TRIO

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

Featuring research of Boise State McNair Summer Research Fellows

Boise State University
McNair Scholars Research Journal

Volume 14 – Spring 2019

MESSAGE FROM INTERIM PRESIDENT MARTIN SCHIMPF

It is with real pleasure that I write to introduce this 14th volume of the McNair Scholars Research Journal. The papers contained in this volume represent a remarkable breadth of scholarship that encompasses some of the best of what Boise State University has to offer. The Scholars, their faculty mentors, the staff of the McNair Program, and all of us at Boise State are very proud of this work.

Congratulations to all of the 2019 McNair Scholars for your achievements over the past year. In particular, I want to acknowledge the hard work and accomplishments of the senior Scholars whose research is represented in the papers in this publication. McNair scholars work with faculty mentors who are committed to the rigors of scholarship—a working relationship that both students and faculty describe as unique and beneficial. I also want to recognize and thank all of the faculty mentors who have worked with our McNair Scholars. It is your patience, guidance, and encouragement that promotes the transformation of these students into scholars.

The Ronald E. McNair Post-Baccalaureate Achievement Program honors the memory and achievement of the late Dr. Ronald E. McNair, a physicist and NASA astronaut. Its goal is to encourage undergraduates from underrepresented backgrounds to emulate the academic and professional accomplishments of Dr. McNair by facilitating their pursuit of doctoral degrees and academic careers in teaching and research. The McNair Scholars Research Journal is evidence that the McNair Program provides a valuable opportunity for these students to explore research on significant issues. The McNair Program also provides students access to nationwide conferences and graduate schools where they can present their original projects and meet doctoral faculty. Completing its fourteenth year on our campus, the program's formula for helping students gain access to graduate school programs has proven very successful for a vast majority of those who have participated since its inception.

The research presented here signals the arrival of a new group of rising scholars who will carry their talents, enthusiasm, and hard work ahead into graduate programs here and across the country. I hope that you will continue to aspire, achieve, and pursue your dreams.

Again, congratulations and best wishes.

Sincerely,

Martin E. Schimpf

Martin Schimpf

MESSAGE FROM THE DIRECTOR

We are very happy to be publishing our 14th volume of the Boise State *McNair Scholars Research Journal* and is the culmination of the research component of the McNair Scholars Program. The papers presented here are the outcome of the McNair Scholars' research projects conducted during their participation in the program and demonstrate the variety of excellent undergraduate research that can be produced when students are provided meaningful support through collaborative efforts.

Maintaining a high standard of excellence throughout this process, these McNair Scholars have become skillful researchers and have clearly demonstrated their eagerness to engage in the demands of this work. They have developed important analytical and methodological skills, academic sophistication, and confidence that will aid in their success in their graduate school programs. This journal provides them an opportunity to have their research published and to gain an early understanding of the importance of disseminating their work for others to utilize. It also helps substantiate the role publishing will play in their future careers. It is appropriate that their efforts culminate in the recognition of their work through this journal.

We would like to send a sincere thank you to each graduate for desiring to become participants in our Boise State McNair Scholars Program. Through your hard work you have developed into scholars. Remember that, through this process, you share a tremendous bond with all McNair Scholars who have come before you and we look forward to seeing your future engagement with those who will follow in your footsteps. We also look forward to hearing about your future scholarly accomplishments.

Finally, we would like to extend our deepest gratitude to the faculty mentors who guided and supported the McNair Scholars highlighted this year, as well as those who have mentored scholars throughout the life of our program. The work published in this journal would not be possible without your dedication to the research endeavors of our scholars. You have been instrumental in providing a solid research foundation that has given each of our scholars the ability to enter graduate school with confidence. In so doing, you have also appreciably aided in our program success giving us a tremendous ability to continue with this work. Thank you.

Congratulations McNair Scholars!

Gregory Martinez
Director

Sarah Ritter
Program Coordinator

Boise State University McNair Scholars Graduate Institutions

Class of 2004

Chris Mathias	Criminal Justice	Vermont Law/Northeastern Univ., Boston

Class of 2005

Sandina Begic	Psychology/German	Clark University, Worcester
Juan Berrocal	Electrical Engineering	Santa Clara University
Katey Irwin	Biology	Boise State University
Jennifer Jenkins	Social Science	University of Cincinnati
Megan Jensen	Art–Printmaking	Art Institute of Chicago
Josh Redden	Exercise Science	Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge
Irene Ruiz	Spanish	University of Illinois, Chicago

Class of 2006

Isabel Aguilar	Bilingual Education	Erikson Institute, Chicago
Deborah Allen	Social Science	Boise State University
Adriana Solis-Black	Spanish/Multi-Ethnic Studies	Washington State University, Pullman
Lou Bonfrisco	Chemistry	Boise State University
Jenna Elgin	Psychology	University of Washington, Seattle
Maria Lara	Spanish/Criminal Justice	Boise State University
Christine Pearson	Psychology	Eastern Tennessee State, Johnson City
Luis Rosado	Exercise Science	University of Massachusetts, Amherst

Class of 2007

Christian Busnardo	Communication	Washington State University, Pullman
Sancheen Collins	Psychology	Washington State University, Pullman
Migel Delgado	Visual Art	Boise State University
Jennifer Edwards	Human Rights Studies	Boise State University
David Estrada	Electrical Engineering	University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
Rafael Garcilazo	Mechanical Engineering	University of California, Riverside
Antonio Oblea	Math/Electrical Engineering	Boise State University
Liliana Rodriguez	Multi-Ethnic Studies	University of Idaho, Moscow
Miki Skinner	Psychology	University of Utah, Salt Lake City
Adam Torres	Psychology	University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Erika Velasco	Bilingual Education	University of Idaho, Moscow
Rosario Venegas	Anthropology	Univ. of Cincinnati/Univ. of Pittsburgh

Class of 2008

Jason Arnold	Mathematic/Philosophy	Boise State University
J.J. Durrant	Physics/Mathematics	University of Arizona, Tucson
Gary Grogan	Psychology	Washington State University, Pullman
Carol McHann	Social Science (CJA/Gender)	University of Memphis
Vivianne Sanchez	Art History/Visual Culture	State University of New York, Buffalo
Nikki Svenkerud	Psychology	University of Texas, San Antonio
Simon Velasquez	Political Science	Cornell University, Ithaca
Fred Waweru	Social Science	Oklahoma State University, Stillwater

Class of 2009

Christen Belden	Communication	Boise State University
Arturo Gutierrez	Materials Science Engineering	University of Texas, Austin
Brian Lawatch	History	George Washington University, DC
Anile Nina	Psychology	Boise State University
Phillip Price	History	University of Denver
Bryce Reeder	Political Science	Univ. of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
Matthew Reinhold	Materials Science Engineering	University of California, Santa Barbara
Carolina Valderrama	Sociology	Boise State University
Alberto Varela	Psychology	University of Utah, Salt Lake City

Class of 2010

Shawn Davis	Mathematics	University of Illinois, Chicago
Heather Gifford	Multi-Ethnic Studies	University of Illinois, Chicago
Ernest Maiteri	Civil Engineering	Lehigh University, Bethlehem
Cindy McCrea	Social Science	Pennsylvania State Univ., University Park
Ian Mosley	Social Science	Idaho State University, Pocatello
Bernice Olivas	English–Writing	University of Nebraska, Lincoln
Caleb Sutherland	Biology	University of Arizona, Tucson
Andrew Vissotski	Mechanical Engineering	Texas A&M, College Station
Randi Walters	Geosciences	Stanford University

Class of 2011

Lori Henderson	Psychology	Boise State University
Marilyn Hiller	Social Work/Sociology	Eastern Washington University, Cheney
Lilia Juarez-Kim	Psychology	Clark University, Worcester
Ben Larson	Political Science	Northeastern University, Boston
Alex Ornelas	Sociology	University of California, Santa Barbara
April Raine	History	Boise State University
Christy Richardson	Sociology	Portland State University
Blair Vanderlugt	Economics	University of Maine
Levin Welch	Sociology	University of Nevada, Reno

Class of 2012

Eva Amouzougan	Biology/French	Arizona State University
Shwaye Eibensteiner	Social Work	Baylor University
Daniel May	Political Science	University of New Mexico
Anjannette Monroe	Criminal Justice/Soc. Sciences	Boise State University
Jenna Nash	Political Science	Arizona State University
Ernesto Soto	Psychology	Boise State University
Efren Velazquez	Psychology	Virginia Commonwealth University

Class of 2013

Max Badesheim	English	Northern Arizona University
Robert Devore	Psychology	Idaho State University
Josue Gomez	Political Science	The Ohio State University
Justin Grover	English	Boise State University
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Stevy Scarbrough	Psychology	University of Hawaii
Charlotte Tomevi	Psychology	Eastern Washington University
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Nikki Weihe	Sociology/Criminal Justice	University of Illinois, Chicago
Lesley Yang	Sociology/Economics	University of Minnesota

Class of 2014

Abraham Calderon	Sociology	University of California, Los Angeles
Marybel Cortez	Criminal Justice	Florida State University
Maria Elena Martinez	Bilingual Education	University of Arizona
J. Osciel Salazar	History	University of Arizona
Zachary Turk	Economics	University of California, Davis
Kenneth Winkleman	English/Political Science	Boise State University

Class of 2015

Jesus Caloca	Physics	University of Maryland, College Park
Kristina Gray	Art History	University of Delaware
Tyler Hawkins	Communication/ Journalism	University of Southern California
Ericka Hill	Psychology	University of Tennessee, Knoxville
Adam Keener	Biological Sciences	Purdue University
Alison King	English	Boise State University
Carly Prior	Biology/ Botany	Washington State University
Megan Rodriguez	Multi-Ethnic Studies	University of Washington
Renae Sullivan	History	The Ohio State University

Class of 2016

Luis Aguilar	Spanish	Boise State University
Sophia Brasil	Health Sciences	University of California, Berkeley
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Curtis Green-Eneix	Linguistics	University of Arizona
Timothy Hubbard	Political Science	Michigan State University
Dexter Lensing	Political Science	Georgia State University
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Talegria Brown	Psychology	Florida International University
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Sean Ippolito	Economics/Applied Math	Michigan State University
Kimberly Luna	Political Science	University of California, Riverside
Chantal Martinez	Psychology	Florida International University
Kimberly Neagle	Anthropology	Boise State University
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Jesenia Robles	Criminal Justice	Northeastern University
Joel Velasco	Biological Sciences	Washington State University

Class of 2018

Chandra Adhikari	Computer Science	Boise State University
Philip Belzeski	Physics	University of California, San Diego
Andres Correa	Materials Science Engineering	Princeton University
Travis Steiner-Leach	Geology	Princeton University
Alondra Perez	Mechanical Engineering	University of California, Berkeley

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Boise State University
McNair Scholars Research Journal

Volume 14 – Spring 2019

Development of the Campus and Career Resources Inventory

Cierra M. Abellera: McNair Scholar

Dr. R. Eric Landrum: Mentor

Psychology

Abstract

The purpose of our research is to understand students' use of undergraduate psychology resources. In a national study of four universities, we evaluated seven psychology-specific resources in conjunction with student career paths. Our findings suggest that students primarily rely on faculty to get accurate information on their intended careers. Students reported student-led clubs and organizations as one of the lowest in importance to advancing student career paths. Additionally, all seven resources were average in helping students efficiently. These findings call for further research in understanding the career paths and resources available for undergraduate psychology majors to adequately support future students.

In a national survey of psychology graduates, the National Center for Science and Engineering Statistics reported the following top ten common occupations for psychology majors with a bachelor's degree are: (1) administrative (record clerks, telephone operators), (2) management-related occupations, (3) service occupations excluding health (probation officer, human services), (4) social workers, (5) top-level managers, execs, admins (CEO/COO/CFO, president, district/general manager, provost), (6) teachers and instructors (private tutors, dance, martial arts), (7) marketing and sales occupations, (8) personnel, training, and labor relations specialist, (9) accountants, auditors, and other financial specialists, (10) accounting clerks and bookkeepers (National Science Foundation, 2015). The job descriptions above provide a broad sense of careers primarily entered by psychology graduates with a bachelor's degree as their highest degree. For example, the second most common job category of management related occupations does not offer insight into specific job titles. Similarly, the category of marketing and sales occupations and others share this issue. This gap in understanding does not provide a clear idea of how much these positions or job areas are psychology specific or whether the psychology bachelor's degree is an asset or necessity to each career position.

Career exploration is a critical task during the development of young adults which is essential in leading satisfying postgraduate lives (Lee, Porfeli, & Hirschi, 2016; Skorikov, & Vondracek, 2007). Additionally, there is little available research on the effectiveness and use of resources available to psychology undergraduates and how effective students are in utilizing these resources. In my present study, self-efficacy is used interchangeably with self-efficiency as defined by an individual's belief in their ability to successfully perform behaviors necessary to execute specific behaviors or performance attainments (Bandura, 1977). The need for departmental outcomes has been well documented as necessary for the improvement of teaching psychological science and resulted in the book, *APA Guidelines for the Psychology Undergraduate Major Version 2.0* (2013). However, other resources such as well-known websites such as O*NET OnLine and CareerOneStop, books such as the *American Psychological Association (APA) Graduate Study in Psychology*, and other resources specific to campus such as a Career Center created to support undergraduates have not been explicitly evaluated by psychology students. Organizations such as the APA and Psi Chi, the international honor society in psychology, provide undergraduates with guidelines and opportunities to prepare for graduate school and the workforce, yet it is mostly unknown how useful these resources are and how frequently undergraduates utilize each resource.

In this study, I intend to close this gap and understand undergraduates' use and knowledge of psychology-related resources. The purpose of this research is to identify effective career-related resources available to undergraduate psychology students as well as assess how important these resources are according to students from a multi-site sample. The Campus and Career Resource Inventory measured students' knowledge of career-related resources that foster the pursuit of graduate school and work-force career paths.

Method

Participants

There was a total of 235 participants ($N = 235$), 144 participants attended Boise State University, 66 participants attended James Madison University, 17 participants attended Texas A&M University – Kingsville, and 8 participants attended the University of Wisconsin – Green Bay. Students were recruited via email to participate in an online survey. The survey was directed at undergraduate psychology majors and required that students must be 18 years or older to participate.

Descriptive analyses were conducted using SPSS to assess the importance of each resource in students' intended careers and to evaluate the effectiveness of each resource. Of the participants, 53% identified as female and 17% identified as male. There were 156 participants between the age range of 18 – 29 and 9 participants between the ages of 30 – 53. Twenty-two percent of participants self-identified as first-generation students. Participants also reported their current class standing in which 12.8% were freshmen, 14.9% were sophomores, 20% were juniors, and 22.6% were seniors. Participants were also asked their first pathway after receiving a bachelor's degree in psychology in which 15% reported entering the psychology workforce, 45.5% reported attending graduate school in psychology, 18.3% reported attending graduate or professional school in an area outside of psychology, and 17% were undecided at the time of the survey.

Campus and Career Resource Inventory

The Career and Campus Resource Inventory includes seven different types of resources including the following: department, faculty, campus career center, O*NET OnLine, CareerOneStop, *APA Graduate Study in Psychology*, and student psychology clubs/organizations (e.g., Psi Chi and Psi Beta). The chosen resources were included using the criteria: a) available and accessible to psychology undergraduates, b) provided insight into a psychology-specific career or graduate school opportunities. In this 53-item survey, resources assessed are meant to provide an illustrative understanding and not necessarily comprehensive approach to the career-paths and psychology-specific resources used by psychology undergraduates.

The students were first asked two general questions about their intended pathway after obtaining their bachelor's degree and if they believed they would obtain their degree in psychology. All three career specific resources (e.g., *APA Graduate Study in Psychology*, O*NET OnLine, and CareerOneStop) were evaluated using the same set of questions and format. Beginning with the *APA Graduate Study in Psychology*, students received the resource name and an image of the resource. Additionally, all students reported if they knew this resource existed, and if they answered yes, they moved on to the next question. If the participants answered no, they were forwarded to the following resource. The next question asked if the students used the resource before after having known it existed and then reported an estimated amount of time spent in hours using the resource. Then, in a Likert-Type scale of strongly disagree to strongly agree, students were asked their agreement on a statement that the resource helped think about and advance career goals. Participants were also asked to rate their agreement with a statement about believing they were efficient in utilizing the resource.

In the second set of questions, students provided insight on four different resources: the department, faculty, their campus Career Center, and student psychology clubs and organizations. Following a similar pattern, students were asked in a close-ended question if they believed the resource helped advance their career goals. In the same scale as used in assessing the first three resources, students were asked to report how much they agree with the statements of how valuable the resource is in advancing their career paths and their self-efficiency in using the resource. Then, in an open-ended question, students were asked to explain how the resource could be more effective in advancing their career paths. These series of questions repeated for all four campus-specific resources. Participants were then asked to rank all seven resources in a list with one being the most important informational resource and seven being the least important informational resource. After ranking each resource, students reported in open-ended questions what their most informational and influential resources are in advancing their intended career paths. Additionally, students were asked to report what their intended career path was. Demographic information was asked of the participants last and included information on age, gender, ethnicity and race, first-generation student status, and class standing.

Results

The *APA Graduate Study in Psychology* was the least known resource as 14.7% of students reported knowing the resource existed, and of that percentage, 51.5% reported using the resource. O*NET Online was the most well-known resource with 41.2% of students knowing the resource existed, and 78% of those students reported using the resource. CareerOneStop had the least number of students that reported using the resource at 32.5%. However, 18.3% of the participants knew the resource existed. Please refer to Figures 1 – 3.

Participants were asked to estimate the amount of time spent on each resource in hours. Students reported spending the most time on using the *APA Graduate Study in Psychology* book (M = 8.33, SD = 12.35). Students reported spending the least amount of time on CareerOneStop (M = 3.12, SD = 2.8). Additionally, the average time for O*NET Online was 3.84 hours (M = 3.84, SD = 6.50).

Self-efficiency of each resource was evaluated using a 5-point Likert-type scale from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree. Regarding student efficiency in utilizing the resource, students rated their efficiency highest using the *APA Graduate Study in Psychology* resource (M = 3.67, SD = 1.05) and rated lower efficiency when using O*NET Online (M = 3.56, SD = .86) and CareerOneStop (M = 3.54, SD = .7). Refer to Figures 1 – 3 for a complete diagram of each resource analysis. Students rated their self-efficiency higher with faculty (M = 3.49, SD = 1.0) and students rated their lowest self-efficacy in accessing student psychology clubs and organizations (M = 3.10, SD = 1.0). Students self-efficiency of accessing their department (M = 3.23, SD = 1.0) and their Career Center (M = 3.26, SD = 1.0) are consistent in the pattern of having similar averaged ratings throughout the survey. Please refer to Table 1 for the above information.

On average, students rated the *APA Graduate Study in Psychology* highest when asked how helpful the resource was in advancing their career paths (M = 3.88, SD = .81). CareerOneStop had the lowest average in advancing students' career paths (M = 3.62, SD = .7) and O*NET Online was neither the most or least helpful in advancing students' career paths (M = 3.79, SD = .74). Refer to Figures 1 – 3 for a complete diagram of each resource analysis.

We evaluated the following campus-related resources for helpfulness in advancing student career paths, importance to overall career advancement, and students' efficiency in utilizing each resource. In helping advance career paths, 75.3% of students reported yes to faculty, 57% reported yes to the department as a resource, 38.3% reported yes to their on-campus Career Center, and 26.8% reported yes to student psychology clubs/organizations. Students' rated each resource on the importance of their overall career advancement on a 4-type scale from 1 = not at all important to 4 = extremely important. The averages for each resource remain within 2 – 3 suggesting a neutral response of importance to overall career advancement. Students reported the faculty as the most helpful resource (M = 2.94, SD = .82) when compared to campus-related sources such as the department (M = 2.62, SD = .82) and the Career Center (M = 2.62, SD = .87). The least helpful resource to overall career advancement was student psychology clubs/organizations (M = 2.42, SD = .84).

Students then ranked each resource in importance as an informational source that encourages thought on career planning. In terms of frequency, participants most commonly reported the faculty as the most critical resource in helping students advance their career paths at a total of 77 times followed by the *APA Graduate Study in Psychology*, department, Career Center, O*NET OnLine, student clubs/organizations, and CareerOneStop. In a second analysis of the ranking of resources, the overall averages yielded slightly different results. Although faculty were most often ranked as the most critical resource in advancing career paths, the department was second instead of third, followed by Career Center, *APA Graduate Study in Psychology*, O*NET OnLine, CareerOneStop, and student psychology clubs/organizations (refer to Table 2).

Discussion

In creating the Campus and Career Resource Inventory, psychology and career focused resources were compiled to understand which resources students used to advance their career goals. Our findings suggest that there is a gap in resources for psychology majors, which leads to the lack of research evaluating career outcomes for students that hold a bachelor's degree in psychology as their highest degree. The resources that were assessed in the present study bring attention to the effectiveness of the current resources available.

The O*NET Online was the most known resource among the students that participated in the study. A possible explanation for why O*NET Online this occurred is that most survey respondents were Boise State University students in which O*NET OnLine is formally introduced to all undergraduate psychology students through an introductory course and could be a potential explanation for O*NET OnLine being the most known

resource. On average, students reported that these resources were about average in helping them advance their career paths and consistently reported lower efficiency in using the resources. Additionally, students were asked to provide feedback on each resource and what could be improved; this qualitative data will be analyzed and compared in a separate study.

 Limitations of the Campus and Career Resource Inventory are that it illustratively evaluates resources for psychology undergraduates. To have a comprehensive understanding of psychology specific career resources, future studies should include resources such as professional mentorship, other organizations such as the Association for Psychological Science (APS), and networking experiences, including research or organizational conferences. Additionally, to assess helpfulness in future studies using this inventory, campus-related resources should be measured on a scale instead of asking participants to respond either "yes" or "no" to the item. However, the Campus and Career Resource Inventory was created to be adaptable to a variety of resources and could apply to other disciplines.

 The faculty was the most crucial informational resource in frequency and average followed by the department and Career Center as reported by students' averaged evaluations. Implications of this finding call for further research to explore what factors lead to successful career advancement outcomes in undergraduate students. Surprisingly, student psychology clubs and organizations were one of the least essential informational sources in advancing students career paths. Variation in student psychology club and organization participation could depend on factors including active organizations on their campus, which could vary in support and resources at each institution and vary independently as not all participants were eligible or participated in organizations such as Psi Chi and Psi Beta. Additionally, all seven resources are near average in helpfulness and importance to advancing their career paths. There is a need for improved assistance in planning future career paths with undergraduate psychology students, as access to accurate and supportive resources during career development is critical.

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Appendix A

Tables

Table 1

	Department	Faculty	Career Center	Student Psychology Clubs/Organizations
Helping you advance (% yes)	57	75.3	38.3	26.8
Importance to overall career advancement*	2.62 (.82)	2.94 (.82)	2.62 (.87)	2.42 (.84)
Made the most of my interactions**	3.23 (1.0)	3.49 (1.0)	3.26 (1.0)	3.10 (1.0)

*This item was rated on a 4-point scale from 1 = *not at all important* to 4 = *extremely important*.
**This item was rated on a 5-point Likert-type scale from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*.
Campus resources were evaluated for helpfulness in advancing students' career paths by answering yes or no. Importance and relevance of the resource to students' advancement of their career paths were rated on a 4-point scale, and self-efficiency in accessing the resource was evaluated using a 5-point Likert-type scale.

Table 2

	Faculty	*APA Graduate Studies in Psychology*	Department	Career Center	O*NET OnLine	Student Psychology Clubs/ Organizations	CareerOneStop
Frequency	77	21	20	19	14	5	3
Average	2.18	3.14	4.01	4.01	4.40	5.12	5.14

Students ranked each resource in importance on a scale of 1 – 7 with 1 being the most informational resource in assisting students with their intended career paths. The frequency of the amount of times each resource was ranked as the most important is displayed in the above table along with their averaged ranking as the most important resource.

