Justice and Equity in a Changing World

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Letter From The Editors of

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The Sociology Department at Santa Clara University is proud to present, in this volume of the *Silicon Valley Sociological Review*, four research papers written by students majoring in sociology or taking sociology classes. Professor Marilyn Fernandez launched the *Silicon Valley Notebook* 17 years ago as a vehicle of professional socialization, to provide many students with a meaningful opportunity to benefit from steady guidance while honing their research and writing skills.

This year, the *Silicon Valley Notebook* took on a new name -- the *Silicon Valley Sociological Review* -- and a new editorial approach. But just as in past years, the substantive, theoretical, methodological, and applied content of the Sociology curriculum at SCU are reflected in these papers. These papers highlight students' ability to engage in meaningful professional work informing sociological understanding of important topics. The authors studied important social topics about individuals, organizations, and institutions.

Emma Hmelar's paper "Community Connections: Baseline Literacy and Math Skills Evaluations for Person-centered Programming" uses mixed-methods to apply sociology in a community-based setting. She collected evaluations on basic independent living skills among individuals with disabilities. Statistical analyses of these evaluations were used to assess current ability levels and needs of clients in a community program. Based on these findings, the researcher provided recommendations for an evidence-based beginning literacy program and evaluations to further the independence of clients with disabilities.

Sose Grum and **Taylor Czasnojc**'s paper shifts our focus to a different learning-focused organization in "Inequalities in Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics for First-Generation College Women Compared to Their Female Continuing-Generation Counterparts." In this work, the authors combine a literature review and qualitative interviews to analyze some of the challenges facing college women based on parental college experience. By focusing on women who are majoring in biological sciences, they are able to look in more detail at the differential effects of being a first-generation college student compared to having a parent who has attended college. The researchers find that first-generation college women face greater pressures to secure their financial futures and meet family expectations about careers.

Carolina Salame's "Corruption Within the Police Force" considers the systemic and institutional racism inherent in police violence. Relying on victim experiences, Salame shows how racism is embedded in the actions and presumed independence of the police. Her research has policy implications. She recommends better screening processes and public oversight to audit the police, combat institutional racism, and reduce tensions in day-to-day policing.

Finally, **Maria Abastillas, Isabel Michael, and Terrell Smith**'s "Howard Becker: An Intellectual Appreciation" provides a comprehensive account of a famous sociologist. The authors review three of Becker's contributions to the arts, urban and inner-cities, and research methods. All three have implications for the various subdisciplines of sociology—urban sociology, cultural sociology, and the sociology of crime—and shed light on future analysis.

As a collection, the student research presented in this volume exemplifies the evidence-based social science curriculum offered by the Department of Sociology at Santa Clara University. The social issues explored have important policy and programmatic implications. These applications resonate with the University's mission to prepare students of competence, conscience, and compassion, who will help fashion a more just, humane, and sustainable word.

Our cover art for this volume comes from talented senior Madeline Mott, a double major in Studio Art and Sociology. The piece is titled "Galapagos."

Community Connections: Baseline Literacy and Math Skills Evaluations for Person-centered Programming

By

Emma Hmelar

ABSTRACT. The purpose of the study was to evaluate and collect data on basic skills for independence of individuals with disabilities in the Community Connections program. The evaluations covered alphabet and phonetic recognition, sight word recognition and fluency, literacy, and basic math skills of money and time telling. The evaluations were designed by the researcher and staff at the organization and were implemented over the span of two weeks in the fall of 2019. We assessed 45 out of 54 clients, varying in age, gender, and disability. The data from the evaluations was then input into excel, using ID numbers for confidentiality of the clients, for analysis. After collecting the data, the researcher used basic statistical analysis of averages and quartiles to understand the range of ability for each of the assessments. Using these averages and quartiles, the researcher separated the clients into categories based on skill level. The findings of this study demonstrate that there is a wide spectrum of ability amongst the clients in the Community Connections program. There are some clients who easily completed all portions of the assessment correctly, some who were unable to answer any of the assessment, and clients with levels in between.

Based on the findings from the study, the researcher recommends the introduction of a beginning literacy program in order to improve upon the skills of the clients. Full recommendations, including potential future curriculum, grant funding, and evaluations, are made in the following report as suggestions to further expand the development of skills for community integration and independence.

INTRODUCTION

Community Connections is a non-profit organization in Northern California that provides resources for adults with disabilities ranging from physical to developmental. The vocational program within the non-profit focuses on educating, training and assisting clients in developing skills for independence in both everyday life and employment. Community Connections develops person-centered programming plans for each individual client to help them work towards a community employment placement.

