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St. Mary's University

ST. MARY'S UNIVERSITY

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The St. Mary's University
McNair Scholars Program

RESEARCH JOURNAL

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St. Mary's University, founded in 1852, is a Hispanic Serving Institution, the oldest and largest Catholic university in the Southwest. We are majority female & Hispanic, with over 74% of our undergraduates members of an underrepresented group & more than 20% low-income, first-generation students.

The McNair Scholars Program is funded by the U.S. Department of Education to prepare undergraduate students for doctoral study through involvement in research and other scholarly activities. It was established in honor of Challenger astronaut and laser physicist Dr. Ronald E. McNair. Since our funding in 2007, over 150 students have become St. Mary's McNair Scholars and have pursued graduate education throughout the nation at universities including Notre Dame, Texas A&M, Michigan, Yale, Iowa, Indiana, Illinois, Oklahoma, Alabama, Tulane, Fordham, and many others. Recently, our success has come full circle, with a scholar returning to St. Mary's with her PhD as a full-time faculty member & McNair scholar mentor. The assistant director, Dr. Samadhi Metta Bexar, is also a St. Mary's alumna who returned to San Antonio to serve students from a similar background: first-generation, low-income, and underrepresented in graduate school.

But the McNair program has faced challenges. In 2017, comments by an OMB official questioning the success of several TRiO initiatives led to discussions regarding future funding. McNair students & staff were instrumental in replying to the inaccurate comments & contacting officials to secure the integrity of TRiO funding.

In Texas, home to most St. Mary's students, only 24.5% of the population holds a bachelor's degree or higher. Texans continue to lag behind the national average at all levels of educational attainment. Among those 25 and older, 8.2% of Texas residents held graduate degrees compared to 10% nationally (US Bureau of the Census). These inequalities in achievement are

reflected in the make-up of the professoriate & impact the availability of role models for our scholars & students.

In spite of these and other challenges, our students continue to press forward in their studies & research, examples of which you will read here. With determination, enthusiasm, and encouragement, students propel themselves into a future which was perhaps unimaginable only 20 years ago. Attaining the PhD is not only a career decision for our students; they are animated by the desire to create a more equitable and diverse community & society. Over the course of their research with dedicated mentors, these students have created material pushing the boundaries of knowledge now and establishing guidelines for their future. Beyond that, they have begun to grasp their potential and the power of their voices.

All in all, McNair Scholars aim for more than the stars that Dr. McNair studied and dreamed of: they have their eyes set on graduate school and beyond.

Samadhi Metta Bexar, PhD
Assistant Director

Jennifer Zwahr-Castro, PhD
Director

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The Relative Advantage of One-Way to Repeated-Measures ANOVA with High Student Turnover

Gabriela A. Aquino Aguilar

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Researchers commonly agree that a repeated-measures ANOVA (RMA) is appropriate for modeling a continuous dependent variable that is measured more than two times by a single categorical independent variable. While this is generally true, RMA tests tend to be under-powered when there is a high proportion of missing cases. Situations such as these are likely to arise in places like schools that serve a highly mobile student population. The prevailing methods of handling missing cases lead to misrepresentation of results due to lack of statistical power (e.g., listwise deletion) or inflated Type-I error rates (e.g., mean substitution). Another method, regression imputation, has more potential as a statistically appropriate strategy, but requires that the researcher be sufficiently knowledgeable of statistics and statistical programs to execute it properly. This study evaluated whether employing a one-way ANOVA (OWA) instead of RMA would lead to increased statistical power without artificially increasing the risk of Type-I error. Results indicate that the OWA outperforms RMA across small, medium, and large sample sizes when within-subject data are uncorrelated and also when there is a high proportion of missing cases. In other words, RMA is only advantageous when data are highly correlated and there is a low proportion of missing cases. Implications for the practical utility of the OWA in educational settings and future directions for research on alternative methods of dealing with missing cases are discussed.

Repeated waves of measurement in longitudinal studies provide teachers with updated information on students across several time periods. The changes that occur with time can lead to insight about students' exposure to a treatment and the variables being tested. This particular method of data analysis also allows teachers to more easily distinguish the association between change and the exposure to the treatment (Karahalios et al., 2013). Integrating the repeated waves of testing is commonly seen in other areas, such as epidemiological and medical studies, especially when the participants' predicted outcome differs significantly from the baseline results or if the purpose of the research is to assess the collective effect resulting from exposure to several factors (Karahalios, Baglietto, Carlin, English, & Simpson, 2012). However, rather than leaving this task solely to professionals, it would be practical if teachers could also be able to test their own interventions or methods in the classroom and verify if their techniques truly enhance their students' learning environment.

Oftentimes, when professionals are conducting a study, uncontrollable circumstances bring challenges to the experiment. In some cases, researchers face the issue of denial of further participation. Other participants simply are unable to attend the data collection process and, as a result, not enough information is obtained for particular measurement waves (Rezvan, Lee, & Simpson, 2015). Because teachers have to gather data of the individuals through multiple periods of time, they also encounter many of these issues that affect the collection process of the study, like incoming students in the middle of the year or those who move to a different school. Depending on the nature of the test, other situations could increase the chances of participant mortality. For example, if the duration of the test is longer, it could cause fatigue in students and result in incomplete values when they skip questions or choose "not applicable" simply because they no longer feel motivated to read the questions. These high turnover rates pose significant problems for teachers who aim to determine the extent to which their pedagogical

interventions had an impact over the course of a semester or years. With a substantial proportion of missing cases, teachers have to determine the most appropriate method for handling this situation, in order for their results to be valid. Unfortunately, this is a critical part of the examination. Teachers often choose to ignore student records through listwise deletion or seek external researchers who can perform difficult statistical analyses for them, neither of which is a good option. Even for professionals, this process of handling missing data involves complicated procedures.

Common Approaches to Missing Cases

One of the common approaches to this issue, as previously mentioned, is listwise deletion. In this method, all of the affected participant's data is excluded if there is one or more missing value. This method, however, results in a decrease in precision of the exposure-outcome association and could also falsify the findings due to a lack of statistical power (Karahalios et al., 2013). Two other issues that need to be taken under consideration in such conditions are loss of efficiency and complication of data handling and analysis.

The most common approach investigators use to address these concerns is multiple imputation (Horton & Lipsitz, 2001). This method begins by creating a distribution of plausible values for the missing observations that reflects the uncertainty of the nonresponse model. The datasets are analyzed with the use of complete-data methods. Then, the results are combined, allowing the uncertainty concerning the imputation to be taken into consideration. Despite its popularity, this approach makes assumptions about the missing data that are unable to be validated from the observed data (Rezvan, Lee, & Simpson, 2015).

Another preferred method is mean substitution, which replaces the unknown values with the average that is computed from the available data that were collected on that variable. Similarly, to handle the issue of missingness, the Last Observation Carried Forward (LOCF) approach substitutes the missing data point with the known values on the previous

measures for that individual. This creates the assumption that the exposure status of the participant has remained the same throughout the waves of measurement and under-estimates the treatment effect. Though these methods seem promising for managing missing data, they could also be considered untrustworthy because they usually produce biased results (Karahalios, Baglietto, Carlin, English, & Simpson, 2012). Additionally, mean substitution is especially dangerous because its simple utility is appealing, but it also inflates Type-I error rates.

This extremely critical issue of missing cases in longitudinal studies continues to affect the statistical power and precision of the tests. And, while these commonly used methods are complicated even for professional researchers, they are much more challenging for school teachers who need quicker and less complex methods to handle missing cases that do not introduce bias to the findings.

Purpose of Current Study

The purpose of this study is to determine which statistical test, Repeated-measures ANOVA (RMA) or One-way ANOVA (OWA), more effectively manages missing data values, across several different conditions: the sample size, level of correlation, mean difference, and proportion of missingness. The techniques used in this study to handle missing data are reliable, yet practical methods that teachers—regardless of their knowledge and abilities in mathematics or statistics—can understand and use on their own with statistical software that is readily accessible, such as Microsoft EXCEL.

Repeated-Measures ANOVA

This statistical test is a traditional method of analyzing data collected from the same participants, on three or more occasions, and while using the same instrument. The strength of this method of analysis results from the fact that the source of error is controlled for, since the same participants are being tested at different times. This means that the individual differences between each subject can be partially removed and the correlation

across measurement points also tends to be greater than zero, reducing error variance, or "unexplained variance." The more correlated each measurement is to each other, the closer it comes to having a perfect correlation (1.0) and the more accurate the missing values can be predicted.

Although RMA seems favorable, if any of the data from the three measurement points are unavailable, the analysis would need to be adjusted. This usually involves removing missing cases from the sample (i.e. listwise deletion), which then reduces the sample size and could result in misrepresentation of the characteristics of the population to which the findings must be applied. A potential method to address the problem of attenuated sample size is to impute the missing values based on the information that remains (e.g., mean substitution). As previously mentioned, mean substitution allows the teacher to replace the unknown cases with the overall mean from other students on that measurement point. This could recover sample size while imputing a value that is unbiased, in relation to the other data points for that variable, but it artificially reduces the variance and could lead to increased Type-I error rates if the proportion of missing cases is moderately high. Another option to resolve this issue is to replace missing cases with values computed through a regression procedure. This involves predicting the score that the student would be likely to achieve based on the results from the previous measurements. Similarly to mean imputation, the regression approach allows teachers to keep all the cases in the sample. Also, because imputed values vary depending on the other measurement points, there is less artificial reduction in variability on the variable that is being tested and less risk of inflated Type-I errors. However, as seen with multiple imputation, the regression method is another advanced procedure that requires extensive knowledge of statistics and it is unlikely that teachers would feel comfortable using this method to address the issue of missingness. Moreover, the imputed data were not actually generated from the students, which means that important decisions could be made based on fabricated data.

One-Way ANOVA

This approach is typically used when the teacher has three or more levels of a categorical variable and one measurement point for a continuous dependent variable. Therefore, teachers would not ordinarily be inclined to use OWA when comparing the changes in scores for the same students over three points in time—baseline at the beginning of the year, a posttest examination at midterm, and a follow-up test at the end of the academic year. However, if the teacher treats the measurements point as different levels of a between-groups variable, rather than distinct levels of a within-subjects variable, as seen with RMA, then missing cases will preserve data from the other measurement points. Because of this, data are not created, which means that scores are preserved and authentic data are being used in the analysis. However, the disadvantage is that OWA does not benefit from the fact that data across time tend to be correlated because the same students are providing information at different measurement points. Consequently, in order for OWA to be a viable option in this case, it cannot lead to inflated Type-I error rates. Additionally, it would need to result in more statistical power than RMA to represent a significant advantage over the traditional approach.

Hypotheses

The following hypotheses for this study are derived from the previously discussed nature of ANOVA statistical analyses. In this study, it is expected that, as the within-subjects correlation strengthens and level of missingness is reduced, RMA will create more favorable results, displaying more statistical power. Conversely, in the situation of a decreased correlation and a higher proportion of missing cases, OWA is predicted to have greater statistical power than RMA. Additionally, OWA is predicted to appear more conservative than RMA with respect to nominal levels of Type-I error.

Method

This study compares two different statistical methods that manage missing cases on the basis of Type-I and Type-II errors

for within-subjects data collected for the pretest, posttest, and follow-up waves of measurement: (1) RMA and (2) OWA.

Conditions

Using R statistical software, 1000 datasets were created for 81 specific conditions, consisting of three levels of four manipulated categories. The first dimension was *sample size*, which was specified to be small ($n = 30$), medium ($n = 90$), or large ($n = 270$) to reasonably mirror class size, grade size, and school size. The second dimension was *magnitude of correlation* between each measurement test, which was specified to be completely uncorrelated ($r = 0$), moderately correlated ($r = .15$), or highly correlated ($r = .45$). The third dimension was *degree of mean difference* between each measurement point with either no mean difference to test for Type-I errors ($\sigma = 0$), a small mean difference of approximately one-third of a standard deviation ($\sigma = .34$), or a large mean difference of approximately one-half of a standard deviation ($\sigma = .48$). The fourth and final dimension related to the *proportion of missing cases* which included no missing cases (0%), a small proportion of missing cases (10%), and a large proportion of missing cases (33%).

Decisions about whether to reject the null hypotheses were based on a .05 alpha level. Because this was the set level of risk associated with falsely rejecting the null hypothesis with randomly generated z-scores, the expected number of Type-I errors for each condition after 1,000 repetitions was 50. This predicted number was then compared to the results that were generated after each iteration, which provided the actual number of times the *p*-values of each repetition resulted in a number less than .05. These resulting values allowed for comparisons of Type-I (falsely deciding that there is a significant difference) and Type-II (not detecting a significant result when, in fact, there is) errors in the data for each controlled condition to determine which ANOVA test is favored under which circumstances. The results for each corresponding statistical method tested (RMA of OWA) were recorded after running the code with the adjusted sample

size, correlation level, degree of mean difference, and proportion of missing data.

Results

Small Sample Size

At the smaller sample size, OWA displayed greater statistical power for uncorrelated data under all conditions (see Table 1). As the correlation strengthened to moderate (.15), RMA fared better and surpassed OWA in all conditions, except those with high missingness. At the most extreme correlation, RMA had more statistical power in every condition.

With respect to Type-I error, OWA had more conservative or equal rates than RMA in all but one condition (no correlation and moderate missingness). Overall, of the 27 conditions at this sample size, 15 showed results favoring OWA. These include almost every scenario in which there was no mean difference and zero correlation. When focusing solely on missingness, OWA continues to show greater power when the percentage of missing values is highest (33%), as seen in 7 out of 9 cases. The exceptions occur at the highest level of correlation (.45). The observed rate of Type-I error for each condition did not result higher than the stated level (α=.05) for OWA, but it occurred twice for RMA.

Medium Sample Size

A similar pattern emerged when the sample size increased (see Table 2). With uncorrelated data, OWA continued to show preferred results, outperforming RMA in all nine conditions. A moderate correlation level (.15) favored RMA only at a level of zero missingness—otherwise, OWA prevailed unilaterally. In contrast, RMA had more statistical power across all conditions at the highest correlation, except with the greatest mean differences and highest missingness. Seven of the 9 conditions involving potential Type-I error favored OWA. These two exceptions ocurred when there was no correlation and low to moderate missingness.

For this sample size, OWA had more conditions (11 out of 18) with greater statistical power. Though some specific

situations in this medium sample size favored RMA, these had significantly less advantage than the degree of advantage associated with OWA. Moreover, OWA exceeded the stated alpha level only twice as compared to six times for the RMA.

Large Sample Size

OWA proved to be far superior again for this sample size (see Table 3). When focusing only on uncorrelated data, the results show that OWA had preferred or equal outcomes in all of the conditions. As the correlation increased (.15 and .45), the RMA tended to have more statistical power relative to OWA, actually surpassing OWA in three conditions—two of those where there was no missingness and the other when missingness was low. The trend for Type-I error remained the same for the large sample size, and OWA showed more conservative than RMA across all conditions except one (no correlation and low missingness).

In summary, with a large sample size, OWA had equal or more power than RMA in 15 of the 18 conditions. It also had more conservative Type-I error rates in eight of the nine conditions. The OWA Type-I error rate exceeded 50 per 1000 iterations in only two conditions, whereas the RMA rate exceeded 50 in six of the nine conditions.

Discussion

The study tested the efficacy of RMA and OWA under 81 manipulated conditions concerning sample size, correlation, mean difference, and missingness according to Type-I and Type-II error rates. The results indicate that OWA generally has more statistical power than RMA across the small, medium, and large sample sizes when there is a low level of correlation between measurement points, and also when the extent of missing data is high. Therefore, RMA appears to be advantageous mainly in situations when the correlation between measurements is high and the proportion of missing cases is low. Though each sample size resulted in unique situations that varied depending on the sample size, the general distribution is extremely similar for each condition and all display OWA as the preferred method. When it

comes to Type-I errors, OWA consistently displayed better results than RMA, even if the resulting values appeared indistinguishable in certain situations.

For teachers who decide to use this method when conducting their own class interventions, the OWA statistical test produced more favorable results under almost all cases with high student turnover. Instead of focusing on complicated statistical methods like multiple imputation or LOCF, school teachers can independently conduct their statistical analyses by utilizing free, online calculators like GraphPad to perform their OWA tests.

In terms of practical implications, this study could be used to facilitate statistical analyses for teachers by developing a setting in Excel Macro where data that are imputed could be automatically analyzed by the program and provide immediate results. As a result, the findings for the teachers' interventions would be gathered in a quick and practical way, which would greatly attend to their needs.

Future directions for research on alternative methods of dealing with missing data are stressed, considering that these conditions should continue to be tested at different levels, with varying degrees of mean differences and missingness, to more specifically identify the limits of sensitivity for each ANOVA test that was discussed in this study. Another area for future research that could improve the results in this study is type of missingness. The present research does not necessarily solve the issue of missingness because it assumed that data were missing completely at random. This means that the students' scores on each measurement test were independent from whether or not they were present for the test. If this were not the case with the data, the results and analyses could differ or be biased. For this reason, additional research is needed to address the biases that change depending on several types of missing data (i.e. MAR, MNAR).

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Table 1
Number of Significant Differences out of 1,000 Iterations for a Small Sample Size

Correlation	Mean difference	Missingness	RMA	OWA
0	0	0	41	41
0	0	0.1	**43***	50
0	0	0.33	64	**50***
0	0.34	0	184	**188***
0	0.34	0.1	148	**178***
0	0.34	0.33	126	**200***
0	0.48	0	344	**352***
0	0.48	0.1	289	**326***
0	0.48	0.33	198	**349***
0.15	0	0	41	**26***
0.15	0	0.1	43	**24***
0.15	0	0.33	51	**35***
0.15	0.34	0	**213***	157
0.15	0.34	0.1	**177***	154
0.15	0.34	0.33	126	**171***
0.15	0.48	0	**390***	328
0.15	0.48	0.1	**334***	306
0.15	0.48	0.33	221	**333***
0.45	0	0	41	**3***
0.45	0	0.1	43	**5***
0.45	0	0.33	50	**5***
0.45	0.34	0	**315***	91
0.45	0.34	0.1	**263***	86
0.45	0.34	0.33	**172***	86
0.45	0.48	0	**573***	253
0.45	0.48	0.1	**504***	238
0.45	0.48	0.33	**332***	263

Note. * = preferred result

Table 2
Number of Significant Differences out of 1,000 Iterations for a Medium Sample Size

Correlation	Mean difference	Missingness	RMA	OWA
0	0	0	**61***	62
0	0	0.1	**44***	49
0	0	0.33	55	55
0	0.34	0	516	**525***
0	0.34	0.1	449	**541***
0	0.34	0.33	315	**535***
0	0.48	0	849	**853***
0	0.48	0.1	769	**842***
0	0.48	0.33	571	**823***
0.15	0	0	61	**38***
0.15	0	0.1	44	**31***
0.15	0	0.33	55	**37***
0.15	0.34	0	**605***	517
0.15	0.34	0.1	510	**524***
0.15	0.34	0.33	357	**516***
0.15	0.48	0	**906***	866
0.15	0.48	0.1	833	**857***
0.15	0.48	0.33	634	**834***
0.45	0	0	61	**3***
0.45	0	0.1	44	**5***
0.45	0	0.33	59	**4***
0.45	0.34	0	**803***	479
0.45	0.34	0.1	**731***	493
0.45	0.34	0.33	**501***	476
0.45	0.48	0	**981***	891
0.45	0.48	0.1	**960***	889
0.45	0.48	0.33	808	**870***

Note. * = preferred result

Table 3
Number of Significant Differences out of 1,000 Iterations for a Large Sample Size

Correlation	Mean difference	Missingness	RMA	OWA
0	0	0	52	**51***
0	0	0.1	**46***	49
0	0	0.33	62	**55***
0	0.34	0	943	**944***
0	0.34	0.1	909	**945***
0	0.34	0.33	717	**949***
0	0.48	0	1000	1000
0	0.48	0.1	995	**998***
0	0.48	0.33	949	**998***
0.15	0	0	52	**27***
0.15	0	0.1	46	**35***
0.15	0	0.33	62	**38***
0.15	0.34	0	**966***	953
0.15	0.34	0.1	952	**959***
0.15	0.34	0.33	788	**960***
0.15	0.48	0	1000	1000
0.15	0.48	0.1	998	998
0.15	0.48	0.33	973	**999***
0.45	0	0	52	**5***
0.45	0	0.1	46	**7***
0.45	0	0.33	62	**7***
0.45	0.34	0	**997***	975
0.45	0.34	0.1	**994***	977
0.45	0.34	0.33	934	**984***
0.45	0.48	0	1000	1000
0.45	0.48	0.1	1000	1000
0.45	0.48	0.33	998	**1000***

Note. * = preferred result

The Difference in Work Life Balance Between Non-Tenured and Tenured Professors

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Maintaining one's work life and personal life is no easy task. It often requires high levels of awareness, and an organization that finds itself catering to their employees' well-being. Work-Life Balance (WLB) has thus been a topic of interest for employers and employees alike. It is difficult to define what the optimum WLB is for each individual and each situation. Gabriel (2016) recognizes this challenge by defining work–life balance as concept that properly prioritizes between "work" (career and ambition) and "lifestyle" (health, pleasure, leisure, family and spiritual development). Often times employees of corporations have expressed their disappointment with their lack of assistance to lead a successful career and maintain healthy family relationships. Even though WLB has become a topic of discussion work-life balance was originally coined in the late 1980's here in the United States. Today, Kalliath and Brough (2008) describe work-life balance as an individual's perception that work and non-work activities are compatible and promote growth in accordance with their personal life priorities. Originally, the topic only concerned itself with women in the work force because women were primarily responsible for home and child care. Thus, work-life balance resources were more focused on women given their stronger familial obligations as compared to men. However, Borah and Bagla (2016) suggest that

the awareness of work-life balance has increased to include men's and women's negotiation of the demands for better employment and improved domestic life. With organizations becoming more aware of WLB, more research has been conducted on work-life balance's subtopics of job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and work-family enrichment.

Job Satisfaction

Jijiena-Michael (2012) define job satisfaction(JS) as the extent to which a person likes his/her work. Job satisfaction can come from healthy coworker relationships, salary and payment, sense of public service, opportunities for growth, and life satisfaction (Caillier, 2012; Howard and Frink, 1996; Locke and Latham, 2004; Moynihan and Pandey, 2007). Employees who can maintain a balance between private and professional life, can attain higher job satisfaction and contribute more to the success of the organization. Given the impact that job satisfaction has on an employee, JS has become an objective for human resource departments in organizations. Emphasizing job satisfaction within a company develops an environment that empowers employees to work to their maximum potential. In addition to empowerment, job satisfaction also impacts other aspects of the work-life experience. Kovach (1977) states that job satisfaction of employees is an important mediator for productivity and organizational commitment. Kwang Bin and Gigeun (2017) suggest that employees are more likely to show higher levels of job satisfaction and organizational commitment when receiving leave benefits, child care benefits, and other family-friendly policies.

Organizational Commitment

Fang Mei and Gwo Jen (2016) define Organizational commitment (OC) as the psychological bond between the worker and an organization. Porter (1974) found that three facets of OC existed. The first being a strong connection with, and acceptance of, organizational values and goals. The second one pertaining to employees who exhibit strong OC want to exert an extended amount of effort for the organization. The last focusing on an employee's strong desire to remain an active member of their

organization. The three aspects of OC manifest in employee behaviors in devotion to their work and their desire to see the organization succeed. High levels of commitment stem from individuals with higher self-efficacy, feeling fully engaged their jobs, and low stress levels. Organizations strive for high levels of commitment because of better worker productivity, higher retention rates, and optimum levels of efficiency. In addition, employees with high levels OC always feel that they are very comfortable to deal with other colleague, co-workers, and other members within the organization. Ghazzawi's (2008) meta-analysis found the best way to increase OC was to ensure the highest level of job satisfaction.

Work-Family Enrichment

The third facet that has become a factor of concern is work-family enrichment. Daniel and Eduardo (2012) describe the construct as the extent to which experiences in one role improve quality of life in another role. Enrichment occurs when work resources assist familial roles and obligations. These resources can be in the form of psychological assistance, physical assistance, and social capital. Van Steenbergen and Ellemers (2009) assert that supporting employees in combining work and family roles enhance their well-being, and thus boost worker productivity. However, if there is a strain on obtaining these resources, an individual begins to experience work-family conflict. Work-family conflict as defined by Cooklin (2015) is the limited access to energy and resources such as time, to be actively be involved in competing roles such as parenting. This can be seen in parents being unable to be active part in their children's lives due work obligations. Despite the strain that is involuntarily caused by some companies, one would hope the WLB resources are readily and easily accessible.

Ironically, the culture that surrounds work-life balance is one that is not always positive. Sometimes, employees that utilize resources to optimize their work experience are met with much criticism. Research by Cegarra-Navarro (2016) found that it is very important for companies and their prospective management teams to help create and facilitate a culture that promotes the

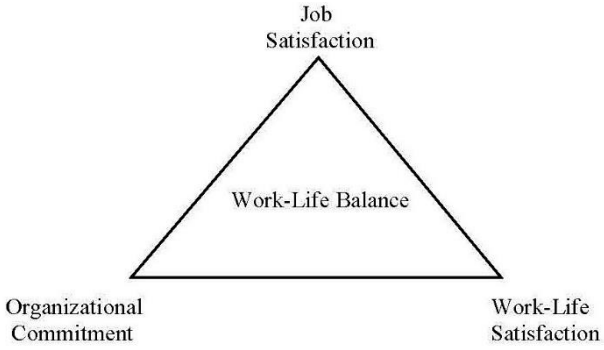
balance between work and family. The adverse effect of not creating the environment results in a lack of team unity and an increase in employee stress. Creating a more accepting culture will not only allow employees to lead easier lives, but also perform to their highest potential. As research becomes more prevalent on WLB, corporate America is beginning to make greater strides to create the optimum work environment for its employees.

WLB in Academia

While although corporate America has received much of the attention of WLB, academia has also been the spark of interest for WLB. Previous literature has shown that teachers and collegiate professors are asked to fulfill more than what is specified in the job description. Borah and Bagla (2016) studies found that teachers who must devote long hours at work and whose work spillover to their home resulting in an intrusion into their family life are more susceptible to lower levels of work-family enrichment. This is important because work-family enrichment is a significant predictor of job satisfaction and organizational commitment in academicians (Akram, Malik, Nadeem, and Atta, 2014). Naylor and White (2010) found that teachers work 10 to 20 hours per week outside of regular school hours. The extra involvement of professors can be seen through devoting time to registered student organizations, fulfilling a mentorship for a student's research, or assisting with other extracurricular student activities. Given such involvement, Paduraru (2014) affirms that educational organizations have become increasingly stressful work places. Fang Mei and Gwo Jen (2016) defined stress as feelings of a job-related tension, anxiety, frustration, worry, emotional exhaustion, and distress. Johnson et al. (2005) study on occupational stress found that in addition to police and ambulance workers, academicians also reported to have worse than average levels of physical health and psychological well-being. Thus, Johnson et all. findings support Paduraru (2014) in that stress levels of academic professionals are well above the average in comparisons to other occupations. Higher levels of stress lead to lower organizational commitment,

thus leading to lower job satisfaction, and thus a lower WLB. However, Padma and Reddy (2014) believe that the healthy balance of work and family life enables the school teachers to gain more job satisfaction. The study showed that teachers who were satisfied with WLB facilities provided by their school, had a higher level of job satisfaction. In turn, high levers of job satisfaction lead to better performance from the professors. Unfortunately, this is not the case for all university professors across the United States. Most professors find themselves struggling to maintain classwork, research, committee participation, and familial relationships. In these situations, academicians find themselves remaining silent about the circumstances within their career. This silence, then, psychologically exhausts professors, eventually leading them to an emotional burnout (Akin and Ulusoy, 2016).

Given increased participation, multiple roles, and high stress levels, academicians have low levels of job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and work-family enrichment. The interconnection of all three constructs emphasizes the importance of how each affects the other; If one increases or decreases, the levels of the other two constructs also change. Thus, not only are all three constructs good predictors of WLB, but also serve in assessing specific aspects of WLB.



In the case of academicians, utilizing measures from each construct in addition to a WLB measure, would holistically assess the WLB of University professors. Deriving from these four

measures will accurately determine what aspect of an academician's life is responsible for their level of work-life balance.

Scale Name	Type and Style	Creator andYear	Example Question
The Generic Job Satisfaction Scale	10-item questionnaire 5 point Likert scale for its questions	Macdonald and Maclntyr 1997	Are you close to your co-workers.
Organizational Commitment Questionnaire	15-item questionnaire 5 point Likert scale for its questions.	Porter 1979	Do you really care about this organization?
The Work-Family Enrichment Scale	18-item questionnaire 5 point Likert scale for its questions	Carlson 2006	Does my family involvement help me learn more about myself to be better worker?
Work-Life Balance Scale	6-item questionnaire 5 point Likert scale for its questions	Brough 2014	Do you currently have a good balance between the time you spend at work and the time you have available for non-work activities?

Using these measures, our research question is

Is there a difference in Work-Life Balance between the WLB of non-tenured and tenured professors?

Creating an interview protocol that combines all the measures will hopefully give a more accurate understanding of a professors WLB for our study. Given our sample of professors from Michigan State University. The hypothesis is as followed:

1. H_0 – Work life balance differs between non-tenured and tenured professors.

Methods

Participants

Non-tenured track and tenured track professors from Michigan

State University in East Lansing, Michigan. Professors were from school Humanities and Social Sciences. Both male and female participants were in each prospective group. In addition, the participants included one Black/African American, one Hispanic/Latino, and 2 Anglo/Caucasian.