Appendix B

Figures

Figure 1.
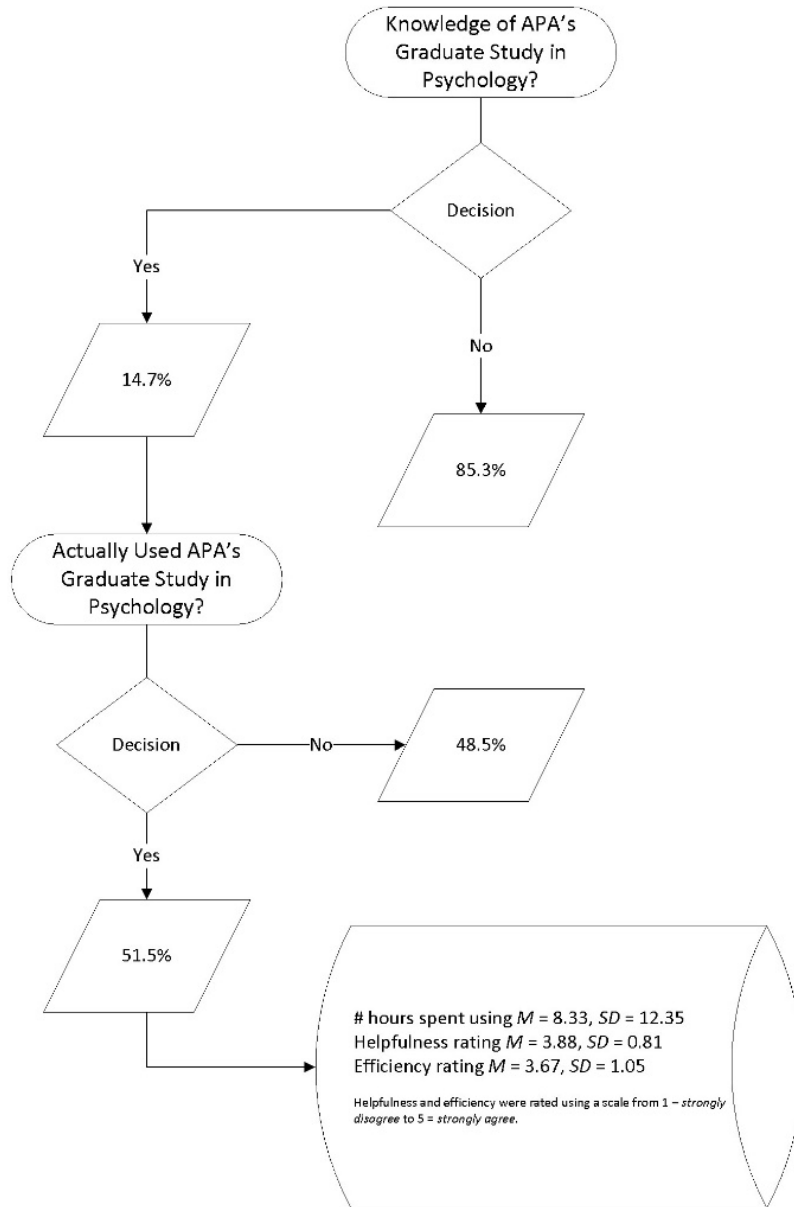
*This item was rated on a 5-point Likert-type scale from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*.
The above diagram displays the *APA Graduate Study in Psychology* survey results per item. Participants were first asked if they knew the resource existed, and if they answered yes, they continued to the remaining items, and if no, they were advanced to evaluate the next resource.

Figure 2

Knowledge of O*NET
resource existence?

Decision

Yes

41.2%

No

58.8%

Actually Used O*NET?

Decision —No→ 22.0%

Yes

78.0%

hours spent using $M = 3.84$, $SD = 6.50$
Helpfulness rating $M = 3.79$, $SD = 0.74$
Efficiency rating $M = 3.56$, $SD = 0.86$

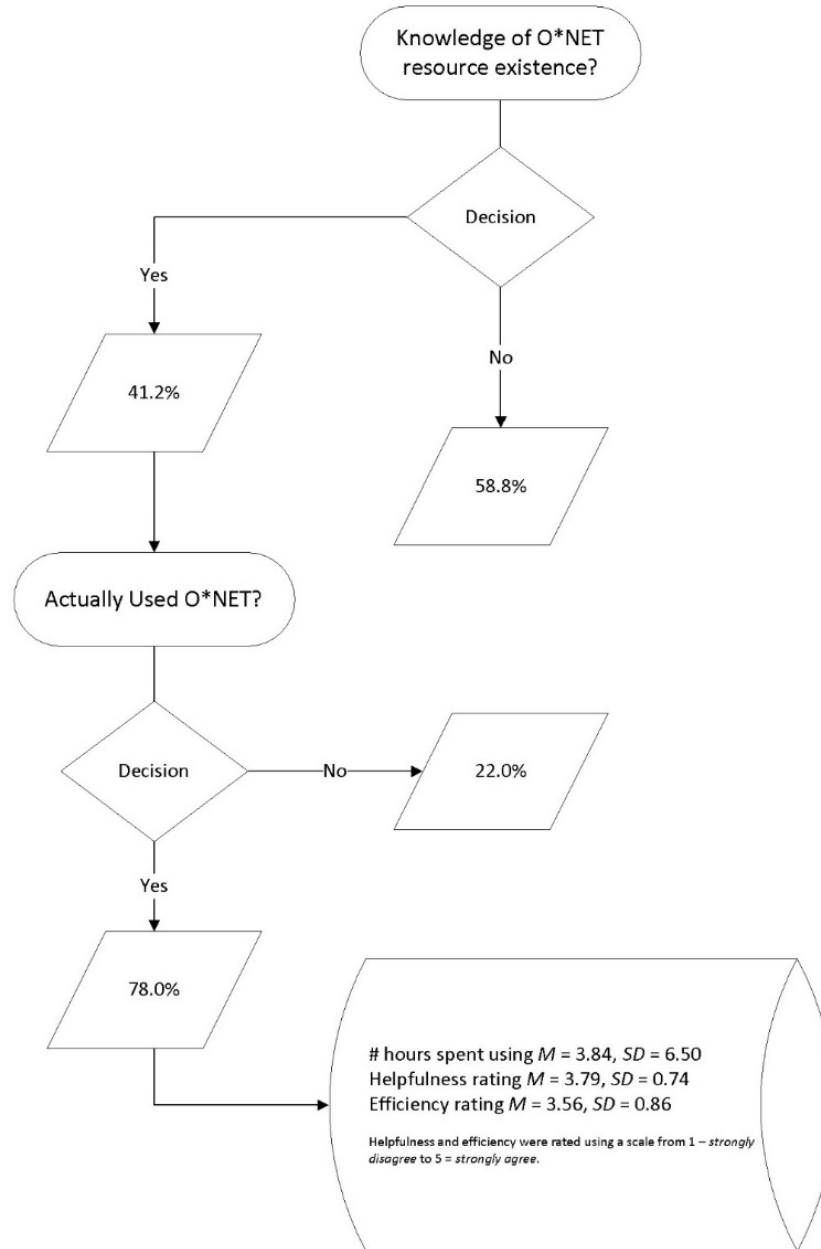Helpfulness and efficiency were rated using a scale from 1 – *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*.

*This item was rated on a 5-point Likert-type scale from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*.
The above diagram displays the O*NET OnLine survey results per item. Participants were first asked if they knew the resource existed, and if they answered yes, they continued to the remaining items, and if no, they were advanced to evaluate the next resource.

Figure 3.

Knowledge of
CareerOneStop resource
existence?

Decision

Yes

18.3%

No

81.7%

Actually Used
CareerOneStop?

Decision —No→ 67.5%

Yes

32.5%

hours spent using M = 3.12, SD = 2.80
Helpfulness rating M = 3.62, SD = 0.70
Efficiency rating M = 3.54, SD = 0.70

Helpfulness and efficiency were rated using a scale from 1 – *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*.

*This item was rated on a 5-point Likert-type scale from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*.
The above diagram displays the CareerOneStop survey results per item. Participants were first asked if they knew the resource existed, and if they answered yes, they continued to the remaining items, and if no, they were advanced to evaluate the next resource.
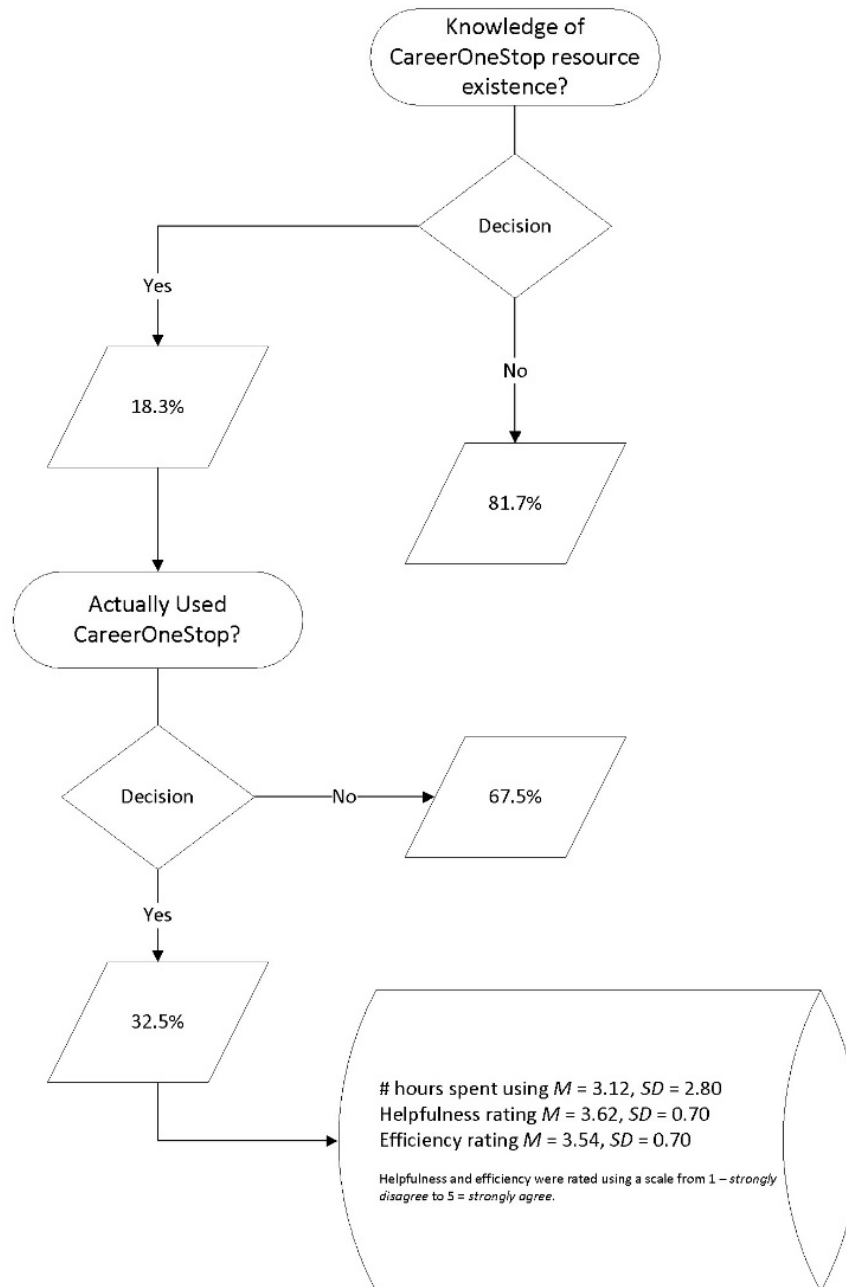
Poverty Delivered: How Rent-to-Own Businesses Make the Poor Poorer

Jeff Cates: McNair Scholar

Dr. Arthur Scarritt: Mentor

Sociology

Abstract

Through stories, interviews, pictures and financial records, I narrate the workings of the rent-to-own company I work for. It capitalizes on the American culture of conspicuous consumption to target the poorest workers, gouge them with usurious contracts, overextend their credit, "trip" them up with fees and ultimately deliver poverty to the poor. Over two years on the job, I developed extensive field notes, performed qualitative interviews with management, analyzed a year's worth of financial data, and therein could bring new details to the intimate process that make the poor poorer. Working there made me realize that basic American household goods not only come with a much higher price tag for the poorest, but that the way we provision these to the poor undermines these communities by extracting wealth into richer areas and leaving poor residents saddled with unmanageable debt. By offering free delivery, free installation, no credit check, and low to no upfront cost, unsustainable payment plans become attractive to those most destitute. In-store sales practices filter for the most vulnerable people, such as management literally telling people to go elsewhere if they can afford to. The owner leverages the status of the corporation to attain cheap credit, brokering goods at much higher rates to target poverty-stricken workers. I found that the profit structure of this business often creates, and is reliant upon, a rent-confiscation cycle that deepens economic inequality.

"Tripping" Up the Poor

My boss sends me to a customer's house attempting to collect on a late payment for a rented bedroom set. When I get there, I find a modest one-bedroom house with an older van parked on a dirt driveway. I knock on the door and hear a little dog barking, but nobody answers. When I get back in my truck, I see a man looking at me through the front window who then quickly closes the drapes. Not answering the door is common when I'm sent on a "trip" to collect a late payment. However, each trip adds $10 to the past due balance so this can get expensive fast.

Most customers don't get past three trips before they break down and answer. And, like clockwork, after three trips this customer finally does. A heavy-set man sitting in a wheelchair with no legs from the knees down, wearing a Vietnam veteran hat and an American flag tank top, answers the door. From the moment the door opens, he immediately begins to apologize for being late. He explains that he's waiting on his next social security check and will make a payment in a few days. I say "no problem, sir. I'll let Dan know" and go back to my truck.

I call my boss Dan, who has been the accounts manager for this rent-to-own furniture store for 16 years, to explain the situation. But he quickly interrupts me and says if I don't get any money from him today, then I must take the set right now. Reluctantly, I go back and tell the customer what Dan had said. In agitation, he admits that the only reason he got the bedroom set was because he had accidently soiled his other one and had no family in town to help.

His tone of voice turns into frustration as he explains how he got a coupon flyer in the mail advertising he could have a "luxury" bedroom set delivered for free, with free installation, for $40 a week, including the first two weeks free—that Dan gave him for being a veteran—which made it seem like a great option. In disheartened contempt, he divulges that he stayed on top of his payments for four-months but got impossibly behind after spending two weeks in the hospital. Once he got behind, with the extra $30 from the three trips, the additional $1 added per day he was late, and the $80 needed to be caught up from the previous two weeks, costs snowballed out of control and he couldn't afford to keep it anymore.

It was at that moment I decided I was not going to take this man's bedroom set, regardless of what Dan told me to do. I realized that this business was extracting this disabled vet's social security with a deceptively attractive but usurious contract, tripping him up at every moment until there was no more money left to squeeze out. After two

years on the job, I've witnessed over and over how this company's drive to maximize their bottom line creates a perpetual rent-confiscation cycle in the poorest communities in town. As my stomach turned from this realization, I told the man not to worry and I would talk to Dan for him. I went back to my truck, called Dan, told him that I could not do the repo and was coming back to the store. Dan said "okay, see you soon." When I got back Dan said nothing about that situation and quickly sent me back out on a delivery. When I returned, I asked him what he was going to do with that customer. He told me after I called he sent a different driver to the customer's house and they repossessed the bedroom set. This made me understand the very structure of this business is dependent upon targeting the most vulnerable and making them poorer.
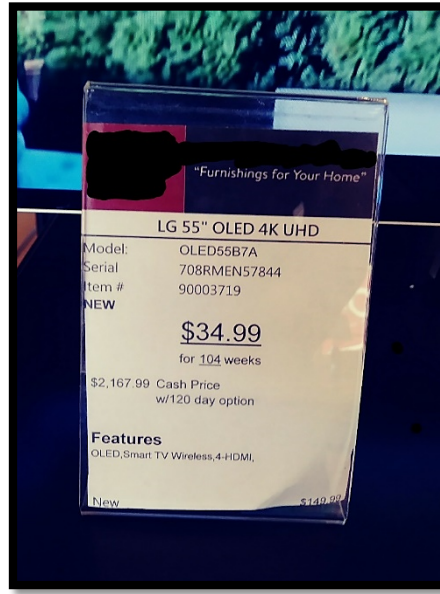
Targeting the Poor

Today, 1 in 3 people in Idaho are either living in poverty or struggle daily to pay their bills (United Way, 2018). And the most financially desperate people in this expanding population are the ones this business specifically targets (Blanchard, N., 2018). The process of targeting the working poor and disadvantaged begins when this business advertises "no upfront cost," "low weekly rates" and "no credit needed" on a large billboard outside. The sign glowingly announces that if you are low on cash, and have bad credit, this is the store for you.

Once inside the store, the company presents highly inflated prices barely masked as low regular payments. For instance, big screen televisions are this company's second best source of rental profits. In April of 2018, they had 148 televisions on rent that totaled $14,845 in monthly rental revenue.

To get an idea of how inflated their prices really are, let's look at one popular TV, the LG 55-inch 4K television.

"Furnishings for Your Home"

LG 55" OLED 4K UHD
Model: OLED55B7A
Serial 708RMEN57844
Item # 90003719
NEW

$34.99
for 104 weeks

$2,167.99 Cash Price
w/120 day option

Features
OLED,Smart TV Wireless,4-HDMI,

New $149.99

My work offers it for $34.99 a week, for 104 weeks, before a 6% sales tax. That means, if you were to fulfill this contract by making only the minimum weekly payments, you would spend $3,857.30 (34.99 x 104 = 3,638.96 (.06) = 218.34 + 3,638.96 = X). However, a quick google search at the time of writing this article found the same TV list for $418.99 at Best Buy's online store. After sales tax this would come to $444.13 (418.99 x .06 = 25.14, 25.14 + 418.99 = 444.13). This TV would cost you almost 870% ($3,857.30/444.13 = 8.69) above the retail price if you were to fulfill the rent-to-own contract. In other words, it would be financially irrational for anyone to buy this TV from this store. However, if you don't have the money to buy the TV, but do have the first weekly rental payment, this TV could be in your home today. This targets the poorest customers who can't afford to buy, but can afford to rent, and exacts a heavy cost.

The management of the store also actively filter out any customer with the purchasing power to get these items at retail cost. If a potential customer questions their inflated price, they'll agree with their complaints and tell them to go somewhere else. As Dan candidly explained to me in an interview,

"Sometimes they'll say 'I can go to Wal-Mart and get that for less.' Then I tell them 'if you're going retail you should!' Absolutely, we're an alternative to that, I tell people. If you got the money to buy it, I very much encourage you to. That way I don't get into an argument and I'm really telling them well yeah, we're here if you can't do it."

Often, this is enough to make any potential customer with the ability to buy this TV promptly leave the store. The process of filtering out and targeting those who have very little money, bad credit and who don't question the inflated price, is the bedrock for how this business operates.

Dispossessing the Poor

This kind of interest infused price inflation is not unique to TVs. It is common whether we look at sofa's, bed sets, dining room sets, major appliances, or anything else, making this business very profitable. As Dan boasts, "You figure, we do about 70, 75 thousand revenue a month." Since many customers who enter into these kinds of agreements are low income, however, being indebted for a commodity that is eight times the original price often becomes unsustainable. This greatly reduces the chances that the poorest customers will be able pay off their contract, exacerbated by "trips" and late fees, eventually resulting in repossession. In an in-depth interview with the driver manager, Nick, who has worked for this company for 11 years, I uncovered how common repossession is. I asked him how many customers fulfill a contract, and eventually own the rented property. He revealed, "I would say about 30% to 40%, maybe." Following up, I asked why he thinks that percentage isn't higher. He responded:

"The reality of it comes up. You know, the reality of, wow, $700 sofa and I'm going to end up paying $3000 for it. Or, they overextend themselves and we don't, we never look at a customer and say, 'Hey,

you've already got too much. You've listed an income of $2000 and you're putting out $800 in monthly rent. What about your other bills?' Reality catches up with people."

The "reality" of these inflated prices would be overwhelming for anyone, let alone for the poor. This business turns a blind eye as to how these usurious rental prices affect their poorest customers' lives. All customers can "overextend themselves" if they have a job or consistent income. This reduces the company's risk of lending because when customers overextend themselves they are more likely to get the property back, so they can re-rent it. As Nick clearly states, "we never" tell a customer they have too much.

A story Nick disclosed to me graphically illustrates some of the realities of dispossessing the poor:

"So, we go do a repo, again, we've over extended this family, they only make so much. They can only pay $100 and they owe $300. So, we show up early in the morning. By law we can't be out at somebody's house before 8. But, we were there about a quarter after. We catch this guy, he's out in his garage, hammering down beers. I say 'Hey, Chad, we got to pick up something.' So, out of the TV, the child's bunk bed, and the refrigerator, he had us pick up the refrigerator and the child's bunkbed. But, he kept his large screen TV. And the kid is going, (puts his hand on his head), the kid is literally freaking out. Because what's this kid going to sleep on now? He knows his bed is going. He knows the refrigerator is going. I felt really bad but there is not much I can do about it. That one will stick with me."

For further elaboration, I asked Nick if this was just an isolated incident, he said, "It's not an isolated incident. I mean, I've delivered TVs to places where there is nothing else but the TV. Or, a gaming system. Gaming system and a TV and there is no place to sit, no dining room table, nothing. The kids are sleeping on the floor but got to have that TV. Got that PS4 going on."

By facilitating purchases like these, this company often creates a perpetual rent-confiscation cycle that maximizes the bottom line of the business but increases economic inequality and poverty. However, this begs the question, what causes the most disadvantaged people to continually participate in these rental contracts? Especially for unnecessary luxuries at the expense of first-world necessities?

Conspicuously Consuming the Poor

Since Nick has such a unique and tenured perspective being in and out of customers' homes, I asked him what he thinks is going through a customer's mind when they, for example, give back a bed or refrigerator, and keep a TV? He said, "I think it's what we've become as a society. I'll keep my electronics. But, I'll sleep on the floor. Because, where is everything coming from? Boom, it's coming from that electronics." Today, the average American watches about 270 minutes of television a day (Statistica Portal, 2017), with a growing percentage of that being dedicated to just advertisements trying to persuade us to buy their product (Flint, J., 2014). Advertising inundates us even more if we count the various social media platforms, billboards, posters, displays, magazines, sponsorships, product placements and the like, all trying to convince us that what they're selling is something we need. By some estimates, this equates to an average of ten thousand advertisements a day telling us what we have now isn't good enough, and this new product will solve that problem (Saxon, J., 2017). In 2017 alone, corporations spent almost 200 billion dollars selling us on the virtues of continually buying, an amount of money the poor cannot hope to compete against (Statistica Portal, T., 2018). Additionally, a new advertising tactic that is starting to define the 21st century, is the nefarious secret mining of our personal data so our wants and desires can become targeted more directly without us knowingly giving permission (Government, 2018).

The effectiveness of this ubiquitous saturation of ads, molding the American culture into an addiction of *conspicuous consumption* (Veblen, 1899), is undeniable by the fact that corporate profits are higher today than ever before (Federal Reserve, 2018). As renowned physician and addiction expert, Dr. Gabor Mate explains in his book, *In the Realm of Hungry Ghosts,* "It's safe to say that any pursuit, natural or artificial, that induces a feeling of increased motivation and reward-shopping, driving, sex, eating, TV watching, extreme sports, and so on-will activate the same brain systems as drug addictions" (Mate, 2008, p.225). This addiction to conspicuously shopping is largely influenced by the ideas of a man named Edward Bernays. Bernays is considered "the father of public relations," who also happened to be the nephew of Sigmund Freud (Tye, 1998). He heavily borrowed from psychological understandings at the time attempting to manipulate the public into accelerating their *conspicuous consumption* patterns to fight communism. Bernays felt this was his most important civic duty as an American. He leaves no ambiguity about these intentions in his canonical text *Propaganda,* when he brazenly stated:

"The conscious and intelligent manipulation of the organized habits and opinions of the masses is an important element in democratic society. Those who manipulate this unseen mechanism of society constitute an invisible government which is the true ruling power of our country. We are governed, our minds are molded, our tastes formed, our ideas suggested, largely by men we have never heard of." (Bernays, 1928, p.9)

Bernays laid the foundation for what would later be called "the American Dream." A dream that Noam Chomsky and Norman Herman call a capitalist "propaganda model" centered around increasing corporatized *conspicuous consumption* patterns by idealizing luxury materialism and masquerading it as a need (Chomsky & Herman, 1988). This has created an American culture that prioritizes culturally glorified commodities, whether they can afford them or not (Schor, 1998).

The business I work for preys on the poor by offering them the specious chance to taste the "American Dream" now, by further impoverishing them later. As Nick admits, "as a consumer nation, we don't care if you got the money. Credit card companies don't care if you have the money. Slide that card and get what you want and get it now."

Apparently, going into debt has now become a part of that "American Dream," with 80% of all Americans today having some form of debt (Pew, 2015). Deregulatory policies gradually implemented in the financial sector since the 1970's have enabled this large growth in consumer debt (Antill et al., 2014), which is higher today than it was before the 2008 financial collapse totaling over 13 trillion dollars (Federal Reserve, 2018).

Gaming the Poor

Debt can be a great thing, however, particularly if you're rich. The owner, Ken, who inherited this business from his father does not own any of the products he's renting out. He uses the business to get a low interest loan from a bank to purchase products that he leverages to the most underprivileged with high interest rental contracts. As Dan revealed to me, "They have a small percent loan. Like, a really good interest rate and then they pay on that every month." This allows the owner to increase his profits by not paying the full price of the commodities he's brokering because his customers are paying an inflated price. He makes a lead weight of high interest debt for his customers, so his profits from culturally glorified items he acquired with low interest credit can soar. This creates a rigged game of debt musical chairs, in which the poorest are always first to lose their chair, allowing for the systemic transfer of wealth from the poor to the rich.