In the vocational program, there are many classes and activities that teach clients skills such as volunteering, interpersonal social skills, and fine-motor skills. There is a lack of curriculum involving reading, writing, and basic math skills. In order to develop classes at varying levels according to client's ability, the organization is requesting a baseline instrument to be administered to current and new clients. The purpose of this applied project is to run literacy and basic math skills assessments with current clients. This baseline will help evaluate their current curriculum and design future person-centered curriculum in order to better serve their clients. The report will also include a protocol that staff can use to implement the assessment for new clients in the future.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 (ADA) is a landmark piece of civil rights legislation that promotes access and opportunity for millions of Americans with disabilities. The ADA (1990) defines disability as "a physical or mental impairment that substantially limits one or more major life activities" (Section 12102). The ADA provides protection and pushes for the participation and inclusion of individuals with disabilities in various spheres, including the workforce. Though legislation that encourages the integration of people with disabilities exists, it is not enough to combat the low employment rates of this population. Further, the ADA has been integrated into school systems which has helped increase the number of adults with skills and certifications. However, workplaces have been less regulated, contributing to the low employment rate.

Various non-profit organizations, governmental agencies and centers for independence are working to create person-centered programming that helps provide individuals with disabilities resources, post-secondary education, and vocational training to help them succeed in a competitive labor market. As current employment policy shifts towards self-sufficiency and community-based integration, further steps need to be taken to ensure the protection and inclusion of this traditionally marginalized population in the workforce. In order to understand this phenomenon, this literature review will explore the progression from the current state of employment resources for individuals with disabilities, the impact of literacy and math skills for independence, and finally suggestions for building skills for independent employment.

Current State of Employment Resources for Individuals with Disabilities

In the decades since the ADA was introduced, the emphasis on programming, resources and services for individuals with disabilities has increasingly focused on person-centered programming. In a literature review on interagency collaboration, Oertle and Trach (2007:36) explain that, "The Carl Perkins Vocational and Technical Education Act of 1998, Individuals with Disabilities Education Act of 1997, and the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 changed the focus of transition planning from something that might happen to something that must happen." This philosophy creates goals, programming, education, and employment opportunities personalized to the individual. Unfortunately, this person-centered programming has not yet reached the policy level and has led to some disparity between the individual's needs and government resources. Transitioning from high school to the workforce is where the greatest drop off in services occurs for individuals with disabilities. This period can result in significant transition difficulties which, “are manifested in limited education opportunities, low earnings, and lack of independent living…. In fact, two years post-high school completion; only 49% of youth with disabilities were employed...those youth with disabilities who are employed were likely to work fewer than 30 hours/week, with no or few benefits, and are in entry level jobs” (Oertle et al. 2007: 37). These transitional difficulties are only exasperated as individuals get older, as the motivation to find employment wears off and the employability of the aging individual decreases.

In a survey of 60 individuals ranging from disability advocates to policy makers, researcher Bertoni (2010) with the Government Accountability Office, found that three levels of action should be taken to improve employment rates among individuals with disabilities. On the individual level, the report recommended improving incentives for individuals while strengthening necessary services and supports (Bertoni 2010). Many respondents reported the desire to work, but did not follow through with seeking employment due to concern of losing supplementary income and benefits essential to their living wages. As individuals receive higher working wages, the less likely they are to qualify for programs imperative to their independence, such as Medicare and social security wages. Additionally, individuals called for a more coordinated system of programs and benefits to remove structural barriers that jeopardize the services and supports they depend on. Suggestions included programs such as a maximum wage to remain under qualification for subsidized medical insurance (Bertoni 2010).

As individuals with disabilities need to compete with abled individuals in the labor market, the report suggested improving incentives for employers to hire individuals with disabilities by either requiring employers to directly finance extended disability benefits for their employees or by adjusting employers’ payroll taxes based on their success at keeping employees in the workforce. Finally, the report suggested that the federal government should provide a better example to other employers by serving as a model agency and increasing the number of individuals with disabilities they employ. The increased visibility in government office would encourage other businesses to follow suit (Bertoni 2010).