Data Sources

Interview questions derived from - Job Satisfaction Scale, Organizational Commitment Scale, Work-Life Enrichment Questionnaire, Work-Life Balance Scale.

Data Collection

Individual interviews will be conducted with each professor. Upon completion of each interview, the researcher and interviewee will review the response to ensure all response are consistent with interviewees beliefs. All interview protocols will be transcribed and coded. Final analyses searched for recurring patterns and themes within the responses and codings. Research findings were then derived from the analyses.

Findings

In comparing WLB between NTT and TT professors, we found that all agreed that it remained up to the individual to create the optimum balance between work life and personal life. However, tenured professors did agree that they already had a good WLB. Non-tenured professors stated while although good it could be better. Specifically, NTT professor 1 stated, “Oh yes, my WLB could be much better. In fact, attempting to maintain it is a stress within itself.” While although a slight difference, it is one that should be taken in to consideration when comparing the two groups.

Job satisfaction was consistent in all professors. All participants found that they had good relationships with their employees, the University provided them with the necessary resources to succeed, thus making it an overall good career choice, and thoroughly enjoyed the interactions with their students. For instance, TT professor 1 felt that, “I enjoy teaching and mentoring my students. The experience is absolutely wonderful.” While although some stated small hindrances, they

overall did not impede on their enthusiasm towards their daily life.

Organizational Commitment is not as prevalent in academia as compared to corporate America. All Professors stated that while although they did not have a strong sense loyalty to the University, it was not because of any negative disposition. Rather they had a strong sense of loyalty to the department and research they were conducting. For example, a NTT professor number 2 stated, "The University merely provided the platform for them to do what they enjoyed most, being a professor." Most did agree that the university could be better in minuscule aspects at assisting them with their careers.

Work - Family Enrichment was consistent amongst all professors. TT professor 2 and NTT professor 2 both similarly stated, "My position as a professor rather than the opportunities that the University provides or attempted to provide is my source of WFE." Once again, all professors found that it was ultimately a personal responsibility for each individual to create rather than rely on the University to do so.

Discussion

WLB has largely been focused on Corporate America, but has recently been a topic with in Academia. Nonetheless, it importance is still of value in and out of the classroom. Our study sought to understand if there was a difference in the WLB of non-tenured and tenured professors while also looking at professors' Job satisfaction, Organizational Commitment, and Work-Family Enrichment. It is no secret that professors deal are required to fulfill more duties beyond the job description, thus making WLB an interesting concept to consider. At least so we thought. Our study supported some aspects of previous literature, but not all it. Despite the interconnectedness of the predictors and consistent responses from each of our professors, WLB was viewed more as independent responsibility rather than the University's responsibility towards the professor. While although our finds were consistent in one another future research would like to include a larger sample size, more fields of study, and possibly include other Universities as well. This would allow a better

representation of the population we seek understand. In addition, further research would also seek to find if there are any differences in WLB between males and females, ethnicities, and areas of study. Hopefully the included interests will be able to provide a more in depth understanding to the Work-Life Balance in academicians.

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Gender Portrayals in Contemporary Palestinian and Israeli Films

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Israel is a Jewish state located in the Middle East. Palestine, also in the Middle East, is an Arab majority-Muslim territory that Israel currently controls. Geopolitical problems that characterize this region involve Israel's growing militaristic occupation of Palestine, resulting in Palestinian resistance efforts. Despite religious differences between Palestinians and Israelis, the social dynamics of both are influenced by patriarchal traditions and religious–informed legal codes. Given these similarities and given power differentials between those who are occupied versus those who occupy, scholars have noted that gender relationships have been impacted such that males are privileged and females are disadvantaged. The purpose of this study is to understand the dynamic of gender roles and relationships in Palestine and Israel through a content analysis of feature films directed by filmmakers of Palestinian and Israeli descent. Fourteen contemporary films featuring portrayals of gender issues and relationships were watched in their entirety and coded for presence of female and male roles and stereotypes. Results showed that both Palestinian and Israeli females displayed agency in their actions. In contrast to Israeli females, Palestinian females were depicted primarily as care givers restricted to their homes. Films featuring Palestinian males portrayed them as emasculated through acts of humiliation resulting from Israeli policies of occupation. By contrast, Israeli males were displayed in militaristic roles that highlighted their

superior status. Discussion of these results was made in light of current Palestinian-Israeli tensions.

Israel and Palestine, situated in the Middle East, have long been areas riddled by tension, conflict, and war. A key source of these tensions lies in who has legitimate claim to own and populate land in this region. According to a historian (Trueman, 2015), a modern history of Palestine began in 1922 with the League of Nations mandating that the United Kingdom administer this region. The mandate was terminated in 1947 and Palestine was divided by order of the United Nations into an Arab majority Muslim sector (Palestine) and a Jewish sector (Israel) which was populated by large groups of European immigrants. Tensions developed between the two sectors, culminating in Israel's War of Independence which resulted in its establishment in 1948 as a nation and its expansion of territory into the Palestine sector. To this day, Israel has continued its expansion, occupation, and control over Palestinian territory, justifying occupation as necessary to ensure Israeli independence and stability. Palestine rejects Israel's justifications and perceives Israel as an agent of oppression and illegal occupation and calls for Arabs to resist Israeli control. Hence, efforts to reclaim Palestinian territory is seen by Palestine as resistance in the service of nationalism whereas Palestinian resistance efforts are seen by Israel as act of terrorism (Habib, 2016; Khatib, 2011; Tolan, 2006).

Despite major differences in geopolitical positions, both Palestinian and Israel societies are similar in their organization as they are highly patriarchal. In the Palestine territory, tradition and legal codes ensure that the patriarchal norms prevail. Palestine has adopted a Basic Law which is based in part on Islamic Sharia. Family codes in Basic Law place restrictions on females in issues of marriage, divorce, child custody, and inheritance (Rought-Brooks, Salwa, & Hussein, 2010). For example, while Muslim males can marry non-Muslim females, Muslim females are prohibited from marrying non-Muslim males (Sa'ar, 2007). Divorce laws include a unilateral approach to allow the husband

to divorce his wife without her knowledge, while a wife must petition a court to allow her divorce (Ali, 2016). Israeli society is as well patriarchal as informed by its strong military orientation and its legal religious codes based on Jewish law which is derivative of prescriptions in the Torah and Judaism which serve to elevate males and disadvantage females. For example, restrictions for females include the inability to participate in religious rites and inability to directly access her maintenance resources without the approval of the husband or his male heir (Berman, 1973; Radford, 2000). According to Zughayar (1995), the "military is the quintessence of a patriarchal institution, reinforcing and perpetuating the stereotypical role of women as subordinate, subservient and superfluous."

Given these region's patriarchal traditions and legal codes based on patriarchal religious tenets, what are the implications for gender roles and relationships in Palestine and Israel? The purpose of this study to explore gender and gender relationships through the medium of film that originates in Palestine and Israel. Film was selected for analysis due to its power to mirror the real-life experiences of filmmakers who are themselves of Palestine and Israeli descent and for cinematic ability to provide visual representations of gender dynamics in the context of culture and current conflict in the Middle East (Khatib, 2011).

Method

Sample

Contemporary (2000-present) feature films directed by either Palestinian or Israeli directors and featuring gender issues were viewed in their entirety. All films included both Palestinian and Israeli characters and were available for viewing in the United States. A total of fourteen films were selected from internet databases using the search words of "Palestine" and "Israel". These films are found in the Table 1.

Measures

Female and male characters or presence of Arab males or Israeli soldiers were coded for ethnic origin (e.g., Israeli or Palestinian) and for presence of traditional and nontraditional

gender roles and gender associated attributes. For females, a gender role was counted as traditional if the character's primary obligation involved caregiving and homemaking. For males, a gender role was counted as traditional if the character had an established career and was the wage earner. Nontraditional roles for females were counted if the character engaged in work outside the home and nontraditional roles for males were noted if the character engaged in caregiving and homemaking. In accord with Owen's (2017) content analysis of majority-Muslim films, female characters in each film were evaluated for the presence of traditional stereotypic femininity attributes of passivity/non-agency, dependence, submissiveness/subjugation, and chasteness. Nontraditional gender attributes were noted if a female character showed independence, self-agency, sexual agency, and dominance. Male characters in a film were evaluated for the presence of traditional stereotypic masculinity traits of dominance, independence, self-agency, and aggression. Nontraditional gender attributes were noted if a male character depicted traits of passivity/non-agency, dependence, and nurturance. Males and females could engage in both traditional and nontraditional roles and attributes depending on context and film narrative. For example, in *Borrowed Identity,* a Palestinian male showed traditional attributes related to self-agency when he assertively shared his point of view as a Palestinian in a class discussion full with Israeli students. However, the same character displayed the nontraditional attributes of passivity and non-agency when a group of Israeli teenagers bullied him at a bus stop.

Procedure

Two judges independently viewed the films and conducted a content analysis of traditional and nontraditional gender roles and gender attributes. The analysis compared the gender roles and attributes of Palestinian and Israeli characters. The percentage of female and male characters that adhered to

traditional and nontraditional gender roles and gender attributes was calculated. Cases where gender roles and gender attributes were not observed for characters in the film were not included in to calculate percentage. In *Rana's Wedding,* the female Palestinian character showed nontraditional attributes in that she was agentic in her efforts to marry the man she loved and not the man her father chose. However, no female gender roles were observed in the film.

Results

Percentage of females and males that exhibited traditional and nontraditional gender roles was compared between ethnic origins (See Table 2). Israeli females equally (63%, $N = 5$) depicted traditional and nontraditional gender roles, while Palestinian females showed more traditional gender roles (77%, $N = 10$), but less nontraditional gender roles (31%, $N = 4$). Both Palestinian and Israeli males did not show nontraditional gender roles, but Israeli males (83%, $N = 13$) showed more traditional gender roles than Palestinian males (50%, $N = 7$).

The occurrence of gender attributes were calculated by gender and ethnic origin (See Table 3). All (100%, $N = 8$) Israeli females possessed nontraditional gender attributes, as opposed to Palestinian females (69%, $N = 9$). Only half of Israeli females (50%, $N = 4$) showed traditional gender attributes, in contrast to a majority of Palestinian females (69%, $N = 9$). All Palestinian and Israeli males portrayed traditional gender attributes, but only Palestinian males (71%, $N = 10$) showed any nontraditional attributes.

Discussion

This study found distinctions between portrayals of Palestinian and Israeli film characters in gender roles. Most Palestinian females adhered to traditional gender roles that emphasized their presence in the home and it is unclear whether this portrayal is due to longstanding patriarchal traditions or due to the consequences of occupation which limits their participation. By contrast, several Israeli females were portrayed in nontraditional gender roles as they possessed careers in

addition to being the primary caretaker of the home. Both Israeli and Palestinian females exhibited nontraditional gender attributes in that both Israeli and Palestinian showed considerable agency with issues relating to family and home life. For example, in the Israeli film *Free Zone* an Israeli mother makes the decision to collect a sum of money to represent her husband as he is injured at home. One difference noted between Palestinian and Israel characters was that several Israeli females were portrayed with sexual agency. For example, in the film *Borrowed Identity*, an Israeli girl engaged in a sexual relationship with an Arab boy of which her parents did not approve. Though many of the younger Palestinian females were engaged in romantic relationships, these relationships were non-sexual, involving at most hand holding or a quick furtive kiss. In addition, a generational difference in Palestinian females was observed as younger generations possessed more nontraditional behaviors relevant beyond home life.

Males in both Palestinian and Israeli films displayed traditional gender roles and gender attributes. Most males engaged in work outside the home and served as wage earners for their family. However, Palestinian males were consistently portrayed with lower status jobs which could be a consequence of occupation which places Israeli males in superior status. For example, Israeli places restrictions on Palestine's water consumption, cultivation of crops, manufacturing, and trade while simultaneously increasing taxes on Palestinians. Palestinian males were often portrayed as victims of Israeli aggression. Of 13 films, six showed Israeli soldiers as agents of brutality and/or humiliation directed at Palestinian males. It is interesting to note that five of these films were directed by Palestinians.

In summary, there are distinctions in how Palestinian and Israeli females and males are portrayed in films directed by Palestinians and Israelis. Palestinian females are chaste and protected by males in their families. These females, however, have considerable agency and decision making authority in their home. Israeli females also have considerable agency and decision

making authority in their home but also many have careers outside the home. In contrast to Palestinian females, Israeli females are depicted with less restrictions on their behavior and with more sexual agency. Israeli males were overwhelmingly traditional, while Palestinian males were traditional within their society, but not in contrast to Israeli males.

A key limitation of this study includes the unequal representation of films from Palestine and Israel, which is due in part to the lack of Palestine's resources to produce film and to ensure distribution to international markets. Hopefully, as film producers recognize the talent of Palestinian filmmakers, funding will forthcoming.

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Palestinian and Israeli Films

Film	Year	Director	Director Origin
Ajami	2009	Scandar Copti and Yaron Shani	Palestinian and Israeli
Borrowed Identity	2014	Eran Riklis	Israeli
Close to Home	2005	Dalia Hager and Vidi Bilu	Israeli
Eye Thief	2014	Najwa Najjar	Palestinian
For My Father	2008	Dror Zahavi	Israeli
Free Zone	2005	Amos Gitai	Israeli
Inch Allah	2012	Anias Barbeau-Lavalette	Palestinian
Jaffa	2009	Keren Yedaya	Israeli
Laila's Birthday	2009	Rashid Masharawi	Palestinian
Lemon Tree	2008	Eran Riklis	Israeli
Miral	2011	Julian Schnabel*	American
Omar	2013	Hany Abu-Assad	Palestinian
Rana's Wedding	2003	Hany Abu-Assad	Palestinian
Ticket to Jersualem	2002	Rashid Masharawi	Palestinian

Note. * = film based on the book *Miral* written by Palestinian author, Rula Jebreal. $N = 14$

Table 2

Portrayal of Gender Roles

	Traditional		Nontraditional	
Ethnic origin	%	*n*	%	*n*
Israeli				
Females	63	8	63	8
Males	83	14	0	14
Palestinian				
Females	77	13	31	13
Males	50	14	0	14

Note. n = characters or presence portraying gender roles.

Table 3

Portrayal of Gender Atrributes

	Traditional		Nontraditional	
Ethnic origin	%	*n*	%	*n*
Israeli				
Females	50	8	100	8
Males	100	14	0	14
Palestinian				
Females	69	13	69	13
Males	100	14	71	14

Note. n = characters or presence portraying gender atttributes.

The Impact of Race and Sex on Media Publicity of Missing Children Cases

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The purpose of this study is to examine open cases of missing children in Texas to assess differences in media publicity based upon gender, and race, specifically white and minority children. The study will also explore the media portrayal of minority and white females and test the "white women" syndrome of media selection bias. Cases (N = 64) from 2016 were randomly selected from the Texas Center for Missing and Exploited Children database and coded for gender, ethnicity (e.g., latino/a, white, black, and biracial), and the frequency of media portrayal in outlets including Facebook, Twitter, local news, articles, and television. Results indicate that minority children except for black children were more frequently publicized. In fact, biracial children were twice as likely to appear in news media outlets than black children. Comparisons between minority and white children indicate that overall white children, including white females are portrayed less often than most minority children.

Thousands of children go missing annually each year and as a result the importance of publicity, is extremely important in saving a child's life. By alerting the public this strategy can lead to the rescue of that child. It is estimated Annually Between 1.6 and 2.8 million youth run away in a year. (Hammer et al, 2002, Greene, 1995). It is taken as a given that the media has a large influence on society, and television becomes a part of our perception of every-day life. The perception of crime on TV can influence the viewer to think that crime is increasing. However, research shows that over the last twenty years crime has been declining (National Review 2015). A National Public Radio (NPR, 2017) program that aired in 2017 introduced the term "Missing White Women Syndrome", this term was coined to mean that only attractive white women who disappear end up appearing on national news that lead to a public outcry to locate them. Conversely, minorities and males are given scant attention in the news.

The disproportionate amount of coverage can influence the public's perception that white girls are more likely to be abducted than minorities and this perception focuses on one specific group at the expense of other equally vulnerable groups. While the media doesn't exclusively focus on white girls, the media does present news on minority children in a specific manner by presenting them based on their relationship status such as "She had an abusive boyfriend, she is a runaway" versus a white female who is portrayed as a "Star tennis player, 4.0 GPA, honor society student." The media reports appear to be carefully written to align with the stereotype. The purpose of this study is to analyze news media outlets and their portrayal of missing children. This study will focus on national and local news coverage and analyze the background of the missing children to provide an in depth analysis of how the media portrays them. Does the media portray missing children differently based on their race and/or their sex?

Literature Review

Relevance:

In a recent news item on missing girls in Washington the media are accused of spreading false information of 14 missing black and Latino girls in the southeast D.C. area, stating that these girls went missing for two weeks with no media coverage. Many social media users spread the hashtag #MissingDCgirls to note that children of color are not being represented on media and the metropolitan police are not prioritizing their rescue. The residents of Washington, DC were under the impression that there was an epidemic of missing girls and a connection to human trafficking might be involved (NY Times 2017, p 4). However a result of the community outrage the facts that were uncovered didn't match the city officials reports that many of these children on the list were found. While the reports in Washington showed that the number of missing children has declined within the last year, of the 549 missing juvenile cases in the nation's capital only 18 were solved or closed by March (NY Times 2017, p). With this publicity it brought new light on missing children cases. "Nationally, about 35 percent of missing children are black, and roughly 20 percent are Latino", said Robert Lowery, vice president for the missing children division of the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children. In that regard, he said, Washington is not "unique or out of the ordinary" (NY Times, 2017, p2). If more than half of the missing children are of color then the media needs to be accountable to minority communities.

Portrayal Bias:

The literature shows that people in marginalized communities are perceived negatively and that minorities such as blacks and Hispanics are disproportionately portrayed as criminal suspects on television. "Blacks were nearly two and a half times and Hispanics over five and a half times more likely to be presented in roles as criminal suspects than Whites." (Chiricos & Eschholz, 2000 p.415-416). Another study published in 2000 analyzed the overrepresentation of African American and Latinos as law-breakers on television news. The authors found that White

males are more likely to appear as law defenders versus Blacks and Latinos (Dixon & Linz 2000). This portrayal bias considers how media images strengthen stereotypes by not considering the consequences of their representation of people of color. In the studies previously cited the researchers suggest that whites are often perceived as victims in television news and this contributes to the perception that minorities are often viewed as "threatening" (Chiricos & Eschholz year, Dixon & Linz 2000).

Missing White Women Syndrome:

Researchers at Florida State University looked at how TV coverage of the sexual assault and murder of two teenage girls in Houston affected viewer's fear of crime. From the data they found that middle aged white women were more fearful of crime and more likely to be influenced by television than other demographic groups. While non-white women and men of any race, despite being more likely to be victimized, did not become more fearful. The researchers suggest that white women substitute media coverage for direct experience of victimization thus causing them to be more fearful (The Society Page, 2011). White women have been shown to be over represented on television creating what some label the "Missing White Women Syndrome." This term was coined by PBS anchor Gwen Ifill. The term focuses on how mainstream media has no problem covering endangered white females while seeming to be disinterested in minorities. Sommers (2016) conducted a study testing the missing white women syndrome hypothesis, by collecting data from four different media outlets, both local and national, and cross-referencing these with the FBI's national database of missing persons. Sommers found that white women are more likely to receive extended coverage among missing persons and that women as a whole are more likely to be represented on mainstream media more often than males.

Selection Bias:

While the media have been shown to cater to whites does this create the perception that only white children go missing? Many believe that there are alternative reasons as to why some children are prioritized more than others based on how they are

categorized. “Instead of being listed as “endangered missing”, a child who is believed to be the victim of a family abduction or whose status is “runaway” is less likely to receive media attention”, according to the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children’s website. Foundations such as “Black & Missing” emerged in 2008 to spread of awareness of missing people of color. This website provides assistance to the black community especially those who have distrust toward law enforcement (Black and Missing Inc.).

Media Importance:

Does debating the lack of representation of minorities in the media help in the recovery of missing children? The office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Department of Justice Program publication “When your Child Is Missing: A Family Survival Guide”, provides a plan of action in locating missing children. Chapter 3 in this guide focuses on the media and suggests that media involvement within the first 48 hours after a child is reported missing is crucial for the case, stating “One shot on the evening news is worth 20,000 posters” (Survival Guide, pg 25). This publication shows the importance of contacting as many media outlets as possible. In addition, the cheapest and most effective alternative to aid in the rescue of a missing child is through the media.

Considering that some literature suggests that people of color are criminalized on television creating a negative perception. Exaggeration of endangered white women are used as a platform to gain viewer’s attention. Are children of color not being represented in media because of a negative perception television has created of their race?

Hypotheses

For this study, the following hypotheses have been developed:

Hypotheses 1: White (Non- Latinos) will have more media coverage than Black, Latino, and Biracial children.

Hypotheses 2: Females will be over represented in news media outlets compared to males

Hypotheses 3: White females will be over represented in news outlets compared to minority females

Our dependent variable is the portrayal on media based on our independent variables. We examine 2 independent variables gender and race. For gender the description of female and male will be used. Race/ethnicity will include white, latino/a, black, and biracial children.

Methodology

To address the research and test the hypotheses we will analyze the race and gender of missing children cases in media outlets such as news reports of official missing children reports. For this study we will extract missing children's cases from the Missing and Exploited Children's data base in Texas during 2016. The database includes 369 open cases in Texas that span from 1970s to today. Open cases of 64 children who went missing in 2016 will be used the sample for this study. For the analysis each child will be given their own code and specification of their gender and race. Latinos will not be recorded as Caucasian for this study. A comprehensive research of the internet for articles and reports from newspapers and major news outlets, such as ABC, CBS, NBC, CNN, and FOX will be conducted. Each name will be inserted into a Google search engine to find any type of media coverage for that specific child. Each case is limited to 10 pages within the Google search engine to avoid duplications of the article or confusion of another person with the same name. The order of each sample analyzed is decided by the child's date of disappearance. An even sample for both males and females is generated because of the large female sample size. A simple random sample was generated for the female sample to match the number of the male pool.

Data Analysis

The data includes a 64 sample list of 32 females and 32 males. The data shows that the largest sample size for each gender and race/ethnicity is latino/a with females having a total of 16 cases and 19 male cases. The white sample had an equal number of 4 representing both female and male, the black sample has a total of 8 females and 4 males. The final sample includes 4

biracial females and 5 biracial males. Table 1 shows the comparison between the subjects for each respective race.

Table 1

Number Of Subjects Within Each Race/Ethnicity

Race/Ethnicity	Female	Male
Latino/a	16	19
White	4	4
Black	8	4
Biracial	4	5

Table 2 presents the difference between each race, gender, and their frequency of media publicity. Latinas had the majority of portrayals with 103, latino males followed with 52 appearances. Third in frequencies are black females with thirty four. Latino/a children and black females have more publicity in our study than white males. White males were publicized more than white females, biracial females, and black males. In proportion to their sample size, biracial children were publicized on an average of almost 6 times for every child missing. While latinos/as appeared in media outlets on an average of 4.4 times, white children averaged 4.4 media appearances also. Black children were the least likely to be publicized, averaging only 3.4 per missing child.. Our first hypothesis that white children will have more publicity than minorities was not supported by the data.

Table 2

Frequencies of appearances in news media outlets

	Number of sample	Appearances in Media	In Average
Latino	33	155	4.7
White	8	35	4.4
Black	12	41	3.4
Biracial	9	50	5.6

Data from Table 3 includes all female samples, analyzing all frequencies and calculating the average, the data reveals that females have more publicity in media news outlets than males. The table shows that females appear a total of 169 times in media news outlets while males appeared 111 times, 38 less than our female sample. The data does not support the second hypothesis.

Table 3

Frequencies of media appearances by Gender

Sex	Frequency in Media	Average
Male	111	3.5
Female	169	5.3

The average number of media appearances was higher for females (5.3) than for males (3.5).

In our third hypotheses, we predicted that white females will appear on average more frequently than minority females. The data (as shown in Table 4) does not support the hypothesis. In order of the most frequent appearances in the media this study found that Latinas appeared on average slightly more than 6 times per missing child. While both black and biracial females had an average of 4.3 per child and white females averaged 3.8 appearances, the lowest of all female samples.

Table 4

Frequencies and average appearances in media female sample

Female Sample	Number of samples	Frequency in Media	Average
Latina	16	103	6.4
White	4	15	3.8
Black	8	34	4.3
Biracial	4	17	4.3

Table 5

Frequencies and average appearances in media male sample

Male Sample	Number of samples	Frequency in Media	Average
Latino	19	52	2.7
White	4	20	5
Black	4	7	1.7
Biracial	5	33	6.6

In Table 5 the data show that biracial males, appeared more frequently on average, than any other ethnic group.

Findings, Limitations, Recommendations

What we can observe from the data is that latinos/as were the largest race/ethnic group of children to go missing in the sample. Latinas, on average appeared in the media more frequently than females from the other racial/ethnic categories. Black males were tied with white males as the fewest to be reported missing and they were also the least represented in the media. The bi-racial category is defined as a child of two races, in the data base used for this study, it mentions which two races a child is identified as. Bi-racial males appeared in the media at a greater rate than males in the other racial/ethnic categories.

Another important factor not addressed in this study is the socio economic status of the missing children, it is likely that socio economic status could have a correlation with race and ethnicity but in the database used in this study that information is not included. There are several ways to collect the data for a subject's socioeconomic background. One way (albeit an indirect way) could include checking the median income of the county they are from. Also checking to see if the missing child came from a one or two parent household could add more depth and understanding to a child's background.

While the sample for this study came from a one year period and the female sample was randomized there was a surplus

of latino/a children in our sample. This could be due to location, since the study focuses on missing children in Texas, and Texas, especially the region near the border, has a large latino/a population. A recommendation for future research is to expand outside of Texas and focus nationally on a larger sample that will be more reflective of the country. Also by expanding the research and focusing on a 5 or 10-year study we can get a better understanding how social media has evolved to play an important role in the publicity of missing child cases.

Discussion

While the data included media outlets it was very difficult to sort through each sample using Google to avoid any confusion with another person of the same name. There was a process in place to verify that each child who was in the database was the child that was reported missing. We validated this from their photo and disappearance date and this data was used for accuracy. One surprising finding in this study was the underwhelming amount of media publicity for the missing children. A majority of the children in the sample did not exceed 5 pages in the Google searches. This brings to light the lack of attention children are receiving in news media regardless of the gender or race. For future study, it is recommended that researchers analyze the correlation between frequencies of media publicity and recovery of the child. This could lead to more effective strategies to recover missing children.

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An Analysis of Sexual Assault Rates for Texas Colleges and Universities: A Comparison of Public and Private Institutions

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The purpose of this study is to examine the sexual assault rates of private and public universities in Texas from 2004-2015. We analyze data from the Uniform Crime Reports; a database that gathers monthly reports from police agencies all around the United States and Texas. This study suggests that sexual assaults vary by type of institution. Specifically, private institutions reflect higher rates of reported sexual assaults than public institutions. However, this study suggests that over a twelve-year period rates of sexual assaults for both public and private institutions have decreased slightly. This may be due, in part, to the impact of the 1986 Clery Act that led to an increased emphasis on sexual assault prevention programs on college and university campuses. Future studies should analyze sexual assault data from college and university campuses in other states to see if the trends found in this study apply.

Introduction

In 2015, 90,185 sexual assaults had been reported out of 1,197,704 violent crimes (UCR 2015). According to this report, from 2014 to 2015, violent crimes in the U.S. increased four percent. More specifically rape offenses increased by slightly more than six percent. According to Campus Sexual Violence: Statistics (2015), eleven percent of undergraduate and graduate students have been a victim of rape or sexual assault. This study

will focus on an examination of sexual assaults on Texas college campuses. Specifically, a comparison of reported sexual assaults from public and private institutions will be presented. Violence and sexual assaults have increased nationally, and in Texas, over the past few years and unfortunately college campuses are not immune from this type of crime. For this study, we will examine the patterns of sexual assault rates on college campuses over the past twelve years.

The legal definition of rape has changed since 2013 (UCR 2013). Rape used to be defined as "the carnal knowledge of a female forcibly and against her will". In January 1, 2013 the Department of Justice changed the definition to read "Penetration, no matter how slight, of the vagina or anus with anybody part or object, or oral penetration by a sex organ of another person, without the consent of the victim" (UCR 2013). When the new rape definition took effect the FBI UCR program aggregated three sex offenses: rape (except Statutory Rape), sodomy and sexual assault with an object.

Schools and colleges are valued institutions where resources have been designated to effectively prevent and address violent crimes. The US Congress passed the Jeanne Clery Disclosure of Campus Security Policy and Campus Crime Statistics Act (Clery Act) in 1986 after a 19-year-old female at Lehigh University was raped and murdered. The purpose of this act is to promote campus safety, and to help the nation's colleges and universities in complying with specific standards. The Clery Act requires institutions of higher education to report crime statistics and maintain safety and security policies in regards to rape or sexual assault. Students and faculty have the right to see a public annual security report (ASR) from any federal funding college or university. Every October 1st, participating institutions submit reports which include but are not limited to crime reporting, campus security and access, law enforcement, and the prevention and response to sexual assault, domestic or dating violence, and stalking (Clery Act 2017). Frequently a family and/or a student's decisions to attend an institution of higher

learning depends on the perceived of a college campus. In Texas as in other states there are many types of college and universities such as public and private universities. The Clery Act pertains to any type of public and private college and university that receives federal funding. For this study, we will examine sexual assault rates from 2004-2015 for Texas college and universities as reported in the Uniform Crime Reports. In addition, data on reported sexual assaults, will be analyzed for public and private colleges and universities.