Of course, the way the owner schemes to maximize his returns is far more cunning than simply using low interest credit to his advantage. For instance, Nick exposed that, "It is owned by the KNR corporation. The store pays KNR a $5000 a month rent for the building. KNR is Ken and another partner." This reveals how the owner uses his profits from his rental business to pay himself corporate rent on the building its run out of. By doing so, Ken can turn a large portion of his individual "earned" income as a business owner, into "unearned" income from rent by a corporation (Internal, 2018). Which lowers his overall tax obligation, thus increasing his personal profit margin (Haskins, 2018). He does this by using the profits he makes from this business to pay overhead costs to the corporate

"front office." As Dan further illuminates, "There is a very big chunk that goes to the front office. Which I think covers their basic expenses, or their salaries." This enables the owner to game the tax code to further enrich himself, giving him greater credit leverage at the bank, so he can further invest in a business designed to impoverish the poor. As Dan succinctly put it, "He's real good with taxes because he's an accountant."

      As an accountant, maximizing the bottom line is what the owner is solely focused on, no matter the social consequences. It's easy for him to be removed from the misery this company creates by continually renting and confiscating goods to the poorest in town. Because as Nick points out, "He's not involved in the day-to-day operations of this store." He has the privilege of not experiencing how this business increases economic inequality and poverty structurally due to the unequal advantages built into the financial game being played. If economic inequality and poverty are to be significantly reduced, businesses like this need much stronger financial regulations, or to be simply banned.

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The Burden of Liveness: DACA Recipients and the Crime of Rhetoric

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English
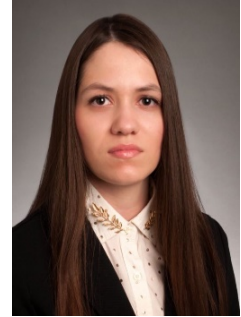
Abstract

This article serves to explore the burden placed on recipients of Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) since the program's conception in 2012. The rhetoric of DACA has consistently expected recipients to move away from their native countries and identities in order to assimilate. Following the rhetoric of the 2016 election and current Trump administration, rhetoric has been used to criminalize several immigrant groups. I contend that DACA recipients carry what Jose Munoz refers to as the "burden of liveness," in which they "perform" nationality in response to the majoritarian group. DACA recipients are expected to perform perfection, in order to obtain DACA and keep basic human rights. Drawing upon Munoz' theories, and Kenneth Burke's identification theory, I analyze the DREAM Act: Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Immigration, Refugees and Border Security, the bills S. 1615 and H.R. 1468, and former Attorney General Jeff Sessions' remarks on rescinding DACA. Finally, I discuss the ways that DACA recipients use the "burden of liveness" as a means of resistance, in order to change the culture from within.

The rhetorical reality that DACA recipients must navigate has changed since the 2016 presidential elections. The Trump campaign produced a significant amount of disquieting rhetoric on DACA recipients; during a campaign speech in Arizona on August 31, 2016, Trump promised to "immediately terminate President Obama's two illegal executive amnesties" (Qtd. in Pierce et al. 14). On September 5, 2017, Attorney General Jeff Sessions announced the cancellation of DACA, and DACA activism resumed pre-Trump patterns, (most notably the use of the term "DREAMer") despite the changes in the rhetorical landscape. As the nature of identification changes for immigrants in today's political climate, so must the rhetoric of DACA activism.

In the pages that follow, I draw on José Muñoz' theories of "disidentification" and the "burden of liveness" and Kenneth Burke's "identification" to explain how capitalism and the concept of nationhood have policed the undocumented body. I analyze Attorney General Jeff Sessions' remarks on rescinding DACA, the 2011 hearing before the subcommittee on Immigration, Refugees and Border Security on the DREAM Act, and two bills, S. 1615 and H.R. 1468, to argue that there is an ongoing pattern of expecting DACA recipients to carry the "burden of liveness" in order to fulfill their capitalist potential and assimilate into the American nation state. Finally, I call for the necessary changes in DACA rhetoric that will achieve a secular conversion (Burke *Permanence and Change*) that acknowledges the personhood of the DACA recipient it affects.

Today, DREAMers continue to engage in what Jose Muñoz refers to as "disidentification." Muñoz defines disidentification as the "survival strategy" of a minority subject in order to navigate a majoritarian public sphere that does not respect their existence. It is a "response to state and global power apparatuses that employ systems of racial, sexual, and national subjugation" (Muñoz 161). It is an active movement away from a stereotype or forced identity marker. As the DREAMer is presented as being blameless for their undocumented status, the blame shifts onto their immigrant parents, and a disidentification occurs. The DACA recipient is a hybrid subject, occupying the identity of their native country, and the American identity. Thus, identifying oneself as a "DREAMer" may involve a painful rejection of the self. Rhetoric does not just affect the language used to identify DACA recipients, as traditional theories of rhetoric would suggest, but it has also affected the DACA recipients' body and person.

This is because DACA recipients are forced to carry what Muñoz refers to as the "burden of liveness." This is the "need for a minoritarian subject to 'be live' for the purpose of entertaining elites" (Muñoz 182). In this case, the elite are those with political power that govern immigrant bodies. The "burden of liveness" is a performance of disidentification—a forced performance of Otherness. This performance dominates the body; the "liveness" consists

of being "live" during all moments in life. The "burden of liveness" stems from the tension of hybridity. DACA recipients are forced to disidentify from their native identities to perform nationalism. For these reasons, I follow the push from Dr. Ana Milena Ribero, activist Karla Aguirre, and others to discontinue the use of the term DREAMer, and will refer to DACA recipients as such in this paper.

The term DREAMer arose in response to the identification that was taking place far before the rhetoric of the 2016 election. Kenneth Burke contends that the naming of something is to identify it, thus giving it a rhetorical meaning that it didn't have before. In an oft quoted statement from *A Rhetoric of Motives*, Burke writes, "You persuade a man only insofar as you can talk his language by speech, gesture, tonality, order, image, attitude, idea, identifying your ways with his" (55). The DREAMer identity is a response to the dehumanization of DACA recipients. A large part of DACA activism and the DREAMer identity lies in the fulfilling of capitalist potential through extraordinary achievements, (such as being high school valedictorians and/or entrepreneurs), which can be seen as a live performance for the American elite. This can also be seen as a performance of race, unique to the DACA recipients' undocumented status.

Performances of race and ethnicity are complicated by diaspora, or the leaving of one's native country. In order to not allow identification of DACA recipients, the anti-immigrant public have sought to convince others of their viewpoints by dehumanizing DACA recipients. The immigrant population is made to embody illegality by being referred to as "illegals" or "illegal aliens." These terms create an antithesis between immigrants and U.S. citizens. Burke goes on to state that, "…the killing of something is the changing of it, and the statement of the thing's nature before and after the change is an identifying of it" (*A Rhetoric of Motives* 20). Dialectically, identification is also used to "kill" the immigrant, "changing" them into model minorities that have earned their place at America's table. Across DACA narratives, DACA recipients are shown to be valedictorians of their classes, entrepreneurs, and general assets to society (Schwab 117). In the classic DACA narrative, DREAMers are blameless immigrants with exceptional achievements, fully assimilated and ripe for capitalist potential.

The Historical Context of DACA

A brief history of the politicized immigrant body

A conversation on DACA must first begin with a conversation on immigration, and the body of the Latinx immigrant. Historically, the U.S./Mexico border has always been politicized. In 1848, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed and Mexico ceded about half of its republic to the U.S. thus creating the first hybrid subjects. In 1853, the border once again crossed Mexican citizens with the completion of the Gadsden Purchase. For years, the border remained relatively unpoliced, and Latinx immigrants moved back and forth to pursue migrant labor. Aviva Chomsky contends that "US immigration law treated Mexicans as…temporary migrants who entered the country to work, rather than as immigrants who intended to stay" (10). This allowed immigration policy to create an exploited labor force (Chomsky 11). The border remained unpoliced until 1924, which didn't "limit immigration from the Western hemisphere" but did create the Border Patrol. I mention this because a politicized border, and the expectation that the immigrant body provide labor and capitalist advantage for the U.S. is not new. The performance of race looks different within each context, but the "burden of liveness" remains.

Chomsky asserts that by the 1960s, "overt racism had fallen out of fashion" (2). Because discrimination historically based solely upon race began to enfold illegality and crime, the immigrant was made to embody illegality. In 1965, the U.S. began to restrict the movement of Mexican and Latinx bodies by placing quotas on "Western hemisphere migrants," and "illegality as we know it today [came into] existence" (Chomsky 2). According to the *Los Angeles Times*, Mexico's quote decreased the amount of Mexicans able to seek permanent residence by an estimated 30,000.

A brief history of DACA

In 2001 and across 2002, the federal Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors, also known as the DREAM Act, was introduced. Known in the House of Representatives as H.R. 1918 and in the Senate as S. 1291, these bills were intended to provide a pathway for undocumented youth to become citizens. These bills were never passed, and, between 2003 to 2008, were revised into multiple versions. This list is not inclusive, but includes the DREAM Act of 2005 (S. 2075), the American Dream Act (H.R. 5131), the DREAM Act of 2007 (S. 774), and the Security through Regularized Immigration and a Vibrant Economy Act of 2007 (H.R. 1645), amongst others. None of these passed, but a new DREAM Act was introduced in 2010. This bill also failed to pass. But 2011

through 2012 finally proved fruitful. California enacted the California Dream Act, and President Obama enacted Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) via executive order on June 15, 2012.

How DACA works: eligibility requirements

While some of the rhetoric surrounding DACA has made it appear to the anti-immigrant public and casual observer alike as encompassing all undocumented youth, this policy does not include some of the more vulnerable undocumented population. This can be seen in DACA's implementation. DACA is not an "automatic" status; potential recipients need to apply. A DACA recipient must have arrived in the United States before age 16, have been born on or after June 15, 1981, and have lived in the US since June 15, 2007. They must have been students at the time of application. If they weren't currently in school, they must have a high school diploma or GED, or have served in the US military.

DACA recipients who serve in the military used to serve in the Military Accessions Vital to National Interest (MAVINI) a Pentagon pilot project, before the project's discontinuation in 2016. The project waived citizenship requirements for DACA recipients, refugees, and green card holders with "skills considered to be vital to national interest," including health care professionals and proficiency in a MAVINI eligible language ("United States"). MAVINI's existence may create the impression that DACA is accessible for many applicants, but this is not the case. Because of the focus on Middle Eastern and Asian languages, Spanish is not a MAVINI eligible language. This is indicative of the exploitation of Latinx immigrant bodies. Nationalism is performed through military service, but it is kept performative by attaching it to a DACA requirement. Consequently, the "burden of liveness" is present before the application process for DACA even begins. Potential DACA recipients must earn their "Americanness" by offering something to the nation state, such as an education that can lead to a skill set that can be utilized by the American economy, or military service that serves to further American interests. There is a burden placed on DACA recipients, as they must have demonstrated that they can perform for the elite before applying.

How DACA works: the application process

DACA continues to be made less accessible in the application process. To begin with, applicants must pay a fee of $495. Furthermore, because undocumented individuals are expected to "be live" during day to day life, disruptions in the performance may lead to contact with the police or U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE). For example, some DACA recipients have narrowly avoided deportation after coming into contact with police for jaywalking or minor traffic violations (Schwartz 103). If applicants have departed the US, had police or ICE contact, or have other potential setbacks to eligibility, the need for attorneys may lead to additional costs. These fees render DACA inaccessible to certain groups. However, some legislation, including S.1615 (which I analyze later) waive the application fee for individuals who are younger than 18, fall below the poverty line, are in foster care or lack familial support, are younger than 18 and homeless, or have a disability that prevents them from seeking employment. Applicants may also find monetary assistance with advocacy groups, and many lawyers waive fees.

Potential recipients also need to apply at least 120 days before expiration of DACA status. Within advocacy communities, stories have circulated of applications being lost in the mail, or of having been thrown out or left on a front desk, unread. Because of this, applicants have also been encouraged to deliver their applications in person. If an application needs to be re-sent, another application fee is charged.

DACA is not a path to citizenship, and no other such paths or lines exist. DACA status provides a renewable 2 year deferment from deportation. Recipients are made eligible to have work permits, apply for student loans and a driver's license, and be provided with a social security number. Thus, as soon as the capitalist potential of the DACA recipient has been further exploited, they may be deported from the country.

DACA under Trump

As previously mentioned, the cancellation of DACA was announced by Attorney General Jeff Sessions on September 5, 2017. On January 9, 2018, a federal judge ordered the administration to resume DACA renewals after a bipartisan White House meeting. The administration appealed to the US Supreme Court on January 16, 2018, and the federal government entered shutdown on January 20th. On February 27, the US Supreme Court declined the request, and the Administration was ordered to hold off on changes to DACA on March 5, 2018. While this seemed like a victory, the solution was temporary, since a window was left open for the Administration to justify the

cancellation of DACA. On November 8, 2018, the Court of Appeals for the Ninth circuit ruled against Trump's DACA cancellation.

In light of the current political attitudes towards DACA, it is easy to forget that the fight has been ongoing. DACA's roots in the DREAM Act provide opportunity for rhetorical study—an analysis of a 2011 Hearing before the Subcommittee on Immigration, Refugees and Border Security follows.

Analysis

The DREAM Act: hearing before the Subcommittee on Immigration, Refugees and Border Security

While the current Administration has provided multiple instances of rhetorical value that can be analyzed to showcase Muñoz' theories of disidentification and "burden of liveness," and Burke's identification theory, the "burden of liveness" has been present since the Obama administration. The rhetoric of the Obama administration used different tactics than the current administration's, but still had negative effects on human lives.

In 2011, a subcommittee of the United States Senate committee on the judiciary met to discuss the DREAM Act. Presided over by U.S. Senator Dick Durbin of Illinois, a Democrat, the hearing used the standard rhetoric for defending DACA, and included a testimony from Ola Kaso, a high school graduate from Michigan.

In the beginning of his prepared statement, Senator Durbin invited a few DREAMers to stand up as he presented their narratives. Tereza Lee was a high school graduate that was accepted to the Juilliard School of Music and the Manhattan School of Music, who discovered her undocumented status upon filling out college applications. Five other DREAMers were presented, all having either served in the military or obtained college degrees with outstanding accomplishments. As he explains the plight of the DREAMers, he stated that they "find themselves in a legal twilight zone through no fault of their own," and that they would, "happily go to the back of any line and wait their turn for citizenship, but there is no line for them to get into" (Qtd. in United States "The DREAM Act").

Senator Durbin's prepared statement, while meaning well, presented DACA recipients as blameless victims, disidentified from their parents. The immigrant body was presented as just that—a body—and was objectified into providing labor and capitalist potential. Throughout each senator's statement, it was never argued that their states wanted to keep DACA recipients because they are human, but rather because it was cost effective, because the United States was losing its ground in STEM fields, and because they had already proved their economic value to American society by being entrepreneurs, valedictorians, and so forth.

Furthermore, DACA recipients were argued to have "no attachment to their country of birth" (Qtd. in United States, "The Dream Act"). This last point, especially, showed the assumption that Americanness must be earned by refusing relation to another nation. It is easy to see why the DACA recipient has been forced into disidentifying from their country of origin, from their "illegal immigrant" parents, and other members of their communities. This is also present in legislation: in S. 1615 it is stated that "the alien" cannot "have departed from the United States for any period exceeding 90 days or for any periods, in the aggregate, exceeding 180 days." (See further analysis in the next section.)

A disidentification from one's country of origin can be seen in Ola Kaso's testimony, performed towards the end of the hearing. She opened her statement by describing herself at 5 years old, newly immigrated and struggling in the American classroom because she couldn't speak English. She then moved forward, stating, "I have come a long way since that day 13 years ago," and described her accomplishments (Qtd. in United States, "DREAM Act"). Kaso graduated high school with a 4.4 GPA, had high ACT scores, dedicated "countless hours" to charity and community, and enrolled in the University of Michigan to "ultimately…become a surgical oncologist," with the intention of helping Americans who couldn't afford healthcare. She ended her testimony by describing being told that she would be deported, and her community's support that led to a year of deferment. She stated, "America is my home, not Albania" (Qtd. in United States, "DREAM Act"). This performance of nationalism is meant to earn her "Americanness." Kaso disidentifies from her "native" identity to navigate the majoritarian public sphere and advocate for her place in the U.S.

In all the presented narratives of the DACA recipients, they are shown to be carrying the "burden of liveness." The roles that these students have played (the valedictorian, the outstanding STEM student, and so forth) are no longer personal achievements but performances meant to please the elite and majoritarian public sphere that govern their bodies and movement. Kaso's testimony is an especially powerful example of the "burden of liveness," because her words existed for the consumption of the spectator—the political elite. Her identity was disfigured into

a dehumanized model minority having to earn her spot, *and* she carried the weight of advocating for the other DREAMers. Her full story, her history, was denied, and her future hanged in the balance.

This is why Muñoz argues that to carry the "burden of liveness" is to exist in a temporary state. He writes, "To be only in 'the live' means that one is denied history and futurity. If the minoritarian subject can only exist in *the moment*, she or he does not have the privilege or the pleasure of being a historical subject. If that subject needs to focus solely on the present, it can never afford the luxury of thinking about the future" (Muñoz 189). This is why carrying the "burden of liveness" affects the DACA recipients' personhood. How they see themselves, how they act, their goals—all of these must be built around the relationship between themselves and the majoritarian public sphere.

DACA recipients, whether they are physically present for these testimonies and protests, or in the shadows, cannot exist in peace. Their history has been erased, and their future is unstable. The idea that DACA recipients are over-exceptional contributions to the U.S. would converge downward with time. This can be especially dangerous when written into legislation, as we see with bills S. 1615 and H.R. 1468. Legislation presents the same idea, in a different rhetorical package.

Two bills: H.R. 1468 and S. 1615

The use of this rhetoric and language doesn't just exist in Senate floors. Because human beings are symbol-using creatures, rhetoric creates the reality we operate in. We can see this as particular rhetorics chain out into the legislation that governs immigrant bodies. H.R. 1468, or the "Recognizing America's Children Act," was presented as a more conservative response to Obama's executive order, and was introduced during the 1st session of the 115th Congress. The name "Recognizing America's Children Act" can serve to either recognize DACA recipients, or to utilize the argument that DACA harms American citizens. S. 1615, or the "Dream Act of 2017," was introduced on the Senate floor on July 20, 2017, during the first session of the 115th Congress by the Republican Lindsey Graham of South Carolina, Democrat Dick Durbin of Illinois, Republican Jeff Flake of Arizona, and Democrat Chuck Schumer of New York. S. 1615 more closely resembles Obama's original legislation, but still contains rhetoric that represents the ongoing antithesis between immigrants and the anti-immigrant public.

Most notable in both bills is the use of the term, "alien," instead of "undocumented" or "unauthorized." The rhetorical situation being that the creation of the nation state led to legislation governing the movement of bodies, the naming of those bodies as "alien" is a rhetorical choice that delivers the message that those bodies don't belong—they aren't even human. In H.R. 1468, the purpose statement at the top of the bill utilizes, "aliens." The reset of the bill adds qualifiers, using "alien enlistee," and "alien postsecondary student." Once an "alien" is "granted conditional permanent resident status under this Act," the name becomes, "conditional permanent resident." In S. 1615, the purpose statement uses "individuals," but then utilizes "alien." In S. 1615 "alien" makes an appearance 186 times.

The term "alien" has become such a norm within the majoritarian public sphere that it has affected how the personhood of the DACA recipient is perceived. When DACA recipients are stripped of their humanity, it becomes easier to commodify them, to force them to perform, and to police their movements.

In H.R. 1468, this is seen in the requirement that the potential recipient must have "the intention to permanently reside in the United States," and must not "have a foreign residence which the alien has no intention of abandonin." Recipients are required to have registered under the Military Selective Service Act, and cannot have departed from the US for "any period in excess of 90 days or for any periods in the aggregate exceeding 180 days."

The bill is introduced by ten Representatives[1], five of which identify as Latinx. It is worth speculating that in an attempt to move away from Latinx stereotypes, these Representatives adapted a more conservative political stance on DACA. Further research is needed to indicate whether these Representatives are disidentifying, but it can be contended that the DACA recipients must perform nationalism to meet their expectations and earn their "American-ness."

S. 1615 doesn't carry this potential, but it is worth noting that it is a bi-partisan bill. S. 1615 also requires registration under the Military Selective Service Act, with a qualification for deferred action only being an option if

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[1] Republican Carlos Curbelo of Florida, Republican Mike Coffman of Colorado, Republicans Jeff Denham and David Valadao of California, Republican Mario Díaz-Balart, and Lleana Ros-Lehtinen of Florida, Republican Mark Amodei of Nevada, Republican Fred Upton of Michigan, Republican Dave Reichert of Washington, and Republican Jenniffer González-Colón, Puerto Rico's Resident Commissioner.

the potential recipient has served for two years and received honorable discharge. In this way, their service can be used for national interest. The recipient must also have been employed for "at least 3 years and at least 75 percent of the time that the alien has had a valid employment authorization." Like H.R. 1468, they cannot have left the U.S. for more than 180 days.

The "burden of liveness" manifests itself in the requirements for military service and presence in the U.S. Because recipients cannot be in their native countries for long periods of time, they are forced to disidentify from them. In order to avoid deportation, they must serve in the military. The U.S. utilizes these requirements to exploit their service for national interests, but it does not provide a permanent place for DACA recipients. The dehumanization of recipients, through the use of the term "alien," goes so far that these exploitations appear mercenary or noble.

Jeff Sessions' remarks on rescinding DACA

The dehumanization of DACA recipients also allows for the Trump Administration to build public argument against them. As with many arguments made in opposition to immigration, Sessions' comments on September 5, 2017 utilized antithesis between the dominant hegemony and immigrants in order to justify the cancellation of DACA. Chomsky writes, "…the law is never neutral, but rather reflects power relationships in society" (24). By discriminating on the basis of citizenship instead of race, those deemed legally superior have their interests protected. Sessions' remarks used the law to criminalize the immigrant body and the Obama administration, and they justified the Trump administration's argument. The implications of this racially charged argument are that the DACA recipients are then forced to disidentify from their native identities, in order to fit within the protection of the majoritarian public sphere. That is to say, in order to continue to live in the U.S., DACA recipients must respond to Sessions' remarks by overtly rejecting the parts of themselves that the majoritarian public sphere has also rejected to appear to assimilate.

In his speech, Sessions first announced that DACA had been rescinded, and then named DACA recipients as "mostly-adult illegal aliens." It is not solely the naming that does the damage, but the conversion downward by means of an "unfit incongruous terminology" (Burke, *Permanence and Change*, 128). Sessions effectively "killed" the immigrant child or youth that is the DACA recipient, and perpetuated the image of an adult criminal[2] (Burke, *A Rhetoric of Motives*, 20). Not only is this how Sessions used antithesis to meet Trump supporters in the argument that DACA recipients have harmed American society, but it is one of the ways in which the undocumented body is denied a childhood. The "burden of liveness" is tied to how DACA recipients are forced to embody illegality. No matter how old the DACA recipient is, their existence is reduced into that of a de-humanized criminal.

The DACA recipient thus identified, Sessions then vilified the Obama administration. He called DACA an illegal "executive amnesty policy," and named the Obama administration with illegality (Qtd. in Beckwith). He stated, "Such an open-ended circumvention of immigration laws was an unconstitutional exercise of authority by the Executive Branch," and went on to state that the Obama administration had a "disrespect for the legislative process" (Qtd. in Beckwith).

This enabled Sessions to align the Trump administration with "compassion" and justice. He stated, "We inherited from our Founders—and have advanced—an unsurpassed legal heritage, which is the foundation of our freedom, safety, and prosperity" (Qtd. in Beckwith). He argued that the Trump administration does not "disrespect or [demean]" immigrants; simply that they were "…properly enforcing our laws as Congress has passed them" (Qtd. in Beckwith). Words such as the "Founders" and "heritage" contain a meaning that pertains to the American narrative, but they are also arbitrary in meaning. Utilizing the strategic ambiguity of the Trump administration, in which supporters are called to action but the rhetoric can argue they had no negative intentions, Sessions' use of the American narrative does not textually exclude all immigrants. He states, "This does not mean [immigrants] are bad people or that our nation disrespects or demeans them in any way" (Qtd. in Beckwith). Consequently, his rhetoric can move communities against each other. DACA recipients, who need to perform perfection in order to keep their DACA benefits, may have to disidentify from some parts of the immigrant community, such as their parents, or immigrants that entered the country differently than they did. Sessions' misnaming of bodies of color has a real effect on human lives.