In addition to the barriers stated in the report by Bertoni (2010), individuals with disabilities face a significant disadvantage in terms of preparedness for employment due to lack of educational opportunities, social skills, and vocational training that their abled counterparts receive more of. In a literature review of transitional practices from youth to employment, researchers Engelbrecht, Shar and van Niekerk report,

> Youth with disabilities are often unemployed, underemployed or earn significantly less than their non-disabled counterpart…[Additionally,] Youth with disabilities outlook for entering into employment is further limited by a basic lack of work and employment preparation...Access to early, primary and secondary education and vocational training that are available to other children are routinely refused to children with disabilities. (Engellbrecht et al. 2017:4)

Due to the significant difference in resources delegated to abled versus people with disabilities, the latter are much less prepared in terms of educational and vocational skills needed for the competitive labor force. This, in combination with discriminatory hiring practices and relegation to minimum wage jobs with little to no benefits, leaves individuals with disabilities at a significant disadvantage in terms of employment.

Impact of Literacy and Math Skills on Independence

Various skills make an individual employable, including literacy and social skills. Some skills are more important than others. Garrels (2019: 198) writes, “However, literacy is considered essential for functioning in modern society, and knowing how to read and write are important skills that facilitate inclusion in the social mainstream”. Literacy allows an individual to independently seek out, consume and comprehend information, making them less dependent on others. This is both a skill useful for employment and necessary for independence. Individuals with disabilities have varied literacy and math skills due to educational background, developmental, intellectual, and learning disabilities, and motivation. It is imperative that individuals with disabilities improve their skills in literacy and basic math, as these hold the key towards self-sufficiency, advocacy, and independence.

In an evaluation of a multi-site transition to adulthood program, researchers identified that focusing on community-based, vocational, and self-sufficiency skills greatly benefitted the individuals who participated, and increased their success in obtaining employment (Brewer et al. 2011). Additionally, the study extensively discussed the benefits employment brings to an individual. Brewer and colleagues (2011: 3) write, “The benefits associated with employment contribute substantially to an overall quality of life, leading to increased independence, self-determination, and political strength. Thus, increasing employment outcomes for youth with disabilities is key to their successful transition to adulthood, building upon their social capital for effective community functioning”. The potential benefits that employment brings are not only economic, but social, mental, and physical. To continue to deny individuals with disabilities these benefits is to keep the marginalized on the borders of society.

Building Skills for Independent Employment

There are several methods for increasing literacy skills and providing resources for individuals to help improve skills for independence. In an individual study of a high schooler with an intellectual disability, Fraher and colleagues (2019) tested the efficacy of direct instruction flashcards to improve the recognition of sight words. Sight words are vocabulary words that help teach patterns of words, reading fluency, and basic language recognition. When an individual is familiar with sight words, it increases their ability to read fluently. The research team used a series of baseline tests and interventions to introduce and improve the student’s familiarity of sight words. By the end of the study, the student had significantly improved their recognition and retention of sight words (Fraher et al. 2019). A model similar to this may be useful to implement in a basic literacy class.

In a study of student-directed learning of literacy skills, Garrels (2019) identified a model that aligns with the goal of person-centered programming. The study followed five adolescents with differing intellectual disabilities in their goal setting, tracking, and improvement of literacy skills. The model developed from this study is a variation of person-centered planning and may prove useful in developing curriculum. The model suggests a three-part self-determined model of instruction: 1) the individual should identify a personally relevant goal; 2) with a facilitator the individual should develop an action plan that may lead to goal attainment; and 3) the individual and facilitator should self-monitor and evaluate progress towards goal attainment (Garrels 2019). Through this model the individual can self-identify goals, keep themselves accountable, and build confidence in their skills as they work with a facilitator to improve their skills for independence.

Amongst all the sources reviewed for this overview, two themes consistently reappeared in the limitations and suggestions for new research. The first is that there are several methods for assessing literacy ability, word recognition and fluency, and phonetic fluency, yet there is a significant lack of assessment of basic math skills (Garrels 2019). A potential explanation for this literature gap is due to the lack of uniformity in special education curriculum compared to mainstream education standards. Since math is seen as a skill not necessary to communication, which is frequently the focus of special education curriculum, it is not taught, nor evaluated in most special education classrooms.

The present study will address a gap in the literature by piloting a basic math skills portion which will test skills relevant to independence including money recognition and value abilities, time-space recognition, and number line fluency. Second, there is significant literature suggesting various ways to assess and improve literacy tests, for example the direct instruction flashcards. The significant limitation of these studies is that they collect baseline information and collect data for a short period of time, while neglecting to study the long-term effects of these programs. While the actual length of this study covers the short-term results, it sets up a procedure for the long-term collection, implementation, and documentation of the incorporation of literacy and math curriculum.