Literature Review

Starting from 2012 to 2013 violent crime dropped by five percent in the U.S. (FBI, 2013). If the reporting was based on the old rape definition the number of rapes would have declined by almost eleven percent from 2012-2013. The new definition `of rape increased the number of rapes in 138 cities. There are many types of sexual assaults ranging from incest, intimate partner sexual violence (spouse abuse) and date acquaintance rape. Usually victims are raped by someone they know whether they may be in a dating relationship, by a family member or they have just met the individual (RAINN,2015). Seventy percent of rape victims could identify who their attacker was. Younger (aged 18-24) people are at the highest risk for sexual assault. According to one study an environment that has been affected by acquaintance rape are college campuses. One in five women have experienced sexual assault during the past 4 years of attending college (Anderson, 2016). Most rape victims are physically forced (77%) and/or incapacitated sexual assault (88%) were raped by someone they knew (UCR, 2007). According to federal campus safety data, almost 100 colleges and universities have had at least 10 reports of rape on their campuses in 2014. This data may reflect the increased number of students who may have experienced sexual assaults who felt comfortable coming forward, however the data reflects only reports of rape not cases being prosecuted through criminal courts or student disciplinary proceedings (Anderson).

Among 4-year institutions with an enrollment of 2,500 students or more a 10% increase in armed police officers has been

a reality for these institutions (Bliss, 2013). College campuses have a higher risk of sexual assaults than compared to non-students. Unfortunately, out of all female victims only 20% report their sexual assaults to law enforcement (Bliss). Several factors seem to contribute to the majority of rape cases on institutions whether it's a college or university. Consumption of alcohol, type of institution, school population, and enforcement of Title IX regulations are among some of the obvious factors that may contribute to sexual assaults in various institutions (Bliss). A 2007 study by the U.S. Department of Justice surveyed 5,446 undergraduate women and 1,375 undergraduate men at two large public universities. Two percent of sexual assault victims had been incapacitated by drugs or alcohol and 13% were "physically forced" reported the assault to law enforcement (cited in Gray, 2013).

Victims of sexual assault are likely to suffer from depression, thirteen percent have thoughts of suicide, ninety-four percent suffer post-traumatic stress disorder during the two weeks following the rape, and thirty percent suffer PTSD symptoms after nine months of the incident (RAINN). An estimated 38% of student victims experience work or academic problems. The RAINN study found that sexual assaults perpetrated by an acquaintance led to eighty-four percent of the victims to develop emotional issues, moderate to severe distress and increased problems at school as opposed to sixty-seven percent if the attacker was a stranger. 16.7% of women raped by physical force claimed to be unaffected emotionally versus 5.7% victimized due to alcohol and drugs. Hollis(2016) found that the majority of women (79.3%) who were raped while intoxicated put all or part of the blame on themselves on why it took place.

Hypotheses

For this study the following hypotheses have been developed:
Hypotheses 1: In the past twelve years' sexual assault rates on college campuses will have declined.
Hypotheses 2: Public colleges and universities will have higher sexual assault rates (as measured by the number of sexual assault rates per 100,000 students) than private colleges and universities.

Methodology

The Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) contains a credible set of criminal justice statistics that are utilized by law enforcement administration, and management. It gathers monthly and annual data on reported crimes and arrests from over 18,000 police agencies in the United States. The UCR includes data information on murder, arson, larceny theft, robbery, rape, burglary, aggravated assault, and motor vehicle theft. It identifies any unusual patterns in an agency's crime reports comparing their monthly data to any previous submissions. The UCR program represents crime for the nation, regions, states, counties, cities, towns, Indian reservations, colleges, and universities.

This study will focus on UCR data from the state of Texas and all the reported sexual assaults for college/ universities. Reported sexual assaults from 2004 to 2015 will be analyzed in this study and categorized by public or private institutions. Data from a 12-year range of each reporting public and private institution in Texas will be analyzed. The total number of sexual assaults for every reporting institution will be calculated for each year from 2004 to 2015. In addition, the total, estimated enrollment, will also be documented for each reporting institution. The number of reported sexual assaults will be divided in to the total estimated enrollments for public and private institutions. The number calculated will be multiplied by 100,000 to find the sexual assault rates per 100,000 students.

Data Analysis and Findings

The data shows that from 2004 to 2015 there is an increase in the total number of rapes from private universities with 5 sexual assaults reported in 2004 to 13 reported in 2015. Private universities report over a 100% increase in sexual assault rates from 9.1 in 2004 to 20.3 in 2015 (per 100,000 students). When the new rape definition was implemented in 2013, compared to 2012, reported rapes increased in private institutions. As shown in Table 1 the rate of reported rapes was 16.4 in 2012 to 30.9 per 100,000 students in 2013. However, a decrease can be observed in public institutions. Table 2, shows that from 2012 to

2013 there was a decrease in the rate of sexual assaults (8.1 in 2012 to 7.5 in 2013 per 100,000 students).

Table 1

Sexual Assaults and Rates from 2004-2015: Private Colleges and Universities

Year	Total Student Enrollment for Private Universities	Total Number of Sexual Assaults	Sexual Assaults per 100,000 students
2004	54924	5	9.1
2005	59611	3	5
2006	60347	14	23.2
2007	56221	7	12.5
2008	60171	4	6.7
2009	60987	9	14.8
2010	61702	4	6.5
2011	62743	5	8
2012	61126	10	16.4
2013*	61476	19	30.9
2014	62255	26	41.8
2015	64119	13	20.3

Note. The * indicates the year in which the expanded definition of rape took effect. All calculations after 2013 adhere to the updated definition.

From 2013 onward the number of reported rapes should be higher than in previous years since the definition of rape has been expanded. In Table 2 the twelve years of sexual assault campus reports (2004-2015) is shown, total student enrollment for public institutions (public four year universities and technical colleges excluding community colleges), total number of sexual assault rates, and capita of campus rape per 100,000 students. The data in Table 2 demonstrates different patterns found in Table One.

Table 2

Sexual Assaults and Rates from 2004-2015: Public Colleges and Universities

Year	Total Student Enrollment for Public Universities	Total Number of Sexual Assaults	Sexual Assaults per 100,000 students
2004	445366	31	7
2005	498235	26	5.2
2006	504106	37	7.3
2007	509211	40	7.9
2008	514020	31	6
2009	546816	18	3.3
2010	569350	30	5.3
2011	589985	31	5.3
2012	608611	49	8.1
2013*	583170	44	7.5
2014	598115	66	11
2015	572148	54	9.4

Note. The * indicates the year in which the expanded definition of rape took effect. All calculations after 2013 adhere to the updated definition.

All reported total number of sexual assaults, student enrollment, and capita per 100,000 students from 2004 to 2015 are reflected in Table Two. As can be seen from the data sexual assault rates increased from 7 in 2014 to 9.4 in 2015. The lowest rate for reported sexual assaults was in 2009 with the reported in 2015. Again this can be partially attributed to the expanded definition of sexual assault.

A comparison between Table 3 and Table 4 demonstrates a twelve year in two categories (total student enrollment, capita per 100,000 students). The total number of sexual assaults reported are higher in public institutions (119 for private and 457 for public).

Table 3

Private University Sexual Assault Rates

Total Number of Sexual Assaults (N)	Total Student Enrollment for Private Universities	Sexual Assaults per 100,000 students
119	725682	16.4

Note. Twelve year average of sexual assault rates by private colleges and universities.

Table 4

Public University Sexual Assault Rates

Total Number of Sexual Assaults (N)	Total Student Enrollment for Public Universities	Sexual Assaults per 100,000 students
457	6539133	7

Note. Twelve year average of sexual assault rates by public colleges and universities.

However, private institutions over this twelve year period averaged a higher rate per 100,000 students (16.4) when compared to public institutions (7).

What we can observe from the data that private institutions have a higher sexual assault rate than public institutions which does not support hypothesis 2. Hypotheses 1 is also not supported by the data. In the past twelve years sexual assault rates on college campuses have increased as seen in Table 1 and Table 2. However this seems to be due to a broader definition of sexual assault beginning in 2013. The insight obtained is that students in college are at a greater risk of sexual assault by factors such as "voluntary consumption of alcohol and/ or drugs, age and year, race/ethnicity, dating violence history, and consensual sexual experiences" (National Institute of Justice, pgs. 2-8). Depending on each institutions sexual assault awareness

programs and awareness will increase or decrease reporting of any sexual assault incident.

Limitations and Recommendations

Limitations of this study is that sexual assault or "rape" is one of the least reported violent crimes therefore we do not know how many rapes actually go unreported. "Only five percent of campus rapes are ever reported to police (including both forced and stranger rapes)" (Hollis, 2006). Since rape is the most under reported violent crime, this lack of reporting can affect the accuracy of any data (Truman and Langton, 2015). Another limitation is the lack of data available to be obtained on each community college campus in Texas. UCR data report on community college districts and not campuses (e.g., San Antonio College, Northwest Vista College), Another limitation in this study is that not all college and universities report campus crime to the UCR (See Appendix A for a general tabular listing of public and private colleges and universities). Although the Clery Act states that all institutions need to report even if there are no crimes or sexual assaults.

One recommendation for future research is to look at individual campuses in community college districts to get an understanding of crime in those campus environments. Anonymous confidential surveys on victimization in college institutions should also be conducted. Another recommendation could be to analyze data from college campuses in other states to see how the findings in the present study compare to findings in other states and regions of the U.S.

Conclusion

Institutions of higher education should also be given "incentive" to submit their campus crime reports to the F.B.I. The change in the definition of rape in 2013 has influenced the meaning and reporting for sexual assaults. A review of existing guidelines need to be completed to ensure that victims of sexual violence are protected (Somander, 2014). In 2014 recommendations for different ways to protect students from sexual assault, was created by the White House Task Force to

Protect Students from Sexual Assault. This report focuses on addressing sexual misconduct, working with colleges and universities to develop better response tactics and prevent sexual assaults. A surprising result of this study is the finding that there are higher rates of sexual assaults in private institutions as opposed to public institutions. While there is a higher student enrollment in public institutions and much more reported sexual assaults this does not necessarily indicate a higher rate of sexual assaults reported.

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APPENDIX A

Total of Texas private and public institutions being examined

Table 5

Texas Private Institutions

Private Institutions	Number of Institutions
Universities	38
Health-Related Institutions	1
Total Private Institutions	39

Table 6

Texas Public Institutions

Public Institutions	Number of Institutions
Universities	37
Health-Related Institutions	10
Technical College System	3
Total Public Institution	50

Table 7

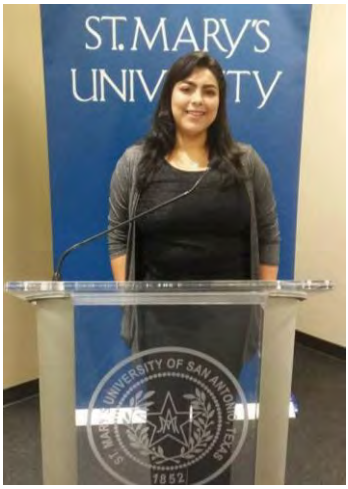
Total in Texas

Private Institutions	Public Institutions	Total Institutions in Texas
39	50	89

Note. Total number of institutions includes four year and technical institutions but excludes chiropractic and community colleges.

CoBRAS as a Measure of Color-blindness Under the New Trumpian Racial Order

Jacqueline Lucero



Mentor: Rick Sperling, PhD
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The nature of prejudice remains immutable, but its manifestations continue to evolve in response to the needs of the power majority and its efforts to guide popular thinking in a way that makes racial stratification seem natural and just (Bonilla-Silva, 1997). Sixty years ago, measures of prejudice tapped blatant manifestations of antipathy, and that worked well. However, recent expressions have emanated from feigned color-blindness (Bobo & Charles, 2009) necessitating a change in approach. Neville Lilly, Lee, Duran, and Browne (2000) responded to this change by developing the Color-blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS) to assess the extent to which people espoused the modern form of racial prejudice: inauthentic color-blindness. Previous research using CoBRAS has shown promising results with respect to its psychometric properties (Awad & Jackson, 2016), but all of those data were collected prior to the election of Donald Trump as President, an event that many believe has propelled away from feigned color-blindness and back to more blatant expressions of prejudice. The present study compared the model fit for CoBRAS data collected in spring 2017 (after the Trump inauguration) to data collected in 2014 (three years prior to Trump taking office). According to the results of a confirmatory factor analysis, CoBRAS had better model fit post-Trump election than pre-Trump election. Subsequent analyses using a bootstrapping procedure for exploratory factor analysis

revealed an increase in factorial validity as well. Taken together, these results suggest that popular expressions of racial attitudes did not change dramatically in the three months Trump was in office. Implications for research on racial prejudice are discussed.

Racism serves the interests of power, justifying an unequal distribution of power and resources while also keeping subgroups of the oppressed from organizing against the group in power (Omi & Winant, 2015). Racism is inherently systemic, and as such, is differentiated from racial prejudice, which is the individualized expression of prejudgment and antipathy toward a disparaged outgroup. Racism inspires racial prejudice by design (Bonilla-Silva, 1997).

The systemic use of racism in America dates back dates to the 1500s, when Europeans first began to colonize what would later become known as the United States. Racism provided a convenient explanation and moral basis for indentured servitude and slavery (Sussman, 2014). Even the Civil War, which is often portrayed as a victory of moral judgement, was fought more out of economic control by the Union than out of a concern for the well-being of Black people (Trueman, 2016). Likewise, the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s was strategic in the sense that it undercut domestic and international protests of hypocrisy given that the US government had just fought a war against Nazi Germany, but was clinging to the idea of "separate but equal" at home (Bell, 1995).

In each era, the socially acceptable way of expressing one's dislike of Blacks adapted to the ideological storyline that was being proselytized by power (Bonilla-Silva, 2001). Explanations for the inferiority of Black people (and other non-White racial and ethnic groups as needed) shifted over time from a focus on genetic disparities to a focus on cultural stereotypes (Kluegel & Bobo, 1993). Black people were not failing in education and employment and filling up the prisons because they were born bad; Black people were choosing these outcomes because parents and grandparents taught these individuals to be bad people (Nail, Harton, & Decker, 2003).

Sears, Van Laar, Carrillo, and Kosterman (1997) have noted that researchers aiming to explore the extent to which people harbored negative beliefs about denigrated groups have understandably had to develop instruments that were geared toward the dominant racial story of their time. Early studies were characterized by either global tendencies to categorize people or preferences for how society ought to be organized. Over time, however, studies shifted to the exploration of attitudes toward Black people. Recently, the trend has shifted to non-obtrusive methods of detecting prejudice. The premise is that people today are more reticent about being labeled "racist," so more subtle means of detecting racial prejudice are necessary (Bonilla-Silva, Lewis, & Embrick, 2004).

This study addresses that challenge by examining the extent to which a contemporary instrument, the Color-blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS; Neville, Lilly, Duran, Lee, & Browne, 2000), is an effective means of measuring racial prejudice. CoBRAS data collected preceding the election of President Donald J. Trump is compared to data collected after his election with respect to model fit. If the previous CoBRAS assumptions were correct, changes in the way people express racial prejudice would shift as a result of changing social norms regarding the social acceptability of the forms of blatant racial antipathy Trump espouses.

Previous attempts to measure racial prejudice

One of the first attempts to systematically measure prejudice was the *F-scale* created by Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, and Sanford (1950) to measure authoritarianism. Their goal was to identify the extent to which Americans' views of society and outgroups mirrored that of Nazi Germany. Their intent was not to measure racial prejudice per se, but to detect the psychological underpinnings that would lead to a constellation of hostile feelings and attitudes (Brown, 2004). Individuals scoring high on the *F-Scale* were conceptualized to be very anxious and prone to seeing threats in things that would inspire only mild concern in most people. Denigrated minorities such as Latinos, Asian Americans, and African Americans were assumed to be the target of American authoritarian angst in the same way that the

Jewish community was the target of the authoritarian Nazi regime.

Additional historical information about the measurement of racial attitudes can be gleaned from the General Social Survey (GSS), which has been considered a reliable source of information about how Americans think about electoral races, crime rate, welfare, national defense, the education system, and race for over 40 years (NORC, 2016). Although race-related topics have not been consistently measured in the GSS, the items that have been included shed light on how racial prejudice has been measured, as well as how Americans claim to feel about Black people. Questions about "race" and "discrimination" in employment and housing date back to 1977. Trends in how people respond to these items have fluctuated over the years, with the most recent data indicating most people either disagreed that there is discrimination or elected not to respond (NORC, 2016). This is consistent with findings from 36 years ago that found that most people, regardless of background, felt as though Blacks brought discrimination onto themselves, that police did not discriminate against Black individuals, and that there was relatively little discrimination in terms of education, housing, employment and wage (Davis & Smith, 1989). Blaming denigrated groups for their own hardships and disregarding the structure of oppression has been a common practice for decades now, although the method of measuring it has had to shift along with cultural norms (Kluegel & Smith, 1986; Schuman, Steeh, Bobo, & Krysan, 1998).

Contemporary methods of measuring racial prejudice

While previous research illuminates historical trends in prejudicial attitudes and stereotypes of other races, the application of theories and scales to modern times is problematic because the structure of racism has shifted in the last 50 years, and even within the past decade (Ditonto, Lau, and Sears, 2013). According to Bonilla-Silva (2001), there has not been significant progress in the status and treatment of Black individuals despite popular claims to the contrary. Ideologies that promote oppression for groups not in power (i.e. the Blacks) serve the group interest of the power group (Bonilla-Silva, 2015). Whites

still benefit from the social structure in place, trying to justify the gap between Blacks and Whites by enforcing negative cultural stereotypes. The way these stereotypes are approached, however, is evasive and subtle, with phrases like "I am not a racist, but…" typically preceding contradictory statements (Bonilla-Silva, 2003).

CoBRAS is an attempt at assessing the ideology that denies the importance of race as an issue (Neville, Lilly, Duran, Lee, & Browne, 2000). It purports to assess awareness of privilege, institutional discrimination, and racial issues. Individuals with higher scores on the CoBRAS tend to believe in meritocracy, which is the belief that all resources are already equally distributed and bestowed depending on the worthiness of the individual. Those who score high on CoBRAS are also under the impression that racial color-blindness is a positive attitude to have, disregarding the fact that ignoring the impact of racial stratification has negative implications for ethnic minority groups (Poteat & Spanierman, 2012). People of color have historically been afforded fewer resources and opportunities than Whites, and discrimination is often a barrier that individuals of color must overcome to advance in society (Corcoran & Nichols-Casebolt, 2004; Woodson, 1990).

A great deal of the research involving CoBRAS has centered on teaching competency or multicultural counseling competencies, and when used with those populations, the research indicates that CoBRAS has solid psychometric properties (Neville, Spanierman, & Doan, 2006; Spanierman et al., 2011). CoBRAS can also be used to examine sociopolitical attitudes, and has been associated with fear of racial/ethnic minorities (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004), as well as the Social Dominance Orientation and Right Wing Authoritarianism Scales (Poteat & Spanierman, 2012). Color-blind racial ideologies have been associated with symbolic racism, aversive racism, and racial microaggressions, and was identified as the current dominant racial ideology by Neville, Awad, Brooks, Flores, and Bluemel in 2013.

Presently, the most significant gap in the literature surrounding CoBRAS pertains to whether we are entering a

different, more openly hostile era of race relations. If so, we may not have a need to measure color-blindness as opposed to more blatant forms of racial prejudice, and we should begin to see this shift in the deterioration of the construct validity of CoBRAS.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: CoBRAS data collected after the election of Trump will have weak factorial validity.

Rationale: The rhetoric put forward by Donald Trump during his bid for office was profoundly different from the previous dominant racial ideology because it valorized far more blatant expressions of racial prejudice. Consequently, we should expect to see a decline in the coherence of CoBRAS as a measure of racial prejudice among data collected in the immediate aftermath of his election.

Hypothesis 2: CoBRAS data collected before the election of Trump will have strong factorial validity.

Rationale: The dominant racial ideology preceding the election of Trump as President centered on culture-blaming color-blindness. Therefore, since CoBRAS was designed to measure adherence to this precise expression of racial prejudice, it is reasonable to expect that it would perform well for data collected before Trump was elected.

Hypothesis 3: CoBRAS data collected before the election of Trump will have stronger psychometric properties than data collected after the election of Trump.

Rationale: For the reasons stated in Hypotheses 1 and 2, we would expect the overall performance of CoBRAS to be stronger for data collected before than after the election of Trump.

Method

Participants

Post-Trump Sample. Eighty participants (28 males, 51 females, one non-binary) between the ages of 18 and 25 (M = 19.84, SD = 1.68) were recruited from a private, Catholic, four-year Hispanic-serving institution. Within this sample, 27 (33.8%) were freshmen, 25 (31.3%) were sophomores, 19 (23.8%) were juniors, and seven (8.8%) were seniors. Two participants (2.5%) self-identified as "other." Most of the sample (n = 53, 66.3%), self-identified as Hispanic/Latino/a. The remainder self-

identified as Caucasian (n = 16, 20%), more than one ethnicity (n = 5, 6.3%), African-American (n = 3, 3.8%), Asian/Asian-American (n= 1, 1.3%), American Indian (n = 1, 1.3%), or did not respond (n = 1, 1.3%).

Pre-Trump Sample. One hundred sixty-six participants (60 males, 106 females) were recruited from the same private, Catholic, four-year Hispanic-serving institution. The majority of participants self-identified as Latino/a (n=108, 65%). The remainder of the sample self-identified as Black (n = 5, 3%), Asian/Asian American (n = 10, 6%), American-Indian (n = 1, 0.6%) White (n = 19, 11.4%), or more than one race/ethnicity (n = 23, 13.9%).

Measures

Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale. The 20-item Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS; Neville, Lilly, Duran, Lee, & Browne, 2000) was originally designed to measure the extent to which subjects feign race neutrality. Participants utilized a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from one *("strongly disagree")* to seven *("strongly agree*"). Half of the items were reverse scored, and higher total scores were associated with greater levels of color-blindness.

Procedure

After agreeing to continue with the study, participants in both samples were presented with the CoBRAS followed by a demographic questionnaire. Participants were awarded course credit for their participation. This procedure was approved by the Institutional Review Board of the author's home university.

Results

Confirmatory Factor Analysis

An initial confirmatory factor analysis was conducted on all 20 items included in CoBRAS with each item set to lead on its hypothesized factor and all three factors being allowed to covary. Results indicated poor model fit (χ^2= (167) 236.23, $p < .05$, CFI=.83, TLI=.80, RMSEA=.07) in the post-Trump sample. Using a combination of information, including proportion of variance explained by the parent factor and fit index values, seven items were removed from the analysis (see Appendix). A second confirmatory factor analysis was then conducted on the remaining

13 items, which indicated good model fit (χ^2= (62) 80.35, p >.05, CFI=.94, TLI=.92, RMSEA=.06) in the post-Trump sample. In comparison, with the 13-item version of the instrument, model fit in the pre-Trump sample was not nearly as good (χ^2= (62) 216.94, p < .05, CFI=.64, TLI=.54, RMSEA=.12) as with the post-Trump sample.

Bootstrapped Exploratory Factor Analysis

A bootstrapped exploratory common factor analysis with 1000 iterations was performed to identify the number of factors that best fit the data in each sample (Table 2). The benefit of subjecting data to a bootstrap procedure was to create intervals for each sample about the mean number of factors extracted. The resulting distribution indicated that the pre-Trump sample had a smaller confidence interval than the post-Trump sample. Furthermore, the majority of iterations with the post-Trump sample indicated three factors (Figure 2), whereas a majority of iterations in pre-Trump sample indicated four factors (Figure 1). Because the original version of CoBRAS was designed to be three factors, it appears the post-Trump data was better described by the model than the pre-Trump data.

Discussion

With the election of Donald Trump as President of the United States, researchers have a unique opportunity to study how the dominant racial story about stratification and inequity is changing in real time. This study subjected data from pre-Trump and post-Trump waves of CoBRAS to statistical analyses to determine whether the factorial validity changed across time periods. Results indicated that CoBRAS did a better job of modeling participant data after the election of Trump than it did modeling pre-Trump data. This finding ran counter to the original hypothesis that the need to mask racial prejudice with imaginary color-blindness has been reduced due to the more blatant forms of racial prejudice being espoused from the White House.

Nevertheless, several methodological considerations ought to be acknowledged that inhibit the interpretation of my findings. First, while there is some strength from an experimental standpoint that both samples were collected from students

attending the same institution of higher learning at two different points in time, it comes at the cost of external validity. Additional research using a more representative sample of Americans would go a long way toward extending the utility of my report.

Second, we should recall that an abbreviated form of CoBRAS was used because the full scale did not have good fit with the post-Trump sample. It is possible that we are witnessing a shift in racial attitudes that was not identified due to this methodological quirk. The likelihood of this problem is exacerbated by the fact that the confirmatory factor analysis was not conducted on the full instrument using pre-Trump data.

These limitations notwithstanding, the results of the study have implications for researchers seeking to understand the changing tide of race relations and racial prejudice in this country. Based on the findings here, it may take more time than most thought to see the full impact of Trump's rise to power. Through well-structured and advanced statistical analysis, we will be able to assess, if not predict, how people's manifestations of antipathy manifest over time. I hope this study was a step in that direction.

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Table 1
Confirmatory Factor Analyses

	χ^2	CFI	TFI	RMSEA
Pre-Trump Sample	216.94*	.64	.54	.12
Post-Trump Sample	80.35	.94	.92	.06

Note. CFI= Confirmatory Fit Index; TFI= Tucker-Lewis Index; RMSEA=Root Mean Square Error of Approximation; *$p < .05$.

Table 2
Exploratory Factor Analyses

	Factors							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8+
Pre-Trump Sample	0	83	401	408	95	13	0	0
Post-Trump Sample	3	120	364	354	128	27	2	2

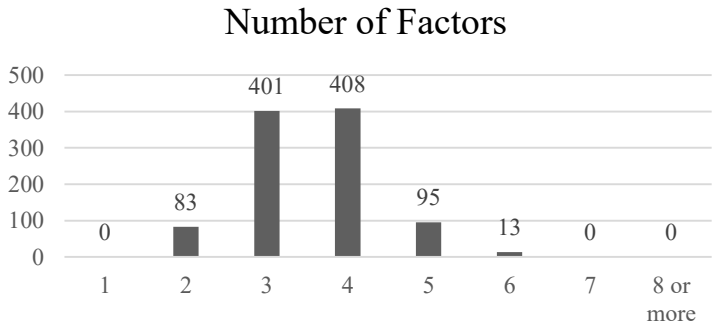

Figure 1. *Exploratory Factor Analysis of the pre-Trump sample.*

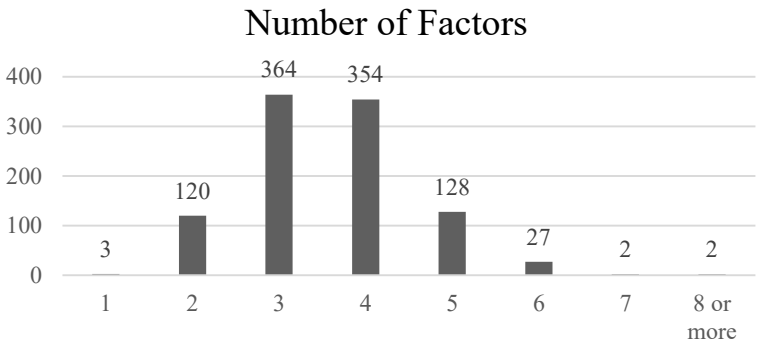

Figure 2. *Exploratory Factor Analysis of post-Trump sample.*

APPENDIX

CoBRAS Items and Related Factors (Neville et al., 2000)

	Item
Factor 1 (Racial Privilege)	1. Everyone who works hard, no matter what race they are, has an equal chance to become rich.
	2. Race plays a major role in the type of social services (such as type of health care or day care) that people receive in the U.S.
	6. Race is very important in determining who is successful and who is not.
	8. **Racial and ethnic minorities do not have the same opportunities as White people in the U.S.**
	12. White people in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.
	15. White people are more to blame for racial discrimination in the U.S. than racial and ethnic minorities.
	20. Race plays an important role in who gets sent to prison.
Factor 2 (Institutional Discrimination)	**3. It is important that people begin to think of themselves as American and not African American, Mexican American or Italian American.**
	4. Due to racial discrimination, programs such as affirmative action are necessary to help create equality.
	9. White people in the U.S. are discriminated against because of the color their skin.
	13. Immigrants should try to fit into the culture and adopt the values of the U.S.
	14. English should be the only official language in the U.S.
	16. Social policies, such as affirmative action, discriminate unfairly against

		White people.
	18.	**Racial and ethnic minorities in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.**
Factor 3 (Blatant Racial Issues)	5.	**Racism is a major problem in the U.S.**
	7.	**Racism may have been a problem in the past, but it is not an important problem today.**
	10.	Talking about racial issues causes unnecessary tension.
	11.	**It is important for political leaders to talk about racism to help work through or solve society's problems.**
	17.	**It is important for public schools to teach about the history and contributions of racial and ethnic minorities.**
	19.	Racial problems in the U.S. are rare, isolated situations.

Note. Items in bold were used in the statistical analyses of this study.