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[2] It is worth speculating how the embodiment of criminality has also justified the current holding of children due to "zero tolerance policy."

Discussion

Like disidentification, identification is never an uncomplicated affair. The anti-immigrant majoritarian public sphere is not a single body with a single set of beliefs. As Burke pointed out, an individual locus of motives remains unique despite being identified to others. On both sides of the political spectrum, arguments have been made that dehumanize DACA recipients and inflict damage upon their personhood and perceptions of self. The rhetoric of the majoritorarian public sphere forces a misidentification from DACA recipients and their parents, from their peers, and from their native countries and identities. Disidentification is a response to the State, a survival strategy. But though I've been critiquing how DACA recipients are forced to disidentify and carry the "burden of liveness," it would be discrediting to say that the focus of DACA recipients lies only in survival. Disidentification is also a means of resistance. This is because disidentification, while employing strategies for survival in the present, envisions a future of equality and strives for it. Muñoz explains:

> Disidentification…neither opts to assimilate within such a structure nor strictly opposes it; rather disidentification is a strategy that works on and against dominant ideology. Instead of buckling under the pressures of dominant ideology (identification, assimilation) or attempting to break free of its inescapable sphere (counteridentification) this…attempts to transform a cultural logic from within. (11-12).

When DACA recipients disidentify from their parents and native identities, they acknowledge their present circumstances, including the looming danger of deportation. Recipients such as Ola Kaso are speaking to the majoritarian public sphere, after all. But they also advocate for themselves and work towards the passing of DACA legislation. They resist the forced identification that the majoritarian public sphere has given them. On May 16, 2018, Trump said of immigrants, "We have people coming into the country, or trying to come in—we're stopping a lot of them—but we're taking people out of the country, you wouldn't believe how bad these people are. These aren't people, these are animals" (Qtd. in Korte and Gomez). In some ways, the identity marker of the exceptional DACA recipient is the materialization of resistance; DACA recipients have demonstrated that they are everything Trump says they are not.

This is why the "burden of liveness" is a significant and daring gesture of disidentification. While it is a "live" performance for the elite, it is also a form of infiltration in which DACA recipients ask for an understanding of who they are based upon what they are not. By performing the embodiments expected of them by the majoritarian public sphere, they resist stereotypes. The "burden of liveness" is also the embodiment of temporality. This is especially true for DACA recipients, because DACA legislation does not include a path to citizenship. A DACA recipient may be deported after the State has made use of their exceptional performance; and because the government is aware of their status, other family members may also be deported. Though they are separated by disidentification, both DACA recipients and their family members are defined by temporality. While the lack of a path to citizenship is grave, it is important to remember that deferred action from deportation or even citizenship is not a permanent fix for the ideologies at work in the majoritarian public sphere.

Because the "burden of liveness" doesn't align or directly go against those dominant ideologies, but instead provides an opportunity for DACA recipients to use them for their own purposes, their resistance is often appropriated to exclude other communities. The parents of DACA recipients, those that weren't eligible for DACA, and other groups are set aside when the disidentification occurs. Because these groups may not perform the way DACA recipients do, recipients are then commodified for their performance. All of this is why an exorcism by misnomer is needed.

A Path Forward: Exorcism by Misnomer

Burke contends that language is persuasive, and therefore culture is persuasive. This is why a "strategic resource of terminology" defines culture: war can be named as a "special kind of peace" if it is named a *perversion* of it (Burke *Permanence and Change*, 20). With this in mind, one of the ways in which disidentification can alleviate the "burden of liveness" is to create what Burke calls an "exorcism by misnomer." Essentially, an old self is changed through vocabulary to allow a new self to emerge. As Burke states, "It effects its cures by providing a new perspective that dissolves the system of pieties lying at the roots of the patient's sorrows…offering a fresh terminology of motives to replace the patient's painful terminology of motives" (*Permanence and Change*, 125). If DACA recipients are respected as the human beings that they are, if we begin to question why their movement is policed, then there may be less pressure on them to constantly perform.

"Exorcism by misnomer" is a redefining or renaming of the problem. It is not a permanent solution, but rather a beginning to the right conversation. I do not wish to pretend that by vocabulary alone we can achieve justice for immigrants and immigrant families. But language creates empathy. It allows us to have the emotional capacity to treat immigrants with respect, and to truly understand the problem at hand.

Conclusion

Efforts to rescind and defend DACA have equally relied on the disidentification of DACA recipients. Across rhetorical situations, they have carried the "burden of liveness" in an effort to exist in between assimilation and direct opposition to the ideology of the majoritarian public sphere. Their performances draw attention to the fact that performance does not lead to the realization of citizenship, or even a sense of belonging in the nation state. As I hope I've made clear, these performances arise out of a need for survival while simultaneously being a means of resistance. Over time, disidentification can allow for change from within. But this resistance comes at the cost of painful disidentification from native identity—a change to how DACA recipients perceive themselves.

This is why it is important for citizens to question the rhetoric of DACA activism. It is not enough to defend DACA if it is being done by means of the "burden of liveness." While the fight for DACA has been long, the current Administration and their rhetoric that cause DACA recipients and other immigrant groups to embody criminality provide opportunity to question what the resistance of DACA recipients can mean for the majoritarian public sphere. Disidentification and the "burden of liveness" exist because they imagine a future of equality. If we allow DACA recipients to move past earning their "Americaness" and into having control of their personhood and identity, then the rhetoric of DACA activism can potentially get closer to achieving true equality.

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Punishment Beyond Bars: Pursuing Higher Education with the Degree of Incarceration

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Sociology
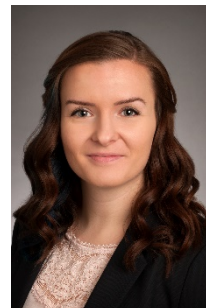
Abstract

There are over 2.3 million people currently incarcerated in the United States (Wagner and Rabuy 2017). This incarcerated population represents this nation's poorest, most isolated, most mentally ill, and least educated persons (Thompson 2013). And, even though the Pew Research Center recently argued the racial gap in prisons had narrowed, people of color continue to be significantly overrepresented (Tucker 2016; Gramlich 2018). Legal scholar Michelle Alexander asserts that upon reentry into society, formerly incarcerated individuals are sequestered into what she has termed America's new undercaste—"a lower caste of individuals who are permanently barred by law and custom from mainstream society" (Alexander 2012; pg. 13). Despite recent research that concludes that individuals with a conviction history and incarceration experience are the most successful of those who are released and "enrich institutions of higher education" (Halkovic and Greene 2015:760), they continue to confront many unique barriers while pursuing higher education. I utilize the narratives of four formerly incarcerated students to illuminate the most enduring barriers that this population faces. I have found that institutional discrimination, surveillance, and media shaming criminalize and stigmatize formerly incarcerated college students encouraging them to conceal their conviction and incarceration history on campus which in turn undercuts the efficacy of their education and maintains their second-class status.

Meet Aurora

Aurora is a 34-year-old white woman and mother who recently graduated from university with a bachelor's in social science. While this achievement may be a commonality for some, graduating from college seemed impossible to Aurora after her entanglement with the criminal justice system in her twenties. Before then, she was attending college full-time while taking care of her young daughter. One night, she went out to a campground with friends where they all drank together. Later in the evening, she decided to drive herself and her daughter home. Aurora was charged with two felonies that night resulting in conviction and incarceration in the middle of the academic semester.

She was released roughly a year later, shortly before another academic semester began, after displaying good behavior. Fearing that she may lose her financial aid, she rushed back into school. At the same time she had full custody of her then three-year-old daughter all the while her parole officer urged her to seek employment. Finding an employer that would hire her with a conviction history proved arduous. Eventually, she was hired by the local homeless shelter during her final semesters of college until their funding ran low and they let her go.

Legal scholar Michelle Alexander asserts that upon reentry into society, formerly incarcerated individuals are sequestered into what she has termed America's new *undercaste*—"a lower caste of individuals who are permanently barred by law and custom from mainstream society" (Alexander 2012:13). Alexander's claims regarding the undercaste coupled with the breadth of research indicating that going to college is one of the greatest potential ways to work against one's undercaste status (Chappell 2004; Kelso 2000; Anders and Noblit 2011; Karpowitz and Kenner 1995) led me to investigate the perspectives and experiences of formerly incarcerated individuals within higher education.

For the students of this study, college has not helped as much as one would expect. Their stigma and struggles go unacknowledged by higher education institutions and mainstream society. Despite recent research that concludes that individuals with a conviction history and incarceration experience "enrich institutions of higher education" (Halkovic and Greene 2015:760), I have found that they continue to confront many unique barriers while pursuing higher education. This specifically includes the struggle of having to break away from the continual processes of intrapersonal and institutional criminalization.

Beyond those closest to her, I was the first person with whom Aurora shared her whole story. She admitted that she never includes the part about her daughter being in the car. There was a heaviness in her words as she expressed the guilt she feels for making the biggest mistake of her life. For many, the stigma she experiences may seem justified, which is exactly why it is imperative to examine how stigma affects formerly incarcerated individuals and whether it helps or hurts them in their process of reintegration. I have found that institutional discrimination, surveillance, and media shaming criminalize and stigmatize formerly incarcerated college students encouraging them to conceal their conviction and incarceration history on campus which in turn undercuts the efficacy of their education and maintains their second-class status. I also use the undercaste framework to examine how my participants interact with success as it is societally constructed. As they all actively choose to conceal their stigma, the stigmatizing forces have mainly internal effects causing them to perpetuate a mental undercaste.

The participants of this study reported perceived discrimination during job and scholarship application processes. Reinforcing this discrimination is the harmful, hyperbolic depiction of criminality in the media which they noted serves as a post-incarceration shaming sanction and informal educator on criminality. As a result, they perceive and anticipate negative reactions from others caused by the attachment of the stigma of criminalization causing them to actively conceal their involvement with the carceral system. Such suppression of self results in social withdrawal, severed social capital opportunities, and psychological distress. Together these limit students' level of achievement despite being the most successful of the formerly incarcerated population.

The Undercaste, Stigma, and Reintegration

"[The system] is no longer concerned primarily with the prevention and punishment of crime, but rather with the management and control of the dispossessed" (Alexander 2012; pg. 188).

There are over 2.3 million people currently incarcerated in the United States (Wagner and Rabuy 2017). This incarcerated population represents this nation's poorest, most isolated, most mentally ill, and least educated persons (Thompson 2013). And, even though the Pew Research Center recently argued the racial gap in prisons had narrowed, people of color continue to be significantly overrepresented (Tucker 2016; Gramlich 2018).

Alexander (2012) elucidates many mechanisms that maintain second-class citizenship. She takes on this complex task by detailing racialized practices that disproportionately funnel blacks and, to a lesser extent, poor whites into penal institutions. This research applies the concept of the undercaste to all formerly incarcerated people to illuminate the severe shortcomings of America's criminal justice system as well as the social processes that surround deviance. Alexander, with an emphasis on racial injustice, details the three stages of entrapment: the roundup, the period of formal control, and the period of invisible punishment that keeps formerly incarcerated individuals in a "closed circuit of perpetual marginality" (p. 186). This period of invisible punishment is the step with which this analysis is primarily concerned.

Alexander emphasizes the permanence of one's position in the undercaste cemented by the legal discrimination the incarcerated face upon reentry. This legal discrimination, also commonly referred to as the collateral consequences of incarceration, includes the complete loss of voting rights, decreased access to housing, disadvantage in the job market, and inundation of debt (Tyler & Brockman 2017; Alexander 2012; Pager 2007). These barriers stack up to effectively impede an entire population's path toward achieving what is societally defined as the successful citizen. Rather than being considered structurally, the current caste system is normalized as crime is seen as an individual, voluntary choice (Alexander 2012).

The most effective way to overcome second-class status is to gain a college degree (Chappell 2004; Kelso 2000; Anders and Noblit 2011; Karpowitz and Kenner 1995). For this reason, this research examines the experiences of formerly incarcerated college students to expose the most enduring barriers posed by the stigma of criminalization and criminal justice institutions. Universities as educational institutions can offer immense benefits to these students, yet their passivity and inaction with regard to this stigma are still major impediments. These students are continually dehumanized under the mask of justice while they endure self-stigmatization, modes of surveillance, harmful media depiction, and having to redefine their success.

A breadth of research indicates that of the people who are released from penal institutions, those who choose to attend college prove most successful (Chappell 2004; Kelso 2000; Anders and Noblit 2011; Karpowitz and Kenner 1995). Recently, increased opportunities (Sokoloff and Fontaine 2013) as well as economic and social mobility (Strayhorn et al. 2013) have been specifically documented as benefits for formerly incarcerated individuals who pursue higher education. Additionally, a recent study found that attending college as a method correlated to reduced rates of recidivism (Sturm et al. 2012; College and Community Fellowship 2012). While the positive effects of college on formerly incarcerated individuals are clear, limited research has been dedicated to exploring the

specific experiences of formerly incarcerated college students. Being some of the first research on this subject, I aim to show that these students' successes remain in stark contrast to their non-formerly incarcerated counterparts as they encounter the most enduring interpersonal and structural barriers to living a conventional life.

The little literature that accounts for the benefits of formerly incarcerated individuals pursuing higher education seldom includes reference to students' experiences of stigma. Similarly, the research that has examined stigma's effects within formerly incarcerated populations has not considered those attending institutions of higher education. McTier, Santa-Ramierez, and McGuire (2017) recently documented four formerly incarcerated college students' transitions into higher education. Though their research acknowledged stigma as a barrier for these students, they did not collect data on their experiences with stigma. Two questions emerge that this research will explore: how do formerly incarcerated individuals interact with the stigma of criminalization and what stigmatizing forces most impact their educational and personal success?

Methods

In-depth one-on-one qualitative interviews were conducted with four formerly incarcerated college students. Empirically collected interviews are used to study the effects of involvement within the American carceral system. In order to be participants of this study, they had to have a conviction history, incarceration experience, and be enrolled in or a recent graduate of a state college. I utilize the participants' narratives, three students at the largest state university in the area and one student at the local community college, to illuminate the most enduring barriers formerly incarcerated students face. The table below shows the self-identified characteristics of each participant.

Characteristic	GW	Aurora	Johnny	Alice
Age	45	34	31	37
Gender	Male	Female	Male	Female
Race/Ethnicity	African-American	White	Indian	White
Employment Status	Unemployed	Unemployed	Unemployed	Unemployed
Conviction(s) Disclosed	Injury to a child (wrongfully convicted); Perjury (wrongfully convicted)	Felony DUI; Felony DUI; Injury to a child	Injury to a Child; Aggravated assault; Intent to deliver and manufacture a controlled substance; Probation Violation	Trespassing
Time Incarcerated	4 years, 6 months	1 year	1 year, 2 months	1 night

Internalized Surveillance

Individual interactions with institutions are dramatically altered when one becomes involved with the criminal justice system. Once one is burdened by incarceration experience and a conviction history one is subject to legal institutional discrimination. I have found that discriminatory practices during application processes and intense surveillance by parole officers cause these individuals to self-audit their behaviors effectively keeping them from opportunities and social connections that are crucial to personal, educational, and professional growth.

Meet GW

GW is a 45-year-old African American man who is attending the state university to earn his second Bachelors of Science degree. As regulated by his parole officer, GW must either work or attend university full time. GW said he cannot get a job due to the two convictions on his record, of which he claims he was falsely accused and convicted: injury to a child and perjury. So, he attends the university full-time to appease his parole officer. He does not believe that even a second college degree will help his chances in attaining a job, let alone a career. When asked how he feels stigmatized, he spoke about the discrimination he faces in his interactions with various institutions that require him to disclose his conviction history.

> I'm stigmatized by employers, the state, state agencies, landlords and a plethora of others. Fortunately, I do not have to register as a sex offender or the stigma could be even worse. But it is always someone trying to "label" someone else in a way they can put them at a disadvantage. (GW)

There are no laws in the state of Idaho that restrict the use of an applicant's conviction history as a reason to deny employment, housing, or schooling. So, the stigma GW identifies is reinforced by the legalized discrimination from myriad bureaucratic agencies—"employers, the state, state agencies, landlords"—and supported by the lack of state protection. This echoes the foundational work of Devah Pager (2007) who found that the negative credentialing of formerly incarcerated individuals makes them less likely to attain jobs or careers in the workplace when they must disclose their history. While it is possible that this reality could be a motivator for formerly incarcerated individuals, it often deters them from applying for jobs, college, and funding.

Aurora admitted that she has been deterred from applying to employment and scholarship opportunities when the applications require her to disclose her conviction history: "there have been some [scholarships] that I was going to apply for that I just didn't." She elaborated that "some applications you fill out don't ask you to clarify. It's just 'have you been convicted?' Or, well, it's discouraging if you have to clarify because then you have to write out what you did." Aurora was ultimately discouraged from applying for funding that would have made her college experience and life easier. Moore, Stuewig, and Tangney (2013) found that people often do not apply for jobs when they expect to be treated unfairly. Movements like Ban the Box seek to counteract this type of institutional discrimination. The Free Application for Federal Student Aid (FAFSA) and many scholarships also have the requirement of disclosure. Halkovic and Greene (2015) recommend that colleges and universities also abolish the box from their admissions applications.

Meet Alice

Alice is 37-year-old white woman in her last year at the university earning a sociology bachelor's degree. Many years ago, she and her friends went out at night to look at a beaver dam in the pond near her house. She was convicted of a misdemeanor charge of trespassing. Despite this being the only conviction on her record, she has experienced employment discrimination and is fearful she will experience the same when applying to graduate programs.

Alice recounted her experience on the other side of the application when she was a manager at a supermarket, "if applicants did check that box, they were just thrown away." Alice was instructed to pass over applications of those who disclosed they had a conviction history without considering any of their other qualifications. Here, the lines of legality are blurred, and questionably legal discrimination goes unchallenged.

In the prison context, Foucault explains that the main effect of the panopticon, the all-seeing tower of the criminal justice system, is "to induce in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power" (Foucault 1975). Once individuals are released, they do not get away from the panoptic schema. They are often directly surveilled, instead, by their probation or parole officers. GW provided an example of his experience under his parole officer's surveillance: "[I] can't meet with groups in the evening because I would have to be home by 8… just run the risk of having to tell my story." Students with a conviction history must navigate the structural challenges of college while also managing the psychological challenge of their attached stigma(s) (Halkovic and Greene 2015). The pressure on participants to hide such a significant part of their past causes them to socially withdraw and sacrifice social capital that is imperative to educational, professional, and personal success (Moore and Tangney 2017).

GW's personal life has been significantly repressed as well. He revealed: "I can't have a relationship without getting permission from my treatment provider and my P.O. So, dating is not an option for me. Hasn't been for seven years." Here, GW chooses to view personal relationships as "not an option" instead of dealing with the

added hurdle of acquiring permission. Aurora provided examples of arduous regulations imposed by her parole officer: "They want me to have a job at the same I'm going to school and raising a kid […] I have to hand in my grades every 16 weeks to them." Probation and parole are institutions meant to support formerly incarcerated people's reintegration into society as successful citizens, but these are clear examples of the exact opposite taking place. This post-incarceration panoptic schema causes even formerly incarcerated college students to intensely self-audit their own behaviors (Foucault 1975). As external surveillance becomes internal, opportunities and connections are curtailed limiting their success and maintaining their positions in the undercaste. Through seeking their humanity, they cut themselves off from a key resource of humanization—human connections and the extrinsic benefit they provide. Higher education functions much differently for formerly incarcerated students and can ignore how stigma undercuts the benefits of their education.

Media Shaming

Alongside institutional discrimination, the formerly incarcerated suffer from shaming sanctions that are defined in the Harvard Law Review as "punishments that are directed primarily at publicizing an offender's illegal conduct in a way intended to reinforce the prevailing social norms that disapprove of such behavior and thus to induce an unpleasant emotional experience in the offender" (Schwarcz 2003). While some scholars have supported shaming sanctions as crime deterrents and citizen shapers (Braithwaite 1989), Massaro (1991) makes a compelling argument that shaming in America's societal context is ineffective at accomplishing this goal. Media is both a shaming sanction and a key component of the socialization process. The social construction of reality occurs when people take what they learn from the media, whether true or false, to construct their reality (Surette 1992). Negative (often racialized) images of criminality in the media embed themselves in the public's perception of those with incarceration experience and conviction history (Dowler et al. 2006). One who learns of incarceration through the media rather than first- or second-hand accounts becomes a penal spectator. This separation from actual incarcerated people creates an apathy in the spectator that is predominantly influenced by the media construction of the 'criminal' (Brown 2009).

In GW's experience, stigmatizing forces "are perpetuated by the media who put fear into people instead of educational information." Communication scholars McRobbie and Thornton (1995) speak to media representation in that "[s]ocial reality is experienced through language, communication and imagery." Fictional depictions in television and movies create popular images of racialized, one-dimensional 'hardened' criminals. Meanwhile, news outlets showcase individuals who have committed the most heinous of crimes while also depicting them as one-dimensional. GW continued to express that "[p]rison life on television is still designed to produce negative images of marginalized groups." Crime and punishment in the U.S. are represented by popular theatrical images and exploited for dramatic entertainment. This process has caused the distinct separation between the reality of formerly incarcerated populations and an audience of penal spectators on and off screen effectively dehumanizing the penal subject (Brown 2009).

Crime television shows and movies do not hesitate to depict, and in fact highly promote, retributive punishment. Through this exposure, the public has established a desire for retribution motivated by the punishment of individuals who have been convicted. Retributive goals are met when an individual is said to deserve punishment proportionately equal to the violation of rules set forth in society (Gerber and Jackson 2013). Similarly, Alice considered where the stigma of criminalization comes from and articulates that it "comes from the idea that the criminal is a 'type' of person. That someone would break a law means that they would break any law." Aurora echoed this idea:

> I think that people that have gone through a period of incarceration are seen as hardened criminals...as thugs. When in reality, for most people it was just a bad decision that they got caught for. Media outlets focus on the really nasty people locked up and don't show the average person. (Aurora)

There is rarely any consideration of the social preconditions that influenced someone to disobey the law. For once the act is performed, they transform from a person into a deviant or criminal. Each participant alluded to how the media reinforces the dichotomous conceptualization of 'normals' and 'criminals.' Alice elaborated that "the media repeats the idea that criminals are a type. Even if they're 'good' criminals, it is because they are able to use their 'loose morals' for a higher cause." She highlighted a predetermined morality that is constructed by both the media and the carceral system. The popular image of criminality as immoral and unforgiveable supports the

stigmatization of those with conviction and incarceration history so much so that it is embedded in the lives in of the participants of this study.

Stigma of Criminalization

The stigma of criminalization is the discrediting mark that follows one's conviction and sentence served in a correctional facility. Its harmful effects manifest in many ways. However, the individuals of this study primarily experience intrapersonal interactions with the stigma as they choose to conceal their history of involvement with the criminal justice system. Concealing the stigma causes them to truncate their social relations and therefore cut themselves off from the social capital central to educational success. To understand these dynamics, this research focuses on two different types of interactions with the stigma of criminalization that scholars have distinguished as *anticipated* and *perceived* stigma.

Anticipated stigma

Anticipated stigma refers to an individual's anticipation of rejection or discrimination from the public based upon their stigmatized identity (Moore et al. 2013). In 2013, Moore, Stuewig, and Tangney first examined how anticipated stigma among incarcerated persons affects future psychological and social adjustment. With their research, they concluded that the behavior of incarcerated individuals nearing release and reentry is affected both positively and negatively by perceived and anticipated stigma due to the context-driven nature of stigma. Furthermore, Modified Labeling Theory states that individuals who belong to a stigmatized group internalize the stigma and related stereotypes causing them to anticipate stigma and develop coping strategies (Link et al. 1989). A primary coping strategy of the participants of this study is actively concealing their formerly incarcerated identity causing them to socially withdraw from other students and beneficial opportunities.

To investigate this strategy, participants of this study were asked how vocal they are about their conviction history on and beyond their campuses. GW explained:

> The biggest thing is that nobody knows. To them, I am a regular person on campus. If they knew, I'm sure I would have a totally different experience. I don't want to know what it would be like if people know.

GW is not openly communicative about his conviction history. As a result, he does not face any challenges related to this part of his identity. He is very fearful of what would happen if people on campus knew his history. He cannot build solid social capital, a prime resource for educational success, because he feels he has to avoid the effects of the stigma of criminalization. Aurora also believes she would be confronted with additional barriers due to the stigma. She stated, "I'm sure I would have more barriers if I actually talked about some stuff."