METHODS AND ANALYSIS

Method

The method used was structured assessment. The assessment was developed June-July 2019, by this researcher and one other staff member at Community Connections. The assessment consists of four separate sections. For a copy of the full assessment form, refer to Appendix A. The first section evaluates a client's skill of recognition of both uppercase and lowercase letters, and their ability to identify letters based on their phonetic sound. The second section evaluates the client’s ability to recognize sight words, several lists of words educators consider the building blocks of literacy, and word fluency matching pictures with definitions. The third section evaluates the client's literacy using three short passages of varying difficulty. The final section evaluates the client's ability for basic math skills for independence, testing their recognition of values of money, and the ability to tell time.

Clients of the Community Connections Program were given the instrument by a staff member or the researcher over the span of two weeks. The specific instructions on how to implement the assessment are included in Appendix B. All staff members were trained on how to administer the assessment. Assessors were given leeway to adapt the instrument as necessary given the needs of each person being assessed. The evaluations were given by myself, and four management staff, consisting of the case manager, two program coordinators and the program manager.

Sample

The sample was made up of 45 out of the 54 clients in the Community Connections program. The sample was formed using a mostly convenience method, evaluating clients who were present in the building during designated data collection times.

The assessors predetermined the goal of completing 45 assessments. As clients are at placements in the community for the bulk of the workday we were limited to the times we could collect data, between 7:30 A.M and 9:00 A.M before they left for the day, and between 1:45 to 3:00 when they returned and prepared to be picked up. We collected data every day for ten days in the middle of October 2019. While there was no intentional stratification or purposeful sampling, a wide spectrum of disabilities were represented in the final sample, ranging from physical such as Cerebral Palsy, developmental such as Autism, and intellectual such as Down Syndrome. This wide range of abilities within the population required the assessment to be fully adaptable for testing of clients with speech difficulties, visual impairment, and cognition difficulties. Therefore, some portions of the assessment were not applicable to certain clients based on their abilities, and were either adapted or skipped. Due to privacy, protections, and relative irrelevance to the study, the demographics of the participants were not collected. The organization provided the information that the participants range in age from 21 to 78 years old.

There are some limitations to our sample. As this study used convenience sampling, there are limits on how representative our sample is compared to the whole population of clients at the non-profit. However, this sample is a very good representation of those in the Community Connections Program, as it samples from a wide spectrum of clients with various disabilities and abilities.

Analysis

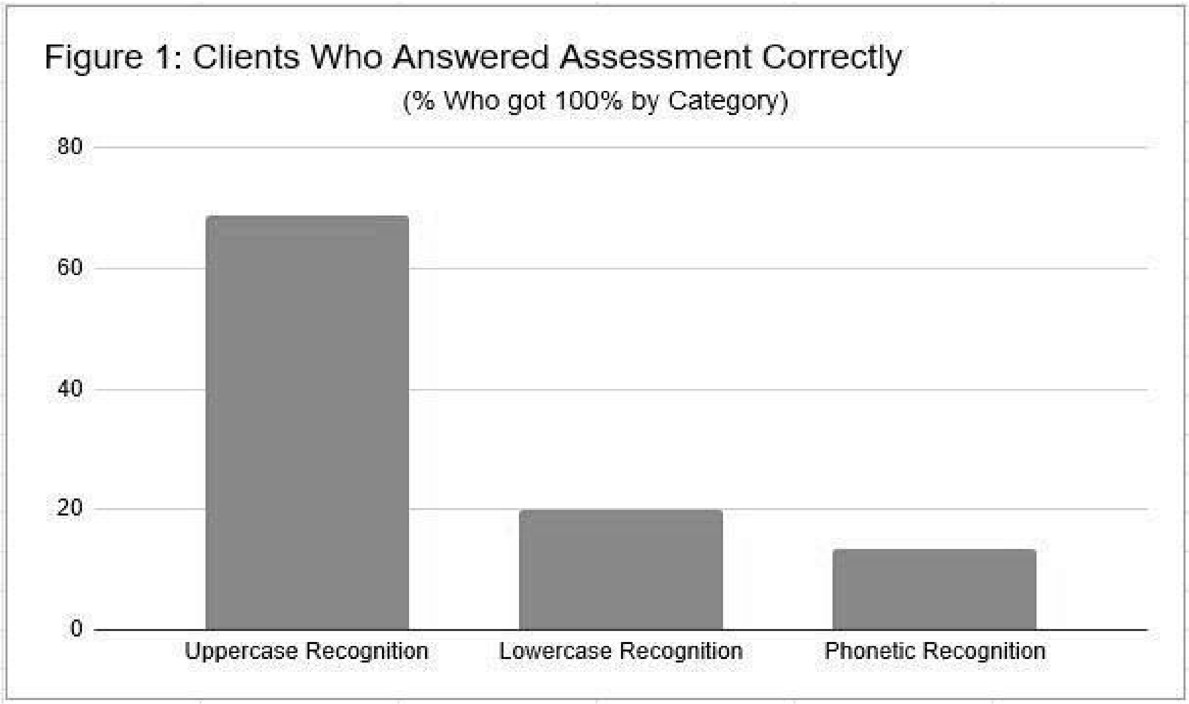
After completing all 45 evaluations, the data were entered into a Google form matching the layout of the paper assessment. All of the data were entered using ID numbers to maintain the confidentiality of the individuals. Using Microsoft Excel, descriptive analyses were performed by taking the minimum, maximum, and the average score for each section. This was done to create four different groups used to organize clients by skill level. For each client's data, the average of their score for each section was calculated and then placed in one of four groups for each section. The bottom two groups were combined, as there were not enough clients in each to warrant having their own separate level.