“Agua Para el Pueblo:” A Preliminary Examination into Group Motives to Protest during the 2000 Bolivian Water War Protests

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What causes people to protest? Do different groups within a society protest for different reasons? The literature notes a variety of factors that will potentially motivate people to organize collectively, i.e. protest. These factors include relative deprivation (Gurr 1970), the state of the economy (Carlin, Love, and Martínez-Gallardo 2016), and the effects of privatization from structural adjustment programs (Almeida 2007; Bean 2015; Kingstone, Young & Aubrey 2013; Lopez, Maya & Lander 2005). Although the existing literature argues for these various factors as motivators, successful protests tend to be composed of multiple different groups within society, also known as multi-sectorial coalitions or brokerage agreements (Almeida 2007; Brockett 1991; Kingstone, Young & Aubrey 2013; Silva 2015). However, the literature does not clearly address whether these various groups protest for the same reasons or whether they are motivated by different factors. In order to answer this question, this paper explores the Cochabamba Water War (2000), a series of protests related to the privatization of water in Bolivia, as a preliminary case because the protests involved a vast majority of groups in Bolivian society that commonly abstained from collaborating with one another. This project is a preliminary study designed to determine whether further research on the topic of protest with cases in different time periods in Latin America

would be fruitful. This question regarding group motivations is important because it will be a useful tool for both analysts and practitioners to identify what factors drive protests, and in particular, whether different groups within a society are driven by different preferences.

Introduction

In 2000, a series of protests over water rights led to one death and over 100 injuries in Cochabamba, Bolivia's third largest city. These protests related to water rights were captured in a 2010 movie titled *Even the Rain.* In the movie, a woman from one of the protest groups repeatedly screamed, "esa es la agua para nuestros hijos!" (This water is for our children!). Even though this scene clarified why these women were protesting to protect their right of water, it left me with more questions. What causes individuals to go out into the streets and express their voices in favor of or against an issue?

More broadly, what causes people to protest? It is important to understand why people leave their homes and to determine what a government is lacking. If people have to go out and protest, there is lack of common ground between the people and the government, which can lead to chaos. If we understand why people protest, formal paths to acknowledge and implement the demands of those who protest can be formed by the government in order to avoid protest and handle the issue through democratic and institutional channels. The answer to the question can also be used to mobilize people to be more politically involved when those institutional channels fail.

This question is especially relevant for Latin America, since groups throughout Latin America have engaged in social movements and protests, especially since the decline of the dictatorships in the 1970s and 80s and the rise of democracy since the 1990s. Latin America is fertile ground for a study regarding the motives for protest. In fact, in 2017, mass protests have occurred in Brazil, Venezuela, and Chile. Latin America is a region rich with heterogeneous groups, which provides the opportunity to determine if motives to protest among different groups are the same or whether the motives vary depending on the group.

Literature Review

Scholars who study protest in Latin America have primarily looked through a lens of outcome; they try to explain the factors that determine whether a protest will be successful. Even though their findings are greatly contributing to the field, they have overlooked a critical perspective on protest: what causes people to protest? This does not mean that the question of protest has not been considered in the literature. The theory of relative deprivation (Gurr 1970), the impact of a declining economy (Carlin, Love, and Martínez-Gallardo et al, 2016), the formation of coalitions with different sectors of society (Brockeet 1991; Kingstone, Young, & Aubrey 2013; Almeida 2007; Silva 2015), and the controversies surrounding privatization (Kingstone, Young and Aubrey 2013; Almeida 2007; Bean 2015; Lopez, Maya, & Lander 2005) have been offered as explanations for the occurrence of protests.

In Latin America, as in most places around the world, the strength of the economy dictates the politics of a state. In particular, in Latin American countries the strength of the economy is tied to presidential approval ratings. As the economy declines, approval ratings tend to decline. If a corruption scandal occurs during a period of economic decline, Carlin, Love, and Martínez-Gallardo (2016) argue that citizens are more likely to be outraged over political scandals, and thus more likely to protest. For example, in Brazil, the approval rating of President Dilma Rousseff (2011-2016) plummeted to a low of nine to ten percent due to the decline in the strength of the economy. The decline in the economy not only decreased her approval rating but, coupled with a major corruption scandal in Brazil, also fomented mass protest against her presidency, leading to her impeachment in 2016. In comparison, President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva's (2003-2010) involvement in various scandals, and in particular the Mensalão scandal, during which legislators were paid a sizeable monthly stipend to vote in favor of government-sponsored legislation, did not affect his popularity or appeal to Brazilians during his time in office because the economy was strong and growing during his presidency.

Although the strength of the economy has been identified as a motivating factor, the majority of the literature focuses on the role privatization policies played in encouraging protests in Latin America. Many countries in Latin America were required to implement specific policies, known collectively as the Washington Consensus, in order to receive loan assistance from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The privatization of state-owned industries and utilities was one of these conditions. As businesses were privatized, the prices for many basic items, such as water and gasoline, rose dramatically. For example, due to the privatization of water utilities in Bolivia, water bills increased on average by 35 percent. It became not only a financial burden to the lower classes, but also the higher classes. According to Kingstone et al (2013), this sudden increase in water bills motivated people to protest in order to pressure the government into retracting the sale of the water rights. The privatization policy accomplished the opposite of its initial goal by decreasing the economic wellness of the individuals in Bolivia. Bolivians were not the only ones that fought against privatization and other economic adjustment policies: across Latin America people protested against these privatization policies.

In the literature, successful protest contains linkages between different sectors of society. Within the literature the idea of coalitions is manifested either by examples or through a formal term and definition. One way in which this factor is defined in the literature is "brokerage," which means coalitions among different previous unconnected sectors to make a greater impact on the success of a protest (Kingstone, Young & Aubrey 2013). This means that labor unions, public sector unions, students, environmentalists, indigenous people, and LGBTQ activists, among other various social groups, can come together and protest against a cause that affects them indirectly or directly but that threatens their rights or autonomy as human beings. Together people have more power and can create more pressure towards the government in order to make a change. If coalitions are important to the success of protest they are rightfully as important to the cause of protest because it provides preliminary factors that cause people to protest. One example is the struggle of the

Argentine Piqueteros, the unemployed workers caused by the neoliberal period in the 1990s. They demanded relief and help from the government, which for so long ignored the issues related to their unemployment. Eventually the Piqueteros were successful because they formed multi-sectorial coalitions with labor unions, anti-free trade movements, anti-debt protesters, and anti-austerity politics (Silva 2015). The coalitions formed within this movement were important because it forced the government to address the issue. The idea that protests are more likely to be successful when they are formed from various sectors of society points to a related question- why do different people, from different segments of society, protest? Are the reasons the same or different? It is this question that this research seeks to explore.

It is critical to point out that the literature does not agree on the conceptualization of protest. Out of the literature analyzed for this research only one scholar gives a concrete definition of protest: "informal collective political actions against the state that last for three months or less in hopes of altering government policy" (Kingstone & Young & Aubrey 2013, p.99). The other articles give examples but never really define protest, which can be problematic in having a common unit of analysis across the research done regarding Latin America protests. Furthermore, Almeida (2007) defines protest campaigns and protest events in the context of Latin America movements. Protest campaigns are defined as "more extensive struggles against specific policy such as privatization program, a new tax, or cuts in public budget that usually involved several protest events" and protest events are "each individual protest within a larger campaign." However, he does not clarify what qualifies as a protest event, and when a protest event becomes a larger campaign.

Methodology

For the purposes of this research a preliminary study will be performed. A preliminary study is a test in which researchers determine if further and more intensive research is warranted for theories or hypotheses relatively untested (George and Bennett 2005). The reason to perform a preliminary study is to 1) test the research question: Do different groups within a society protest for different reasons? and 2) To determine if further research on the

factors put forward by the literature on what causes people to protest.

The preliminary study will be carried out through a case study of the Cochabamba Water War in 2000. The Water War protests were selected for this specific study because of the strong involvement of multi-sectorial coalitions. These multi-sectorial coalitions that emerged during the Cochabamba Water War were groups that commonly abstained from collaborating with one another due to their different movements, class status, and geographical location. Out of all the groups that greatly contributed to the Water War, three were analyzed in this research. The Cocaleros (Coca growers), the middle-class, and the Coordinadora in Defense of Water and Life (Coordinadora) were chosen because in almost all aspects these groups differ. More specifically, in this case study, the motives of each group to join the Water War will be identified to determine whether they had the same or different reasons to protest. Due to differences in preferences and social standing, I would expect to see the motivations for protest of the various groups to vary.

Case Study

The Water War in Cochabamba, Bolivia in 2000 provides an excellent case study to determine whether different groups protest for different reasons. In response to the 1980s debt crises in Latin American countries, the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) offered loans on the condition that the recipient countries implement specific neoliberal policies, known as Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs). These SAPs formed what is known collectively as the Washington Consensus. Although these policies were successful in reducing hyperinflation, the austerity programs often negatively affected the lives of average Bolivians. The Cochabamba Water War was a series of protests in 2000 that were a response to the SAPs required by the World Bank and IMF. In these protests, a variety of different sectors of Bolivian society came together to protest the implementation of these SAPs. Three of the most important and active groups deserve specific focus: the Cocalero unions (composed of coca farmers), the Coordinadora, and the middle class. These groups typically have different needs and preferences

and are not likely to protest against the same issues, however, during the Cochabamba Water War, each of these groups protested. This section reviews the Cochabamba Water War and analyzes the participation of each of these protest groups in an attempt to determine if the motivations of the groups were similar or different.

During the 1980s, Latin American countries turned to neoliberal policies with the hope to stabilize their economy and Bolivia was no exception. In 1985, President Victor Paz Estenssoro (1985-1989) turned to neoliberal economic policies to confront the hyperinflation affecting the country at an annual rate of 40,000 percent during the time (Sachs 1986). Even with the opposition to the neoliberal policies, these policies gradually progressed through the 1980s and 1990s because the World Bank and the IMF required them as part of the structural adjustment programs in order for the Bolivian government to receive loans. One policy in particular that progressed to the 1990s was privatization. Privatization meant that state-owned firms were going to be sold off to private companies. President Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada (1993-1997) advanced privatization by implementing the *Plan de Todos,* which sold off some of the largest and most important state-owned shares. Under *Plan de Todos,* privatization become more controversial because newly privatized firms disappeared without benefiting Bolivians (Kingstone & Young & Aubrey 2013). Therefore, President Hugo Banzer (1997-2001) introduced a "national dialogue" to establish policy priorities for the people of Bolivia. The "national dialogue" opposed privatization, but rising unemployment rates and continued economic issues increased the need for loans, and thus the dependency of Bolivia on the IMF and World Bank for loans, which led to the expansion of privatization.

Even before the Water War in 2000, scarcity of water in Cochabamba and the Central Valley (its surroundings) caused rural conflicts. Access to water became a larger issue due to the rapid increase of the urban population; in fact, the population of Cochabamba grew from 205,000 to 414,000 people in just sixteen years (Assies 2003). Public services could not keep up with the growth of the population and it was so severe that in 1999

portable water coverage was 57 percent and sewerage 48 percent (Assies 2003). This coverage was mostly concentrated in the wealthy and middle-class sectors while the rest of the city relied on managed private wells, family-owned cisterns, and water trucks. The water problem in Cochabamba was met with false promises and inadequate solutions by the government. One of the false promises was the Misicuni Project, which promised to provide the city with water and the agricultural areas with irrigation through a system of tunnels and aqueducts. Instead of initializing a long-term solution, the Servicio Municipal de Agua Potable y Alcanterilla (Municipal Potable Water and Sewerage Service- SEMAPA) drilled wells that increased rural-urban conflict. SEMAPA's solution only caused more drilling and a 20 percent price hike because the population of Cochabamba was running out of portable water (Assies 2003).

In the midst of the water crisis in Cochabamba, President Sanchez de Lozada privatized the Cochabamba water system by putting out an offer to bid on the SEMAPA and the Misicuni Project. Many of the interested parties were concerned about feasibility and profitability due to the strict conditions set by the Bolivian government, therefore the conditions made were more flexible (Assies 2003). The only enterprise that showed interest was Aguas del Tunari, which was made up of 50 percent British, 25 percent Spanish, and 25 percent Bolivian enterprises. Since Aguas del Tunari was the only consortium interest at that time and the government was so anxious to sell off the water rights, a presidential decree was issued to open up negotiations between Aguas del Tunari, the National Government, and the Cochabamba municipality. The final contract was signed on September 3, with the presence of newly elected President Hugo Banzer and other local authorities. This agreement did not guarantee financing for the MISICUNI Project and for the expansions of service coverage but it did specify a water rate increase. On November 1, Aguas del Tunari announced that it would work on improving water supply, implement the Misicuni Project, and begin a rate increase of 35 percent.

In that same month, due to the pressure of the World Bank, the government pushed Law 2029 through Congress and later

President Banzer proclaimed the new law in Cochabamba. Law 2029 officially privatized water, granted 40-year concessions to private enterprises, and 5-year licenses to any institution with legal status in a region with a population of 10,000 or more inhabitants. Law 2029 forced existing local cooperatives and neighborhood associations into contracts with the concessionaries, in this case, Aguas del Tunari (Assies 2003, Silva 2009).

As the government implemented these austerity policies, opposition groups were formed. For example, the Coordinadora por la Defensa del Agua y la Vida was established by different groups and led by the president of the Federación Departamental de Trabajadores Fabriles de Cochabamba (Departamental Federation of Factory Workers of Cochabamba –FDTFC), Federación Departamental Cochabambina de Organizaciones de Regantes (Cochabamba Department Federation of Irrigators' Organizations- FEDECOR) and of the Defense Committee. Other groups such as the Cocaleros, led by Evo Morales, and La Condeferación Sindical Única de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia (Unified Syndical Confederation of Rural Workers of Bolivia- CSUTCB), led by Felipe Quispe, joined the Water War protests. It was apparent that these two groups joined the Water War as a tactic to consolidate power in their respective union federations due to the competition between Morales and Quispe (Silva 2009) but this was not their only reason to join. The Cocaleros were fighting against Law 2029 because they were concerned about granting exclusive property rights to the private operator (Spronk & Webber 2007). The Coordinadora organized the first march on December 1999 against Law 2029 and the contract with Aguas del Tunari.

In early January 2000, the situation changed when water bills increased up to 150 percent in some cases for residents of Cochabamba, known as Cochabambinos (Assies 2003). Many people were outraged because they saw how it impacted them directly. Even though Law 2029 impacted the middle-class by removing their privilege of drilling wells, the rate increase impacted the middle-class to the core. SEMAPA supplied water to the middle class at low subsidized rates but under Aguas del Tunari the subsidies were taken away (Silva 2009). In response,

the Coordinadora called for a refusal to pay the bills and called a meeting for January 10. In addition, the Civic Committee declared a 24-hour strike for January 11. An indefinite shut down of the city, scheduled to start on January 11, was decided in the meeting organized by the Coordinadora in which both the Cocaleros and members of the middle-class attended. As the shut down of the city continued there was a massive march in which protestors denounced Mayor Reyes, former Civic Committee President Montaño, MISICUNI President Gonzalo Rico, e-prefect Guido Camaco, Basic Sanitation Superintendent Luis Uzín and the former SEMAPA Manager Oscar Coca as traitors for their involvement in the negotiations (Assies 2003). During the march, shops and public buildings were attacked with stones. The march persuaded four ministers to enter negotiations with representatives of the Civic Committee and the Coordinadora. These negotiations led to an agreement signed by government officials and the Civic Committee, but not by the Coordinadora because they had to consult the people first. In this agreement a commission to study water rates was created, the Aguas del Tunari agreement would be revised and privately owned water would not become part of the water sources of the concessionaire. However, despite the concessions made by Aguas del Tunari, the war against water privatization did not end because the conflicted ended in an uneasy truce that required further discussions and negotiations on the agreement.

On February 4 the government announced a final proposal that included a 20 percent water price increase. Massive protests against this price hike were met with heavy-handed repression by government forces. A few days later, confrontations came to an end with the help of Cochabamba's Archbishop Tito Solari and the National Ombudsman, José Luis Baptista. The main organizations and government officials signed another agreement that called for the implementation of the Misicuni agreement, a review of the rates, for rates to kept the same as in October 1999 until further decisions, and modifications of Law 2029 and revision of the Aguas del Tunari contract.

Negotiations between the government and the Civic Committee and the Coordinadora were deteriorating, which

caused the Coordinadora to withdraw from the official negotiations. The government was not meeting the conditions proposed in the agreements made before, and in response both the Civic Committee and the Coordinadora gave the government a deadline of March 31 to respond to their agreements. The government failed to respond, so both organizations called for a general strike on April 4th. In addition to the general strike, the Condeferación Sindical Única de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia (Unitary Union Confederation of Bolivian Peasant Workers) and other groups blocked main roads to press their own demands. The next day thousands of Cochabambinos filled the Plaza of 14 de Septiembre demanding the Aguas del Tunari leave immediately. In order to force them out some of the protesters damaged the Aguas del Tunari plant. Over the next two days people gathered at the plaza and demanded a break with Aguas del Tunari and revision of Law 2029, until their demands were met the blockages were going to continue. On April 8th a decree declaring 90-day state of siege was announced which increased mobilization not only in Cochabamba but in other part of the country. As the protest intensified by the hour more people were injured and a few lost their life (Assies 2003).

On April 9, it was announced that the Aguas del Tunari would withdraw but the crowd was still distrustful of the government, therefore they upheld that roadblocks until the parliament approved the modifications of Law 2029 and provided proof of the annulment of Aguas del Tunari. On April 11, President Banzar proclaimed the modifications of the law approved by parliament and proof was given to the people. The stage of siege was lifted on April 20th as peace returned to the city of Cochabamba. Even though it was the end of the Water War, the movement had a long road ahead (Assies 2003).

Preliminary Analysis of Motivations for each group

From the case study, it appears that despite the differences in class, social status, and preferences, the Coordinadora and people in the middle class appear to, at the core, have been motivated by the same issue: a loss of equitable and affordable access to water due to privatization. Thus, although privatization is the policy that encouraged protest, the underlying reasons for

protest were the feelings in each group that they were being kept from something they should possess, and in many cases, such as private wells, had previously had the right to possess. It was the provision of, then the retraction of, the water rights that encouraged individuals to go into the streets to protest. This idea of deprivation of rights, especially in light of the rights the groups had before the privatization policies, most clearly aligns with Gurr's (1970) idea of relative deprivation. Alternatively, the Cocaleros protested as a form of getting their own demands acted upon by the government, and in particular, Felipe Quispe and Evo Morales used the protests to prove to their respective bases that they had power. The Coordinadora protested because they wanted be recognized as a formal organization to have power and representation in government affairs. Lastly, the middle-class protested as a result of the drastic increase in prices, especially following a period of government subsidization of water.

Conclusion

The Cochabamba Water War Protests were the direct cause of the privatization SEMAPA, the water provider for the city of Cochabamba. The privatization was part of the Structural Adjustment Programs that the government of Bolivia had to implement in order to obtain loans to stabilize its economy. The Bolivian government rushed to make the contract with Aguas del Tunari and pass Law 2029 to ensure that privatization was profitable for the enterprises buying the state-owned firms. Aguas del Tunari raised the water rates up to 150 percent, which angered every citizen in Cochabamba because they could not afford such an increase. Under Law 2029, communities and associations that owned a well in Cochabamba were forced to enter contracts with Aguas del Tunari; the private enterprise was granted exclusive property and water rights, leading to the feeling that the rights the communities and associations had previously had was taken away from them and was given to foreigners. Cochabambinos had to take the streets and protest to force the government to acknowledge and implement their demands.

The Cochabamba Water War protests were successful because of the multi-sectorial coalitions formed in the whole process. The right to water was not only an issue for the poor or

indigenous people but for all Bolivians. Different groups of Bolivian society started to join once they felt the impact of privatization of water. All these groups came together to pressure the government, from different sectors of society, to acknowledge and implement their demands. The demands of the different groups were relatively the same but were their motives to join the Cochabamba Water War different? To answer the question the motives of the Cocaleros, the Coordinadora, and the middle class groups were identified and analyzed. The findings are interesting because it demonstrates, for at least the Coordinadora and the middle class, that our initial assumptions that they would have different motivations was wrong. Their motivations to join the Water War are not noticeably different even though their interest, geographical location, and class status are different. The primary motivations for the Coordinadora and the members of the middle class were the effects of Law 2029 and the water rate increases.

These groups were concerned with Law 2029, which granted private enterprises exclusive property and water rights. Under this law the middle-class could no longer have the privilege to drill wells, the members of the Coordinadora were forced to enter contracts with Aguas del Tunari for the wells they owned and the land owned by the Cocaleros were in jeopardy. All of these groups in some aspect were affected by the approval of Law 2029.

The most important factor that motivated two of these groups to join the Water War was the increase of water rates through the privatization of SEMAPA. The members of the Coordinadora and the middle class saw an increase in their water bill when Aguas del Tunari took power. Even though the members of the middle-class and the Coordinadora were from different social classes, the increase of water price rates was a financial burden to them. The members of the Coordinadora were not wealthy enough to afford a price increase therefore this was going to change their whole quality of living. Members of the middle-class, who for so long had the privilege of subsidized rates, now had to pay the full price at a higher rate.

However, the cocaleros were not directly impacted by the water privatization. Their motives appear to be unrelated to the

water and as a result, were primarily about using the existing protests to help their voices be heard. It was about power and access for the cocaleros. Even though, the cocaleros had different motives to join the protest, the water war demonstrated that completely different groups can join the same cause even if some of the groups motives of some groups were more similar than other groups.

One of the weaknesses in this study is the absence of clear hypothesis testing and that this research is mostly a description of the Water War case. The literature review is incomplete, and the *Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups* (1965) by Mancur Olson regarding collective action will be added to a later version of this paper. This theory might be good underlying theory that covers more of the motivations, as it relates to the analysis of costs/benefits at the individual decision-making level. This might help us more deeply understand why and how individuals choose to protest. More individual level data needs to be gathered, such as reading through news reports of the time period to determine what leaders directly said they were protesting for. The shortcomings of this research can be addressed by conducting further research into individual motivations for protest. Finally, more in-depth hypothesis testing across a variety of cases would be fruitful.

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Identities Forged Under Oppression: Exploring how Sexual Assault's Contributions to Oppression Affect a Woman's Identity

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Introduction

When faced with the question of what it means to be a woman, the question is much more difficult to answer than one might think. What does it mean? Who are women? In a slightly earlier period, perhaps answers would be more along the lines of caretakers, housewives or mothers. However, in a more recent society where women have worked to break the social barriers that were imposed upon them in these earlier times, answers would optimistically be somewhere along the same lines of what one might expect a man to answer with: the breadwinners, strong, independent, intelligent, or hard-working figures within a family. Unfortunately, these are not the answers that we receive, even in 2017. The answer of who women are in 2017 is more realistically fighters; fighters for equal rights – economically, politically and socially. Fighters for rights over their own bodies, and fighters against oppression. This oppression, and specifically the contributions that actions like sexual assault have on it, effects women's identities and the way that women interact within society. Sexual harassment or assault upon women is a lamentably large issue that exists globally and is regrettably, often understated as an issue. What's more, some women find themselves asking these very questions as their fights feel as if

they are losing ones under the weight of resurgent misogyny. What this paper argues is that enduring oppression, especially the role sexual assault plays within it, infringes upon women's autonomy. This also has effects on women's identities, as well as contributes to some women taking a dismissive stance towards violence against other women. Refrains like "she was asking for it" or default doubts against testimony against male attackers only serve to reinforce women's oppression. This claim will be substantiated by first drawing out the different areas from which oppression can stem from, and how it effects the social group that women associate with. Second, by defining sexual assault for the purposes of this paper and how it effects its victims and the group that these victims belong to. This will then allow for the emphasis on how these effects subsequently and inevitably bring about the alteration of women's everyday lives through adaptive preferences and rape myth acceptance (RMA).

What is Oppression?

It is first necessary that the term oppression be defined. In her book *Justice and the Politics of Difference,* Iris Marion Young differentiates between the traditional, political sense of oppression and cultural oppression. Political oppression is, "the exercise of tyranny by a ruling group."[1] Cultural oppression on the other hand is diffuse. It is not the result of a singular agent or group of agents working explicitly towards a specific aim. It is rather distributed across a society, embedded in its habits and norms. Ann Cudd, in *Analyzing Oppression,* offers a four-part definition of cultural oppression, it recognizes four jointly necessary and sufficient conditions for oppression:

1. *The Harm Condition:* there is a harm that is perpetrated through a social institution or practice.
2. *The Social Group Condition:* the harm is perpetrated through a social institution or practice on a social group whose identity exists apart from the oppressive harm.
3. *The Privilege condition:* There is another social group that benefits from the institutional practice in (1).
4. *The Coercion Condition:* there is unjustified coercion or force that brings about the harm.[2]

Not only must there be a harm that comes from it, such as inequality, dehumanization, trauma, or psychological/physical harm, but this harm must also be perpetrated upon social groups such as women, or Hispanics. There must also be a social group that benefits from this harm. An example of this privilege would be the general allowance that men are granted through the idea of "boys will be boys" attitudes that contribute to environments in which women are objectified and have to take the hits. Men don't have to check their speech habits in the ways that women do either. This is especially pernicious in which the "boys club" or "locker room" is the key to advancement within an organization. This can include businesses being conducted in places that work against women. Some examples of these businesses include strip clubs, or restaurants like Hooters or Twin Peaks. Restaurants like these encourage casual objectification in that they're common stopping areas for, not just men, but also for families to come and watch sporting events or UFC/Boxing fights. Even within these forms of entertainment there are ring girls and dancers in skimpy outfits. Those norms harm women insofar as they deny them fair and equal access to greater opportunities and encourage the treatment of them as objects for sexual gratifications, reducing their subjectivities to recipients of the actions of men. Similarly, weighing possible maternity leave against a promotion disadvantages women's careers. This is notably true of women who are forced into choosing between family and career where their male counterparts do not have to make that choice.

While both Cudd and Young may agree in some areas, there is a clear distinction between their assertions concerning oppression. While Young may accept some of Cudd's conditions, she would not consider them to be necessary conditions in the same way that Cudd does. If anything, she may consider them to be individually, not jointly sufficient conditions insofar as she considers her own five faces of oppression each to be individually sufficient for calling a group oppressed. Young argues in favor of there being at least five distinct faces of oppression: exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence. Exploitation, the use of labor without fair compensation, is how Young characterizes things like the wage gap and familial

structure that often underappreciates the labor executed by the female figure within a household. Marginalization is what she uses to characterize the exclusion of certain groups from equal citizenship rights. Thirdly, powerlessness is what she depicts to be something that results in - but is not limited to – the exposure "to disrespectful treatment because of the status one occupies."[3] A good example of this would be women in the workplace being subjected to disrespectful treatment, or comments solely because of their gender. Next, she outlines cultural imperialism to be groups that are branded with an essence stemming from stereotypes that are developed overtime, also relating to how women are demeaned within a society as things like sexual objects. Finally, Young elucidates violence to be something that reinforces both oppression and fear like sexual aggression and rape culture. She argues that, "applying these five criteria to the situation of groups makes it possible to compare oppressions without reducing them to a common essence or claiming that one is more fundamental than another."[4] At minimum, some of these faces may relate to the conditions provided by Cudd.

The two faces of oppression that will be the most evident within this paper and more closely relate to come of Cudd's conditions, are exploitation and violence. Young broadens the concept of exploitation to include the ways outside of work alone that labor and energy expenditure allows for one group to reach a level of domination over another. She argues that the oppression of women is not limited to the inequality that exists among a number of areas, but that it also stems from the fact that the "freedom, power, status, and self-realization of men is possible precisely because women work for them." She elaborates, saying this use of energy and skill often goes unnoticed often allowing for the image of the men around these women to be enhanced having been provided with sexual and emotional service that goes unreturned. Some examples of this gender exploitation would be for both a man and a woman to work at an equal level of authority, and when faced with tasks the man is given tasks that pertain to the company itself or to the improvement of something, while a task a woman may be assigned with is to aid with smaller tasks, non-essential social tasks, or put out fires for others. Rather

than being asked to use her intellect, she's asked to use the skills that are stereotypically associated with women like easily being able to placate others. Being asked to organize a social event, rather than to work on an important project, for example. While this contribution to oppression is impactful, it doesn't leave the biggest footprint.

The most impactful face of oppression is violence. Young emphasizes the number of groups that endure the contributions that systematic violence has to their oppression, women being one of them. She notes that, "members of some groups live with the knowledge that they must fear random, unprovoked attacks on their persons or property, which have no motive but to damage, humiliate, or destroy the person."[5] It is these fears that contribute greatly to the morphing of the identities within these groups to adapt to these types of environments, and begin to associate them with "acceptable" social norms. This is not to say that they are the only contributing factor, nor that violence is the direct cause of this development of deformed desires. Nevertheless, in order for something to be considered as oppressive, there is the necessity of it having these types of effects on the affected groups. However, it is not necessary that more than one of a condition be met for this consideration.

Cudd uses an analogy drawn up by Andrew Kernohan in order to discuss how cultural forms of oppression spread, by comparing oppression to pollution. Kernohan makes a distinction between the two different ways pollution develops: "either as a large point-source, where the source can be definitely located or as a non-point source, where the pollution comes from many small sources that are diffused throughout the environment."[6] Kernohan argues that while the non-point sources may not be harmful in themselves, they collectively contribute to one large harm that cannot be dissipated. One example of large point-source pollution would be things like oil spills into the ocean by large companies, while non-point sources would be things like dropping some trash while walking and deciding to leave it there which doesn't have much of an impact individually, but when every few people follow suit it becomes a much larger problem for the environment. This more harmful method is what Kernohan

refers to as cultural oppression because it is a property of a group's collective life rather than an individual life.