Meet Johnny

Johnny is a 31-year-old Indian man who is finishing an associate degree at the community college. He is finishing his parole sentence and will no longer be mandated to either work or attend university full-time. He has experienced significant difficulty in finding a job but is hopeful that his degree will help him when he enters the job market after graduation. Johnny's hopeful disposition is due, in part, to his rehabilitative experience with the criminal justice system. Before turning 18, Johnny had already become involved with the system as a juvenile that struggled controlling his anger. He explained to me that his anger was just one of the several mental issues he endured that went unaddressed for many years. During his last encounter with the system, he was able to receive psychiatric attention. With the help of his parents, Johnny was diagnosed with bipolar disorder, hypomania and severe anxiety. His parents paid for a lawyer who was able to get Johnny into mental health court despite his violent convictions. He went through a private program targeted to address his mental health and is now actively working on his improved well-being. Johnny similarly anticipates discrimination resulting in the concealment of his past. He admitted: "I know everything's fine as long as they don't know."

Alice explained, "I don't think anybody knows that I have a criminal record. I think I look—I don't feel like a look like the typical 'criminal.'" Her anticipation of stigma leads her to be more self-conscious about her appearance causing her to conceptualize and present herself in a particular manner. Alice does not disclose her conviction history at school and relies on the fact that she does not look like stereotypical "criminal." In addition to the difficulties they face in navigating the college admissions process, receiving funding, finding housing, gaining

employment, and finding a supportive community, formerly incarcerated students are in constant contention with concealing their ascribed criminality (Solomon et al. 2008). Every participant chose not to disclose their history in anticipation of social ostracization, which cuts them off from the larger campus community hindering their ability to make connections and accrue social capital.

Perceived stigma

Perceived stigma, on the other hand, refers to an individual's perception of the public's stigma toward their group (Moore et al. 2013). LeBel's (2012) study, the first to quantitatively measure formerly incarcerated persons' perceptions of stigma, concluded that this population is highly aware of the discreditation of their group's identity. The stigma of criminalization bleeds into the core realms of one's identity undercutting psychological well-being and the possibility of achieving personal and educational success.

Johnny explained the stigma he is "faced to live with" revolves around the question of whether he "can be trusted as a member in our community? People always have doubts if 'the guy with the record' has changed." Johnny suggested that public distrust is induced by the "fear 'normal' people have about those with criminal backgrounds." With this sentiment, he reiterates the dichotomous relationship between those who are "normal" and those who are "criminals", the very framework that reinforces the existence of an undercaste. Additionally, upon reflection of his awareness of social stigmas attached to him, Johnny compared his use of cannabis and his time in prison as two socially unacceptable actions in the context of the state's laws. He stated, "it would be a lot easier for someone to say 'I smoke weed' versus 'hey, I was in prison for five years.'" It is Johnny's perception that more destructive social repercussions will result from disclosing one's incarceration history than from admitting the use of an illegal substance. The weight of this comparison's significance is compounded by the fact the use of cannabis is a highly criminalized offence in the state. 'Criminal' behavior is normalized in connection to him because he has a conviction history.

Aurora shared her own experience with this polarity as reinforced by employer and rental company policies:

> I feel that people only want to see the perfect life—fancy cars, big house, great job. When people don't fall into that bracket then they are deemed less than. Employers and rental companies are looking for a certain person and usually aren't willing to accept someone that has made a mistake.

Aurora defined the "perfect life" in extrinsic terms of what is necessary to be a dignified person in American culture, which has been shown to decrease a student's ability to learn, happiness, and well-being (Deci et al. 1999; Schmuck et al. 1999). Yet, as she explained, the permanent discrediting of those who "made a mistake," and have a conviction history, make these aspirations unattainable. The practice of denying formerly incarcerated individuals jobs and housing also denies their transcendence from the undercaste. Along with these institutional obstructions to success, perceptions of stigma among formerly incarcerated individuals increase their likelihood of lower self-esteem, lesser quality of life, and recidivism (LeBel 2012).

Furthermore, adding labels like "ex-offender" or "ex-convict" to already stigmatized people exacerbates the alienation. For example, though Aurora is not vocal about her conviction history, she feels stigmatized as a mother with a felony. She explains, "I feel like they know I'm a mom and so then I break down this whole stigma of not being a good mom." Participants of this study also grapple with stigmas connected to mental illness, motherhood, and minority status. These are the specific ways in which the stigma of criminalization is experienced by the four individuals. The degree to which it is experienced by each one is extremely varied, and is highly dependent upon one's socioeconomic status, education level, mental health, and race (Link and Phelan 2001; Tyler and Brockman 2017). The way the students of this study anticipate and perceive stigma is due, to great extent, to their interactions with institutional discrimination, surveillance, and the media's depiction of criminality. As a result, they are compelled to conceal their stigma, restricting their thoughts and behaviors as related to their success.

Limited Success

Institutionalized discrimination and media shaming reinforce the stigma of criminalization. The ways in which these students interact with their ascribed stigma keeps them from achieving the same type of success achievable by their non-incarcerated counterparts. Measuring success can be understood intrinsically or extrinsically based upon the goals one aims to achieve (Kasser and Ryan 1996). Intrinsic goals such as self-acceptance are

associated with a higher well-being while extrinsic goals like financial success lead to lower well-being (Kasser and Ryan, 1996). The individuals of this study have dramatically reshaped their ideas of success as a result of their interactions with the criminal justice system. Post-incarceration, they now strive for an intrinsically-characterized success as extrinsic goals such as employment and financial excess are often unattainable.

Before being incarcerated, Johnny characterized success as having money, owning material possessions, and dating girls. Johnny now relates success with family, friends, happiness, contentment, and "staying out of trouble." Johnny's definition of success—"staying out of trouble"—can also be read as following the rules. Halkovic and Greene (2015) note that formerly incarcerated college students navigate bureaucratic systems well due to their incarcerated experiences. When asked why he decided to pursue college, Johnny communicated it was "the prospect of employment." He continued to explain that "a lot of people who can't find work just go to school." After being released, as regulated by probation/parole, individuals must either work full-time or go to school full-time. Because it is difficult for these individuals to get jobs, many attend higher education in hopes that a college degree will give them an advantage in the job market despite their conviction history. Educational attainment is a secondary factor in their formula of success.

Similarly, GW's idea of success before being incarcerated was dependent upon making money, which he correlates to his middle-class background. After years of false imprisonment and the connected collateral consequences, a successful life for GW is one where he has a "great family unit" even though he has been unable to pursue a romantic relationship due to his not wanting to comply with his parole officer's regulations and his distrust for people. The monitoring from his parole officer contributes to the limitations of his achievable success. For instance, GW explained his reason to pursue his second bachelor's degree:

I am only pursuing a second degree because it is virtually impossible to find employment or a career that pays anything worth working for. Being on parole is a big black mark on your employment application. And, being employed full-time or in school full-time is a condition of parole. Going to school keeps the POs off my back.

GW is not motivated to gain a second degree for the sake of his educational or personal progress but to save himself from the backlash of his parole officer. When asked if he thought a second bachelor's degree would help him find a suitable career, he simply replied "no." His intrinsic personal goal of having a "great family unit" is completely separate from any extrinsic career or educational aspirations because he finds those impossible to achieve.

Before her conviction, Alice's idea of success aligned with typical notions of adult success: "having a job, being self-sufficient." Now, her idea of overall success is being content with her current situation. Alice shared her motivation to pursue higher education: "It was almost ten years after that [one class] and it was because I was tired of being dumb." Alice's response differs from the responses of the other students as she was not sentenced to probation or parole term after her incarceration. Though slightly differing, every participant's current definition of success indicated the desire of a restoration to dignity after being incarcerated. These students' definitions of success deviate away from the notion of conventional success as they find it unattainable due to their entanglement with the carceral system. Further, the concealment of their formerly incarcerated identity keeps them from making social connections necessary to optimize their success.

Conclusion

Interviews with these four formerly incarcerated college students revealed their interactions with institutionalized discrimination, media shaming, and the stigma of criminalization which effectively limits their success. The ways in which they interacted the stigma of criminalization proved most detrimental to their success. Despite being amongst the population of formerly incarcerated people that are the most successful, their internalization of external stigmatizing forces leads them to construct a mental undercaste. In other words, they shape their thoughts and behaviors in a way to avoid stigma. Resultantly, they are discouraged to engage in social connections or beneficial opportunities with others effectively holding them back from autonomous decision-making when it comes to their own success.

It is accurate to say that this research brings up more questions than it answers. It is also important to note that the data comes from four unique narratives and do not speak to the entire formerly incarcerated population. In these ways, it is a call for more research on the experience of formerly incarcerated students, the institution of higher education itself, and the stigma of criminalization. The independent effects of race, though well documented in relation to the carceral system, need to also be investigated in this context.

Although research has been conducted on the mental health repercussions of being incarcerated, there are no campus services or advocacy aimed at the formerly incarcerated. Rather, the college environment is where

incarceration and conviction history are heavily stigmatized. Allowing formerly incarcerated individuals to pursue a college education in a welcoming environment has the potential to lower recidivism rates, deconstruct the stigma of criminalization, and ultimately enable these students to live better lives (Halkovic and Greene 2015). In other words, American colleges have the great potential to help their formerly incarcerated students succeed educationally, professionally, and personally, yet they remain passive and unhelpful. This research serves to further develop the body of knowledge surrounding the enduring barriers faced by even the most successful formerly incarcerated individuals. It is critical that the conversation continue past the current discourse that largely ignores the perspective of formerly incarcerated students.

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Sexual Harassment Experiences of LGBT+ Students in Intercollegiate Speech and Debate Activities

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Communication

Abstract

Recent controversies surrounding Title IX have intensified conversations about sexual harassment in university setting(s). Even though sexual harassment has captured political attention, little Communication research exists on how Title IX influences and impacts sexual harassment and assault within the LGBTQ community. There is a dearth of research regarding same-sex sexual harassment in the collegiate speech and debate community. Previous research has explored heterosexual harassment in competitive Speech and Debate; however, same-sex interactions have not received the same level of scrutiny. By extending the work of Pamela Stepp on sexual harassment within the Cross Examination Debate Association (CEDA) community, a more nuanced picture of sexual harassment inside extracurricular university activities can be expanded. Participants will be students from multiple speech and debate programs. Using a version of the Sexual Experience Questionnaire utilized and modified by Stepp and altered for LGBTQ participants, the conversations related to sexual harassment can be examined.

Recent controversies surrounding Title IX have intensified conversations about sexual harassment in university settings. Efforts by the current Education Secretary, Betsy DeVos, seek to limit and/or roll back protections enacted by the Obama administration. "The guidance replaces an Obama-era civil rights directive that DeVos revoked in September 2017. Secretary DeVos claimed that guidance didn't do enough to protect the due process rights of the accused" (Klein & Blad, 2018). Even though sexual harassment has captured political attention, there exists limited Communication or Social Science research on how Title IX influences and impacts sexual harassment and assault within the LGBTQ community. According to a 2007 study prepared for the U.S. Department of Justice "Overall, 19% of undergraduate women reported experiencing attempted or completed sexual assault since entering college (66)" and "Approximately 6.1% of males reported experiencing attempted or completed sexual assault since entering college (68). Additionally, there is a dearth of research regarding same-sex sexual harassment in the collegiate speech and debate community.

Previous research has explored heterosexual harassment in competitive Speech and Debate; however, same-sex interactions have not received the same level of scrutiny. By extending the work of Cynthia Szwapa and Pamela Stepp on sexual harassment within the Cross-Examination Debate Association (CEDA) and the National Debate Tournament (NDT) community, a more nuanced picture of sexual harassment inside extracurricular university activities can be developed. Institutions of higher learning and academia have a responsibility for ensuring that individuals who experience sexual harassment have viable avenues of recourse and that future occurrences are minimized and addressed. Given that there are a number of extra-curricular activities (not just inter-collegiate speech and debate) that occur off campus, it is also vitally important that educators and facilitators be aware of potentially damaging and exploitative situations that may be harmful to their student participants. Experiences from individuals outside of the homosexual-heterosexual binary will be included and perspectives from various ethnic backgrounds will also be recognized. Participants will be students from multiple speech and debate programs from various organizations located throughout the country. Two primary research questions were formulated when developing this project:

1. What are the sexual harassment experiences of LGBT+ students in intercollegiate speech and debate?
2. What additional steps can be taken to address sexual harassment situations for both LGBT+ and heteronormative students in intercollegiate speech and debate?

A greater understanding of the sexual harassment experiences of self-identifying LGBT+ students, specifically those of participants in collegiate speech and debate, is necessary for ensuring a safe environment for growth and education. The objective of this research is to increase the sexual harassment awareness and representation of LGBT+ members within the intercollegiate speech and debate community.

Review of Literature

 "Sexual harassment" or unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical harassment of a sexual nature. Harassment does not have to be of a sexual nature, however, and can include offensive remarks about a person's sex" (EEOC, 2018). The American Psychological Association (2018) defines LGBT+ in the following manner: "LGBT is shorthand for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender." Separate from gender self-identification, the use of lesbian, gay, and bisexual allude to the respondent's sexual orientation. The term "queer" has also been applied when describing same-sex attractions or relationships. Additionally, individuals may also choose not to identify with these labels for various personal, political, and/or socio-economic reasons.

The "T" in LGBT stands for transgender or gender non-conforming and is an umbrella term for people whose gender identity or gender expression does not conform to that typically associated with the sex to which they were assigned at birth (2018). "Genderqueer" has also become a viable option for individuals who do not self-identify as male or female. "While it is important to understand that sexual orientation and gender identity are not the same thing, they do both reflect differing forms of gender norm transgression and share an intertwined social and political history" (2018). The National Speech and Debate Association (2018) defines "Speech and Debate" as: "Speech and debate is an academic activity typically available to students in middle school, high school, and/or college. Speech involves a presentation by one, two, or sometimes a group of students that is judged against a similar type of presentation by others in a round of competition. Debate involves an individual or a team of debaters working to effectively convince a judge that their side of a resolution is, as a general principle, more valid." Whereas stories of sexual harassment have become normalized in mass media, political reporting and sporting events, academic school programs have received less scrutiny. By focusing a spotlight on this issue, sexual harassment experiences can be brought to light without fear of ridicule, stigmatization, or retaliation.

Sexual harassment has been problematic issue that crosses cultural and historical barriers. "Since its inception as an injury in law and a concept in psychology, sexual harassment has been the topic of continual controversy concerning its definition" (Fitzgerald, Swan, and Magley 1997). In 1995, the United States Department of Defense conducted a national survey amongst its service members to gauge the sexual harassment environment within the Armed Forces. The 1995 survey was a replicated survey from 1988 and provided a basic template for future sexual harassment surveys. An expansion of the sexual identification categories reflects and incorporates elements of post modernity as a method of evaluation and critical reflection.

> "A gender diversity perspective offers a non-dichotomous understanding of gender that draws on recent theoretical explorations by what might be called 'post-modern feminists.' These scholars go by a wide-ranging set of names including 'gender deconstructionists,' 'gender trouble theorists,' and sometimes the 'third wave.' While these feminists' perspectives do differ from one another, their common agenda is to destabilize the assumption that human gender is inherently dimorphic" (Condit 1997, p. 96).

In the current climate of decisive rhetoric and political fracturing, the sole use of self-identification through gender orientation terms limited to heterosexual and homosexual can no longer be the litmus test for how one expresses and is perceived by society. Human sexuality is comprised of a spectrum of variations and expressions of how one chooses to see themselves, not only as a reflection in the mirror but for when their image is reflected in the eyes of strangers, neighbors, and loved ones.

Gender Diversity Perspective

The gender diversity perspective offers an additional lens to enact social change. While simultaneously questioning the necessity of a dichotomous binary construct, the gender diversity perspective allows for the creation and acknowledgement of social identities that are not considered and ignored. Instead of merely arguing for deconstruction of gender dimorphism, gender diversity perspective emphasizes the active construction of multiple, transient gender categories. They will reflect shifting configurations of race, gender, class, sexual orientation, and personal characteristics. The goal of gender diversity approaches is to dismantle traditional gender dimorphism

without leaving person identity-less (Condit 1997, p. 97). More work needs to be done to include the narrative experiences of individuals who identify with the male gender and sex. Human experiences are as varied as fingerprints and being able to record, analyze, and share these varying experiences will provide a more heuristic and in-depth understanding about how narratives between dominant and minority experiences are similar and disparate. In order for positive changes to occur in the areas of sexual harassment, all narratives and experiences must be considered and addressed for ally-ship and policy change to occur.

One of the first studies that specifically focused on sexual harassment within intercollegiate speech and debate activities highlights the propensity of sexual harassment felt by women participants at The National Debate Tournament (Szwapa 1994, p.41). Of 26 survey responses, 88.4% of the sample answered Item one in a positive direction (i.e., the behavior was experienced once or more than once); 80.7% responded positively to Item two and 80.7% responded positively to Item three. "In other words, more than three-quarters of the respondents claim to have experienced some form of gender harassment" (Szwapa 1994, p.41). The Campus Sexual Assault (CSA) Study indicates that the participants of their study reported that "women who are victimized during college are mostly likely to be victimized early on in their college tenure" and that "Estimates of the sexual victimization of adult males are sparse in the literature, so it is difficult to compare the CSA Study findings to those produced by existing research" (Campus Sexual Assault, 2007, p.93). Stepp (2001) expanded the scope of study to include participants from the Cross-Examination Debate Association (CEDA). This study suggests that universities need to pay attention to sexual harassment experiences in forensics organizations.

The reported percentages indicate that sexual harassment is prevalent in intercollegiate debate and individual events, that women are harassed more than women in individual events and research was also conducted on the effectiveness of sexual harassment policies within the CEDA organization (Stepp, 2001). I contend the implementation of the CEDA sexual harassment policy has had little overall effect on reducing sexual harassment in the CEDA intercollegiate debate community (Stepp 2001, p.30). Research studies are continuing to provide a fuller version for the sexual harassment experience and are also taking into account male experiences. A study conducted by Kalof et al. found that 40 percent of female undergraduates and 28.7 percent of male undergraduates had been sexually harassed at least once by a professor. The most common type of sexual harassment experienced by students is gender harassment; few students reported unwanted sexual attention or sexual coercion (Kalof et al. 2016, p.296). According to Kalof, et al. (2016) "While we found that most of the men's experiences of sexual harassment by professors were gender harassment, a few had experienced unwanted sexual attention and one man reported having been sexually coerced . . . Future research must extend the effort begun here to
find a way to measure the sexual harassment of men."

Ramifications

There are numerous implications when evaluating sexual harassment experiences of the LGBT+ intercollegiate speech and debate community through a gender diversity perspective. The gender diversity perspective thus provides a wider set of context on what it means to be a gendered being. It opens up a comparative approach that sees more than the traditional binary categories, suggesting that those categories are fluid yet provide useful reference points for speakers and critics alike (Condit, 1997). The attitudes of the students, staff, and campus administration also play an important role with addressing sexual harassment. From the *Foreword* of *Sexual Harassment in Higher Education*, researchers Dziech and Hawkins (1998) note that when potential acts of sexual harassment are investigated, "students' experiences are relabeled as anything *but* sexual harassment, especially as 'interpersonal problems' between two people rather than as an organizational issue in which the campus *must* intervene" (p. x). This "relabeling" insinuates a lack of support from those who can help the most during a student's time of need. According to Frank Till (1980) "The key to ending sexual harassment on the campus requires not only a decision and active commitment by top institutional officials, but the establishment of an equitable process leading to equitable resolution of complaint" (p. 27). Stepp and Gardner (2001) also discuss the pivotal role that organizations can play when confronting sexual harassment, claiming that they must "be familiar with its culture and its members, so it is able to predict and identify where, when, and how harassment incidents arise, and how to prevent and communicate about these incidents" (p. 41). Organizational support lends validation towards gender perspectives outside of dominant social norms and reinforces institutional commitments in addressing sexual harassment concerns regardless of how one chooses to self-identify. The diverse and rich forms of gender expression found in society should be encouraged to flourish within the makeup of the student body and faculty. Having to fear moments of assault (sexual or otherwise) should not have to be everyday concerns for anyone.

Speech and Debate Specific

Collegiate speech and debate programs can provide a methodology that students and administrators can use in the development and implementation of sexual harassment policies. "Going beyond the legalistic political information dispensed in traditional civic courses, speech and debate pedagogies help students develop substantive knowledge about important political controversies, along with the skills and confidences they need to engage in civic life" (Hogan, Kurr, Johnson, & Bergmaier, 2016, p. 380). The literature surrounding the topic area of LGBT+ students and rates of sexual harassment within the speech and debate community is very scarce and limited. Much of the previous research about sexual harassment within the intercollegiate speech and debate focuses primarily on the sexual harassment experiences of heteronormative individuals (mostly women) (Szwapa, 1994). By shifting the focus away from a heteronormative lens, this research study seeks to provide knowledge about a minority group that hasn't received much attention within this specific context. Given this lack of perspective, coupled with the relevancy of sexual harassment within intercollegiate speech and debate communities, this study explores that following research questions:

> Q1: What are LGBT+ students sexual harassment experiences in intercollegiate
> speech and debate events?

> Q2: What more can be done in decreasing sexual harassment experiences of
> all students (regardless of sex, gender, or sexual orientation)?

Research Methods

The sample group was comprised of students who are currently involved in the intercollegiate speech and debate program at their respective institution of learning. The data was gathered primarily through an electronic interface (i.e. an on-line survey.)   Participants were able to access the survey from any electronic device that has internet access. The approach utilized in this survey is a deductive snowball sampling approach. One method of distribution included sending the survey to numerous national organizations (i.e. the Cross-Examination Debate Association, the National Debate Tournament Association, the National Parliamentary Association, the International Public Debate Association, the British Parliamentary Debate Association, etc.) for coaches to make available to their team members. A second method of distribution utilized debate listserv email. For both of these distribution methods, participants had 30 days (from the initial distribution date) to complete the survey at their leisure.

The various research sites were chosen based on their organization's identification as a nationally recognized speech and debate program. The on-line utility included a disclaimer prior to the survey commencing so that the participants could provide appropriate consent. A link to the online survey was provided to speech and debate programs and the listserv database. The time-frame for the online survey was approximately 30 days from first distribution to closure of the online utility (i.e., if the survey were distributed on May 1, 2018, the participants would have 30 days to complete it). Though the survey was conducted electronically and anonymously, I was able to see that fifteen individuals completed the survey.

Table 1.1 Respondent Characteristics

Pseudonym	Gender	Sexual Orientation	Ethnicity
Respondent #1	Cis-gender Female	Homosexual/Lesbian/Gay	Caucasian/White
Respondent #2	Cis-gender Female	Queer	Caucasian/White
Respondent #3	N/A	Bisexual	Caucasian/White
Respondent #4	Gender Fluid/ Genderqueer	Homosexual/Lesbian/Gay	Asian
Respondent #5	Cis-gender Female	Bisexual/Queer	Caucasian/White

Respondent #6	Agender/ Gender Fluid/ Genderqueer/ Demi-Girl	Demisexual/ Pansexual	Caucasian/White
Respondent #7	Demi-Girl (she/hers & they/theirs)	Bisexual/ Demisexual	Caucasian/White/ Asian
Respondent #8	Cis-gender Male	Homosexual/Lesbian/Gay	Caucasian/White
Respondent #9	Cis-gender Female/ Gender Fluid	Queer/ Pansexual	Caucasian/White
Respondent #10	Cis-gender Male	Homosexual/Lesbian/Gay	Hispanic/ Latin
Respondent #11	Cis-gender Female	Homosexual/Lesbian/Gay	Caucasian/White
Respondent #12	Cis-gender Female/ Gender non-conforming	Homosexual/Lesbian/Gay	Caucasian/White
Respondent #13	Cis-gender Male	Bisexual	Caucasian/ White/ Native American/ Alaska Native
Respondent #14	Cis-gender Female	Homosexual/Lesbian/Gay	Caucasian/White
Respondent #15	Genderqueer	Queer	Caucasian/White

Approximately 50% of the respondents self-identified as Cis-gender female, 21.4% as Cis-gender male or Gender Fluid or Genderqueer, 7.1% as Agender, 7.1% as Demigirl, 7.1% as Demigirl who identifies as they/theirs, and 7.1% as Gender non-conforming. Of the respondents polled, 46.7% self-identified as Homosexual/Gay/Lesbian. Bisexual and Queer self-identification tied at 26.7%, as did Demisexual and Pansexual at 13/3%. This study had a majority of White/Caucasian respondents with 86.7%. The second largest ethnic demographic was Asian Americans at 13.3%, with Native American/Alaska Native and Hispanic/Latin American classifications both at 6.7%.