Using these groups, we set up charts to help demonstrate the spectrum of ability among the sample. These charts are included in the findings section below. Finally, we used these charts and data analysis to base my recommendations for future action.

FINDINGS

Alphabet and Phonetic Recognition

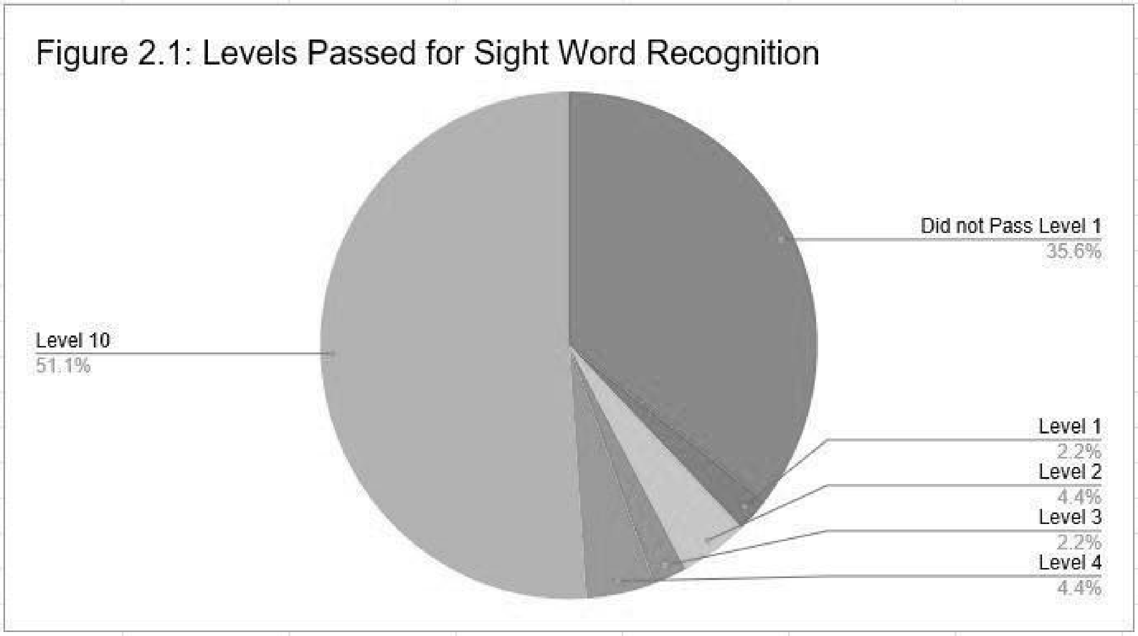
For this section, clients were tested on their ability to recognize letters both uppercase and lowercase on flashcards (see Appendix A, Part 1A). There were 26 cards, which clients were shown one at a time. Upon answering the question, the card was sorted into either the correct or incorrect pile. The client's score was written down upon completion of the card set. Approximately two-thirds (68.9%) of clients were familiar and confident in recognizing uppercase letters. Only one third (31.1%) either had difficulty or were not familiar with uppercase letters, as shown in Figure 1. In contrast, fewer clients were able to correctly identify all 26 lowercase letters (20%), with a majority (80%) of clients either missing a few letters, or completely not knowing any lowercase letters. Even fewer clients were able to correctly identify the letter to its phonetic sound (see Appendix A, Part 1B), with only 13.3% getting all 26 letters correct, and 86.7% unable to correctly identify the respective letter to the phonetic sound. These results are not surprising given that many of the clients have auditory comprehension difficulties which may have made this test particularly difficult. (See Figure 1).