Similar to this analogy is Marilyn Frye's bird cage analogy provided by her essay on oppression in *The Politics of Reality*. What she describes is an argument suggesting why oppression isn't something that can be "fixed." When looking at a birdcage, if one looks very closely at one wire on the cage, the appearance of the other wires is no longer in their field of vision. Consequently, confusion arises as to why the bird doesn't simply fly around the single wire to free itself. What's more, even if one was to take the time to analyze each and every wire of the cage this closely, this confusion would still exist. Frye argues that it is only when one takes a step back to look at the cage in its entirety that they can begin to understand the confining qualities of the cage.[7] In the same way, oppression isn't something that can be eliminated by simply focusing on one of its contributors and depleting it. This would be like suggesting that one was eliminating the harms of pollution by picking up some trash they found on the side of the road and throwing it away. While it sets an example for others, it is not enough to subdue the impact pollution has inflicted upon the environment.

Sticking with the titles that Kernohan gives the two different types of the dissemination of oppression, there are three different types of "point sources" and four different types of "cultural sources" that Cudd proposes oppression stems from. They are: terror and psychological trauma, humiliation and degradation, objectification, tradition and convention, religion, ideology, and finally cultural domination. This paper will limit itself to the three point sources and two of the cultural sources. The point sources being: terror and psychological trauma, objectification, and humiliation and degradation. The cultural sources being: tradition and convention, cultural domination. Both the cultural and point sources spread oppression through affecting groups, not individuals. The individual effect stems from the individual being identified with the group.

Young recognizes that "group is a potentially ambiguous category. There are, for example, voluntary groups like clubs and sports teams. But there are also involuntary groups like race or

sex, where one's membership is more about how others perceive you than your own self-affirmation. For young, a group is a "collective of persons differentiated from at least one other group by cultural forms, practices, or way of life."[8] She elaborates, stating that a group is something that is not defined primarily by "a set of shared attributes, but by a sense of identity."[9] Identity in the sense that everyone within this group shares this same part of themselves by being a part of the group. For women, their association with the group "women" is an aspect of their identity because it is a way in which they identify themselves, and a way in which others identify them. Regardless of how each existing member of any group self-identifies, they are still treated as if they belong to the group that others have identified them with. She goes on to argue that "group meanings partially constitute people's identities in terms of cultural forms, social situation, and history that group members know as theirs, because these meanings have been either forces upon them or forged by them, or both."[10] In the case of the social group that women would fall under, social situations and shared by histories both tie into how women are affected within a given society. Not only do women still have to fight for economic and political equality, they also still fight for social equality. Stereotypes of women being emotional time-bombs that can't handle large tasks, or being too fragile to take care of themselves (both physically and economically) are still prominent. As far as a shared history goes, these stereotypes all started somewhere and are what women have collectively worked to break. In earlier generations, most women were only deemed capable of doing was taking care of the children and the house. It has yet to be one-hundred years since women were given suffrage rights in the United States. In the same way that historical movements have affected women, attitudes and behaviors towards women also carry a substantial amount of weight. Women are the most frequently targeted victims of sexual assault and sexual violence. Because of this, for every new case there is one more nail added to the barriers that keep women within the confines of oppression. The reasons why sexual assault has such a substantial contribution to the oppression are explained in the following sections.

Point Source Oppression

There are three different point sources of oppression that are necessary to discuss in order to successfully emphasize the gravity of the contribution that sexual assault makes towards the oppression of women. The first is terror and psychological trauma. Rebecca Campbell, Emily Dworkin and Giannia Cabral examined the psychological effects that result from sexual assault. Their study revealed the effects that stem from sexual assault can go as far as altering an individual's personality completely. Campbell, Dworkin, and Cabral found in their examinations that: between seventeen and sixty-five percent of sexual assault victims have developed post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), between twelve and forty percent generalized anxiety, and approximately thirteen to forty-nine percent a dependency on alcohol.[11] The way that this substantiates the proposition of sexual assault's contributions to oppression affecting a woman's identity is in how these psychological effects increase the gravity of sexual assault. While women already fear the act in itself, there is even more to fear about it when the knowledge of these kinds of effects come to light, or even in just thinking about how one might feel about themselves if it were to happen to them. Cudd also emphasizes additional mental health effects psychologically traumatic events like sexual assault can have on victims. She, like Campbell, Dworkin, and Cabral, mainly focused on PTSD. However, Cudd also asserts how the mental disorder can affect patients differently. She notes that Judith Herman observed that, "persons with PTSD go into state of alert as if danger might return at any moment, even when danger is past and the alertness is maladaptive."[12] The symptoms associated with PTSD that Cudd discusses are "energy-sapping" effects like taking longer to fall asleep or wake up, and an increase in distrust and fear towards others.[13]

Regardless of social class, economic status, race, or religion, all women are automatically included in their group of potential sexual assault victims. Women may fear the short walk from the grocery store entrance to their cars at night, or going to the bathroom alone while at a bar or club. This is because of the

social norms that have formed in relation to women's lack of safety while alone at night. These norms didn't form on their own; they are responses to violence against women, norms pertaining to how to reduce one's risk as a woman in situations where one's risk of being victim of violence is increased. These factors change the way that women live their lives whether they realize it right away, or much later on. There is the avoidance of putting themselves in situations that could result in them getting hurt that may not have existed if this wasn't the case. Sexual assault definitely affects identities through the psychological effects mentioned earlier as well. All three of the disorders take copious amounts of time and effort from the victim to adjust to, if not overcome. They also represent persistent harms to the victim. Inevitably, those that have chosen to support these victims are also indirectly effected by what has happened to their loved one or friend.

Cudd also acknowledges a type of psychological harms that result from the forces of oppression. She titles them as direct psychological harms and defines them as being caused by, "inequality through the intentional actions of members of a dominant group, or of a subordinate one."[14] One example of this type of psychological force that Cudd argues victims of traumatic experiences are susceptible to is preference modification or adaptive preferences; this is true of both victims of oppression and sexual assault. Adaptive preferences are deformed desires, desires that "[individuals] have somehow been duped or beguiled into desiring."[15] What this means, essentially, is that once an individual is exposed to a particular type of trauma their preferences and desires adapt to that as a new normal and they begin seeking out the same types of relationships and environments. Without realizing what they're doing, affected victims continue to seek out and inflict the same types of traumas upon themselves. Adaptive preferences play a major role in the debate of whether or not this type of oppression can affect a women's identity in such a way that it affects her autonomy and the way she faces, or handles, oppressive behaviors from others.

Cudd argues that adaptive preferences do in fact affect a woman's autonomy. She defends the view that deformed desires

are problematic, in part, because they "sever the connection between autonomy and preference."[16] Opposing arguments suggest that these changes in preference are "unconscious processes that [happen] 'behind the back'"[17], this being the reason behind why they couldn't affect one's autonomy. Cudd references a paradigm of the formation of adaptive preferences provided by John Elster, illustrating the development of his opposing view. This example is more commonly referred to as the story of the fox who, when he found that his preferred meal of grapes was out of his reach, changed his preference, deciding that the grapes he once enjoyed were now sour. Later, the fox would tell himself that as a result of these circumstances he would cultivate a taste for the berries that were within his reach and convince himself that he preferred the taste of them to the taste of the grapes. While this example may work to depict these deformed desires as non-autonomous, what Cudd points out is that this example works for circumstances that change due to natural obstacles or just social conditions, but not from changes that result from oppressive social conditions. What Elster and others fail to see is how autonomy is compromised especially when adaptive preferences form as a result of, or as a response to oppressive environments.[18] Again, the main concern here is how women's identities are affected by oppression generally, but sexual assault more specifically. While adaptive preferences might be one way in which women are affected, Claudia Card introduces a discussion of social vitality's relation to identity.

The phrase social vitality is what Card defines as existing through "relationships, contemporary and intergenerational, that create an identity that gives meaning to a life."[19] In Card's article "Genocide and Social Death" she discusses the hypothesis that "social death is utterly central to the evil of genocide."[20] Card asserts that social death is what enables us to distinguish the peculiar evil of genocide from the evils of other mass murders, stating that "social validity exists through relationships, contemporary and intergenerational, that create an identity that gives meaning to a life. Major loss of social validity is a loss of identity and consequently a serious loss of meaning for one's existence."[21] The reason this is significant is because this form of

social genocide could be comparable to the effects that oppression has on women. Within her article Card uses the Holocaust as her primary example of social genocide. She states that it was, not only a program of mass murder but an assault on Jewish social vitality" and goes on to explain that, "Jews who had converted to Christianity (or whose parents or grandparents had done so) were hunted down and murdered, even though one might think their social identities had already changed"[22] What Card means by this, is that once a group's social validity has been torn down so much, it doesn't matter what the individuals within it do to try to get around the inevitable effects it will have on their everyday lives. Even in going against their religious beliefs and converting to another, the Jews that Card refers to aren't granted forgiveness for their identities. Rather they are hunted down to be eliminated.

In a similar way to which the Jews in Card's article adapt to their environment by converting to Christianity and are still condemned to their fate, women that are submissive to certain social constructs that linger within many societies are still subjected to oppressive behaviors. Many women have been working to get around the social constructs that bind them to inequality and are criticized for their activism. The word feminist now sometimes has a negative connotation to it and is mocked by men and social media. Nevertheless, feminists stand their ground and fight for the rights women around the world deserve. However, there are handfuls of exceptions within every community, of women who are not activists keep their opinions to themselves. Even in doing this, though, these women still receive snide comments about feminism, sexist jokes and face the same stereotypes that the rest of women do. The difference here is that the active feminists find much more dignity in standing up for themselves and their rights than in standing up for themselves and their rights than in simply choosing to take what society gives them and adapt.[23]

An example of how the United States government contributes to the stripping away of the social validity of women are the continuous attempts to take away a woman's rights to her own body. Abortion debates have been continuous since *Roe v. Wade* and have a tendency to be shaped in ways that degrade

women. There have also been many attempts to remove birth control from the list of medications that are covered by insurance companies, despite some forms of birth control being used to maintain women's health more broadly. These types of treatments and regulations put into place by the government is both humiliating and demeaning to women in that the rights to their bodies are being dictated by a group of (mostly) men. The reason that women's social validity is threated by these institutions is because they're being undermined by, not only members within their society, but the government itself. By doing this, the government not only sets a standard for how women should be, or deserve to be treated, but makes the degradation inflicted by society permissible.

Cultural Sources

There are two cultural sources that are also necessary to the argument presented in the paper, both affect women's identities: tradition and convention, and cultural domination. Given that oppression is a state of affairs that tends to grow worse over time, rather than a single instance, many historical and current events all contribute to the oppressive tendencies within traditions and conventions. Cudd defines tradition as, "the set of beliefs and values, rituals, and practices, formal and informal, explicit and implicit, that are held by and constitute a culture"[24] and as something that is usually followed unquestionably. As generations continue to pass, the blind acceptance of some activities that contribute to oppression has decreased. Some women in particular have become their own activists, especially being more socially aware of the extent to which they're treated unequally. Despite their activism, however, the beliefs that have been accepted by earlier generations carry more weight than the voices of the newer generations. Similarly, conventions are regularities in behavior that exist within traditions. One example of this is the double standard of women being expected to remain modest and "pure," while men are not only open about their sexual endeavors, but praised for them. Young girls within some cultures, like the Hispanic culture, are prohibited from going out with boys or getting into relationships, while their brothers are patted on the back for taking a girl out on a date for the first time

at the same age. Not only does this reinforce the idea that women can only be seen as sexual objects that need to be shielded, but also idea that women are not active beings, rather they're seen as passive recipients of action. In addition to this, there is a creation of a stigma that makes young girls feel guilty about wanting to pursue relationships – a guilt that follows them into adulthood. What's worse, is that it also reinforces the view of women having been "asking for it" when sexually assaulted because victims weren't dressed appropriately, or were being a little too "flirty" and sending the wrong message.

These kinds of views are what contribute to the creation and acceptance of what is called a rape myth. These myths include ideas like, "(a) only certain types of women are raped, (b) that women who are raped must have behaved inappropriately (e.g. leading men on or being in the wrong place), and (c) that only crazy men rape."[25] Women who accept and endorse these myths are more likely to see rape as something that can only affect a certain "type" of woman. By contrast, women who reject these myths are more likely to see rape as "an act representative of power exerted by men over women."[26] In a study conducted by Gerd Bohner and Efthymios Lampridis, they generated an environment that featured a realistic expectation of meeting a rape victim. A group of female students who were either high or low in rape myth acceptance (RMA) expected a conversation with another woman on one of three topics. One of which they would be discussing studying, the other of the particular woman's illness (leukemia), and lastly of the other woman's experience of having been raped. The collective self-esteem, individual self-esteem, and the affect towards self-esteem were assessed after being told which topic each of the experiment's participants would be speaking about. Bohner and Lampridis explain how high and low RMA differ along an "interindividual versus intergroup continuum. Whereas high-RMA women's perceptions are closer to its most inclusive *interindividual* pole of the continuum, low RMA women's perceptions are closer to the its most inclusive *intergroup* pole."[27] As one might expect, women that were surveyed and found to have a higher level of RMA showed less signs of an affected self-esteem having been expecting to meet a

rape victim, while those with a lower level of RMA were observed to have a lower self-esteem when expecting to meet the victim.

Even among those who have never been exposed to sexual assault, women who have lower RMA are consequently effected by its contributions to oppression. This further illustrates how women's identities and personal attitudes about themselves and their own worth as human beings is affected by rape culture. By 'rape culture' I mean the ways in which society blames victims of sexual assault and normalizes male sexual violence.[28] Knowledge of sexual assault cases, including surface level descriptions of their effects victims, reinforces the fears instilled in women. The fears that contribute to women being afraid of the night and afraid of being alone. Not only does this effect the everyday lives of women, but also creates a dependency on others, including their partners, for a sense of safety within herown environment. Yvonne Raaijmakers and Bohner argue, in an extension of the previous study, that the reason women accept rape myths in the first place is because the myths "serve as a psychological buffer against the threat of rape."[29] Because women are inevitably forced to adapt to this culture, they are, by default, also giving up parts of themselves that they may not have given up otherwise. An example of something like this would be of a woman who enjoyed dressing provocatively, but because of the pressures from within rape culture, is forced to give up this pleasure. She might fear the possibilities of what might happen to her more than she enjoyed that form of self-expression. On the other hand, another woman could be fond of going for runs at night in places like Texas, where it doesn't begin to cool off until the sun goes down. However, after hearing that there is a sexual predator in her area, she might begin to go for runs during the day, or at the gym on a treadmill, or to cease running entirely. These are examples of modifications that women are forced to make within their daily lives so that they can avoid the dangers of sexual aggression. These also serve as examples of the types of adaptations Cudd is referring to, within the autonomy debate, that are responses to oppressive environments and is further reason to believe that a woman's autonomy is affected. Women are literally forced into

their homes so as to avoid being attacked, and this isn't even taking into consideration the haunting fact of it being even more likely for women to be sexually assaulted by a friend or family member within their own home.[30] Not only are women to fear strangers out in the middle of the night, but they're also disposed to a violation of trust amongst those whom they've found a safe place with.

Objection

Coming back to this debate, there is one other opposing view that must be addressed. In his essay, "Coping or Oppression: Autonomy and Adaptation to Circumstance," John Christman argues that rather than the oppressive nature of circumstances being the reason being the disruption of some women's autonomy, it is the "particular ways that radically constrained life options operate on the capacity for self-government and self-affirming practical identity of the agent herself."[31] The strongest substantiating factor behind his claim being similar to that of Elster, claiming that there is an eventual adaptation to the new circumstances. However, unlike Elster, he does not claim that these happen subconsciously, rather he claims that women maintain a sense of self-governance because they're able to rationally adapt to their situations. Christman argues that over an extended period of time those who have chosen to adapt will eventually forget about their old desires having culminated a new way of looking at and experiencing their environments, enjoying their new passions. The issue here is the failure to recognize the contributions instances like sexual assault have on the diffusion of oppression on women. Not only are women forced to adapt to the systematic violence that is prominent within society, but they're also forced to deal with the oppressive attitudes that have been reinforced through tradition and cultural norms. While a form self-governance does exist in that women have to be able to rationally decide what is best for them, that does not constitute full autonomy because of the fact that, more often than not, what a woman may choose to do is not what she would have normally done, or something she wants to have to do at all. The idea here is that women shouldn't have to adapt in the first place.

The adaptation to oppressive environments doesn't end in women simply adjusting their daily habits. This adaptation also creates this expectation for oppressive behaviors from men that should be reprimanded, but are instead dismissed as "boys being boys." These behaviors can extend from inappropriate comments or treatment to inappropriate touching. The men that do execute these behaviors are able to get away with it because of this dismissive attitude as well, when in reality they should have charges pressed against them. What's more upsetting, is that some women see following through with pressing charges as more trouble than just dealing with the treatment occasionally. While Christman may be correct that not all instances of adaptation constitute an affront to autonomy, he is mistaken in the case of sexual violence and oppression. Having to adapt to a rockslide while hiking isn't a violation of one's autonomy. Having to adapt one's desires to work within a society that disvalues women is entirely different. The difference is the presence of harm and coercion. Even if one has to reform one's desire as to which trail one is hiking, one isn't coerced by nature into taking another trail. Nor is one harmed in any direct way. By contrast, women's adaptations to their social milieus are subject to coercion and harm.

Conclusion

Re-facing the same questions as before, what does it mean to be a woman? Who are women? The term fighter still applies in that they're fighting a war against both men and themselves. Men, primarily, as women learn to hit back and stand their ground against the population of men that still feeds off of pushing women down to enforce their own superiority. This also manifest in how women are fighting for equality within the workplace to ensure that her work is no longer taken credit for, and that she is not only seen and treated as an equal, but paid as an equal. Most importantly, however, women are fighting against themselves. This enduring oppression, especially the role sexual assault plays within it, infringes upon women's autonomy. This also has effects on women's identities, as well as contributes to some women taking a dismissive stance towards violence against other women. Refrains like "she was asking for it" or default doubts against

testimony against male attackers only serve to reinforce women's oppression. Things like RMA and adaptive preferences create attitudes amongst women that make it difficult to continue fighting for what they know is the good fight, and easier to become complacent.

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Endnotes

[1] Young 1990, 40.
[2] Cudd 2006, 25.
[3] Young 1990, 58.
[4] Ibid., 64.
[5] Ibid., 61.
[6] Cudd 2006, 157.
[7] Frye 1983, 4
[8] Young 1990, 43.
[9] Ibid., 44.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Campbell, Dworkin, and Cabral 2009, 225–26.
[12] Cudd 2006, 159.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid., 156.
[15] Ibid., 180.
[16] Cudd 2014, 143.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid., 145.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Card 2003, 63.
[21] Ibid., 64.
[22] Ibid., 65.
[23] See for example Hay 2011 and Boxill 1976.
[24] Cudd 2006, 166.
[25] Bohner and Lampridis 2004, 79.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid.
[28] “What is Rape Culture?"
[29] Bohner, Siebler, and Raaijmakers 1999, 191.
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[31] Christman 2014, 205.

Melanoma Response to Chitosan-Thin Films with Gold Nanoparticle Deposits

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Skin cancer is the most common of all the cancers, affecting the body's first defensive mechanism. Melanoma, a form of skin cancer, is responsible for a majority of skin cancer deaths. In its metastasis stage, Melanoma cannot be stopped by regular body mechanisms, such as apoptosis; however, gold nanoparticles can target the mutated cells. Gold nanoparticles are compatible with proteins and molecules, as well as an enhancer of electromagnetic radiation. In recent decades of nanomaterial research, gold nanoparticles have been extensively used in research and industrial applications. These nanoparticles have been utilized for biochemical sensing, therapeutics, contrast agents, and drug delivery. Gold nanoparticles have been used for drug delivery due to their unique physiochemical properties and flexible composition, which is why they are prime candidates for cancer treatment. Furthermore, the gold nanoparticle benefits from the binding of chitosan, which has been proven to be quite strong and possesses an anti-microbial composition. We will utilize a previously reported method of gold nanoparticle

synthesis with chitosan, to measure the viability/toxicity, DNA damage, and ROS production in melanoma cells.

I. Introduction

In the adaptive field of nanotechnology, scientists have harnessed the cell's natural intake mechanisms to design an organic tool: the nanoparticle [1]. Gold nanoparticles (AuNPs) have been applied in various industrial and biological applications [2-4]. These nanoparticles have been ideal for biological application due to their unique physiochemical properties, as well as their non-toxic nature. [4] Earlier variations of the general nanoparticle could not be shaped much, as well as requiring additional preparation for biological use [4-5]. The Turkevich method is the earliest, most common, method that utilized sodium nitrate (NaCit) to synthesize gold particles [6-7]. Furthermore, the later Brust method, and another recent method, produced smaller particles with a less variation in size. Another significant nanomaterial product, chitosan, has been found to exhibit a regenerative nature, in regards to epithelialization; chitosan was found to improve the recovery of the epithelial layer when used as a wound-dressing [8]. Combined with chitosan, AuNPs can act as gateway toward alternative treatment for disease on the cellular level. Each individual shares the same foundation as every other organism on our planet, the composition of a unique array of different specialized cells. However, the same trait that grants an organism existence, also serves as a catalyst for all types of cancer. Melanoma is a form of skin cancer that affects the cells that produce melanin, an uncontrolled continuity cell division [9]. Informed with the compatibility of chitosan with AuNPs, this investigation will analyze and determine the effectiveness of chitosan AuNPs in regards to melanoma, while gauging the implications of introducing the nanoparticles to the melanoma.

II. Materials and Methods

Cell culture: Chinese hamster ovary (CHO-K1) cells (ATCC # CCL-61, American Type Culture Collection, Manassas VA) were grown in a 75-mL flask with DMEM, 10% Fetal Bovine Serum (FBS), and Penicillin Streptomycin (Pen/Strep).

Gold Nanoparticles: Two variations of gold nanoparticles (AuNPs) were used for this study. The first type was sodium

citrate (NaCit) particles purchased form Sigma Aldrich (St. Louis, MO) with a 5 nanometer diameter. The second type of particle was synthesized utilizing a previously reported method [10].
Thin Film synthesis: 0.25% Chitosan was prepared in acetic acid. The pH of the chitosan solution was adjust with Sodium Hydroxide (NaOH) until it reached a pH of 4. Chitosan was mixed with Polyethylene Glycol (PEG)(1), PEG+150mM NaCl Chit-AuNPs (2), and PEG+SA-NaCit AuNPs (3). The solutions were stirred for 20 minutes then a thin layer was added to wells in a well plate. The films were allowed to dry overnight in an incubator.
Cell Viability: For viability measurements, CellTiter-Glo (CTG), from Promega Corporation, measures the number of viable cells based on the presence of Adenosine triphosphate (ATP), which is present in metabolically active cells [11].

III. Results and Discussion:

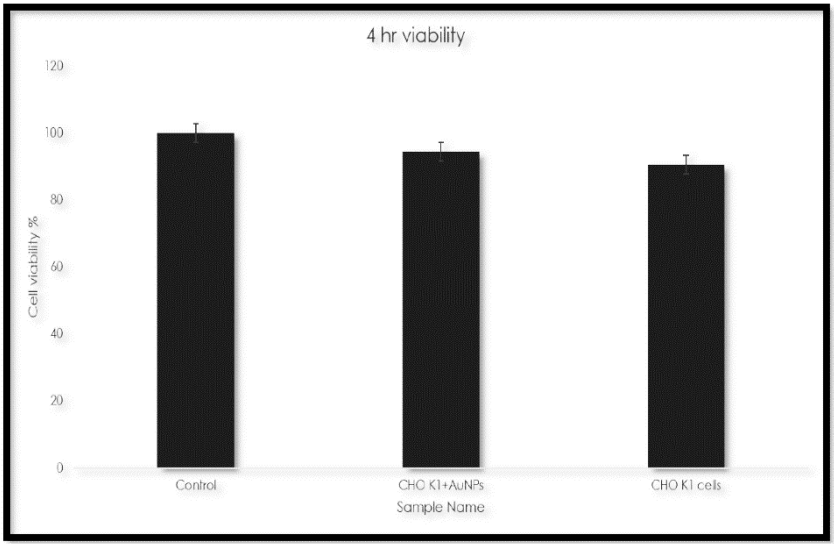


Figure 1.Viability of CHO-K1 cells in the presence of NaCl Chit-AuNPs

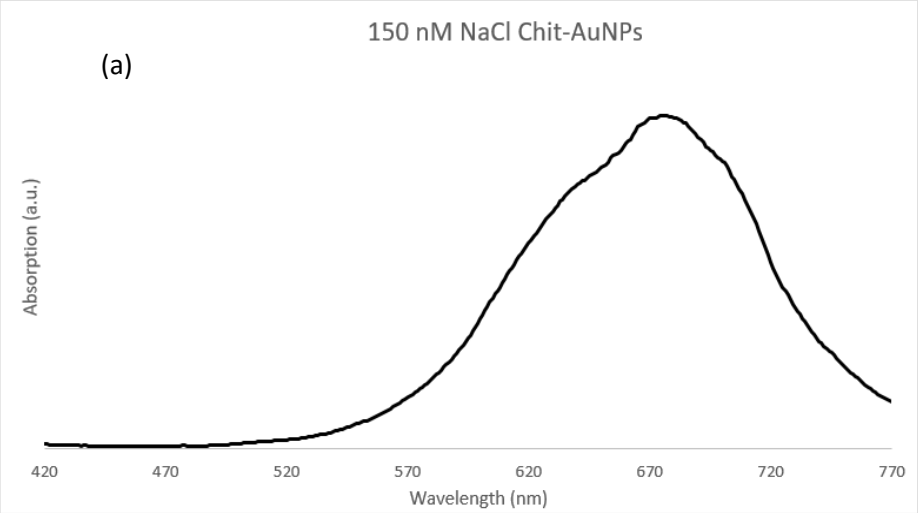
Cells: Cell Viability: Viability data reports that the CHO-K1 cells were able to continue to grow after the Chit-AuNPs were added. Also, the particles did not interfere with the adhesion process of the cells, which begins approximately three to four hours after

beingtrypsinized [12]. Figure 1 shows the growth of control cells and sample (0.25% NaCl Chit-AuNPs), which indicates that the addition of the gold nanoparticles does not affect the proliferation of the CHO K1 cells.

The process for adhesion for adherent cells is extremely important in the cell cycle. Once the cells adhere to the flask, they will begin their cycle process, which leads to mitosis. Mitosis is the splitting of a parent cell into two daughter cells [13]. This results in two identical cells to the parent cell and the process repeats itself. If the NaCl Chit-AuNPs were to interfere with any step in the cell cycle, even the adhesion process, the cells would not be able to thrive, and viability would begin to decrease.

UV-VIS: The absorption spectrum of both variations of AuNPs was measured using an RF-5301 PC Spectrofluorphotometer (Shimadzu, Kyoto Japan).The results can be seen in Fig. 2. When comparing the two variations of particles, we see a broad peak, with a peak point of 670 nm for the NaCl based AuNPs and a dual peak with a peak point of 624 nm and 698 nm for the Sigma Aldrich AuNPs. The second peak measured in Fig. 1(b) can be attributed to the absorption of water [14] since the particles are stored in water after being washed.

While AuNPs absorb in the green region of the spectrum [15] (~520-550 nm), we observed a red shift in absorption. From this data, we can see the morphological changes of the different conditions added during synthesis. When a protein undergoes a shift, whether partial unfolding, like NaCl addition, changes in the environment around an aromatic amino acid chromophores can cause the UV-VIS to be altered [16]. Also, when particles are stored they can also aggregate, causing structures with larger diameters. These larger diameters result in a shifted absorption spectra, like the one seen in Fig. 2, which is what the broadness of an absorption peak means. Fig. 2(a) absorption peak represents several particles that are stuck together, while Fig. 2(b) represents several particles with variation in size, but the sharp peak indicates consistent size in that region. This data indicates that the reduction methods resulted in variations of particle shape and size.



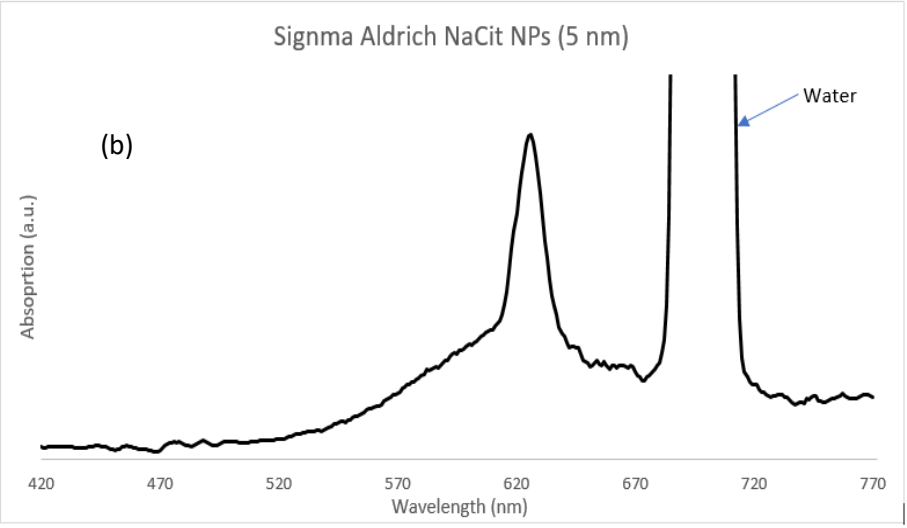


Figure 2. UV-VIS absorption data of synthesized 150mM NaCl Chit-AuNPs (a) and Sigma Aldrich purchased NaCit AuNPs (b)

Particle Imaging: Particles can be imaged with fluoresence microscopy. A fluorescent dye would be used to attach the surface of the particle for viewing. Dyes range in absorption and emission for easy use with a fluorescent microscope. Lucifer yellow was previously used to visualize the 150mM NaCl Chit-AuNPs.