The survey was designed for gathering data specifically from LGBT+ individuals who are currently involved in intercollegiate speech and debate. The survey utility tools that were used in prior studies primarily treated sexual self-identification to a male-female binary and did not expand on the experiences of people of color or marginalized groups. As noted by Stepp, "Even though the descriptions of experiences in the open-ended questions provided some of this information, the survey should have asked for the sex of the harasser. In particular, this would have provided insight into same-sex harassment. The ethnicity or race of the participants should have been solicited, as we know little about harassment of specific ethnic groups" (p. 45-46). The survey tool in this proposal widened the narrative outside of default heteronormative model. This survey proposal included areas of self-identification on questions relating to gender, sex, sexual orientation, ally-ship, and ethnicity (whereas the previous survey models did not).

Using a version of the Sexual Experience Questionnaire utilized and modified by Stepp and, altered for LGBTQ participants, the conversations related to sexual harassment can be examined. To do this, I looked to the qualitative responses at the end of the surveys and discovered key themes/ideas based on Owen's (1984) suggestion of "recurrence, repetition, and forcefulness" as a means of recognizing important patterns (p. 275). Through the application of Owen's themes to the survey responses the following themes where developed: lack of knowledge about sexual harassment policies and lack of standardization amongst programs. These two areas of improvement should be included in the continuing discussion concerning sexual harassment.

Results

Twenty percent of the respondents reported that there was either "Unwanted, uninvited sexual teasing, jokes, remarks or questions (Examples: Someone told you that you have a nice body, someone asked you how your sex life is, someone told crude jokes to embarrass you, someone jokingly made some comment about how you might perform in bed)," "Unwanted, uninvited sexually suggestive looks, gestures or body language (Example: Someone

in your program kept staring at your sexual body parts),” or “Unwanted, uninvited pressure for dates (Example: A DOF/COACH or team member kept pressuring you to go out)” during their experiences within their speech and debate program. Furthermore 13.3% of respondents reported receiving “Unwanted, uninvited whistles, calls, hoots or yells of a sexual nature (Example: One or more persons within your program whistled at you or yelled some sexual things)” or “Other unwanted, uninvited attention of a sexual nature.” Alarmingly 6.7% respondents experienced “Actual or attempted rape or sexual assault” and/or “Unwanted, uninvited pressure for sexual favors (Example: Someone in your program tried to talk you into performing a certain sexual act with or for them, maybe promising a reward)” during their involvement within the speech and debate community. Respondent #9 observed “Often times the sexual harassment is played off as if it was a joke and, in my experience, if it's "funny" or "a roast" then others on the team are okay with it.” The normalization of sexual harassment behaviors within speech and debate programs is counter-productive to creating safe and equitable spaces of learning for participants and coaching staff alike. Ensuring that participants feel empowered to access resources and personnel equipped with addressing sexual harassment experiences can be pivotal in creating a safe learning environment.

The findings were focused around two prevalent themes involving sexual harassment experiences of LGBT+ identifying individuals within the speech and debate community: (a) the lack of knowledge about sexual harassment policies within the speech and debate community and (b) the lack of standardization amongst programs with how sexual harassment policies are communicated. The lack of resource availability and recourse for person(s) who find themselves in situations of sexual harassment often influenced whether or not sexual harassment experiences were reported. Commonalities and differences were found amongst the lived experiences of individuals who encountered sexual violence and the extent to which individuals sought safety, security, or recourse.

All respondents identified that they were either currently involved or have been a member of the speech and debate community; 60% of respondents have been sexual harassed by someone in the speech and debate community or during a speech and debate event.

Lack of Knowledge about Sexual Harassment Policies

Some respondents (46.7%) describe themselves as not knowledgeable about sexual harassment policies within the speech and debate community. Additionally, some respondents (53.3%) describe themselves as knowledgeable with 6.7% of respondents rating their level of knowledge as “Strongly knowledgeable.” The lack of awareness and knowledge about sexual harassment policies, preventative measures, and how to seek recourse is reflective in the data reported and experiences expressed. Attitudes of apathy and compliance expressed by faculty and team members contribute to a hostile learning environment that leave victims further silenced through inaction and shaming. Respondent #2 stated:

> A member on my team was brutally raped. When the coach addressed it, all he was concerned about was that nobody hears about it when it happens. Not that it shouldn’t happen. I’ve approached him about such situations and the drugs the kids do which leads to sexual harassment being furthered.

The DOF, school administrators, faculty, and coaching staff should all be viable options for victims of sexual harassment to approach when forced to endure sexual harassment incidents from perpetrators. Instead, victims of sexual harassment are further traumatized when policies and regulations meant for their protection are not communicated or ignored. Such actions further incentivize the perpetrator to continue their behavior without fear of repercussion. When surveyed about the culture of sexual harassment on their respective speech and debate teams, 6.7% of respondents noted that there was sexual talk or behavior (within the speech and debate program) during the past year created an offensive, hostile, or intimidating environment. Respondent #3 noted that there were “Plenty of unwanted advances by a particular male student on another student.” Similar sentiments were shared by Respondent #6, “People continued sexually looking at my friends as well as make unwanted sexual jokes and comments. There was also an incident where a person was repeatedly pressured to perform sexual acts” and by Respondent #9, “Several women I know have been cat called at tournaments, touched because of their apparel, begged for dates, etc.” The perpetuation of unwanted advances, sexual jokes, and catcalling seem to become normalized and reflective of toxic environments that fail to address themes of patriarchy, misogyny, and oppression. The lack of action enables perpetrators to continue their behavior unabated.

In addition to the psychological, mental, and emotional experiences associated with sexual harassment, physical harm is also a constant danger. Respondent #12 remarked that *“One of the other women on the debate team has experienced unwanted attention and touching from two of the other men on the team, and they only stopped

after repeated interventions from one of the other men on the team, but did not respond to her requests to stop," and Respondent #13 shared that he/she/they have "a friend whose lover threatened to commit suicide if she left him." Dealing with one's own sexual harassment experiences is a difficult process that can be compounded by social pressures to fit in and academic pressures to succeed. Having access and knowledge about avenues of recourse can help minimize the rate of sexual harassment occurrences felt by participants.

Just as telling are the responses provided when respondents were asked about their personal knowledge on sexual harassment policies within the speech and debate community. Barely half (53.3%) of respondents felt that they were knowledgeable, whereas 46.7% felt that they were uninformed about practices and policies within their own program. The near-equal response is indicative of the importance in communicating sexual harassment policies and regulations to current and prospective students. Respondent #13 underscores this importance; "Yes about 4-5 other teammates have been sexually harassed." This statement is especially pertinent given that 40% of the respondents reported that they received "Unwanted, uninvited sexual teasing and jokes" while part of the speech and debate team. The propensity for sexual harassment perpetrators to feel emboldened by their actions is reflective of the narratives being expressed within this study. The lack of visibility, lack of support, and lack of knowledge are contributing factors for individuals who to not communicate their experiences as they are often met with disbelief, shame, and ridicule.

Lack of Standardization amongst Programs

The respondents in this study described many difficulties during their participation with their speech and debate teams. Lack of knowledge about intervention methods by the participant and team members, fear of shame, and/or fear of retaliation are contributing factors to the negative experiences expressed by respondents. When asked "Did others in your program know about this unwanted, uninvited sexual attention, responses were varied; 26.7% as "Several other people knew", 20% as "Almost everyone in the program knew", 20% as "At least one other person knew", and 33.3% as "Not applicable". The respondent's answers concerning their motivations for not pursuing formal or official actions provide a more nuanced reasoning on why sexual harassment experiences often go under-reported (if reported at all).

Table 1.2

Reason(s) for not reporting	
I thought I could handle it	33.3%
I did not think anything would be done	33.3%
I was too embarrassed	26.7%
I thought that it would be held against me or I would be blamed	26.7%
I thought that I would be labeled as a troublemaker	26.7%
I thought that it would make my situation worse	20%
Someone took action or said something	20%
I thought it would take too much time/effort	20%
I saw no need to report it	20%
I did not want to hurt the harasser(s)	6.7%
I met other victims of harassment	6.7%
Not applicable	40%

Another area of obstruction or difficulty centered specifically around the role of the Director of Forensics (DOF). Overwhelmingly the respondents had positive impressions of their DOF's; 35.7% of respondents reported that "The DOF very ACTIVELY DISCOURAGES sexual harassment" and "The DOF has spoken out against it AND does seem to want it stopped." However, discouraging information comes to light when 14.3% state that "The DOF HAS spoken out against it BUT really seems not to care about it," and 7.1% state "The DOF's attitude is unknown/The DOF is new/The subject hasn't come up." The remaining 7.1% state "The DOF has NOT spoken out against it BUT seems to want it stopped." The differing percentages allude to the various approaches that DOF's implement (or fail to implement) when having discussions, activities, or interventions that pivot around the topic of sexual harassment. Utilizing policies and practices that mitigate occurrences of sexual harassment can create a more inclusive environment that participants can feel welcomed in. Approximately 20% of the respondents expressed "consideration" in leaving their respective speech and debate programs but "decided to stay," with 6.7% "considering leaving" due to sexual harassment experience(s). Failure to initiate action can have dire consequences, as shared by Respondent #2, "I tried to kill myself. I ended up having to stay in a facility to get better. Still, nothing has been done." Academic institutions (and by extension programs that represent them) have obligations to their students to provide safe and equitable opportunities and settings for learning.

The lack of resource availability and recourse also influenced how participants were expected to respond to their sexual harassment experiences. Respondents (36.4%) reported that "No emotional counseling or medical assistance was offered at any point" and 18.2% of respondents noted that "Emotional counseling might have been helpful." Lack of health and counseling resources coupled with lack of representation and academic support can create detrimental experiences for LGBT+ self-identifying participants in speech and debate activities. The normalization of rape culture and suicide further compounds the continuing discussion around sexual harassment.

Conclusion

The data gleaned from this proposed study could have numerous applications and implications. This study could be published in communication related journals like "The National Forensics Journal," "Speaker and Gavel," and "Argumentation and Advocacy." Additionally, this study could also be presented at various national conferences including the National Communication Association conference, the Boise Undergraduate Academic Conference and the Ronald E. McNair Scholars Academic conference. The data could also be used by school administrators and policy makers when developing policies and procedures to address sexual harassment.

The ultimate goal of this research is to increase the sexual harassment awareness and representation of LGBT+ members within the intercollegiate speech and debate community. This proposal found that the sexual harassment experience of LGBT+ individuals are similar to that of their heteronormative colleagues but provided knowledge around sexual harassment experiences unique to LGBT+ students in intercollegiate speech and debate. The potential policy implications can also influence decisions made by academic institutions, administrators, and speech and debate programs.

The self-identified LGBT+ respondents in this study navigate a complex set of cultural, social, and academic settings in seeking opportunities for success and growth. The normalization, acceptance, and/or ignorance surrounding the sexual harassment experiences of LGBT+ participants demonstrate the importance in recognizing different gender perspectives outside of the dominant heteronormative perspective. Academic institutions, administrators, faculty and staff members should draw upon their own experiences and expertise when helping students address sexual harassment concerns. The LGBT+ self-identified respondents all expressed a desire to shine a light on the challenges faced by participants and challenge the current implementation of policies and regulations throughout various speech and debate programs.

This article makes two contributions towards our expanding understanding of the sexual harassment narratives expressed by LGBT+ self-identifying participants. First, this article highlights the disparity between individuals who are aware of sexual harassment policies and those who are not. Many of the participants expressed a lack of knowledge about current sexual harassment policies and regulations within their speech and debate program. While there was some acknowledgement about some programs being proactive in mitigating sexual harassment experiences, this sentiment was not shared by everyone surveyed. Lack of knowledge led some respondents to believe that they had no recourse or assurances that their sexual harassment narratives would be believed, much less followed up on. The prevailing culture within their speech and debate team was an additional factor in making LGBT+ participants feel welcomed, included and represented with the greater speech and debate community. Some respondents noted rare instances of ally-ship within team dynamics, but those examples were rare and atypical.

Isolation, shame, and lack of representation were feelings shared by a majority of the respondents. This research indicates that LGBT+ identifying participants need more resources and opportunities to share their sexual harassment experiences and to be believed when those narratives come to light.

Second, this article places a greater responsibility on institutions of higher learning, administrators, faculty, and staff members with ensuring that sexual harassment policies and regulations are communicated in an effective, cohesive, and standardized manner. DOF's are responsible for creating a safe space that is conducive for learning for all the participants within their speech and debate program (regardless of self-identified gender expression and/or sexual orientation.) This study demonstrates the pivotal role that DOF's have in the establishment, growth, and continued discussion that speech and debate programs should be having in the ways and means that sexual harassment can be lessened. Future research involving speech and debate programs with LGBT+ self-identifying participants, especially those involving people of color, and their sexual harassment experiences will continue to add to a greater understanding on the diversity of individual experiences felt when sexual harassment occurs. Additionally, research on various strategies and methodologies used when discussing sexual harassment may be effective in gauging the "usefulness" or "effectiveness" of certain approaches. What is not in dispute is the irrevocable harm that inaction and ignorance can cause. As Respondent #2 discerned, "Multiple other kids on my team have attempted suicide, one has been raped by a fellow team member. Still, nothing has been done." More needs to be done.

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Appendix

Survey questions

"Thank you for taking the time to complete this survey. We truly value the information you have provided. Your responses will contribute to a greater understanding of LGBTQAI experiences concerning sexual harassment in intercollegiate speech and debate. Your participation in this survey is completely voluntary and anonymous. If you experience feeling of distress or harm, please seek the appropriate counseling and/or medical services."

1. I am currently involved or have been a member of the speech and debate community:
   a. Yes
   b. No

2. How would you identify?
   a. Gay
   b. Lesbian
   c. Transsexual
   d. Intersexed
   e. Cis-gendered male
   f. Cis-gendered female
   g. Other _____

3. What is your sexual orientation?
   a. Asexual
   b. Bisexual
   c. Heterosexual
   d. Homosexual
   e. Pansexual
   f. Other _____

4. What is your ethnicity?
   a. White or Caucasian American
   b. Black or African American
   c. Native American or Alaska Native
   d. Asian American
   e. Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander
   f. Middle Eastern American
   g. Hispanic or Latin American
   h. Mixed/Multiracial
   i. Other _____

5. How would rate your rate level of knowledge about sexual harassment in general? (On a scale of 1 to 5)
   1 - Strongly knowledgeable
   2 - Knowledgeable
   3 - Neutral
   4 - Not Knowledgeable
   5 - Strongly not knowledgeable

6. Are you knowledgeable about sexual harassment within the speech and debate community?
   a. Yes
   b. No
      If yes, explain:

7. Was there any sexual talk or behavior (within your speech and debate program) during the past year that, overall, created an offensive, hostile, or intimidating environment for you?
    a. Always
    b. Most of the time
    c. Sometimes
    d. Rarely
    e. Never

8. Please read the statements below and select the one which best represents the attitude toward sexual harassment of the Director of Forensics/Coach at your college/university.
    a. The DOF very ACTIVELY DISCOURAGES sexual harassment
    b. The DOF has spoken out against it AND does seem to want it stopped
    c. The DOF has NOT spoken out against it BUT seems to want it stopped
    d. The DOF HAS spoken out against it BUT really seems not to care about it
    e. The DOF seems uniformed about sexual harassment
    f. The DOF may or may not have spoken out against sexual harassment but really seems to condone it
    g. The DOF has NOT spoken out against it AND seems to not care about it
    h. The DOF seems to actually encourage sexual harassment
    b. The DOF's attitude is unknown/The DOF is new/The subject hasn't come up

9. Have you ever considered leaving the speech and debate program because of sexual harassment?
    a. No
    b. Yes, I have considered leaving but decided to stay
    c. Yes, I am considering leaving now due to sexual harassment

10. Do you, from your own knowledge or from what the person(s) said, know anyone who has experienced sexual harassment while on the speech and debate team? If so, please explain. Do not include yourself:

11. Was there any sexual talk or behavior within your program during the past year that, overall, created an offensive, hostile or intimidating environment for you?
    a. Always
    b. Most of the time
    c. Sometimes
    d. Rarely
    e. Never

12. Have YOU EVER RECEIVED any of the following kinds of UNINVITED and UNWANTED sexual attention from someone IN YOUR PROGRAM while part of the speech and debate activity? Mark all that apply.

    TYPE(S) OF UNINVITED, UNWANTED SEXUAL ATTENTION
    a. Actual or attempted rape or sexual assault
    b. Unwanted, uninvited pressure for sexual favors (Example: Someone in your program tried to talk you into performing a certain sexual act with or for them, maybe promising a reward)
    c. Unwanted, uninvited touching, leaning over, cornering, pinching or brushing against of a deliberately sexual nature
    d. Unwanted, uninvited sexually suggestive looks, gestures or body language (Example: Someone in your program kept staring at your sexual body parts)
    e. Unwanted, uninvited letters, telephone calls, or materials of a sexual nature (Examples: Someone in your program called you and said foul things, someone at work brought nude pictures for you to look at, someone sent you letters suggesting that you and person have sex)
    f. Unwanted, uninvited pressure for dates (Example: A DOF/COACH kept pressuring you to go out)
    g. Unwanted, uninvited sexual teasing, jokes, remarks or questions (Examples: Someone told you that you have a nice body, someone asked you how your sex life is, someone told crude jokes to embarrass you, someone jokingly made some comment about how you might perform in bed)
    h. Unwanted, uninvited whistles, calls, hoots or yells of a sexual nature (Example: One or more persons within your program whistled at you or yelled some sexual things)

i. Unwanted, uninvited attempts to get your participation in any other kinds of sexually oriented activities (Examples: Someone tried to get you involved in group sex, or to pose for nude films or pictures or to seduce someone for fun)

j. Other unwanted, uninvited attention of a sexual nature (Specify: _____)

k. No, I have NEVER experienced any UNINVITED and UNWANTED sexual attention from someone within my program

13. Have you ever been sexual harassed by someone in the speech and debate community or during a speech and debate event?
    a. Yes
    b. No
    c. Not sure
    d. Prefer not to say
       If comfortable, explain your answer:

14. How did you respond to this sexual attention? Select all that apply.
    a. There was no incident of sexual harassment, no action necessary
    b. I ignored the behavior or did nothing
    c. I avoided the person(s)
    d. I asked or told the person(s) to stop
    e. I threatened to tell or told others
    f. I reported the behavior to the DOF/COACH or other official(s)
    g. I made a joke of the behavior
    h. I went along with the behavior
    i. I got someone else to speak to the person(s) about the behavior
    j. I threatened to harm the person(s) in the behavior continued
    k. I did something else (Specify: _____)
    l. I left the program

15. Did you take any formal (official) action(s) against the person(s) who harassed you?
    a. No
    b. Yes
    c. Not applicable

16. What were your reasons for not taking any formal (official) actions? Mark all that apply
    a. I took care of the problem myself/ I thought I could take care of it
    b. I didn't know the person(s) who did it
    c. Someone else took action for me or said something in my behalf
    d. I did not know what actions to take
    e. I saw no need to report it
    f. I did not want to hurt the person(s) who harassed me
    g. I was too embarrassed
    h. I did not think anything would be done
    i. I thought that it would take too much time and effort
    j. I thought that it would be held against me or that I would be blamed
    k. I thought that it would make my situation worse
    l. I thought I would be labeled as a troublemaker
    m. Not applicable

17. What effect did your actions) have? If comfortable, please explain:

18. How did your DOF/COACH or other officials respond to the formal action you took? Mark all that apply
    a. Found my charge to be true
    b. Found my charge to be false
    c. Took actions against the person(s) who bothered me
    d. Were hostile or took action against me

e. DOF/COACH/other officials did nothing
f. The action is still being processed
g. I don't know whether anyone did anything
h. Not applicable

19. Did others in your program know about this unwanted, uninvited sexual attention?
    a. No one else knew, as far as I know
    b. At least one other person knew
    c. Several other people knew
    d. Almost everyone in the program knew
    e. No applicable

20. Did anyone in your program who knew about this tell the person(s) who bothered you that the behavior was unacceptable, or otherwise try to the stop the person(s)?
    a. Yes
    b. No
    c. Don't know

21. Was/were the person(s) who sexually harassed you: (Mark all that apply)
    a. The Director of Forensics/ Coach of your program
    b. Someone from your team/someone directly associated with your team
    c. The Director of Forensics/ Coach from another program
    d. Someone from a different team/program
    e. No harassment occurred

22. Please describe the person(s) who sexually harassed you. Mark all that apply
    a. Sex of Person(s)
        i. Male
        ii. ii.Female
        iii. iii.Two or more male
        iv. iv.Two or more females
        v. v.Both sexes
        vi. Unknown
    b. Age of Person(s)
        i. Older
        ii. Same age
        iii. ii.Younger
        iv. iii.Mixed
        v. iv.Unknown
    c. Race of Person(s)
        i. Same as yours
        ii. Different
        iii. ii.Some same, some different
        iv. iii.Unknown
    d. Sexual Orientation of Person(s)
        i. Asexual
        ii. Bisexual
        iii. Heterosexual
        iv. Homosexual
        v. Pansexual
        vi. Unknown
        vii. Other _____

23. Did you receive medical assistance or emotional counseling from a trained professional as a result of your sexual harassment experience?
    a. Yes, I received medical assistance

b. Yes, I received counseling from a trained professional
c. Yes, I received both medical assistance and emotional counseling
d. No, but emotional counseling might have been helpful
e. No, but medical assistance might have been helpful
f. No, I do not need either medical assistance or emotional counseling
g. No, there was no emotional counseling or medical assistance offered at any point
h. Prefer not to answer

24. Have you ever been accused of sexual harassment by someone in the speech and debate community or during a speech and debate event?
a. Yes
b. No
c. Not sure
d. Prefer not to say
   If comfortable, explain your answer:

Thank you very much for your cooperation in this survey. Is there anything you would like to add regarding sexual harassment within the intercollegiate speech and debate community? If you have comments or concerns that you were not able to express in answering this survey, please write them in the space provided.

_____
_____
_____

A Perception Study of Rioplatense Spanish

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English, Linguistics Emphasis and Spanish

Abstract

Rioplatense Spanish (RPS; Argentina and Uruguay) is known for its distinctive pronunciation features. In Standard American Spanish, the sound associated with the letters 'y' or 'll' is [j] (as in 'yellow'), but in RPS the sound is [ʒ] (as in 'measure') or, more recently, [ʃ] (as in 'shoe'). Previous studies found this sound change (from [ʒ] to [ʃ]) is almost complete in speakers from Uruguay and Argentina, but the change in Uruguay is more recent. In this study, RPS speakers from both countries were presented with audio recordings of words containing all possible variants of the sounds [j], [ʒ], and [ʃ]. After listening to the recordings, participants determined the country of origin of the speaker. We expected Argentine participants to attribute [ʃ] to Argentine Spanish, and [ʒ] to Uruguayan Spanish. Uruguayan participants were expected to attribute both [ʃ] and [ʒ] to either Argentinian or Uruguayan Spanish, unable to differentiate between the two sounds. Results shows that speakers are aware of their own dialect's shift towards [ʃ]; however, they also attribute the [ʒ] sound to speakers from across the river, unaware that both pronunciations have shifted.

Introduction

This paper reports results from a perception study examining the sound change in the phonological phenomenon of *ʒeísmo* in Rioplatense Spanish (RPS). Native RPS speakers currently residing in either Buenos Aires, Argentina or Montevideo, Uruguay participated in an online experiment in which they were presented with various pronunciations of target audio stimuli of Spanish words. Participants were asked to determine the country of origin of the speaker for each item. Results suggest that speakers' perceptions of the sound change taking place in their region as a whole, are greatly influenced by their area of origin within the region – namely, speakers are aware of their own shift, but not the shifts seen in the other RPS speaking department. These results align well with literature on ideologies.

Background

The phenomenon of *ʒeísmo* is one of the most indicative phonetic features of Rioplatense Spanish (RPS) – the dialect spoken in the Rio de la Plata region of South America which includes both Montevideo, Uruguay and Buenos Aires, Argentina. The term *ʒeísmo* refers to the pronunciation of the orthographic 'y' or 'll' as the voiced post-alveolar fricative [ʒ] (as in 'mea**s**ure') or the voiceless post-alveolar fricative [ʃ] (as in '**sh**oe'); however, in Standard American Spanish, the sound is realized as the palatal approximant [j] (as in '**y**ellow'). Many studies have shown that within the last 70 to 80 years, there has been a strong transition towards the voiceless [ʃ] in both Argentina and Uruguay, with Argentina having completed the change by 2004 and Uruguay following only recently (Barrios 2002, Temkin Martínez 2004, Wolf & Jiménez 1979, Wolf 1984, Chang 2008).

