Chairperson, Finance

The goal of this project is to find out if high schools are doing an effective job in providing high school students with financial aid information about college.

Questions I looked at with this research are (1) Where and how do high school students obtain their financial aid information? (2) Do students receive different financial aid information based on race or gender? and (3) What could schools/guidance counselors do to better provide financial aid information to high school students? The sample I used for my project was college students. I gathered the data by surveying 106 Southern Illinois University college students about their past experience of receiving financial aid while they were in high school.

## Using Short Messaging Services (SMS) to Inform Campus Communities



VON'DRAGAS SMALLEY

English

College of Liberal Arts

Mentor: Randy Burnside, Assistant Professor, Political Science

The purpose of this study is to test the effectiveness and desirability of the SIUC SMS emergency notification system. This study will use student responses from surveys dealing with their perceptions of effectiveness of SMS emergency notification systems. Furthermore, it will use data collected from SIUC students about the effectiveness of the SIUC WENS system. Due to the research time constraints, the initial pilot study will gather responses from a pool of 100 students during a four week time frame. The WENS system will be evaluated based on the criteria for effectiveness in private sector information systems set forth in a study conducted by Newcomer and Caudle (1991). This study addresses the following question: How effective is the SIUC WENS system in notifying people about potential hazards? This work also attempts to understand the various factors that influence members of the SIUC community desire and ability to participate in SMS alert service programs.