The particles were labeled with Lucifer Yellow (LY) VS, which is a highly fluorescent dye, that forms covalent bonds with amino and suphydryl groups, and is stable in water [17] so the LY VS dye binds to the AuNPs we have synthesized, due to the chitosan, on the surface, having exposed amino groups. In Fig. 3, it can be seen that the particles have aggregated together, resembling a rod formation. This image matches UV-VIS absorption data that showed a red shift toward gold nanorod (GNR) absorption spectra [18].

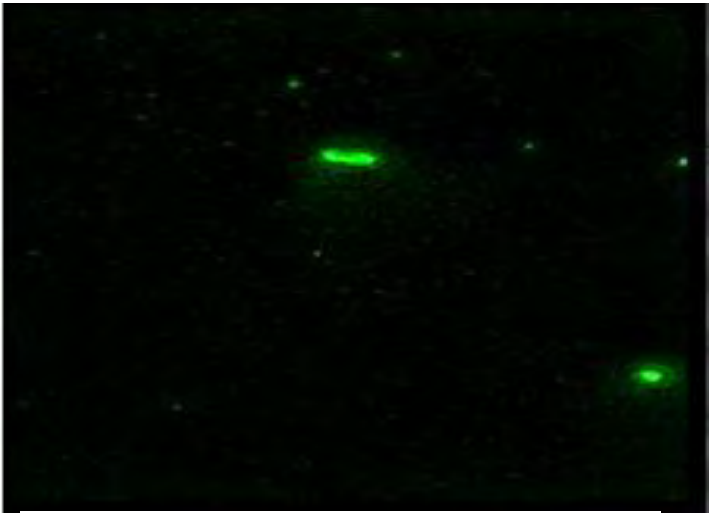


Figure 3. 0.25% Chit+NaCl 20 min reduction with LY VS

Thin Film: The hydroxyl (OH) and amine (NH_2) groups on the chitosan make it advantageous to use for binding structures, such as polyethelene glycol (PEG) together [19], which is depicted in Fig. 4(a). The addition of NaCl Chit-AuNPs results in gold particles attaching to the chitosan and PEG structure, since the particles have an affinity for the amine groups on both structures. The visibility of the functional groups is dependent on the pH of

the chitosan solution. Chitosan is a weak base and insoluble in water, but soluble in aqueous acidic solution [20]. As a result of this pH dependence, chitosan, is usually stored at a pH of 4 or below to avoid precipitation of the molecules when in solution [21]. As the pH is lowered, chitosan becomes more negatively charged. In Fig.4b, chitosan shown through a rendering in visual molecular dynamics (VMD), is in its neutral state. As the pH is adjusted, the α-helixes and β-sheets unfold, and the resulting exposure of the amino groups can be used for attachment, particularly to metal ions.

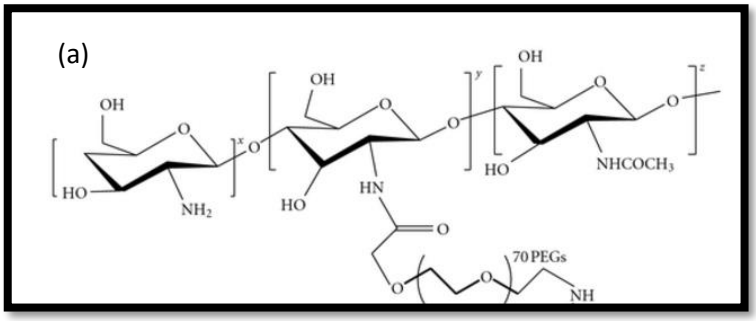
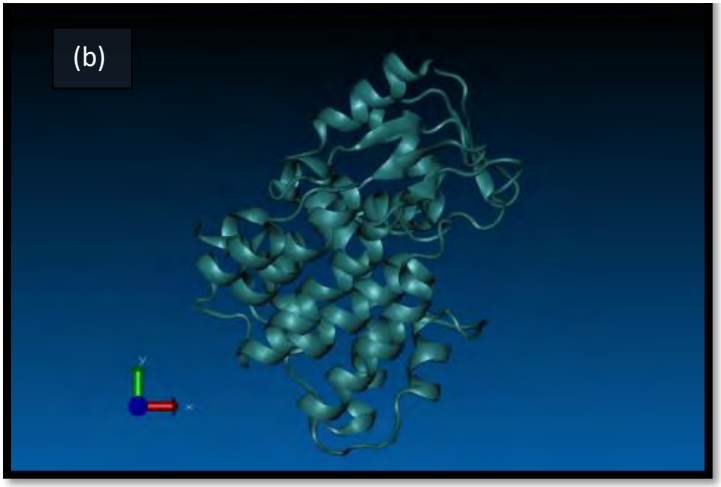


Figure 4. (a) Chitosan-PEG bonding [22] (b) Visual Molecular Dynamics Rendering of Chitosan



IV. Conclusion

In this investigation, we preliminarily studied and developed a synthesis method to create a chitosan thin film/substrate with gold nanoparticle deposits. The cells can be grown on the substrate, in the well plate, and exposed to a laser source using a bottom-up approach. This technique will be applied to melanoma cells under a low powered laser exposure. The gold particles will result in slight heating of the cells, due to vibrations of their surface plasmon resonance, while the chitosan film will promote healing of damaged non-cancerous cells.

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Finessing Privilege: A Characterization of Passing and Its Influence on Implicit Biases Through Latina Experiences

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In societies in which power balances are differentiated along socially constructed lines some group identities are privileged in ways others are not. Those comparative privileges are often unjust in nature. In contemporary American society, whites are privileged over other racial and social categories; men are privileged over women; heterosexuality is privileged over homosexuality, and so on. Intersections of these categories also impact social standing; for example, a white woman might be privileged over a black man. In addition, one's social standing can also be impacted by linguistic categories meaning that common-Anglo accents might be favored over ESL accents. Given the ways these identities intersect with one another, a woman of a white identity might be presumed to be more competent simply because she can speak English without an accent. A woman of Latina identity would be presumed by comparison, perhaps because of her accent or her complexion, to be less competent. But Latinas may attempt to pass as white in order to access more privilege. Passing is the phenomenon of affecting the actions or behaviors of another group to affect their identity. In a white supremacist society – one in which white is the default advantaged over other groups – disadvantaged persons might

attempt to pass as white. To better understand the ways in which these privileges are transferred we must characterize the ways in which the phenomenon of passing relates to implicit biases. Implicit biases are unconscious associative evaluations that individuals manifest in covert ways. This paper argues that when a Latina – a category encompassing an enormously diverse group – passes for white, she inevitably contributes to influencing of implicit biases.

There is a "tendency in much of U.S. philosophy to philosophize broadly about human experience without accounting for the different lived experience of those who are socially marginalized."[1] This is problematic because it delegitimizes groups that are not in agreement or conformity with the dominant group and its norms. These norms can include norms of discourse or what topics or authors are recognized as worthwhile or not. All of this contributes to making "philosophy complicit in the oppression of these marginalized groups."[2] This problematic tendency in the field is only augmented by the absence of representatives of the marginalized groups within philosophy. In the demographic statement from the American Philosophical Association, it was reported that as of 2016 from a sample of 3,074 members only 754 were female.[3] The same demographic statement showed that from a 4,965 sample of A.P.A. members only 240 were Hispanic/Latino.[4] This means Hispanic/Latinos comprise only 4.8 percent of the national membership to the American Philosophical Association, and women comprise only 24.5 percent of the national membership of the American Philosophical Association. Given these statistics, it is most likely that Hispanic/Latin women comprise significantly less than 4 percent of the A.P.A. membership. The representation of Hispanic/Latinas, a marginalized ethnic group, is undeniable poorly represented. This misrepresentation is often visible within the literature, as accounts of Latina experiences are often missing or neglected in mainstream academic philosophy.

One might think that an example of this misrepresentation in the literature can be found in decolonization race theory. However, it is important to note that here the race theorists are not philosophizing broadly about human experience, but rather are philosophizing about the lived experience of the socially marginalized group to which they likely belong. Many race theorists who are focused on the topic of decolonization are often only focused on the lived experiences of the black man or black woman. Thus, there are significantly fewer works dealing with Latina experiences in the race theory canon than there is literature dealing with the lived experiences of other socially marginalized groups. However, it is important to note that it is likely not the case that race theorists are purposely excluding the Latina experience from their theory. Much more likely, it is the case that the race theorists are trying to avoid speaking for other socially marginalized groups.

Latinas and Epistemic Privilege

Latina experiences are distinctive in relation to the dominant binary of black or white that is found in the literature, and represents a standpoint from which philosophizing rarely takes place or gets recognized. The current decolonization literature has yet to employ this standpoint with more frequency. The Latina standpoint is underrepresented.

Standpoint theory is part of contemporary feminist epistemology that works to emphasize that knowers are "particular and concrete" not "abstract or universalizable."[5] The theory functions under the basic premise that "when individuals share a particular social status or social location, they often share meaningful experiences, which can generate shared knowledge about the social world."[6] This knowledge about the "social world," unique to a group with particular social status, grants the individuals with an ability to see and or experience the world from what is called an "epistemically privileged standpoint."[7] Said standpoints are privileged, as Sandra Hardin argues, in that "'starting thought out' from the lives of the marginalized will lead to the development of new sets of research questions and

priorities since the marginalized enjoy a certain epistemic privilege that allows them to see problems differently, or to see problems where members of the dominant group do not."[8] To "start thought out" from the Latina standpoint provides epistemic privilege for the task of characterizing the influence of 'passing' on implicit bias. This "epistemic privilege" can be mirrored or found in other intersecting oppressed groups, but this paper focuses on the Latina standpoint.

To claim epistemic privilege, a standpoint must hold the seven dimensions or characteristics of a privileged standpoint. Take for example, John, a highly experienced and licensed plumber analyzing a leaking kitchen sink. First, the "*social location* of the privilege perspective" must be identified – that is the place in society in which the standpoint can be found.[9] The social location of John's privileged standpoint would be the social location of an experienced and licensed plumber. Second, the *scope* of the privilege for the standpoint that is "what questions or subject matters it can claim privilege over."[10] The *scope* of John's privileged standpoint would be limited to household plumbing. Third, "the *aspect* of the social location that generates superior knowledge: for example, social role."[11] The *aspect* of John's social location, experienced and licensed plumber, which generates superior knowledge is the training through which he must go to be a licensed plumber coupled with his years of experience particularly fixing leaking kitchen sinks. Fourth is the "*ground* of its privilege," this specifies how the aspect "justifies a claim to privilege."[12] The *ground* of John's privileged standpoint on kitchen sink leaks, is that he as a plumber undergoes training on analyzing causes for leaking kitchen sinks that other citizens do not. The fifth point of clarification is the "*type* of epistemic superiority it claims: for example, greater accuracy, or greater ability to represent fundamental truths."[13] The *type* of epistemic privilege John holds it that of greater accuracy in the matter of detecting the cause of leaking kitchen sinks. Next, the "*other perspectives* relative to which" this standpoint "claims epistemic superiority."[14] The *other perspectives* to which in relativity John holds epistemic superiority in analyzing the cause of leaking

kitchen sinks would me the perspectives of individuals with no plumbing expertise or training. Finally, the ways in which the epistemically privileged standpoint can be accessed, otherwise known as the necessary or sufficient conditions, must be clarified.[15] The necessary or sufficient conditions for John's epistemically privileged standpoint are to have plumbing training and expertise. Unlike John, Latinas have epistemic privilege with the *scope* of sexist and ethnically discriminatory experiences.

The Latina standpoint has a different form of epistemic privilege from the one that John the plumber has. John's epistemic privilege is one that he can develop, because it is grounded in his acquired knowledge or skill. The epistemic privilege of the Latina standpoint is grounded in knowledge, whether it be acquired implicitly or explicitly, that is characteristic of how members of a specific group to navigates the world. Though, like John the plumber, it consists primarily in practical knowledge, know-how, and less in propositional knowledge, knowing that.

An example of this knowledge needed to navigate the world are the changes to polite speech habits used in the U.S. Supreme Court by female Justices. It was reported that "early in their tenure, female justices tend to frame questions politely" a practice that "provides an opportunity for another justice to jump in before the speaker gets to the substance of her question."[16] The women serving on the bench quickly acquire the knowledge necessary to halt such interruptions with some justices reducing the use of "polite phrases approximately one-third as much as they did initially."[17] More to the point, women on the bench are aware of this habit of the male Justices interrupting them; cognizance of which is not likely found in the male Justices themselves. That is women don't need a study to know that men tend to interrupt or talk over them. A study is something that reveals this habit of interaction to men. Not being the subjects interrupted, they don't recognize it to be so. The epistemic privilege associated with Latinas is like that of the group of female supreme court justices, in that it is marked by knowledge that they obtain solely because they are part of an oppressed

group. Epistemic privilege derived from female standpoints of experience are of great importance in philosophy, because "Philosophy has powerfully contributed to the exclusion of the feminine from cultural ideals, in ways that cannot be dismissed as minor aberrations of the philosophical imagination."[18]

While Latinas have a group-based epistemic privilege they also hold a unique form of privileged standpoint that is the product of their intersecting social category. Latinas can claim both the epistemic privileges of a female epistemic standpoint, and the epistemic privileges of an ethnically marginalized epistemic standpoint, as well as in relation to how they intersect. Latinas are multiply oppressed in that they are both female and members of an ethnically marginalized group and therefore should be recognized as multiply epistemically privileged individuals. This idea is common within the field of feminist epistemology, and is the same logic from which black feminist epistemology originates.[19] Granting Latinas status as multiply epistemically privileged individuals, increases the appeal for employing their standpoint to characterize the influences of passing on implicit biases.

Epistemic privilege is not a theory which escapes philosophical criticism. Moreover, epistemic privilege grounded in the experience of oppression is directly criticized.[20] The concept of epistemic privilege located in the experience of oppressed groups is rooted in Marx's theory that "class conflict is the central phenomenon that drives all other forms of group conflict."[21] An objection to this position is premised on the implausibility "to hold that *any* group inequality is central to all others; they intersect in complex ways."[22] This objection seems to be misdirected in that it is accuses epistemic privilege theory of claiming that some oppressed groups can be central to understanding of other oppressed groups. However, epistemic privilege merely points to a privileged standpoint in comparison to *other perspectives* not necessarily in comparison to all possible perspectives. Meaning that epistemic privilege does not ground the notion of an epistemically privileged standpoint in a claim of unconditional privilege relative to any other group, but rather that

the epistemically privileged standpoint is so privileged in comparison to *other perspective* – not necessarily all other perspectives. What's more the privilege is limited by the scope of that standpoint, it is not a claim about being in a comprehensively privileged epistemic position.

Latinas and Identity

Before going further, it is necessary to clarify what is meant by the term Latinx. Latinx is a term used to denote a gender-neutral version of the male-gendered term 'Latino.' For the majority of this paper the term 'Latina' is used primarily to refer to women of Latin descent, with an occasional appearance of the term Latinx, when speaking more broadly. 'Latinx' refers to a socially marginalized ethnic group not a socially marginalized racial group, at least within the U.S. context. To identify someone as Latinx is to include them in a category that encompasses "people from an entire continent, subcontinent, and several large islands, with diverse racial, national, ethnic, religious, and linguistic aspects to their identity."[23] The term Latinx extends over a heterogeneous population that prevents it from acting as a racial category. Although there are vast racial differences amongst the individuals who comprise the Latinx identity, they nonetheless share culture, history, language amongst other factors which heavily shape the ways in which they experience the world. This category, Latinx, is so broad that it joins the white complexioned Mexicana living in Jardines del Pedregal in Mexico City with the Black Brazilian living in the favelas of Rio de Janeiro under the same category. Latinx is often confused with Hispanic in everyday speech. Hispanic refers to all *hispanoparlantes*, individuals who speak Spanish. Whereas the Latinx category is inclusive of all individuals who inhabit Latin America, not based on the language they speak. So, persons in Spain are Hispanic and not Latinx, Portuguese speakers in Brazil are Latinx but not Hispanic. This enormously inclusive identity[24] provokes an interesting dissonance in the commonly black and white decolonization literature; it fits with neither black nor white experiences. Nevertheless, to begin to account for those who identify with neither of the binary options within the

decolonization literature commonly employed we must turn to the Latinx. This paper employs the experiences of those who are of Latina identity, specifically to explore a not-commonly used standpoint within the literature.

Implicit Bias and Oppression

Identity is defined as "'that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership.'"[25] While identity involves one's self-categorization into a particular group, that one identifies with a particular group, as well as what that group's identity consists of, are both products of one's social context.[26] That is, identities are socially formed. Identities are socially constructed in so far as they are based on the associations generated by the perceptions of social groups that we hold. In order for said categorizations to occur we must begin by "perceiving ourselves and our fellow group-members along impersonal, 'typical' dimensions that characterize the group to which we belong."[27] The categorization that takes place in order for the social identity to be found is based on perception. Perceptions of some actions and the stipulations for membership into a social group are employed to make associations upon which the social identity is formed. The reliance of identities on associations, inevitably links social identities to the concept of implicit bias.

According to Brownstein and Saul in *Implicit Bias and Philosophy, Volume 1: Metaphysics and Epistemology*, "Implicit bias is a term of art referring to evaluations of social groups that are largely outside of conscious awareness or control." The phrase implicit bias can be broken down and understood literally as – implicit meaning "Of ideas or feelings: contained in the mind without being clearly formulated; vague, indefinite"[28] and bias to mean "preponderating disposition or propensity."[29] There has been enough empirical research done to substantiate the claim that, most individuals–regardless of their conscious beliefs–hold implicit biases which influence the ways in which they behave socially.[30] Some of these behaviors include the all too common

consider when the earnestly committed anti-racist makes racially insensitive remarks or claims to be "color blind," thereby demonstrating a failure of sensitivity to the reality of race's enduring social impact. What is most striking about these implicit biases is that they are more commonly found amongst those who the biases target and those who work to advocate against the biases.[31]

There are two general approaches to implicit bias: belief-based accounts and attitude-based accounts. To understand either of these accounts it is crucial to understand what the definitions of both attitudes and belief are in the field of psychology. The word belief with regards to the belief-based account of implicit bias is to be understood as "something believed; a proposition or set of propositions to be held true."[32] We commonly associate the word attitude with actions, but with regards to implicit biases the word attitude points to the common understanding of the word attitudes in psychology namely, "associations between a concept and an evaluation." [33] The belief-based account of implicit bias attributes "unreflective behaviour (or as much of it, at any rate)" to "be the product of practical reasoning, rationally responsive to the agent's beliefs and desires."[34] In a belief-based account of implicit bias "actions maybe consciously intended, although they are not consciously intended *to be biased."*[35] The attitude-based account of implicit bias differs from the belief- based account in that the actions are not only not consciously intended to be biased but simply not consciously intended. Brownstein and Saul share an example of an implicit bias in which Juliet's bias is shown through her conscious reflections - not that she consciously brings in the bias, but it plays a role in her reflective thinking. "Associations do not guide practical reasoning in the way that Juliet's bias does. Of course, it may be that not all implicit biases have the profile that Juliet's has, and we want to allow that *some* implicit biases are like Juliet's, then a belief account should be part of the picture."[36] It is important to note that there is a consensus that belief-based accounts and attitude-based accounts are compatible. For the purposes of this paper, the thesis will not affirm any specific account of implicit bias.

Implicit bias is one contributing factor of enduring forms of cultural oppression. That implicit biases are not manifested in explicit ways does not diminish their oppressive effects. In *Analyzing Oppression*, Ann E. Cudd argues there are four conditions, together necessary and sufficient, which define oppression. The first of the four conditions that must be met by a circumstance for it to be oppressive is "*The harm condition*: There is a harm that comes from out of an institutional practice."[37] Potential examples of these types of harms could range from physical harms to economic harms amongst many others. An example of this type of physical harm could be malnourishment due to attempts at maintaining a figure that follows beauty standards popularized by the media. An example of economic harms could be the continued presence of the gender wage gap. The second of the four conditions that must be met is "*The social group condition:* The harm is perpetrated through a social institution or practice on a social group whose identity exists apart for the oppressive harm in" the first condition.[38] Potential examples of the social groups could include and range from any type of voluntary organization such as a rotary club to involuntary types of groups such as women. Third is "*The privilege condition:* There is another social group that benefits from the institutional practice" discussed in the first condition.[39] There are many potential examples of what meets the privilege condition, but this condition is met by any institutional practice that grants another social group an unwarranted advantage. Fourth is "*The coercion condition:* There is unjustified coercion or force that brings about the harm."[40] The examples of the potential types of coercion that would apply to the actions labeled as manifestations of an implicit bias would be a domination form of coercion. These specific forms of coercion would be ones in which the oppressed individuals would become subjected to the dominating coercion.

One might argue that these conditions for oppression could be hardly met by the state of affairs resulting from actions manifesting implicit biases, where one identifies implicit biases as limited to individual actions and associations. This is perhaps the

case because the attitudes displayed through implicit biases are not always obviously contributive to the state of affairs that is oppression. It is important to remember that while they are at a first glance dismissible, micro-aggressions contribute to the oppression of socially marginalized ethnic groups. Micro-aggressions are "a statement, action, or incident regarded as an instance of indirect, subtle, or unintentional discrimination against members of a marginalized groups such as a racial or ethnic minority."[41] Micro-aggressions can be referred to as "covertly oppressive behaviors." While these behaviors are not evidently contributive to oppression in the eyes of the individual engaging in said behaviors – perhaps even sometimes not evident in the eyes of the recipient of the action - contribute to the oppression of the harmed group. An example of this form of behavior is "good old fashioned mansplaining."[42] For example, a male who unsure of his expertise in a subject, willingly chooses to correct a female on a statement she never made simply to prove a point that he knows – or unfortunately that he does not know–the subject that the female has researched. By publicly correcting her, albeit he has the wrong information, he communicates to her that her knowledge–even if its correct–is of little importance compared to his knowledge–even if it is incorrect. These actions are not individually responsible for the entirety of the oppression of the harmed group, but they have contributed a drop in the bucket for which they might bear some responsibility.

In *The Politics of Reality: Essays in Feminist Theory,* Marilyn Frye writes about the importance of observing oppression not only from a microscopic perspective but also a macroscopic perspective. Frye employs her famous birdcage analogy to portray the importance of taking "a macroscopic view of the whole cage" and how that instantly reveals "why the bird does not go anywhere."[43] From the macroscopic view it is "perfectly *obvious* that the bird is surrounded by a network of systematically related barriers, no one of which would be the least hindrance to its flight, but which, by their relations to each other, are as confining as the solid walls of a dungeon."[44] The covertly oppressive behaviors resulting from the manifestation of implicit biases are

in this way oppressive; single barriers that together form a solid dungeon wall. An example of these behaviors would be the interruption of a female co-worker; at first it would be a sign of poor social skills from the interrupter, but in time it would make the female co-worker doubt the worth the group grants her contributions to discussion.

Passing

The term passing refers to the phenomenon of affecting the actions of another group so as to affect their identity. The term 'passing' was coined by Frantz Fanon in his book *Black Skin, White Masks.* Fanon writes about his experiences in interacting with the with the "psychological phenomenon that consists in believing the world will open up as borders are broken down" while he is in France and the island of Martinique. Although the term passing originated in an Afro-Caribbean context, U.S. scholars tend to focus on passing in an African-American context. According to Ginsburg in Steve Pile's piece titled "Skin, race and space: the clash of bodily schemas in Frantz Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks* and Nella Larsen's *Passing*," passing can be commonly defined as "involving people who are legally defined as black adopting white identities and inhabiting spaces marked out for white people: that is, in passing, people have crossed a 'color-line,' a racial boundary, to assume a different racial identity."[45]

Passing, particularly in the U.S. African-American context, is a spatial practice in so far as it involves the crossing of a boundary to assume a different racial identity.[46] Moreover, it is a spatial practice in that it involves "some form of pretence; inhabiting a space that is, in some way, exclusive," yet "not policed well enough."[47] The policing of these spaces is not done physically, but rather conceptually. Individuals guard these spaces by way of excluding individuals from participation in identities, and therefore excluding them from the privileges of said identity based on their visible racial identity or their visible ethnic identity. To address the spatial component of 'passing' and the racialization that comes with it many philosophers start with skin. For this Fanon "sets up a 'real dialectic' between, on the one

hand, a corporeal schema ('my body'), and, on the other, a racialized epidermal schema ('the world')."[48] To better explain the corporeal schema and the epidermal schema distinction, Fanon tells of his famous encounter with a small boy on a train as he is traveling in France, perhaps to Alsace-Lorraine. [49] The corporeal schema "provides the self with a place in the midst of the world."[50] Alternatively, the epidermal schema "allows the body to be recomposed by the world," in other words it reconstructs the concept an individual holds of their body.[51] Together these schemas are experiential, psychological, social, but also bodily and racial.[52]

To adapt the definition of 'passing' to the experiences of Latinas one must look specifically at the ways in which the existing definition fits or fails to fit the Latina experiences.

Taking the common definition of passing as "involving people who are legally defined as black adopting white identities and inhabiting spaces marked out for white people: that is, in passing, people have crossed a 'color-line,' a racial boundary, to assume a different racial identity" it becomes evident that there is a discrepancy.[53] It is important that a distinction be made between passing by affecting a racial identity, passing by affecting an ethnic identity, and passing by affecting both a racial and an ethnic identity.[54] The ethnic identity, like Latinx is inclusive of more than one racial identity, which in turn means that the experiences of passing of individuals within this group might extend further than passing by simply affecting racial identity. Members of Latinx identity might solely, affect an ethnic identity in order to pass. Within the group of Latinx persons passing may be done only by affecting an ethnic identity, or there may be passing by affecting an ethnic and racial identities. The heterogeneity of the Latinx category would include the accounts of passing of a dark-skinned Boricua woman – passing by affecting both racial and cultural identity – and the account of experience of passing of a light-skinned Dominicana – perhaps only passing by affecting only cultural identity. That is, for Latinas being that they are a socially marginalized ethnic group not racial group the epidermal schema is not as simply conceived

as it would be in the black and white race theory. An epidermal schema, the way Fanon writes it, would be applicable to the Latina experiences only experientially, psychologically, and socially, but not necessarily the bodily and racially, for it is ethnic identity not race that unites Latinas. The spatial nature of the epidermal schema particularly regarding the body, in the case of Latinas might play a role not yet mentioned. When a Latina is affecting white, her gestures and personal space might be altered. In this way, the spatial dimension of the epidermal schema is significant to the affecting of whiteness by Latinas.

Passing and the Latina Experience

Parents monitor their children's exposure to media with the intent to censure the content. This may be due to the widespread belief that children's attitudes can be affected by the media they are exposed to. It is the case that "the potential of the mass media for social mobilization, education, and attitude change has been recognized."[55] Hollywood is recognized as the mecca of motion pictures, and consequently has an enormous contribution to the changing of "social mobilization, education, and attitude."[56] Unfortunately, with all the society-influencing power that Hollywood yields, albeit recent accusations of a liberal agenda, it portrays a worldview that is in no way inclusive. In her article "The notion of a liberal agenda in Hollywood is absurd," Mary McNamara, called attention to the reality that Hollywood is still rather fixated on representing the world from the white male perspective. She notes that "Hollywood is still dominated by white men who prefer to make movies and television shows that revolve around other white men."[57] The white male dominating presence forces other individuals to be portrayed from said white male perspective. This perspective misconstrues what the realities of the world are, and consequently generates stereotypes.

Karla Souza is a recent voice on the matter of raising awareness to stereotypes in Hollywood. Karla Souza is a Mexican-American actress, and is best known for her role as Laurel Castillo, which "defies Latino stereotypes," on the show *How to Get Away with Murder*.[58] In an interview with *Variety,* actress Karla Souza points out that "if the people writing the

stories" about Latinx and or involving Latinx "aren't Latino, they do not understand the culture therefore there will be a stereotype."[59] The Hollywood portrayal of Latinas is quite erroneous. The popular stereotype Hollywood assigns to Latin women from roughly about twenty-one countries is "spicy."[60] This stereotype involves Latina portrayal as a "wild, super catholic, curvaceous, passionate, loud, good cook, tempestuous" and even "wild in the bed room."[61] Having that as a prevalent model for Latinas to identify with is clearly limiting, and does not endorse a broad range of possibilities for Latinas.

Souza also shared the struggles of finding jobs that do not relate to the stereotyped role of the Latina. The insistence of portraying Latina characters as conceived from the while male perspective is Hollywood's means of policing the borders of passing. Said borders are heavily policed in that the failure to play an accomplice in Hollywood's standard representation of Latina characters often render's actors and or actresses jobless. She noted that "she had to put on an accent… for them to think that I was Latina." Having realized that "there's still a huge stereotype out there that we haven't managed to break" and having no job made it "hard to say no to those projects."[62] The pressure of having to find a job, makes the sacrifices of passing appear to be simply put 'not worth it.' However, once an actress does pass - perhaps by having to accept the stereotyping roles - and transcends the borders of Hollywood she can bring attention to other components of the Latina identity. This means she can stop affecting the monolith account of the Latina identity, and perhaps begin advocacy, as Souza does by noting that "as actors, we need to feel the responsibility, and say I disagree. I don't want to represent Latino culture that way."[63]

Carrying out the responsibility of saying no to the Latina stereotype that Souza speaks of is easier said than done. It is often the case that Latina actresses must play the role of the "spicy" stereotype on screen and by merit of doing so obtain fame that allows them to become advocates in other ways. That is, while it is ideal to simply not play the role of the "spicy" Latina, many actresses must conform to said role and leave their advocacy to be

an off-screen job. Playing the "spicy" Latina stereotype to be complacent to the Hollywood expectations, and then affect white identity off-screen. An example of this second form of passing could be seen in Jennifer Lopez (J Lo). One of the most common stereotypical roles in Hollywood for Latinas is the maid role. J Lo played said role in the movie *Maid in Manhattan*; she performed a stereotypical Latina role. Nevertheless, her interviews from the same year show a J Lo that is not "spicy" but rather sweet and responsible. One interview shows her talking about songwriting, and her relationship with Ben Affleck. The interviews show a J Lo that is just the opposite of the "spicy" stereotype. In this way, passing influences the associations with Latinas that the public holds. The passing of Latina actresses allows for them to change the stereotype from "spicy" to individuals who come in all shapes sizes with potentials outside of being sexual objects. Latinas passing, particularly in Hollywood, allows for them to influence the stereotypes of Latinas and in turn the implicit associations (or biases) that society has of Latinas.