The introduction of the voiceless variant was first documented in the 1940's in Buenos Aires during Juan Peron's presidency (Honsa 1965). Peron was thought to be an advocate for the working class. Therefore, many lower-class Argentines moved to Buenos Aires with the hope that they would have better opportunities. This caused a growth in the lower- and working-class population in Buenos Aires, and also introduced a new pronunciation characteristic, creating a socioeconomic divide between speakers who used the voiced variant, and those who used the voiceless allophone. Therefore, in Buenos Aires in the 1940's, the voiced variant was recognized by speakers as the prestigious pronunciation, while the voiceless sound was indicative of the working class (Honsa 1965).

Documentation of the sound inventory for the region a couple of decades after the introduction of the voiceless sound indicates that Standard RPS – spoken in both Montevideo and Buenos Aires – contained the voiced post-alveolar fricative [ʒ]. Its voiceless counterpart [ʃ], however, was only present in the sound inventory for Colloquial Buenos Aires Spanish. While the voiceless variant [ʃ] was officially recognized as belonging to the lower class in previous generations, younger members of the population across all socioeconomic classes were beginning to show a notable shift in preference towards this feature as well. Honsa (1965) attributes this rapid spread of the devoiced variant to the increase in media influence at the time. Moreover, as with most cases of language change, it was found that the devoicing in Buenos Aires was being driven by women, which created a shift in the linguistic ideologies associated with the voiced and voiceless variants (Wolf & Jiménez 1979). The voiced variant maintained its level of prestige; however, as women began to use [ʃ] more frequently in their speech, the [ʒ] also became more strongly associated with masculinity. As a result, the [ʃ] developed an association with what was thought to be 'feminine' speech, as well as maintaining some association with the working class (Wolf & Jimenez 1979).

Perhaps because of the feminine association with devoicing, the sound change was progressing much more gradually for the males in the older generation, as opposed to a rapid change for the female population. By 1979, the process of devoicing was nearly complete in not only the speech of women, but also in the younger generation across socioeconomic classes (Wolf & Jimenez 1979). Thus, women had modeled a new speech pattern for the younger generation, which caused the ideologies that had formed around socioeconomic class and voicing to begin to dissipate. Only a few years later, Wolf (1984) made an emerging claim that the sound change in Buenos Aires had been completed in the younger generation, and speakers were beginning to favor the voiceless variant [ʃ].

In a study conducted in 2004, Temkin Martínez provided an acoustic analysis of voicing in *ʒeísmo* in the speech of participants from Buenos Aires. Following Donni de Mirande (1991), Temkin Martínez took into consideration the presence of partial voicing. In this study, it was ascertained that female speakers in Buenos Aires were driving devoicing in *ʒeísmo*, and that devoicing in the younger generation was already complete, thus supporting previous findings (Wolf 1984). In addition, it was also found that the younger population devoiced most often, and that the middle-aged population in Buenos Aires was most likely to at least partially devoice the post-alveolar; coinciding with the findings in Donni de Mirande (1991). The study also finds that in the early 2000's, the difference between the two segments was no longer associated with socioeconomic class, but only with gender.

Chang (2008) further determined that the only remaining speakers in Buenos Aires that consistently and nearly exclusively realized the segment as voiced were born before 1945, while participants that were born after 1975 almost exclusively preferred the voiceless variant. This further supports Honsa's (1965) findings regarding the first introduction of the voiceless variant in Buenos Aires. This study also concluded that the younger population realized the segment as the devoiced [ʃ], and as a result, created a shift in social ideologies from those associated with gender, to ideologies centered on age. Additionally, Chang (2008) supports others' claims (Donni de Mirande 1991, Wolf & Jimenez 1979, Wolf 1984) stating that age has become the influential social factor in determining who will devoice. His study finds that there was no effect of gender and that both males and females from the younger generation preferred the [ʃ] variant in almost every instantiation. Rohena-Madrazo (2013) also finds that there is no significant effect of gender, further supporting the diminishing influence of gender on voicing of the segment in *ʒeísmo*.

As speakers in Buenos Aires made this shift towards the voiceless [ʃ], speakers in Montevideo were still favoring the voiced [ʒ] and did not begin the devoicing process in *ʒeísmo* until several decades later. As recently as 2002, the devoicing of the post-alveolar fricative in Montevideo started to show a transition in the female population, and an even stronger transition in the younger generation. Barrios (2002) found that the sound change in Montevideo was also undergoing social ideological changes, similarly to the changes that were undergone in Buenos Aires a few decades earlier – namely, as the change began to progress rapidly in the female population across socioeconomic classes, the stereotype associated with devoicing became less related to prestige, and more with femininity. Additionally, it was found that the sound change then transitioned, making [ʃ] indicative of the younger generation, while [ʒ] was still commonly found in, and strongly associated with, the older generation in Montevideo.

Barrios (2002) claims that at this time in Montevideo, many speakers were attributing the increase in usage of the devoiced variant to the influence of Argentine television broadcasted in Uruguay. This belief demonstrates that speakers from Buenos Aires had not only established this pronunciation feature as part of their local RPS dialect but they were also assigned and recognized by those residing in the other capital region as having a slight difference from Montevideo speakers. Furthermore, the shift in these ideological changes from stereotypes in prestige, to gender, and then to age – in both countries – represents that speakers from Montevideo were undergoing this language change in the same consistent pattern that was demonstrated by speakers in Buenos Aires. This was occurring across socioeconomic classes which created a shift in both Buenos Aires and Montevideo – at different points in time – from a stigmatized divide of prestige, gender, and age between the voiced and voiceless variants in

their dialect, to an increasingly destigmatized and nearly standardized preference towards the voiceless [ʃ]. Barrios (2002) aimed to determine if RPS speakers were aware of this shift in pronunciation and standardization they were undergoing. This heightened conscious or unconscious acceptance of the voiceless variant is a result of how commonly it was used by the younger generation. Barrios (2002) also found that the younger generation had less self-awareness of the presence of [ʃ] and almost no negative connotations towards its usage; further supporting its progression towards being "normalized".

The literature supports that the devoicing in ʒeísmo has progressed similarly in each RPS speaking capital region, with Argentina preceding Uruguay. Recent studies determine that the sound change is still in progress in Montevideo with current social ideologies attributing the growing influence and implementation of the voiceless variant [ʃ] to the younger generation. However, speakers in Buenos Aires have already been determined to have completed the sound change. Speakers' awareness of the sound change and its prevalence can provide a window to their language ideologies about it (Kroskrity 2004).

Aims and hypotheses of the current study

The present study was designed to examine RPS speakers' perceptions of the recent and current sound change their dialect is undergoing. Namely, we hope to determine first, if speakers are aware of the status of the significant transition that has taken place in their local dialect within the last 70-80 years. Secondly, we hope to determine if they are aware that it is becoming less common to hear the voiced variant in daily speech due to the complete change in Buenos Aires and the nearly complete change in Montevideo. This examination of speakers' perceptions is motivated by the potential to provide evidence that can further the study of whether language ideologies have transitioned along with the sound change. The hypotheses for this study are outlined in (1).

(1) Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1   Participants, independent of capital region, will more frequently attribute the voiced post-alveolar fricative [ʒ] to Uruguayan speech.

Hypothesis 2   The capital region in which participants attribute the voiceless post-alveolar [ʃ] will be dependent on the capital region of origin of the participant.
a. Argentine participants will more frequently select 'Argentina' when the audio stimulus contains the voiceless variant [ʃ].
b. Uruguayan participants will inconsistently select 'Argentina' or 'Uruguay' when the audio stimulus contains [ʃ].

Methodology and Design

Data for the current perception study was collected by recruiting Native RPS speakers currently residing in either Buenos Aires or Montevideo to participate in an online perception study. Participants were presented with recorded sentences containing target words with varying pronunciations of the target segment (either [ʒ], [ʃ], or [j]). After listening to each audio stimulus, participants were asked to determine the country of origin of the speaker, with their options being: 'Argentina', 'Uruguay', 'Argentina o Uruguay', or 'Otro' ('other').

Stimuli

Stimuli for the experiment consisted of 80 disyllabic words. Following the 3:1 ratio for fillers-to-target tokens, the list contained 20 target tokens and 60 fillers. In order to eliminate confounding variables and examine speakers' perceptions, target words were carefully controlled for stress, word length, and environment of the target segment – all words contained at least one instantiation of the vowel [a]. Target tokens contained the segment in question (realized as either [ʒ], [ʃ], or [j]) in word-initial or word-medial (intervocalic) position. Sample target and filler stimuli are in (2), with a full list of stimuli in Appendix A.

Token Environments	Sample token	Filler Environments	Sample filler
#__a	**Ll**ave ('*key*')		
o/e__a	Se**ll**a ('*stamp*')	o/e__a	Bota ('*boot*')
a__o/e	Ma**y**o ('*May*')	a__o/e	Dado ('*given*')
a__a	Pla**y**a ('*beach*')	a__a	Rana ('*frog*')

A 44-year-old male, native RPS speaker from the Buenos Aires province of Argentina was recorded to create the stimuli. Recordings were made using a Zoom H4n Pro recorder and a Shure SM10A head-mounted unidirectional microphone in a sound attenuated room in the Mary Ellen Ryder Linguistics Lab at Boise State University. Each of the target tokens were recorded three times – one iteration for each of the three possible variants of the target segment ([ʒ], [ʃ], or [j]).

The 80 stimuli were first randomized, and then pseudorandomized to lower the possibility of priming effects. Three lists were made, using a combination of target words containing the three variants, but only one iteration of each target word was used so that none is heard twice by the same participant. For example, the Spanish word '*llama*' was presented in each list. However, in List 1 it was presented as [jama], in List 2 it was [ʒama] and in List 3 [ʃama]. Appendix B includes each of the three lists with the variant used for each target token demonstrated.

Participants

A total of 95 RPS speakers between the ages of 18 and 70 participated in the online study. In the demographic survey following the study, participants were asked to report on their age range, as well as city of birth and places of residence. Participants were also given the option to report gender; however, due to their inconsistencies in choosing to report this piece of demographic data, it was not considered in the analysis that follows. Due to previous findings, (Chang 2008, Rohena-Madrazo 2013), we expect that the exclusion of gender should not affect the results. Along with participants who did not finish the online study, participants who reported to have been born elsewhere but currently residing in either area, or those that reported to live outside of the targeted capital regions in either country, were excluded from the analysis. An additional participant, who selected 'other' for the majority of the tokens, was also not considered in the analysis. After excluding these participants, data from 71 participants were admissible for analysis.

Of the 71 participants, 28 were within the 'young' (18-34) age range, 41 participants were within the 'mid' (35-59) age range and two participants were in the 'old' (60+) age range. Thirty-three of the participants reported to be from the Buenos Aires capital region, while 38 reported to be from the Montevideo capital region. Participants were asked to report their city of birth and all of the cities they had resided in during their lifetime to filter out participants that were not native to the region and who could potentially skew the data.

Procedure

Participants were recruited online using three different methods: through various Facebook pages local to both the Buenos Aires and Montevideo regions, a Facebook ad that targeted people from Buenos Aires and Montevideo, and using a snow ball effect by word of mouth from different connections to people living in Montevideo or Buenos Aires. The online link led participants to select one of three shapes on a blank web page, with each shape linking to a Qualtrics survey using one of the three lists mentioned in Section 3.1. The three lists were monitored throughout the time the survey was available to ensure that the distribution of participants was nearly equal between them. At the end of the experiment, List 1 received 21 responses, List 2 received 26 responses and List 3 received 24 responses.

Results

Looking across all participants, we find that speakers' perceptions of the two variants make it difficult to attribute either sound to a particular capital region within the larger Rio de la Plata region. This contradicts Hypothesis 1, since it was not the case that the voiced variant [ʒ] was more frequently ascribed to Uruguayan speech

than to Argentine speech, independent of participant origin. In (3) we see this contradiction with either variant being equally likely to be attributed to a given region.

(3) All participant data by sound
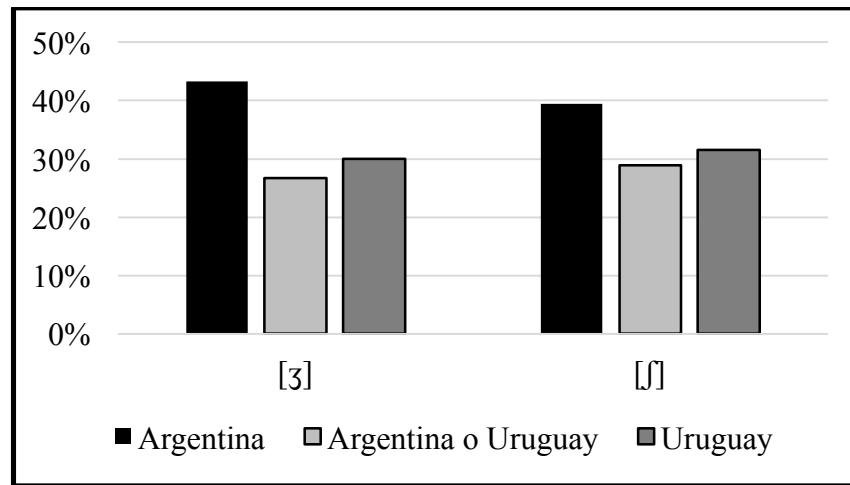
This identical pattern between the two sounds is confirmed by results from a repeated measures ANOVA showing that there is no main effect of *sound* ($F_{(1, 949)} = 0.229$, $p = 0.633$), since no particular sound could be attributed to a particular population.

When examining participants' perceptions of the voiced variant [ʒ], while taking into consideration participants' city of origin, it is evident that participants were actually more likely to attribute the voiced variant to Argentina than Uruguay, negating Hypothesis 1. This illustrates that participants are not aware of the fact that the voiced variant is no longer commonly present in the speech of RPS speakers in Buenos Aires. This can be seen in (4).

(4) Perception of [ʒ] by origin
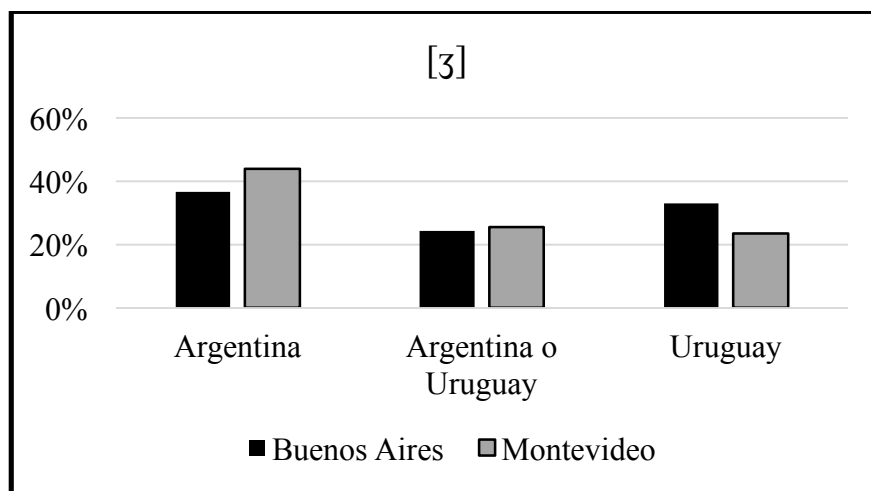
Looking at the voiceless variant [ʃ], however, we see that *region of origin* actually highly influences participants' responses, with both groups attributing the variant to their respective group – showing that there is some awareness to the sound change in their local dialect.

(5) Perception of [ʃ] by origin

[ʃ]

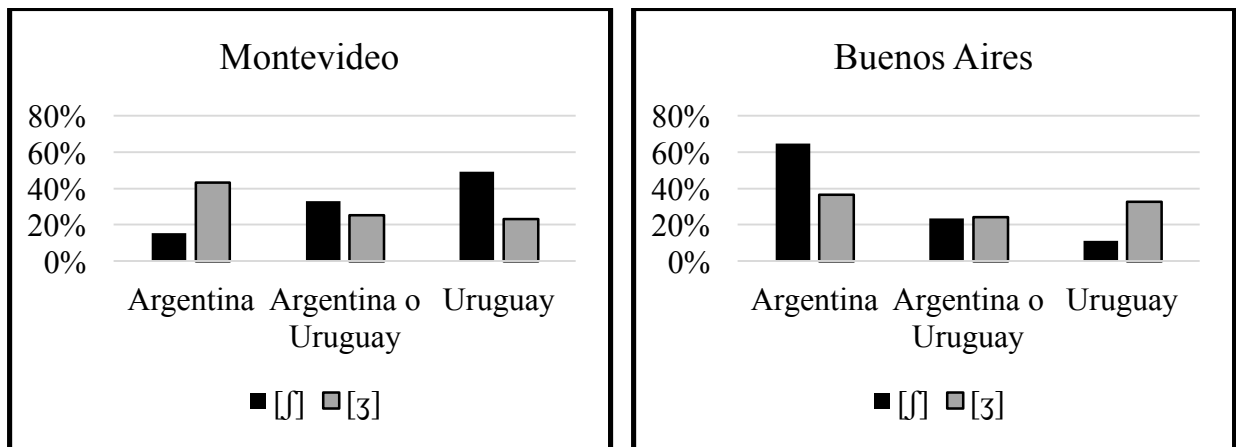| Origin	Buenos Aires	Montevideo
Argentina	65%	16%
Argentina o Uruguay	23%	33%
Uruguay	11%	50%

■ Buenos Aires ▫ Montevideo
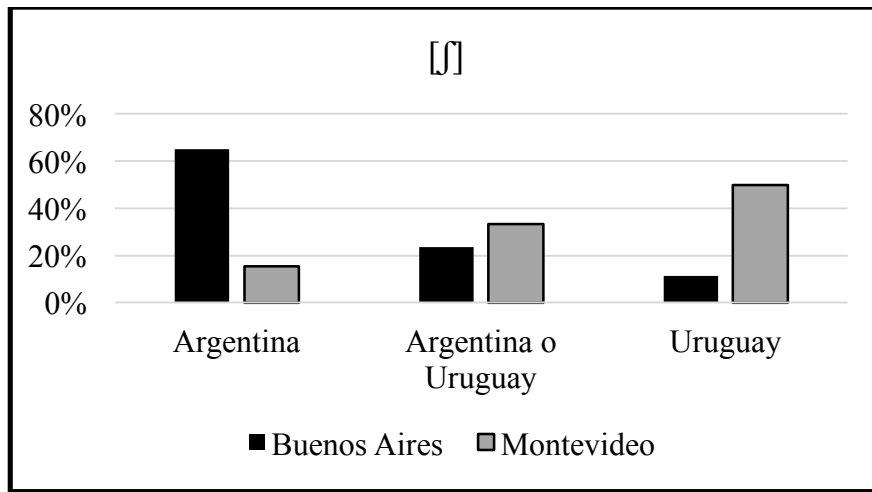
This correlation is corroborated in the analysis with a significant interaction between *sound* and *origin of the participant* ($F_{(1, 949)} = 7.540$, $p = 0.006$). The charts in (4) and (5) illustrate that participants are most likely to attribute the voiceless variant to their respective region of origin within the larger Rio de la Plata region.

Since participants' choices differed based on their responses to the two different variants, there was a main effect of *origin* ($F_{(1, 949)} = 52.114$, $p < 0.001$). Hypothesis 2 is supported by the data reported in (6). Recall that the hypothesis states that Argentine participants were expected to attribute the voiceless variant to their speech and more frequently attribute the voiced variant to Uruguayan speech, while Uruguayan participants would be more likely to attribute the voiceless sound to both their speech and Argentine speech, and attribute the voiced variant to their speech patterns.

(6) Perception of variant by city of origin of the participant

Montevideo

Origin	[ʃ]	[ʒ]
Argentina	15%	43%
Argentina o Uruguay	32%	25%
Uruguay	48%	23%

■ [ʃ] ▫ [ʒ]

Buenos Aires

Origin	[ʃ]	[ʒ]
Argentina	63%	37%
Argentina o Uruguay	23%	24%
Uruguay	11%	33%

■ [ʃ] ▫ [ʒ]

It can be seen that the country of *origin* significantly affected participants' perceptions of where each variant is being employed. The charts in (6) further support this previously mentioned claim by illustrating that Argentine participants tended to attribute the voiceless variant to their own speech, while Uruguayans tended to claim the voiceless sound as their own. This demonstrates that speakers have an awareness of the progression towards devoicing; however, they are still unaware of just how advanced the sound change is.

In addition to the significant interaction of *origin* and *sound*, there was also a significant interaction of *sound, origin,* and *age* (F (2, 949) = 3.478, *p* < 0.031), as well as *age* and *origin* (F (2, 949) = 10.759, *p* < 0.001). This is seen in (7).

(7) Sound, age, and origin
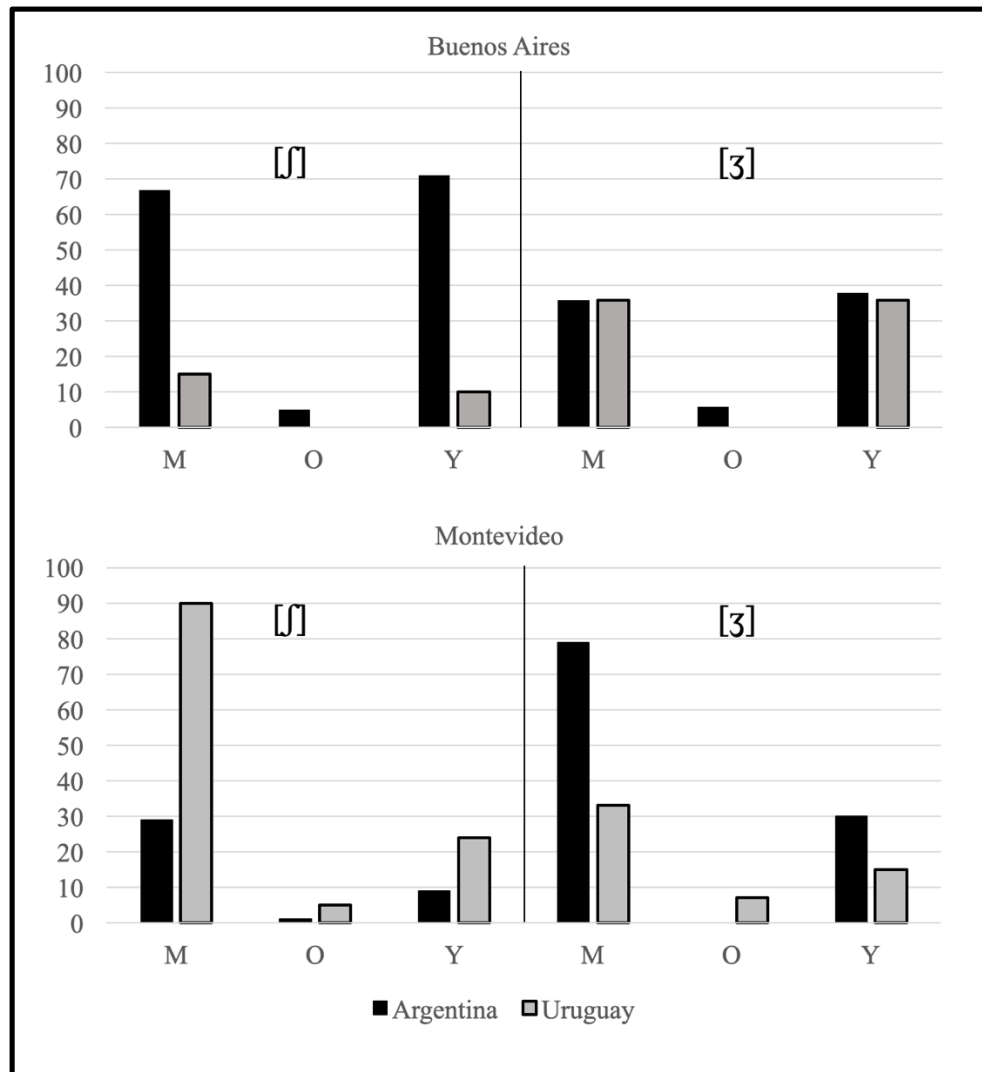
This indicates that regardless of whether the individual was still developing linguistically or not when they were introduced to the voiceless variant, the sound change has been influential enough to dilute the effect of some preexisting ideologies. The incongruence between members of the same age group across capital regions, comparing the top figure with the bottom one in (7), also aligns with the timing differences between the sound changes in the different regions.

Discussion

The results of this study call into question the status of the social ideologies associated with the devoicing in *ʒeísmo*. Recent studies (Barrios 2002, Rohena-Madrazo 2013) have provided inconclusive data on whether or not speakers are aware of the difference in voicing, and those that reported to be aware had differing opinions. However, the findings in this study support the claim that speakers are at least aware of the shift their own capital region has undergone, while they had differing opinions on the status of the devoicing in the other region. While previous

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research (Honsa 1965, Wolf & Jimenez 1979, Barrios 2002) on the sound change has acknowledged the presence of language ideologies, these studies have failed to substantially address their presence and transition throughout the progression of the sound change. This gap in the literature provides an opportunity for further explicit research on speakers' language ideologies related to the devoicing in *ʒeísmo*.

Conclusion

In this paper, we detail a perception experiment designed to determine native Rioplatense Spanish speakers' perceptions of the status of devoicing in *ʒeísmo*. Results indicate that age is a determining factor in speakers' perceptions, which can be attributed to the discrepancy in the start of the devoicing in each region. We have also determined that speakers are aware of the sound change that has taken place in their respective capital region of the larger Rio de la Plata region; however, they remain relatively unaware of the status of the change in the opposite capital region.

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Appendix A

Word list

ga**ll**o	be**ll**a	masa	lado	sano
ta**ll**e	pla**y**a	ceja	nace	dado
o**ll**a	**ll**anta	fecha	mapa	larga
llave	se**ll**a	lata	vena	selva
llana	vela	lazo	ronda	vaso
yate	baña	beca	taza	hace
e**ll**a	leva	nada	bate	rana
joya	cada	mano	lago	pata
llama	mate	raro	toca	besa
ma**ll**a	sapo	rama	daño	pera
ca**y**o	copa	roca	malo	cama
ra**y**a	ropa	manta	toma	pasa
ca**ll**e	vale	marca	caldo	salva
ma**y**o	papa	caro	venta	dato
ca**ll**a	tela	tapa	rota	plata
ha**y**a	paso	carta	mesa	bota

Appendix B

Survey lists

List 1:			
vela	beca	[ca**j**e]	pasa
baña	nada	lago	[be**j**a]
leva	mano	toca	salva
cada	raro	daño	[pla**j**a]
[gaʒo]	[joʒa]	malo	dato
mate	rama	toma	[ʒanta]
sapo	roca	[maʒo]	plata
copa	manta	caldo	[seʃa]
[ta**j**e]	[**j**ama]	venta	bota
ropa	marca	rota	
[oʃa]	caro	mesa	
vale	tapa	[ca**j**a]	
papa	carta	sano	
tela	[maʒa]	dado	
[**j**ave]	lado	larga	
paso	nace	selva	
masa	[caʃo]	vaso	
ceja	mapa	[haʃa]	
[ʃana]	vena	hace	
fecha	ronda	rana	
lata	taza	pata	
[ʒate]	[raʃa]	besa	
lazo	bate	pera	
		cama	

List 2:	mapa	*List 3:*	mapa
vela	vena	vela	vena
baña	ronda	baña	ronda
leva	taza	leva	taza
cada	[raʝa]	cada	[raʒa]
[gaʃo]	bate	[gaʝo]	bate
mate	[caʒe]	mate	[caʃe]
sapo	lago	sapo	lago
copa	toca	copa	toca
[taʒe]	daño	[taʃe]	daño
ropa	malo	ropa	malo
[oʝa]	toma	[oʒa]	toma
vale	[maʃo]	vale	[maʝo]
papa	caldo	papa	caldo
tela	venta	tela	venta
[ʒave]	rota	[ʃave]	rota
paso	mesa	paso	mesa
masa	[caʒa]	masa	[caʃa]
ceja	sano	ceja	sano
[ʝana]	dado	[ʒana]	dado
fecha	larga	fecha	larga
lata	selva	lata	selva
[ʃate]	vaso	[ʝate]	vaso
lazo	[haʝa]	lazo	[haʒa]
[eʃa]	hace	[eʝa]	hace
beca	rana	beca	rana
nada	pata	nada	pata
mano	besa	mano	besa
raro	pera	raro	pera
[joʃa]	cama	[joya]	cama
rama	pasa	rama	pasa
roca	[beʒa]	roca	[beʃa]
manta	salva	manta	salva
[ʒama]	[plaʒa]	[ʃama]	[plaʃa]
marca	dato	marca	dato
caro	[ʃanta]	caro	[ʝanta]
tapa	plata	tapa	plata
carta	[seʝa]	carta	[seʒa]
[maʃa]	bota	[maʝa]	bota
lado		lado	
nace		nace	
[caʝo]		[caʒo]	

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"This IS what you want! This is what you signed up for!": How Agencies Responsibilize Resettling Refugees

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Sociology

Abstract

US refugee resettlement agencies face a daunting task: they are federally mandated to achieve resettlement within a severely restricted time frame and funding limit per refugee, all while creating integrated, "self-sufficient" US citizens. As a result, resettlement agencies must guide resettling refugees through a rigidly scheduled set of activities that are designed to expunge 'dependency' while finding resettling refugees jobs, homes, schools, and community belonging. Interviewing resettlement case workers and volunteers in a northwestern US city, I find that staff respond to this double bind by using informal tactics to transform the character of resettled refugees into good neoliberal 'American' subjects, such that economic self-sufficiency becomes a 'sign' of worthiness for US citizenship. Staff and volunteers responsibilize resettling refugees by redefining economic self-sufficiency as a mode of self-care and by encouraging refugees to adopt a strictly short-term cost-benefit rationality. These governmentalized tactics obscure the precarious positions of many resettling refugees and instead implement a new configuration of 'barely making it,' which is hidden by the invisible, unpaid labor of volunteers and caseworkers as they try to sustain refugees who have far too few resources.

Introduction

Ruby had been involved in refugee resettlement in Boise, Idaho, for more than ten years. First a volunteer with a local resettlement agency, she claimed she "badgered" case managers and employees continually in an effort to understand how to best serve the community she felt endeared to. When employment opportunities opened, Ruby shifted into a paid full-time position at the resettlement agency. Speaking with her, it is clear she cares deeply for her clients. In her stories, she nicknames clients 'Little Mama' and 'Happy Grandma,' and openly cries while narrating tender or tragic moments. Ruby speaks of the strength her clients bring with them. She is amazed "to see how resilient that [these] families were, and how families, in spite of the [resettlement] program, are successful" (Ruby). At the same time, Ruby describes the resettlement program as a way of "shifting [to] a mindset of, 'I want to be self-sufficient.'"

Resettlement agencies are tasked with transforming the "dependent refugee" into an economically viable citizen, an individual free from the coils of public assistance and able to bootstrap their way to success. The limited length of resettlement programs, four to eight months depending on the program, creates a sense of urgency for resettlement agents who rush to impress upon refugees tools needed to survive the new landscape. Most importantly, resettlement agents work to transform the character of refugees into acceptable, self-reliant subjects who earn money as quickly as possible in order to satisfy program requirements.

Tactics are devised by resettlement agents and volunteers to 'shift the mindset' of the refugee client away from dependence-oriented behaviors, and encourage self-sufficiency through a rationality of self-care, whereby "responsible behavior amounts to caring for the self" (Hache 2007:58). Tactics focus on creating responsible subjects, refugees who adopt behaviors reflective of understanding economic self-sufficiency. However, because the tool of responsibilization sets aside the many external contributing factors to an individual's success and instead focuses it internally, concern for the refugee population that has limited access to resources guides us to the question Hache (2007:57) poses: "who can be responsible?" To understand how refugees are responsibilized, I use Michel Foucault's concept of 'neoliberal governmentality' in two ways; first to understand the tactics by which resettlement agencies and agents sculpt the subjectivities of refugees, and secondly to critically assess the rationale structuring caseworker and volunteer relationships with refugees.

Responsibilization occurs through shifting responsibility from the State to the individual, but also through the individual's desire to take on the role as responsible (Hache 2007:52). However, tactics to reshape the

subjectivities of refugees are built from particularly narrow notions of dependency which don't allow for the complex lived experiences and needs of refugees. Grace, Nawyn, and Okwako (2017:43) investigated how refugees reconstruct households in order to live within the reality of a restrictive "market citizenship." The ability of refugees to access economic opportunities, or the lack thereof, constrains citizenship and community engagement. In order to survive in an environment that places the value on economic producers, families reorganize themselves according to a "neo-liberal citizenship ratio," an arrangement whereby those who are not able to access community resources or are able to shift working family members amongst non-working members are at a greater disadvantage (Grace et al 2017:43).

The process of transforming the subjectivities of refugees is explored by Uehling (2015) in her article, *The Responsibilization of Refugees in the United States: On Political Uses of Psychology.* Uehling found resettlement service providers used psychological tactics to encourage refugees "to think and behave more like Americans" (2015:1004). Federal programs use ideals of rugged independence and individual responsibility to shift mindsets away from reliance on others and dependency on public assistance. Cultural orientation classes train refugees to think in individualistic terms, especially within family and community relationships, and frames the refugee self as solely responsible for outcomes they are experiencing.

Uehling uncovers economic self-sufficiency as the heart of the cultural classes and training; by getting refugees to identify themselves as owning responsibility in relationships, resettlement service providers are creating an environment where every aspect of refugees is governable. Resettlement service providers used tactics such as 'I' statements, techniques to shift thinking, and reorienting gender roles to fit American ideals. Whereas Uehling examines the role responsibilization plays in "family-strengthening" programs and reconstruction of gender roles, I look specifically at the tactics used by caseworkers and volunteers to instill self-sufficiency as a measure of success. Uehling's research provides a strong base to inform my own research in terms of responsibilization's importance in the resettlement process.

Methods

This case study uses qualitative interviews from seven participants associated with the refugee resettlement program in a northwestern metropolitan city. Four of the participants either worked or volunteered with resettlement agencies. Two were directors of a volunteer outreach group renamed for this study World Friends, an organization that places community members in mentor-like roles with refugees under the umbrella of friendship. These citizen volunteers become 'friendship mentors' to refugees and help them adjust to life through doing 'friendship' activities. The remaining participant was a student who had exited refugee status and would regularly work for resettlement agencies as a translator or assist with English-learning classes.

Interviews took place between May and August 2018 and lasted for an average of 90 minutes. The interview questions were open-ended, focusing on their experience within the resettlement process as well as the topic of self-sufficiency. In addition to interviews, I collected text materials such as handbooks and training material. Whenever possible, I participated in events offered to the community to spread awareness of and celebrate the diversity of people resettled as refugees locally. This included refugee and diversity conferences, a citizenship ceremony, and a 'Neighbor Narrative' which hosted refugees to speak about their story and answer questions from the public at the local library.

Responsibilizing Refugees

The transformation that responsibilization induces is continuous and requires ongoing maintenance from multiple sites of influence. Whereas World Friends sets about instilling self-sufficiency through making responsible community members, resettlement agencies do so by making responsible employees. The federal program of resettlement tackles the issue of self-sufficiency through an employment-focused approach. Resettlement agencies are given a list of scheduled activities to be met by refugees in order to receive federal funding.

Ruby describes the federal resettlement program as "a little cut and dry. It's financial self-sufficiency, and they do take a look at what are the other things that more well-roundedly make us self-sufficient. But honestly from a federal perspective it's, it's, um, it's more simplistic with those markers of self-sufficiency." Becky, a case manager from another local resettlement agency, reiterates the focus on financial self-sufficiency with the goal of self-sufficiency at the end of the grant terms (four months for Matching Grant and eight months for Transitional Refugee Assistance). This narrow time window pressures caseworkers to ensure refugees are able to navigate the 'real world' after exiting the resettlement program. Below, I elaborate tactics used by caseworkers and volunteers to induce

responsibilized self-sufficiency in refugees: defining the individual; self-sufficiency as a mode of self-care; and economic guidance and understanding of costs-benefits.

Self-care and self-sufficiency

Consistent with neoliberal resettlement practices, the importance of personal responsibility is pressed on refugees throughout resettlement and from many nodes of influence: employment specialists, English teachers, job skills trainers, volunteers, health specialists, and case managers. A statement in a brochure from a local resettlement agency illustrates the importance of personal responsibility, stating, "[w]e encourage our clients to take charge of their own job search and to leverage their community contacts, which gives them pride in ownership of the process. If a person is truly motivated to work, there is no barrier that cannot be overcome." Rife in this statement is the responsibility of refugees to become economically self-sufficient. Obstacles, such as time limits and financial ability, are minimized and everyone is imagined on equal footing, able to progress in direct proportion to the effort made by the individual. The resettlement agency, the community, and the U.S. government are all bereft of responsibility for the refugee's well-being; it is now managed with properly motivated self-care.

In order to assume responsibility, subjects must see themselves as rugged, self-reliant individuals, but agencies see incoming refugees as mired in abject dependence, which must be broken. Leon has worked in relief development for over twenty years and is the co-director of World Friends. He explains the dependency mindset begins in refugee camps, as refugees are provided with services necessary for survival and continues with the service–oriented nature of resettlement agencies. Because he believes resettlement agencies continue the dependency mindset, the role friendship mentors play in community integration must also foster self-sufficiency. Friendship mentors make weekly visits to the home of an assigned, newly arrived refugee to help them adjust to resettlement in the States. World Friends provides their volunteers with conversation cards which focused on tasks such as how to pay a bill or how to find a job. The cards are used to help the friendship mentor feel at ease while also educating the refugee.

The World Friends Handbook addresses the issue of self-sufficiency and establishes a guideline for friendship mentors to use when visiting refugees. In order to crush the dependency mindset, friendship mentors are advised to teach refugees skills rather than do activities for refugees, help them differentiate between needs and wants, give time and not money, and setting clear boundaries that establish a friend relationship rather than that as a provider. These guidelines not only protect friendship mentors from being taken advantage of, but also allow refugees to take inventory of what they bring with them. It is understood by friendship mentors that, although refugees arrive as dependents, underneath is a valuable skill set to use towards a type of self-sufficiency; friendship mentors are there to help it emerge. Refugees who are able to identify their own special skills can visualize themselves as capable individuals able to contribute to the community.

Leon developed a device for friendship mentors to help refugees uncover this skill set and integrate into society without dependency. He exhorts friendship mentors to identify the "gifts" refugees bring "through the head" (things refugees know and can talk about/teach), "hands" (know how to do), and "heart" (topics that are cared about). He explains:

> [Friendship mentors] do that by not just giving, but they really try to explore the person themselves…In the training I talked about the idea of head, heart and hands, and in their relationship trying to explore the capacities and the things that the refugee may have in terms of gifts, in terms of their own community. Things that they can bring to bear to solve their own problems. So, to encourage the volunteers to help facilitate a process by which the refugee is really participating, engaged in their own solutions. So, it's not just a matter of solving the problem for them or all of your, you know, you can have this [money or objects]. But it's if you really care about the person you want to see at the end of that process, someone's who's more enabled for a sort of 'build their resiliency' and that sort of way. (Leon)

The friendship between mentors and refugees is used as a tool for transformation of the refugee's "head, heart, hands." Acts that would encourage dependency, such as giving money gifts or performing activities for refugees, are openly discouraged and identified as acts of harm because it works against the refugee's own ability to engage. It is important that refugees understand that the best care is taking care of themselves, that the self becomes a project of care.

Case managers and volunteers through resettlement agencies assist refugees through the process of responsibilization by uncovering what refugees' want from resettlement. Ruby, for example, describes conversations held early in the resettlement process with clients regarding the program and the refugee's desires. She states, "[t]his

is the length of our program. These are the things that we want to accomplish. What are some of the things that you want to accomplish? What are barriers to accomplishing those things?" By asking refugees their hopes for work and resettlement, case managers attempt to provide a sense of ownership through aligning personal goals with the program. Minimized in the process is the scarcity of employment and lack of employable skills often mandates case managers place refugees wherever available. Refugees are required to accept their first job offer, often at the detriment of job-skills, English-language classes, and a living wage. Yet, the push for early employment is also part of self-care because nothing is possible if you can't afford it.

Imagining future plans is one part of shifting the mindset of refugees. Setting up a polar opposition relationship between abject dependency and ideal self-sufficiency is another. In agency discourse, the presence of one requires the absence of the other, encouraging refugees to think of the reduction of social services in positive terms even when service reduction means a significant loss of economic and social resources. Ruby does this in the following way:

> You know, when people come in and say, oh my, uh, my food stamps got cut, um, I always respond with, oh my gosh, I'm so proud of you! That's amazing! So, then they're like, I don't think you understood what I just said. And I'm like, yeah, I did! I'm so proud of you! That's amazing! That's great! So, it's this, this constant positive reinforcement of, yeah, this is what you want. This IS what you want, this is, this is what you signed up for when you wanted to be in a life of providing for yourself. And a life of self-sufficiency. This is it. (Ruby)

The issue of food stamp reduction is a sign to case managers of progress in self-sufficiency, but for refugees it can be a frightening time of reduced assistance. Because the SNAP program reduces the monthly amount for services when monthly wages increase, it is often a zero-sum event; the household money neither increases nor decreases. However, the moral value of social service reduction is positive. Ruby uses this event as a self-sufficiency marker for refugees to know they are on the right path. Further, it is used as an understanding of how to consider future actions which may not increase the actual economic value of the individual but have a positive moral value because of a self-responsibilizing quality.

Much of the spending that occurs during the first thirty days of resettlement is out of the hands of refugees. The $925 they receive is used for housing costs and supplies, food and transportation. The remaining amount is given to refugees as 'pocket money.' Becky described a client who demanded a recount of the expenses incurred during the 30 days, certain he was owed more money which he desperately needed to pay rent during the third month. Becky stated the scripted response to this dilemma is "well, you should have saved that pocket money we gave you." His inability to pay rent is attributed to a lack of good fiscal choice-making rather than the additional circumstances surrounding the client as a single, minimum-wage income-earner for a household of five.

Understanding costs-benefit

A fundamental aspect of neoliberalism is bringing the subject to conceptualize themselves as a rational actor, and every choice as an economic choice in which profit and profitability must be calculated and measured (Lemke 2001:201). Case managers and volunteers offer economic guidance for the costs-benefits accounting of practices required by responsibilization; these are seen as 'rational.' Gina is the other co-director of World Friends. She described herself as an educator who has worked cross-culturally and is also Leon's wife. Gina elaborates the organization's mission as providing a meaningful way for refugees to integrate into the community. She states, "we want them [the friendship mentors] to help this new family go: 'Boise is much more than this apartment complex that I'm in and I can enjoy going to the park. I can enjoy going down to the river' or whatever" (24:11G). Her description of successful participation in the community includes activities with minimal monetary cost. This was an important part of the training World Friends does with their volunteers – getting friendship mentors to consider activities with economic prudence. This arises from knowledge of the sparse economic holdings refugees are generally situated with. Both in debt and, if working, often making little more than minimum wage, frugality becomes an important skill set for volunteers to pass on. Gina and Leon named additional activities that were low-cost, such as cheap movie days at the cinema, as well as activities that would provide refugees with an understanding of 'making the dollar stretch,' such as shopping at thrift shops.

An additional example of bringing refugees to govern themselves along a cost-benefit framework occurs with job-skills and English-language classes. Attendance in these classes is required to receive funding through the resettlement program, but occasionally refugees contest attendance. Lisa, an English Language Project Manager, explains the reasoning is "this is basically their job – they're coming here fifteen hours a week instead of working

for forty hours a week – so they get basically some salary for coming here." Negotiating whether to attend the class or not is a practice of a costs-benefits rationality.

Refugees are free to choose to participate in the obligatory portions of the program; however, refusal to participate is removal from the resettlement program. Very few students, Lisa informs me, choose to exit the program. An individual whom I spoke casually with at a conference explained as a resettled refugee, he had elected to leave the resettlement program because he felt his English was satisfactory and he wanted to focus on employment. Robert, whose English was also satisfactory when he arrived, commented on the difficulties of attending the English language classes. Public transportation is a hindrance to many refugees without vehicles. The city bus lines are limited, and Lisa described instances of refugees riding two hours just to arrive at the English Language Center. This means the requisite fifteen hours a week also carries the burden of transportation time.

When dependency is nurtured and chastised

In one sense, it is commonly accepted that refugees are utterly dependent on the services and care from resettlement agents; they are foreigners to a new country, bringing minimal resources (outside of their hands, head, and heart!) and are loaded with the looming debt of flight fees to the U.S. The federal resettlement program ends after only a few months of residency in the United States, provoking an urgency in training refugees to a place of economic survivability. The rush to meet benchmarks and secure employment allows little room for adequate development of skills which would lead to what most citizens would recognize as self-sufficiency. Increased time spent in both job-skill advancement and English-language classes would give refugees an opportunity to move beyond the low-skill, low-wage jobs they are often relegated to, and often unable to advance out of.

When refugees do actively pursue self-sufficiency, they can be met with resistance from volunteers and case managers. The resettlement program is short with definitive procedures that must be followed and refugees can be perceived to threaten the flow. Becky recounted how a client had expressed that his agency was upset with him for consistently questioning the resettlement process. Becky said that refugees' silence is often taken as understanding when the opposite is true. But silent 'compliance' makes the difficult tasks of staff and volunteers easier:

> There was some misconception that, yeah, that to ask questions was kind of bothersome… I found this within the agency, [that] those clients were bothersome. You know, like they weren't trusting us to do our job. But, they were just, it's their future, you know. (Becky)

Dependency is both chastised and nurtured. Refugees, amongst the hurly-burly of a new culture, must learn to navigate when dependency is acceptable and when it is not. Ironically, when refugees do what they are told to do, when they are compliant, things often work out badly. The very inculcation of a "cost-benefit" rationality is itself irrational (Ritzer 1983) and creates deep problems for refugees that will not be easily shifted. Becky's experience with a client highlights the trouble here; she was having a 30-day budget 'review' with a young mother working two jobs who was yet unable to pay for childcare or rent. Such 'budget reviews' are designed to 'help' clients begin to think in rational economic terms, rather than assuming a position of dependence on the agencies. Becky explains "we went over her budget and we're trying to explain to her the only thing she can do is have a roommate. So, uh, that's, we just try to come up with a plan and then explain to our client what the plan is and why this is the plan." Through the process of taking a line by line accounting of the young mother's financial costs, Becky provides her client with knowledge of her economic strengths and weaknesses, so she can make the beneficial choice. Yet, despite the push to economic self-sufficiency, following what Ruby calls the "x, y, z's" of resettlement doesn't always end in self-sufficiency.

Conclusion

In most resettlement cases, case managers are heavily involved in the lives of their clients for only four to eight months. After the case has been closed, case managers may see former clients on their rounds to check in on new clients or at community events celebrating diversity. I informally spoke with Becky after she completed her rounds at an apartment complex, dropping off children's books she collected from friends to refugee families with children. It had been several months since she had been back to this location. She was off the clock, dispensing advice on job skills and listening to transportation woes from new clients as well as refugees who are not assigned to her. "All my old clients are gone," she says to me, "I hope they're okay."

Most case managers and volunteers enter into resettlement out of a desire to help. Hannah, Ruby, and Becky sought out positions in refugee resettlement to interrupt stigmatization of refugees. Once they became resettlement agents, their help was redefined strictly in terms of economic self-sufficiency. But all of the participants I interviewed confessed worrying that the resettlement program causes a kind of harm to the resettlement of refugees. Ruby argued the time constraints and decreased funding prevent the refugee from receiving the care they require. Gina and Leon felt integration in to the community was bypassed in the focus on employment. They came to the work from concern about refugees' wellbeing, but their work is designed primarily to sculpt a compliant subject who thinks of itself and its actions and choices in terms of crude, short-term economics.

Even when case managers and volunteers engage in acts of resistance (e.g., engaging with clients outside of work hours despite being warned not to), their efforts are still designed to bring refugees to participate in the subjugation of themselves. And this after-hour work by case managers and volunteers hides the flaws of the resettlement program since it becomes invisible labor. Volunteers are particularly important parts of an externalized system of care for refugees, because the "x, y, z, then you're self-sufficient" model is simply mythology. Instead, assistance from many locations, often unaccounted for and untraced, enables the survival of refugees. In one example, friendship mentors supplied rides to work for a refugee couple, alleviating them of the four-hour bus ride until they had saved money to purchase a vehicle, even though formally this was out of the purview of the 'relationship' and would have been defined as dependency. Friendship mentors are also able to assist long after the federal resettlement program has ended; and become the main forms of infrastructure and support, while allowing the programs to 'seem' successful.

Grace et al. (2017) and Hache (2007) claim only certain bodies become valuable when self-sufficiency is the determining measure. It is not enough to ask who wouldn't want to be responsible or self-sufficient. Instead, we should ask how we can broaden the definition of responsible or self-sufficient to encompass more forms of wellbeing, interdependence, and support among people. Dilts (2007:143) argues that as governable subjects under a rationality, we "must think not just about how to resist the use of power, but also how to conduct ourselves under those rules … ethically rather than satisfactorily."

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Publications

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Cell and Molecular Biology

Citation

Browning, L., Patel, M. R., Horvath, E. B., Tawara, K., & Jorcyk, C. L. (2018). IL-6 and ovarian cancer: inflammatory cytokines in promotion of metastasis. *Cancer management and research*, *10*, 6685–6693. doi:10.2147/CMAR.S179189

Joel Johnson: McNair Scholar

Dr. Kristy Tiampo and Dr. Jen Pierce: Mentors

Geology

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