While Latinas passing in Hollywood change the way in which Latina's are portrayed by correcting the existing associations that people have with Latinas. In academia when Latina's pass, they are free to write about the experiences of being a Latina; create the material that individuals in society can employ to make associations. The danger being that these works are marginalized, not counted as "proper" academic work. That is, unless they pass as typical academics working on core disciplinary problems or issues, they aren't credited with being academics in the strict sense, more a novelty. But the cost of this passing as an academic in the normed sense is to deny the importance of Latinx issues or women's issues, i.e. it is to ignore or to deny the important work that is to be done for those outside the stereotypical academic's backgrounds.

As was previously stated, there is a reluctance by some socially marginalized groups to speak for other groups in some fields of philosophy. Thus, lack of volume in literature regarding the Latina experience is likely the product of not many Latinas being academics and therefore unable to account for their group

in the literature. This lack of literature only further contributes to the mistaken impression that these are not important issues. As Jaqueline M. Martinez points out in her book *Phenomenology of Chicana Experience &Identity Communication and Transformation Praxis*, it is her "university position and scholarly training" without which her "work could not have come to exist."[64] Martinez's contribution to the literature is an example of how important it is for Latinas to 'pass' as a typical academic, in order that she be positioned to bring Latina issues to the academy.

When Latinas enter academia, they must, like the actresses, conform to the accepted norms of the field. While the actresses might be coerced - by the necessity to remain employed - to play a role that stereotypes Latinas, the scholar Latina must conform to existing publishing and classroom norms. Suddenly, perfecting English begins to play a role in the policing of the borders that Latina scholars must 'pass.' Latinas have to speak and write English with more precision than non-Latinas simply to offset for the biases of incompetence in place. The standards to which Latinas scholars are held are in some ways higher than those for other students, as if Latinas have to prove their worth as more than just, as the stereotypes prescribe, maids or trophy wives. These standards for passing are inevitably a push for assimilation. Assimilation efforts are problematic because as Martinez points out "this assimilation effort is directed toward the darker racialized Other so as to serve the economic, social, and political interests of the dominating culture, the assimilationist effort is always already a racist effort."[65] Nevertheless, Latinas must accept the push for assimilation efforts to obtain credibility within the field.

Once credibility within the field is obtained, in other words once 'passing' has occurred the once crucial borders are loosened. Suddenly, the perfect English stipulations are no longer imposed, and Latina writers can use terms in Spanish. An example of the increased use of terms in Spanish within Latin American philosophy is Lori Gallegos de Castillos' use of the term "*lo cotidiano*" in her paper on "Skillful Coping and the Routine of Surviving: Isasi Díaz on the Importance of Identity to

Everyday Knowledge." Gallegos de Castillo uses the term, as does Isasi Díaz, to mark the difference between the everyday experienced by white women and men and the everyday experienced by Latinas. The ability to use terms in Spanish to symbolize experiences allows for more clarity. The passing of Latinas allows them to take creative liberties with their writing, which might lead them to infuse their academic papers with Spanish terms. The inclusion of Spanish terms in academic papers invites individuals to associate the Spanish language with academic credibility. While passing appears to be a fruitful endeavor the danger is that they might come to neglect their origins. Said neglecting of origins leads to an identity crisis of sorts.

In U.S. society, whites are default privileged over other racial and social categories. Stereotypes in relation to which Latinas are judged are not only wrong but also detrimental to the Latina identity as a whole. This is the case, because identities are the product of socially constructed associations. If Latinas want to influence the horrible stereotypes they are assigned, then they must impact the socially constructed associations. Impacting these socially constructed associations may require that Latinas be accepted into society enough with enough credibility to either implicitly or explicitly influence the biases. Obtaining acceptance and credibility is easier said than done. This task requires of Latinas a paradoxical task; they must perform the role of the tokened "spicy" Latina, yet obtain credibility and authority by affecting whiteness. This multi-faceted performance of identities leaves Latinas in a disadvantaged situation in which they danger neglecting their origins. This danger to neglect their origins is one that brings along with it the danger of losing identity. As one Latina comments, "By being white-passing, yet not actually white, I have become neither identity. I am nothing, and I belong nowhere."[66] Like the Latinas in academia, she faces the problem of potentially internalizing the imitated identity. Suddenly, she is no longer affecting an identity, rather she is "a chameleon" and ultimately to herself she feels as "an imposter."[67] Yet, the feeling of being an imposter may be a necessity if one is to influence the

implicit biases held of Latinas by way of passing. That is, if one must first get credible recognition in order to then present oneself as a counter-example to the prevalent identity formations coded in our culturally conditioned implicit biases. Thus, passing is while necessary for Latinas to influence the negative stereotypes they are assigned, detrimental to their self-identity.

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Endnotes

[1] Gallegos de Castillo 2016, 7
[2] Ibid.
[3] It is important to note that the 3,074 sampled were not only comprised of male/female categories, but also inclusive the categories listed as something else and preferred not to answer. This means that the remaining 2,320 members who are not female are not necessarily male.
[4] “Member Demographics - The American Philosophical Association.” 2017
[5] Janack 2017
[6] Pile 2010, 27
[7] Ibid, 28
[8] Janack 2017
[9] Anderson 2015
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Jacobi and Schweers 2017
[17] Ibid.
[18] Lloyd 1998
[19] See, for example, Patricia Hill Collins’ *Black Feminist Thought*. Collins, Patricia Hill. *Black Feminist Thought.* New York. Routledge, 2000.
[20] Anderson 2015
[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Cogner 2015

[24] The enormous inclusivity of the Latinx identity can be observed even within just one of the many countries from which the Latinx identity stems. Furthermore, this inclusivity breeds many intersections of social identities. However, the task of characterizing the many intersections of social identities within the Latinx identity is one beyond the scope of this paper.
[25] Bicchieri and Muldoon, "Social Norms."
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid.
[28] *New Oxford American Dictionary, 2nd edition*
[29] *New Oxford American Dictionary, 2nd edition*
[30] Brownstein and Saul 2016
[31] Ibid.
[32] *New Oxford American Dictionary, 2nd edition*
[33] Brownstein and Saul 2016
[34] Ibid., 26.
[35] Ibid., 25.
[36] Ibid., 29.
[37] Cudd 2005, 25.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid.
[41] *New Oxford American Dictionary, 2nd edition*
[42] Levine-Perez 2015
[43] Frye 1983, 5.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Pile 2010
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid.

[54] Similarly, one might attempt to pass an economic identity or status, e.g. where a wealthy person affects lower class attitudes so as to garner identity with the lower classes, or where a lower class person attempts to affect the manner of someone with greater economic means.
[55] Chima
[56] Ibid.
[57] McNamara 2017
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ahern 2017
[60] Cogner 2015
[61] Ahern 2017
[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Martinez 2000, 1.
[65] Ibid., 104.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid.

The Voyage of *Ulysses*: The Centrality of Sylvia Beach to Joyce

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Overshadowed by the book she helped make famous, *Ulysses*, the significance of Sylvia Beach is underscored by her first meeting with James Joyce. Beach asked, "Is this the great James Joyce?" and he responded, "James Joyce" (Beach, *Shakespeare* 35). From this brief first encounter arose the controlled chaos of modernist literature. Both Richard Ellmann and Beach provide ample evidence for her importance, from the founding of her bookshop, Shakespeare and Company, through meeting Joyce, and on through the legal, political, social, and literary minefields inherent in the global phenomenon of modernism. Without Sylvia Beach, literary modernism would not exist as we currently know it; she became the nexus of modernism in Paris.

Born in 1887 as Nancy Woodbridge Beach, she was named after one of her grandmothers but later changed her first name to Sylvia. An unlikely champion of literary modernism, she grew up primarily in Princeton, New Jersey, the second of three daughters of a Presbyterian minister. She was fascinated with books from a very young age and aspired to open a bookshop in either New York or London. She did not attend college, but saw the world through her work during World War I as a volunteer agricultural labourer in France, and then as a Red Cross volunteer in Serbia (Fitch 31, 36).

After the war, while she was in Paris, Beach met, and fell in love with, a French bookshop owner named Adrienne Monnier (Garner). They met in Monnier's bookshop La Maison des Amis des Livres, or, "A House for the Friends of Books," and their friendship developed into a, "lifelong mutual devotion, one rooted in a shared commitment to writing, reading, and serving the artistic community of Paris" (Walsh XVIII).

In 1919, Beach, who was then 32 years old, and Monnier worked together to open Sylvia's bookshop in Paris. Originally wanting to open a branch of Monnier's bookshop in New York City to bring French works to America, Beach decided that it would be much cheaper to open an American bookshop in Paris to bring contemporary American authors' works to France. She named her bookshop Shakespeare and Company, a name that came to her as she lay in bed. The opening of the shop was made partially possible with some financial help from Beach's mother, which included a gift of $3,000, as well as business advice from Monnier (Beach, *Shakespeare* 17; Walsh 75).

In the summer of 1920 Beach met James Joyce at a party hosted by André Spire, a French poet and friend of Monnier. A reluctant Beach was persuaded to attend by Monnier, and upon her arrival Beach was informed by Spire that, "The Irish writer James Joyce is here." She was quickly glad she went because she, "worshipped James Joyce" (Beach, *Shakespeare* 34). Following dinner, Beach left a heated literary discussion and wandered into a room full of books and there, in a corner, she found Joyce. Scared, she greeted him: "Is this the great James Joyce?" He held out his hand, "James Joyce" (35). After discussing his recent move to Paris, Joyce asked Beach what she did. She told him the name of her bookshop, which he then entered in a notebook saying he would come to see her (36). Despite their brief meeting, Beach felt, "at ease with him [Joyce]," and, "knew no one so easy to talk with" (37). This first meeting determined that Beach would then spend the next ten years, "acting as a promoter, assistant, and general manager for Joyce, his family, and their affairs." This relationship would establish Shakespeare and Company as a world-famous icon of literature and would, "establish[ed] Beach into a culture-hero of the avant-garde" (Walsh XXI).

The following day Joyce came to visit Shakespeare and Co. Beach noticing his dark suit and ashplant is reminded of Joyce's 1918 novel *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. Joyce seemed a living representation of the character he created and Beach thought, "Stephen Dedalus still has his ashplant" (Beach, *Shakespeare* 37). After entering the shop, Joyce spoke about the three current problems he had: finding a lodging for his family of four, keeping them fed, and finishing *Ulysses*. The first problem was resolved by Madame Savitzky who lent Joyce an apartment in Paris. The second problem was a little more difficult. Having spent his entire savings moving his family to Paris, Joyce had to find a source of income. Having taught before, he asked Beach were anyone looking for lessons to mention his name (38).

Following the discussion concerning Joyce's problems in Paris was the topic Beach had most been most looking forward to, *Ulysses*: "I [Beach] inquired if he was progressing in it." He replied, "I am," and explained that he would continue working on it as soon as he was settled in Paris. Beach then asked if Margaret Anderson had, "succeeded in her efforts to publish *Ulysses*?" Joyce looked uneasy, but said if he heard any news from New York, he would let her know. Before leaving, Joyce asked if he could become a member of Beach's lending library and borrowed J.M. Synge's *Riders to the Sea* (Beach, *Shakespeare* 39). This delighted Beach, and she was, "deeply moved to learn from Joyce himself of the circumstances in which he had been working all these years" (40).

Beach wrote that Joyce visited Shakespeare and Co. every day and was, "its most illustrious member" (*Shakespeare* 40, 42). He often used the lending library and enjoyed the company that frequented the homey bookshop. Authors such as, "Robert McAlmon, William Bird, Ernest Hemingway, Archibald MacLeish, Scott Fitzgerald- and also the composer George Antheil," quickly became Joyce's friends (40).

Joyce's chief concern now was the fate of, "*Ulysses*." Miss Harriet Weaver, Joyce's benefactor, had been fighting for the publication of the book in England but had not been successful. Subscribers to the *Egoist*, her review, were displeased with the serialisation of the novel in 1919, and wrote her letters

and even unsubscribed to evidence their displeasure (Beach, *Shakespeare* 45). Miss Weaver then, "overnight," turned the *Egoist* review into the Egoist Press with the intention to produce *Ulysses* in a full book format. She previously published *Ulysses* as a serialisation that served as an introduction of Joyce to English readers. The problem she encountered was that no printer would accept the printing job because they were wary of Joyce's name. Instead, Miss Weaver appealed to Ben W. Huebsch, Joyce's American publisher of *Portrait*, who then sent her the sheets for his edition of *Ulysses*. After experiencing the difficulties of publishing one of Joyce's works, Miss Weaver decided against publishing the first complete version of *Ulysses*. Miss Weaver considered it futile, at that time, to consider publishing any more of the novel following serialisation; so, the novel found a new home at the *Little Review* (46).

An American literary magazine, the *Little Review* was run by Margaret Anderson and Jane Heap, and beginning in March 1918 they began publishing one episode of *Ulysses* each month (Ellmann 421). As the publication of the novel continued, the U.S. Post Office confiscated multiple issues of the review until the July-August 1920 issue, which contained the "Nausicaa" episode. This created a legal issue regarding censorship and the publication of obscenity. The episode drew the attention of John S. Sumner, who worked for the New York Society for the Prevention of Vice, and he filed an official legal complaint against the publication in September 1920. John Quinn, an Anglo-Irish American lawyer who had served as the legal defence for the *Little Review* before, agreed to defend Anderson and Heap in court without a charge, but only under the stipulation that they follow his counsel. Quinn had advised many times that legal action would eventually be brought against the publication of the book, but Anderson, Heap, and Joyce all pushed to continue publication of *Ulysses* (502).

After Quinn attempted, several times, to postpone the trial, it finally began on February 14, 1921. After hearing the opening remarks, the judges adjourned for one week to read the entire "Nausicaa" episode. When the trial was resumed on February 21, 1921, Quinn made a final attempt to defend the work by arguing

that the episode was, “disgusting rather than indecent.” None of Quinn’s arguments succeeded, both editors were convicted of publishing obscenity and were fined $50 each. As an additional part of the sentencing it was understood that the publication of *Ulysses* would cease immediately (Beach, *Shakespeare* 47, Ellmann 503). One of the effects of the court’s decision made it, as Quinn had warned, much more difficult to publish *Ulysses* as a complete book. Following the ruling, Huebsch, “formally declined the manuscript,” and Joyce was upset at the news (Ellmann 504).

After hearing the news, Joyce went to Shakespeare and Co. to inform Beach of the heavy blow that *Ulysses* had suffered in the States. “My book will never come out now,” he told her; and she then knew that, “All hope of publication in the English-speaking countries, at least for a long time to come, was gone.” Beach was sad to hear Joyce say that, then suddenly she said, “Would you let Shakespeare and Company have the honor of bringing out your *Ulysses*?” Beach was just as surprised that she said that as Joyce was to hear her say it. He immediately, and joyfully, accepted her offer, which she considered a bit rash. James Joyce entrusting, “his great *Ulysses* to such a funny little publisher,” but he was very happy about it. Beach suggested they both meet the next day with Monnier to discuss the conditions for publication (Beach, *Shakespeare* 47).

The next day Joyce cheerfully returned to the bookshop to meet with both Beach and Monnier, whom he called, “Shakespeare and Company’s adviser,” and they discussed the terms of the publication. Beach was glad that Monnier approved of her idea. Monnier had heard much about Joyce from Beach, and Beach, “had no trouble convincing her of the importance of rescuing *Ulysses*.” Beach was, “Undeterred by lack of capital, experience, and all the other requisites of a publisher,” and, “went right ahead with *Ulysses*” (Beach, *Shakespeare* 47).

After spontaneously proposing to Joyce to serve as the publisher, Beach had to find a printer for *Ulysses*. Luckily for Beach, Monnier’s printer, Monsieur Maurice Darantiere, came to visit her. He was intrigued by what Beach told him about the banning of *Ulysses* in English speaking countries; then she told

him her intention of bringing the work out in France. She also told him about the bookshop's financial state, and told him that, "there could be no question of paying for the printing till the money from the subscriptions came in-if it did come in." Without any hesitations, Darantiere agreed to the conditions, which Beach considered, "Very friendly and sporting of him" (Beach, *Shakespeare* 48).

Following the announcement that a printer was found, Joyce frequented Shakespeare and Co. even more often to be involved in every step of the process. Beach frequently asked him for suggestions, and nearly all of them were good. However, one suggestion that Joyce had was quickly overruled by Beach. He thought if, "a dozen or so copies were printed there would be some left over," but then Beach firmly said that, "A thousand copies were to be printed," of which none were left over (Beach, *Shakespeare* 48).

A prospectus was printed, by Darantiere, announcing that, "*Ulysses*, by James Joyce, would be published 'complete as written' (a most important point) by Shakespeare and Company, Paris, in 'the autumn of 1921.'" The prospectus stated that the edition was to be limited to only 1,000 copies: "one hundred printed on Dutch paper and signed, at 350 francs; one hundred and fifty on verge-d'Arches, at 250 francs; and the remaining seven hundred and fifty on ordinary paper, at 150 francs." Having some experience with publishing, Monnier suggested the subscription format to Beach (Beach, *Shakespeare* 48; Fitch 78).

A prospectus for the subscription copies of Shakespeare and Co.'s *Ulysses* was created. It was a small four page pamphlet which on its cover had the Shakespeare and Co. logo as well as the new location of the bookshop. The second page was a photo of Joyce in Zurich as well as seven, "Advance Press Notices." These were reviews of *Ulysses* by Ezra Pound, Richard Aldington, *The Observer*, *The Times*, Evelyn Scott, *The New Age*, and Valery Larbaud, all complimenting Joyce on, "His profoundest work," and, "One of the most interesting literary symptoms in the whole literary world, and its publication is very nearly a public obligation." The third page begins by boldly stating, "*Ulysses* suppressed four times during serial publication

in ‘The Little Review’ will be published by ‘SHAKESPEARE AND COMPANY’ complete as written,” and then underneath lists the three editions available as well as Beach’s address again. The fourth, and final, page was the order form which was to be mailed to Beach. At the bottom it stated, “I [the subscriber] will pay on receipt of notice announcing that the volume has appeared.” The subscriber receipts would be used to pay Darantiere the printer (Beach, “Publication”).

Having only run a bookshop and a lending library before, Beach was beginning to feel overwhelmed with Shakespeare and Company becoming a publishing company so she decided it was time to look for an assistant. Myrsine Moschos, “A charming Greek girl,” who was also a member of the lending library, wanted to help. Although Beach warned that, “the job would be ill-paid,” she had already, “made up her mind and still wanted to come, luckily for Shakespeare and Company.” Joyce very much liked Moschos, considering her Greek heritage to be a good omen for *Ulysses*, and Beach was just happy to have help around her shop (Beach, *Shakespeare* 50).

Suddenly, Shakespeare and Company was full of subscriptions from all over the world. They were documented in a subscription list, then sorted by nationality (Beach, *Shakespeare* 50). Beach was very surprised to receive requests from so many, including several copies for Hemingway and, most surprising to her, a request from W.B. Yeats. One name that Beach noticed was missing was George Bernard Shaw. She figured that of all the possible people to subscribe Shaw would be on that list. When she mentioned it to Joyce, he just laughed and said, “He’ll never subscribe” (51). Still, Beach bet Joyce that Shaw would decline. The bet consisted of a carton of tiny cigars for Joyce against a silk handkerchief for Beach (52).

Promptly Beach received a letter from Shaw declining the invitation to subscribe. He wrote about how disgusting the book was, but still truthful, and how he thought it was necessary for every Irish male, “between the ages of 15 and 30… to read all that foul mouthed, foul minded derision and obscenity.” Continuing, Shaw wrote, “In Ireland they try to make a cat cleanly by rubbing its nose in its own filth. Mr. Joyce has tried the same treatment on

the human subject. I hope it may prove successful." Joyce was right about Shaw and the bet so he won his box of cigars from Beach (Beach, *Shakespeare* 52).

Amid all the work preparing *Ulysses*, in the summer of 1921 Beach moved her bookshop from its original location, at 8 rue Dupuytren, to directly across the street from Monnier's shop, at 12 rue l'Odéon, in an effort to allow both French and English speaking writers and readers to, "meet and mingle freely" (Beach, *Shakespeare* 60, Walsh XIX). In her new location, Beach wanted to create a friendly atmosphere, in comparison to the drab, "monastic retreat," owned by Monnier. This cosy and lively feeling contributed to the popularity of Beach's shop. Authors such as Ernest Hemingway, T. S. Eliot, Ezra Pound, and, of course, Joyce frequented the shop, which, "served as the writers' home away from home, postal address, and—when they were desperate—a loan service" ("Sylvia"). Many visitors also praised her ability to create such an atmosphere of homeliness. This was coupled with Beach's helpfulness and ability to provide information on such an amazing diversity of topics beyond literature, including jobs and places to live (Walsh XIX-XX).

Shortly after Shakespeare and Co. moved to its new location, Quinn made his second trip to Paris to lecture Beach on the responsibilities she held as publisher of *Ulysses*, which was, "as it turned out, his last, visit." Previously he was not impressed by the shop's location at rue Dupuytren, but liked the new location at rue l'Odéon and said that he was glad, "*Ulysses* 'wasn't going to come out in that shanty,' meaning the shop in the rue Dupuytren" (Beach, *Shakespeare* 62).

In autumn of 1921, the subscribers began to become restless because *Ulysses* was not yet published. Peremptory letters came in from a few subscribers, including T.E. Lawrence, demanding their copy of the novel. There were two problems with the printing, the specific color of blue Joyce had demanded that the cover be and the Circe episode (Beach, *Shakespeare* 63).

In honor of Greece and its inspiration, Joyce desired that the cover of his book be the same shade of blue as the Greek flag. This caused many issues for Darantiere, who made many trips from Dijon to Paris, "only to discover that the new sample didn't

go with the Greek flag, which was kept flying at Shakespeare and Company in honor of Odysseus." Eventually going to Germany, Darantiere finally found the proper shade of blue, but printed on the wrong paper. To fix that issue, he had the color, "lithographed on the white cardboard, which explains why the insides of the covers were white." Having solved the cover issues, Darantiere informed Beach that, "the printing had caught up with the supply of text," but it was the Circe episode that was setting back the printing (Beach, *Shakespeare* 63).

Previously, Joyce had tried to have the Circe episode typed, but nine typists had not succeeded in their attempts (Beach, *Shakespeare* 63). Having failed, he brought the work to Beach, who told him that she would find someone to finish it (64).

The first typists Beach found to volunteer was her sister Cyprian, who worked at a film studio all day, but had to wake at four o'clock in the morning, so she could use that time to type a little each day. She was an expert at deciphering Joyce's handwriting because hers was much of the same kind. Working carefully, Cyprian slowly made progress on Circe, but then her film company moved the location of their set and Beach had to find another volunteer (Beach, *Shakespeare* 64).

The person to take Cyprian's place was Beach's friend Raymonde Linossier, who agreed to help as soon as she heard about the issues Beach had run into. She made great progress, especially considering that English was not her native language, but she had to give up as well (Beach, *Shakespeare* 64).

The third volunteer was an English friend of Raymonde's, whose husband worked at the British Embassy. No sooner had Beach begun to celebrate the luck of finding a third volunteer than news of a disaster was told. Raymonde's friend's husband happened to pick up one of the manuscripts that she was copying, and, "after one glance at it, had thrown it into the fire." Beach was very distraught by the news, but she had to inform Joyce (Beach, *Shakespeare* 64). He said the only thing to do was to ask Quinn in New York City for a loan of the manuscripts he possessed (65).

Quinn, "flatly refused to release his manuscript, even to Joyce himself." Beach even recruited her mother, "who was in Princeton, to tackle Quinn." She spoke with him on the telephone

and, “he flew into a rage, and used language unfit for a lady like my [Beach’s] mother. It was plain that Quinn meant to hold on to his manuscript.” He would not allow any form of copying, but finally agreed to have them photographed, then directly sent to Darantiere in Dijon (Beach, *Shakespeare* 65).

Joyce began working seventeen hours each day to finish *Ulysses*, and Beach helped keep him and his family afloat with small loans. These small loans quickly began to grow larger and Joyce kept asking for more for his, “coffer,” as his expenses increased (Beach, *Shakespeare* 75). Beach attempted her best to supply him, but one day suddenly Joyce came into the bookshop and excitedly announced that Miss Weaver was sending him a sum that, “would provide him with an income for the rest of his life!” This was a relief for Beach whose shop was nearing bankruptcy due to amount of loans Joyce had withdrawn (76).

In January of 1922, rumors began to swirl about that *Ulysses* would soon make its first appearance. Beach had all of the finished page proofs so she asked Darantiere to have one copy of *Ulysses* ready by the second of February, Joyce’s birthday. Darantiere said it would be impossible, but Beach knew him well and was not at all surprised when she received a telegram from him on the first of February. Darantiere instructed Beach to, “meet the express from Dijon at 7 a.m. the next day; the conductor would have two copies of *Ulysses* for me [Beach]” (Beach, *Shakespeare* 84).

The next day Beach waited on the platform, and after the locomotive came slowly to a standstill, saw the conductor get off holding a parcel and looking for her. Soon after she was at Joyce’s door with the first copy of *Ulysses* (Beach, *Shakespeare* 84). Copy number two was reserved for Shakespeare and Co., and Beach made the mistake of placing it in the window. News quickly spread around the local districts about the display, and the next day there was a line of subscribers waiting for the bookshop to open so that they could collect their copy of *Ulysses*. She found no use in attempting to explain that only two copies currently existed, so she quickly removed it to a safer place (85).

The time directly following the printing of the first two copies of *Ulysses* was so exciting for Joyce that he could not stay

away from the bookshop. He even, "applied himself to helping (?) us with the parcels; he had even found out that the copies weighted one kilo, five hundred and fifty grams each," which was not lost on Beach as she toted the packages to the post office around the corner. Despite the bans, Beach managed to mail out a first batch of copies to England before the authorities knew anything, but in the United States, only Quinn and a few other subscribers received their copies. The Port of New York was confiscating copies following the banning in 1921, so Beach had to search for an alternative method for delivering *Ulysses* to the waiting subscribers in the US (Beach, *Shakespeare* 86).

Beach mentioned the problem to Hemingway, who said, "Give me twenty-four hours." The next day he returned and informed Beach that she was to hear from a friend of his who lived in Chicago, Illinois, "a certain Bernard B., a most obliging friend, whom I call Saint Bernard because of his rescue work, and he would let me know how the business could be carried out." The man was moving to Canada, where *Ulysses* was not banned, and he asked Beach if she would be willing to pay the rent on a studio in Toronto, which she agreed to without hesitation. The metaphorical Saint then sent her the address of his new dwelling, and she shipped all the American copies of *Ulysses* to him (Beach, *Shakespeare* 87; Fitch 121).

His job daily was to board the ferry with a copy of the novel stuffed inside of his pants, and then mail the copy to wherever it was to go. As his work slowly progressed, Bernard began to feel that the port officials were, "beginning to eye him somewhat suspiciously," so he enlisted the help of one of his friends and they smuggled in two copies of *Ulysses* each day (Beach, *Shakespeare* 87). The subscribers in the United States have, "Hemmingway and Hemingway's obliging friend to thank," when the novel arrived at their door (88).

The importance of Sylvia Beach to Joyce and literary modernism is underlined by her involvement with the publication of *Ulysses*. In the window of the newly established Shakespeare and Company, Beach places Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* in the company of Shakespeare, Chaucer, and Eliot indicating Beach's early and astute critical view of Joyce's work

(Beach, *Shakespeare* 20). This seemingly small gesture of placing Joyce's work in the company of Shakespeare's points to Beach's centrality in the story of *Ulysses*, Joyce, and the history of modernism.

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Flirting, Playing, or Bonding? Socio-Sexual Behavior in Immature Beluga Whales (*Delphinapterus leucas*) During the Third Year of Life.

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Scholars have identified socio-sexual behavior as a key feature in successful reproductive and mating interactions across reptiles and cetaceans. The utility of socio-sexual behavior expands in immature belugas whales (Delphinapterus leucas) by fostering the development of bonds and motor skills. Given the scant research involving socio-sexual and its development, the purpose of this study is to explore the effect of social setting on social-sexual behavior in beluga calves during their third year of life. One hundred and nine (N = 2,715.12 minutes) scan samples and focal follows from available archival videos were coded for social setting, preferred partners, and socio-sexual interactions for three male and three female calves during the third year of life. Results indicated that the three-year old calves displayed more socio-sexual behavior than their first two years of life as well as increased independent activities and social interactions and decreased time with mothers. Although males engaged in more bouts of socio-sexual behavior than females both sexes initiated bouts equally. Male belugas preferred to engage in socio-sexual interactions with other males over and above any other possible recipient whereas females displayed socio-sexual interactions

with a number of receivers, including inappropriate partners. The duration of socio-sexual interactions did not differ between males and females, but socio-sexual interactions were longer when adult males, immature males, and various aged females were present as compared to other social settings. The wellbeing of belugas in captivity can be increased by designing social settings that meet developing beluga needs for socio-sexual behavior. This knowledge can also be implemented with wild populations that may be susceptible to human interference when present in beluga summer habitats.

Socio-sexual behavior is a gateway for courting behavior necessary to obtain a mate at sexual maturity. While socio-sexual behavior (SSB) has been studied as an indicator of reproductive rates in mature cetaceans, little research has explored the development and impact of social setting on socio-sexual behavior in immature beluga whales (*Delphinapterus leucas*) (Lomac-MacNair, Smultea, Cotter, Thissen, & Parker, 2015). Although scholars in recent years have document and catalogued SSB both in the wild and in captivity, the development and potential factors that affect SSB displays have not been assessed (Connor, Mann, Watson-Capps, 2006; Glabicky, 2010; Hill, Detrich, Yeater, McKinnon, Miller, Aibel, & Dove, 2015). Two descriptive studies examined the nature of socio-sexual behavior of belugas in managed care for the first two years of life (Silva, 2016; Silva and Hill, 2017). The results of these studies indicated that socio-sexual behavior occurred rarely and consisted of simple behaviors between partners. Currently, research suggests that socio-sexual behavior in immature belugas is an extension of play and is used as a tool to develop bonds and practice, social skills needed to manipulate their bodies to specific postures (e.g., S-postures). Since SSB is an extension of play, it was expected that the availability of other beluga whales could affect duration of socio-sexual behavior. Thus, in this paper we aim to assess how different social settings affect the bouts of SSB in both female and male calves during the third year of life.

Play

Although the definition of play is contested, researchers have reached a consensus that establishes play to be a repeated, seemingly non-functional behavior that occurs in a low stress environment (Held & Spinka, 2011; Spinka, 2012). A three-tiered model describes play as a complex behavioral repertoire that cultivates motor and social abilities as calves mature (Bateson, P. 2014; Burghardt, 1999, 2014). The primary process of play is the release of excess energy exhibited when calves experience low stimulation and high energy. The secondary process of play behavior is intended to preserve perceptual and motor coordination, physical fitness, mental physiological abilities, and behavioral flexibility. Lastly, the tertiary process of play is hypothesized to reorganize the behavioral system. In other words, interactions that increase the position of cetaceans in their societal hierarchy or lead to increased reproductive success represent behavior corresponding with the tertiary level (Burghardt, 1999, 2014).

As an example, when an immature dolphin bites a puffer fish, this action can be characterized as primary play as the act has little adaptive or survival value. As the dolphin approaches maturity and encompasses a larger and more refined motor-behavioral repertoire, it can manipulate the puffer fish itself, transforming the behavior into a multifaceted act that may simulate hunting or herding practice (secondary play). At a tertiary level, the dolphin could engage in a complex social play which may result in cooperative and alliance building behavior that then increases the chance of obtaining a mate or experiencing higher status. Consequently, the behaviors, such as male-on-male socio-sexual behavior interaction, would be considered tertiary play because they could serve the purpose of strengthening alliances.

Socializations

Observing the dynamics of social groups in the context of social transitions can potentially measure the occurrence of "self-selection" and whether attraction between individuals is based on socially learned traits. Culture as defined by scholars, consists of

two underlying components: 1. The transmission process involves social learning (i.e., foraging) and 2. Socially learned behavior must distinguish between groups (Mann & Singh, 2015). However, this definition is incapable of distinguishing between innate and learned behavior in a naturalistic setting. Social, ecological, demographics, and genetic factors all interact to shape animal social networks and ultimately the behavior exhibited.

In belugas, the overall social structure of a pod is determined by the interrelations and locomotor skills developed. The fission-fusion social grouping and hierarchy is constantly changing in accordance with environment and social cues (Kuczaj, Makecha, Trone, Paulos, & Ramos, 2006). Research in both naturalistic and managed care settings has identified a social organization of calves based on different developmental stages. In the wild, summer reproductive aggregations of about 70-100 belugas provide pivotal opportunities to experience diverse social interaction between the belugas. Calves learn their first behavioral skills, while beginning to establish individual social relations with other members of the pod and hieratical status (Krasnova, Bel'kovich, &Chernetskii 2006). Whether animals are in their natural habitat or managed care, the timeline for each developmental stage follows a similar sequence but is dependent on individual differences and maternal styles (Hill, 2009; Hill, Campbell, Dalton, & Osborn, 2013). Overall, beluga calves were observed to have five stages: 1) imprint 2) initiate a solo-swim, 3) accumulation of new locomotive elements through solo-swim, 4) social contact with other calves, and 5) the increase complexity of different interaction types through game actives. While in the last stage, calves usually formed pairs with pairs with a partner or with an older beluga what has a richer motor abilities. The final stage usually begins to occur within the first year and progressively have longer bouts until sexual maturity (Krasnova, Bel'kovich, & Chernetskii 2008).

Bond Formation

Research in other large-brained social mammals (e.g., primates and elephants) indicate an ability to build behavioral and survival skills during extended maturity periods (Gibson & Mann, 2008; Tanner & Byrne, 2010). Researchers have observed a similar effect for cetaceans, specifically dolphins and beluga calves, as a prolonged pre-sexual maturity stage allowed for the acquisition of foraging techniques and social skills essential for survival and appropriate interactions within communities (Connor Read & Wrangham, 2000; Mann & Smuts, 1999; Robin, Trone, Kuczaj, 2010). Environment, group size, maternal experience, sociability of the mother, and ecological factors also contributes to the appropriate development and successful acquisition of techniques and skills. For instance, an advantage in survival fitness was observed for calves that engaged in pair or solo swim versus calves that remained in infant swim as they aged (Connor et al., 2000). Therefore, optimal environments that include a prolonged pre-sexual maturity stage and mother-calf separation foster interactions that promote the development of hunting and alliances. Environments and early social interactions are also important in immature calves as they provide opportunities to cultivate and practice social skills through the social play (Connor et al., 2000). Thus, social play has long-term and short-term benefits. For instance, juvenile calves practice herding potential mates by separating into group and engage in in sexual behavior and displays (Connor et al., 2000).

Socio-Sexual Behavior

Socio-sexual behavior has been documented in almost every non-human social species. SSB is frequently used as courting behavior and for developing and maintaining relationships between sexually-mature animals (Mann, 2006). For example, long-tailed manakins (*Chiroxiphia linearis*) produce eloquent between males cooperatively as part of the courtship display and increase the probability of successful matting (McDonald, 1989)**.** During mating season, male sperm whales, (*Physeter macrocephalus*) produce a unique repetitive "metallic" clicks. Eleven different species of baleen whales are known to

aggregate on calving grounds where extensive mating occurs. In these aggregations, males mating groups are observed to have erections and simultaneous intromission. However, SSB is not only used to improve mating opportunities, but also to develop and strengthen alliances, such as when bonobos (*Pan paniscus)* engage in SSB between non-reproductive individuals, which promotes social bonding and affiliations. In British Colombia, killer whales (*Orcinus orca*) demonstrated the strongest bond with other males as supported by the exhibition of SSB (Abramson, Hernandez-Lloreda, Call, & Colmenares, 2012; Rose, 1992). Similar results have been found with several populations of bottlenose dolphins (*Tursiops aduncus*) (Connor, Watson-Capp, Sherwin, Krutzen, 2015; Kaplan & Connor, 2007).

Although socio-sexual is a versatile behavior that differs between species according to their species-specific mating behavior, research with cetaceans, specifically beluga whales, SSB has been associated with three adaptive qualities (Bailey & Zuk, 2009). First, SSB is hypothesized to provide opportunities for younger animals to practice courtship behaviors to improve their reproductive fitness. Second, SSB appears to provide the "glue" that establishes, maintains, and strengthens social relationships. Lastly SSB can be used to resolve sexual aggression and conflict**.** The use of visual signals by cetaceans has been suggested to be important mode for close range communication. SSB has been observed in Atlantic spotted dolphin, humpback whales, bottlenose dolphin, and spinner dolphins in similar contexts and physical appearance (Summarized by Hill et al., 2015). Cetaceans will also engage in affiliative behavior between the individuals engaging in a particular conflict or an older animal will intervene between two animals engaged in a conflict to mediate the conflict.

Socio-sexual interactions occur in both wild and captive populations. Research conducted by Lomac-McNair and her colleagues (2016) reported on possible socio-sexual interactions and mating behavior in wild beluga whales. Using observations from a plane, beluga social groupings in Cook Inlet displayed

behaviors associated with socio-sexual behavior between males and with females in managed care settings (Glabicky, DuBrava, & Noonan, 2010; Hill et al., 2015), such as ventral-to-ventral contact, genital presentations, pelvic thrusting, chasing, and herding and mating behaviors. Socio-sexual interaction appears to be associated with seasonal peaks in the spring (Glabicky et al., 2010). SSB rates varied through the year peaked during mating season. Hormonal analysis of captive animals shows SSB corresponds with the fluctuations of reproductive hormones (Glabicky et al., 2010), which were supported by behavioral trends in which mature belugas initiated significantly more male-to-female socio-sexual behavior during mating season (i.e., March).

Currently, research about the socio-sexual behavior exhibited by beluga whales has described and created a behavioral catalog of SSB in sexually mature populations. Although we understand what SSB encompasses in terms of behaviors, for mature beluga adults, the question remains of what or if environmental factors affect the development of SSB. Understanding trends in preferences for each sex can potentially aid research that aims at identifying and supporting socio-sexual behavior in the wild. The wellbeing of belugas in captivity can also be increased by designing social settings that support beluga preferences for socio-sexual behavior.

Current Research

The purpose of this study was to examine the development and social setting influence on socio-sexual behavior of captive belugas exhibited during the third year of life. We assessed the social setting (i.e., mature male, mature female, immature females, and/or immature male), and if the different social settings affected the duration and frequency of socio-sexual behavior bouts in both immature females and males. The frequency of the socio-sexual behavior for each beluga was aggregated across the year and the initiator and receiver of social-sexual interactions was recorded. The primary questions examined in this study included: Are there frequency and duration

differences for socio-sexual behaviors between males and females during the third year of life? Do belugas have preferred partners to engage during socio-sexual behavior? Does having access to different social settings affect the frequency or duration of socio-sexual bouts?

Method

Subjects

Six beluga calves (*Delphinapterus leucas*) housed at SeaWorld San Antonio were observed during their third year of life. Three males and three females were born at the facility between the years of 2007 and 2013. Two male beluga whales were born within three days of each other, allowing for continuous exposure to at least one beluga similar in age. The four remaining belugas, three females and one male, were born in consecutive years such that there was always another immature beluga present that was one to four years older than the current calf. Different social composition of the calves varied day by day and was determined by the trainers once the whales had bonded with their mothers (about a month after birth).

Facility

All the calves observed in this study were born in a triangular-shaped pool (A) that held approximately 2 million gallons and was about 38.1 m (125 ft.) by 15.2 m (50 ft.) with an average depth of 7.6 m (about 25 ft.). See Figure 1 for a schematic of the pool layout. Once the mother-calf pair had bonded, the pair was integrated with other belugas and allowed access to the other pools in the facility. The pools shown in Figure 1 are interconnected by gates. Pacific white-sided dolphins (*Lagenorhynchus obliquidens*, lag) are also housed at this facility in the neighboring pools that belugas did not occupy. The two species of cetaceans could see and interact with each other through net walls.

Measures

The number of belugas in the holding pool and frequency of different social settings was noted; particularly, whether a mature male or female (6-10 years), juvenile male or female (3-6

years), immature male or female (0-3 years) was in the same pool as the subject. All behaviors observed, such as solo swims, pair swims, mother-calf swims, play, and social interactions, were recorded for frequency and duration in an Excel spreadsheet. Social interactions were defined as any voluntary interaction initiated by one animal and directed toward another animal (i.e., conspecific or lags), without the influence of a trainer. Social interactions included play, affiliative interactions, complex play, and socio-sexual behaviors, the purpose of the study. Socio-sexual behavior is defined as a set of play behaviors and postures known to be utilized as courtship behavior that does not necessarily directly involve conceptive behavior (i.e., S-Postures). Table 1 summarizes specific SSBs and their operational definitions.

Procedure

A total of 189 video recordings from an archived database were coded and analyzed for the current study. Focal-follow video recordings generally lasted for 15 minutes and focused on the mother-calf pair, while scan-sample video recordings were 20 minutes long and recorded the activities of every whale in the social grouping every minute. Video recordings consisted of focal follow and scan sample recording methods for each beluga mother-calf pair. Previous research by Guarino and Hill (2015) suggest both focal follow and scan sample accurately represent immature beluga whales' behavior (i.e., play, solo swim and, social interaction). Lastly, an inter-rater reliability test was conducted to test the homogeneity of socio-sexual interactions during the third year of life.

Three males and two females were observed and coded for the full extent of the third year of life. The third female however, only had archived video recordings for the first five months in the third year of life before she passed away. To account for the different lengths of the videos transcribed, the duration of SS interactions was converted to percentages by adding the seconds of SS interactions then dividing by the total time of videos across the year. This procedure was used also for the other categories

coded. A Mann-Whitney U test was performed to test the effect of sex on duration of SSB interactions using the averages across the year for each animal. All other analyses were performed with all 94 SSB events recorded. Chi square goodness-of-fit tests were conducted to examine the distributions for initiating animals and receiving animals during SSB interactions. The combination of initiators and receivers was assessed for its distribution using a Chi square goodness-of-fit test. Finally, the relationship between number of animals in a social grouping and duration of a SSB bout was evaluated with a Pearson correlation, followed by an 1-way ANOVA with the effect of social setting on duration of events.

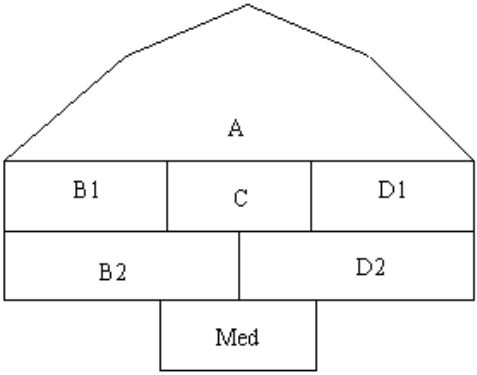

Figure 1. Schematic of pool layout of White Whale and Dolphin (WWD) stadium at Sea World San Antonio. *Note*. Adopted from Hill et al. (2015).

Table 1
Operational Definitions for Social-Sexual Behavior in Belugas

Socio Sexual Behavior	Description
Mirrored Pair Swim	Swim in which two animals are faced ventral to ventral with actions that are synchronized and mirrored
Mouthing (Figure 3)	The actor opens mouth and rubs it along the receiver's body, does not leave rake marks
Bubble Stream	Series of small bubbles released from blow hole
Synchronized Pair Swim	The swim trajectories are in unison
Directed Gaze	The actor swings its head laterally to point the rostrum at the recipient. This behavior is often involving a rapid reorientation of the actor's whole body towards the recipient.
Open Mouth	The actor, while facing another animal, rapidly opens its mouth fully and holds it open for at least 1 second. Mutual open mouth threats do occur.
Lateral Swim (Figure 1)	The actor rotates body so that the pectoral fins are pointed toward the surface
Pectoral Fin Extension (Figure 1)	The actor extends pectoral fin away from body so that the fin is perpendicular to the body
Horizontal S-Posture (Figure 2)	The actor's body is in a lateral swim position with the genitalia thrust forward and the rest of the body following in a curved position with flukes back, static hold for 2-3s
Genital Rubs	The actor moves its genital region along the receiver's body or object
Erections	Penis is extended externally from the genital slit
Pelvic Thrust	The actor pushes genital region toward a recipient

Note. Adopted from Hill et al. (2015).

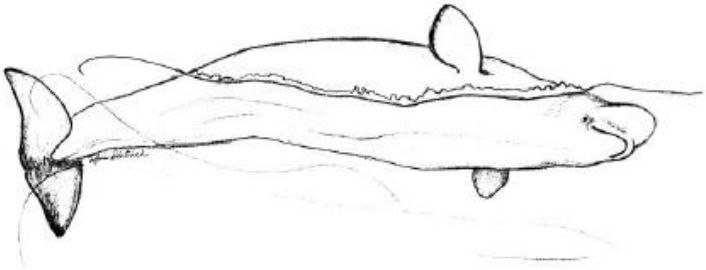

Figure 1. Lateral swim with pectoral fin extension. *Note*. Adopted from Hill et al. (2015).

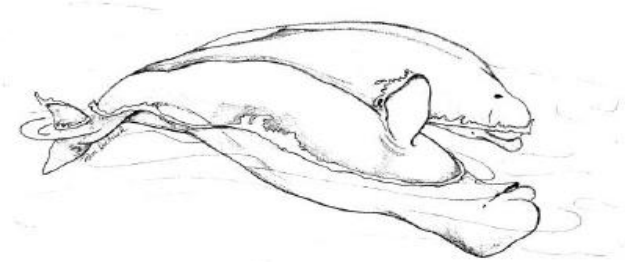

Figure 2. Horizontal S-posture with pectoral fin raised and pelvic thrust. *Note*. Adopted from Hill et al. (2015).

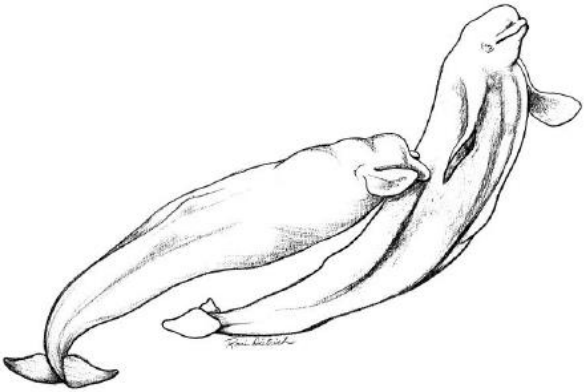

Figure 3. Mouthing. *Note*. Adopted from Hill et al. (2015).

Figure 4. Verticle S-posture. *Note*. Adopted from Hill et al. (2015).

Results

Out of 2,904 minutes coded 189.07 minutes were discarded due to low visibility in the archival videos. Figure 5 is an aggregated activity budget for all six belugas. Collapsed data indicated that most of the time coded was spent in solo swim (1,531 minutes, 45%). The belugas also engaged in social play 20% of the visible observation time (i.e., 580.8 minutes). A total of 94 social-sexual interactions initiated by three-year-old calves were observed out of 2,715 minutes/ 45.25 hours usable video footage coded. These SS interactions accounted for 0.33% of the total visible time. These findings suggested that across the third year of life the six beluga calves engaged in socio-sexual interactions at a rate of 2.08 interactions per observation hour. A Mann-Whitney U *t*-test, using collapsed data for all animals, indicated that male and female three-year-old belugas did not differ from one another in the overall amount of time spent in socio-sexual interactions.

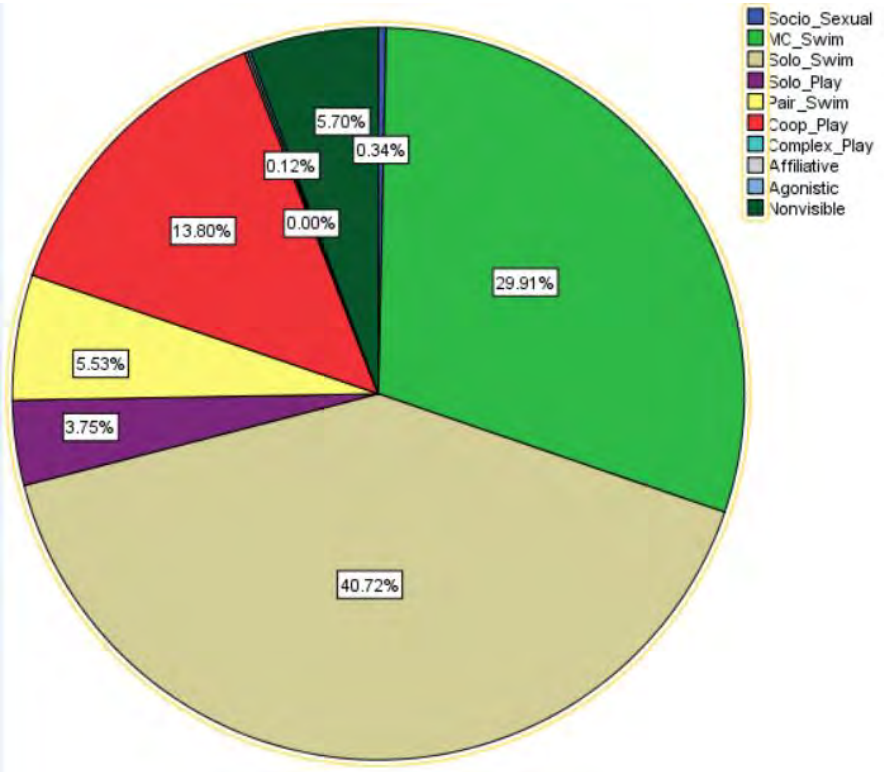

Figure 5. Activity budget for all belugas. SS= socio-sexual behavior, MC Swim= Mother calf swim.

Sex, Initiator, Receiver, and Preferred Partner

Three Chi Square Goodness of Fit tests were conducted to examine if sex of the initiator, sex of the receiver, and the combination of partners by sex (female-female, male-male, female-male, male-female, etc) deviated from expected distributions. While males and females did not differ in their frequency of initiating SSB interactions, the recipient of the SSB did differ. Results indicated that male calves significantly preferred males, while females engaged significantly more with males and inappropriate stimuli, such as a wall), $\chi^2(4, N = 95) = 58.30$, $p < .001$. Figure 6 demonstrates the frequency of the sex for the receiver of SS. As seen below, females did initiate less SSB with appropriate stimuli 20 events out of 53 (46.51%).

Males, however, only engaged in SSBs with inappropriate stimuli 8 out of the 50 male-initiated interactions (16%).

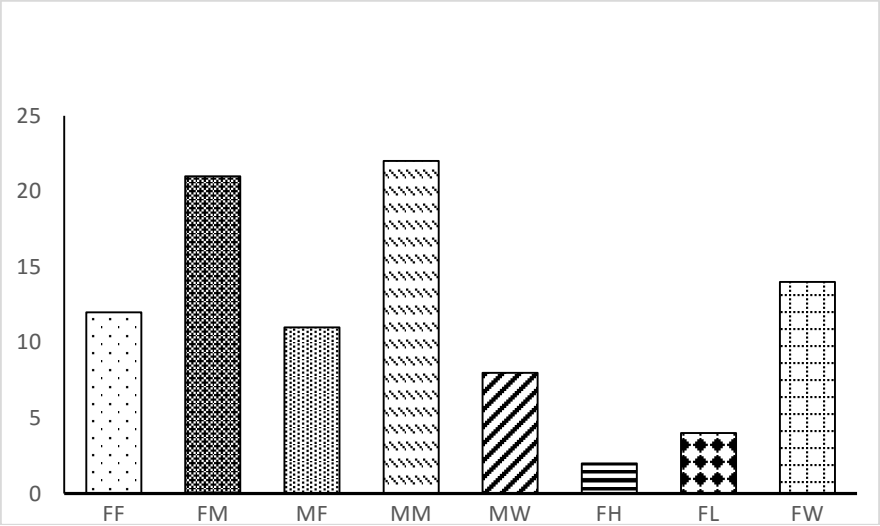

Figure 6. The frequency of the initiator and recipients of socio-sexual behavior. The different combination of interior-receiver are on the x-axis: F = Female, M = Male, W = Wall, H = Humans, L= Lags

Socio-Sexual Behavior and Social Setting

A Pearson R Correlation Coefficient tested the relationship between the number of animals and the duration of the socio-sexual bouts yielded no significant results. However, specific age and class social setting did significantly affect the duration of socio-sexual behavior interaction when specific age and class was accounted, $F(8, 85) = 2.64$, $p = .012$. That is, per Dunnett's T3 post hoc test, social groupings that included mature, juvenile, and immature males, were associated with longer durations of SSB when adult and juvenile males were in the same social setting as the subject of interest, the duration of socio-sexual interactions was longer compared to only having a mature and juvenile female (Table 2 for descriptive statistics).

Table 2
Means and Standard Deviation of Behaviors for All Belugas

Behavior	Mean	Standard Error
Agonistic	0.52	0.913
Socio-Sexual	1.266666667	0.845
Affiliative	1.288833333	0.845
Pair Swim	18.50266667	0.845
Solo-Play	20.61666667	0.845
Nonvisible	31.48333333	0.845
Cooperative Play	46.40266667	0.845
Mother-Calf Swim	111.8416667	0.845
Solo-Swim	215.5333333	0.845

Discussion

Purpose

The purpose of this study was to assess if socio-sexual interactions changed from the first two years of life into the third year of life. In particular, the effects of the social setting and sex of initiating and receiving animal were assessed for the frequency and duration of socio-sexual interactions. Previous research had indicated that yearlings and two-year old belugas did not display many SSBs across the year, moving from 0.10% to 0.19% in time spent in SSBs compared to all other behaviors (Silva, 2016; Silva & Hill, 2017). The SSBs observed during the first two years of life were relatively simple and infrequent. In contrast, the third year was filled with increasingly more SSBs, interactions, and some emerging preferences. Anecdotally, the results appeared to indicate that the presence of older and more belugas of similar age to a focal animal, the more SSB interactions were observed. Although not statistically significant, the three-year old males did appear to spend more time in SSBs than females, which would be expected based on previous findings (Glabicky et al., 2010; Hill et al., 2015).

Socio-sexual Behavior and Social Environment

Out of 2,715 minutes time 45% was spent in solo-swim, 20% in social play, and 0.34% ($N = 94$) was spent in socio-sexual interactions. These behavioral changes were expected from previous literature. Increased solo swimming and social interactions were associated with increased fitness and probability of survival (Mann & Singh, 2015). Like other cetaceans, belugas can learn a variety of key behaviors through social interactions, including building alliances to acquiring a richer motor-ability repertoire. It is also during these independent activities that belugas begin to develop their socio-sexual behavioral repertoire. Although the amount of spent in socio-sexual interactions might not seem significant, but SSB was more than a 30-fold increase from the first year (< 0.01%) and almost a two-fold increase from the second year (0.19%). Also, even though we did not have significant results for the sex of the initiator/receiver, we can start to see a slight difference between females and males. In this study, we observed how the sex and age of the receiver can statistically change the frequency of SSB. Thus, this study provided preliminary results on how with the availability of belugas of different age and sex will affect SSB and ultimately social behavior.

One important variable examined in this study was the potential effect of social setting. Many animals learn behaviors through social transmission (Kuczaj, Makecha, Trone, Paulos, & Ramos, 2006). Socio-sexual behavior may be influenced by age and sex, but social transmission may also play a role. Previous research has indicated that adult male belugas may use SSBs to build or maintain bonds with each other while SSBs are used for conception when adult males are courting sexually receptive females (Glabicky et al., 2010; Hill et al., 2015). The first two years of the current belugas examined in this study indicated that SSBs were not very frequent although they were increasing in frequency. Based on the results of this study, it is clear that this trend continued and that sex differences were starting to appear. First, SSB bouts were longer for males than females although the

difference was not statistically significant, most likely due to low power and high variability. Second, males preferred to interact with other males significantly more than expected by chance over and above female partners whereas females appeared to prefer male partners or to display at inappropriate stimuli such as humans and lags. Third, when larger social groupings with specific classes of animals based on sex and age were considered, longer SSB bouts were found. Interestingly, this result did not appear to be due to number of social companions present or to the reduction of space but rather having the ability to pair with a beluga that has a better motor abilities. These findings are similar to those described by Krasnova and Bel'kovich (2008).

Limitations

Since this study was based on archived video footage, there were times when videos were missing for an animal at a particular month. In these cases, we took the average of the month before and the month after to substitute for the missing data. This substitution occurred only three times, but may have influenced the variability observed. Moreover, SSB was coded with a strict age guide; only SSB that was initiated by a three-year-old was coded and analyzed for the study. This protocol was instituted to be comparable with date collected during the first and second years of life in previous studies (Silva, 2016; Silva & Hill, 2016). Thus, due to strict coding procedures, SSBs were likely underrepresented. It is possible that older animals may have initiated an SSB bout with a three-year old animal or a younger animal may have initiated an SSB bout with one of the present calves, but these interactions were not included in the data collection. Also, the social groupings used for social settings were heavily influenced by the animal care staff, which resulted in different numbers of social setting for each beluga observed. A positive aspect of the study was that the data were based on videos selected randomly which may be support for the conclusion that SSBs occur in immature belugas naturally and may be influenced by both innate and environmental factors.

Future Research

Future research should include research from birth to sexual maturity for both male and female belugas, which falls between four to seven years and six to nine years, respectively. It is crucial to produce reliable research that examines the development of socio-sexual behavior and the transition from infant, to pre-weaning, to mature belugas. This longitudinal investigation would allow researchers to better understand an unexpected drop in social interactions by females sometime around sexual maturity while, males continue to engage in socio-sexual interactions more frequently (Glabicky et al., 2010; Hill et al., 2015). By researching the transition and evolution of socio-sexual behavior, interactions, and posturing, researchers can identify the learning process and discriminate from innate and learned behaviors.

Significance

Since most of the behavior exhibited by cetaceans happens below the water surface, it is extremely difficult to observe, track, and identify crucial information like sex and age in the wild. By conducting research with cetaceans in human care researchers around the world can fill in the gaps and identify a baseline of development and behavior expected. The current study provides an initial step as it offers a description of the nature and frequency of socio-sexual behavior during the third year of life for both female and male belugas. Socio-sexual behavior is one of the least researched topics in animal behavior (Hill et al. 2015), thus this study contributes to the literature substantially. The wellbeing of belugas in captivity can be increased by designing social settings that meet developing beluga needs for socio-sexual behavior. This knowledge can also be implemented with wild populations that may be susceptible to human interference when present in beluga summer breeding habitats.

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