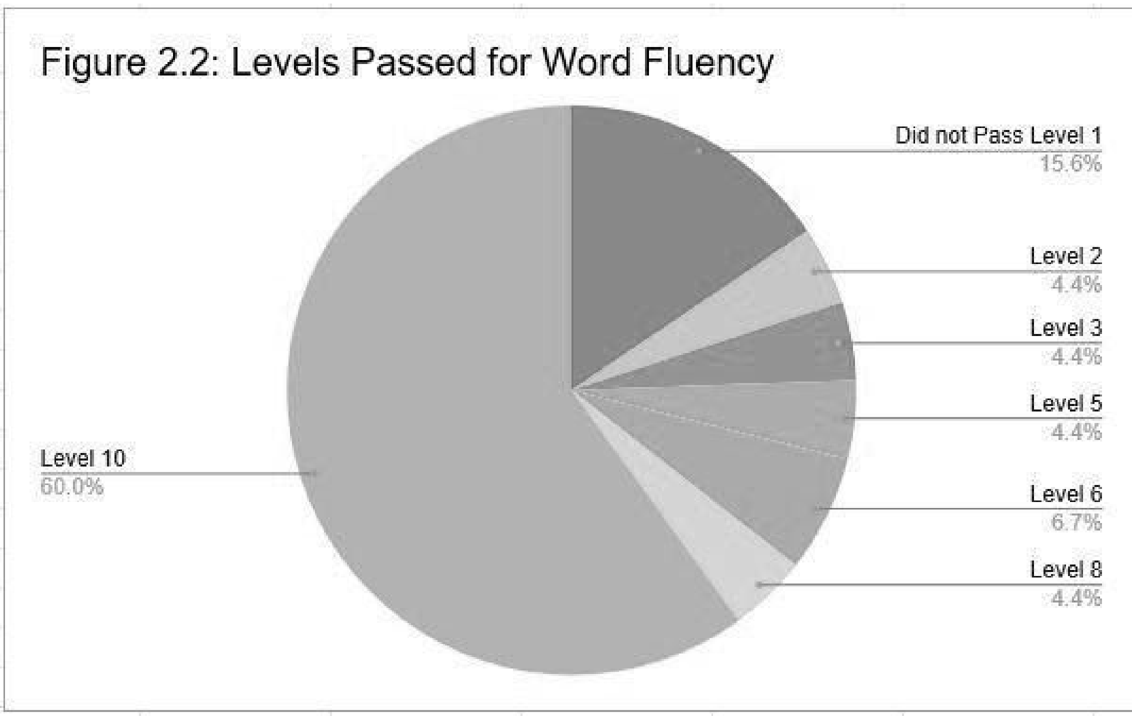


Sight Word Recognition and Fluency

This section of the assessment is broken into two parts. The first tests the client's ability to recognize sight words, which are vocabulary words that educators use to determine a child's readiness for literacy. For this assessment there were ten levels that the clients could achieve. Each level consisted of 20 flashcards, of which the client had to answer 10 correctly to move on to the next difficulty level. If a client did not answer ten correctly, they were stopped at that level (see Appendix A, Part 2A) . The same process was repeated for the second part, testing the client's ability to match a picture to the proper label, testing their word fluency, except instead of 20 cards shown, only ten. Additionally, the client only had to answer five cards correctly to move onto the next level (see Appendix A, Part 2B).

About half (51.1%) of all clients tested reached level ten on the sight word recognition test, the highest level. The next largest population were clients who did not even pass level 1. A total of 35.6% were not able to pass level 1. This statistic makes sense as many of the clients are not literate, which would make this test very difficult for them. The remaining clients (13.2%), placed primarily in the lower levels (Levels 0-4). (See Figure 2.1). In comparison to the group that reached level ten on sight word recognition, slightly more clients (60%) achieved level 10 for the word fluency test. The number of clients who did not achieve level one decreased significantly with only 15.6% not passing the first level. The number of remaining clients (24.3%) grew slightly, but also reached a greater range of levels. (See Figure 2.2).





Literacy

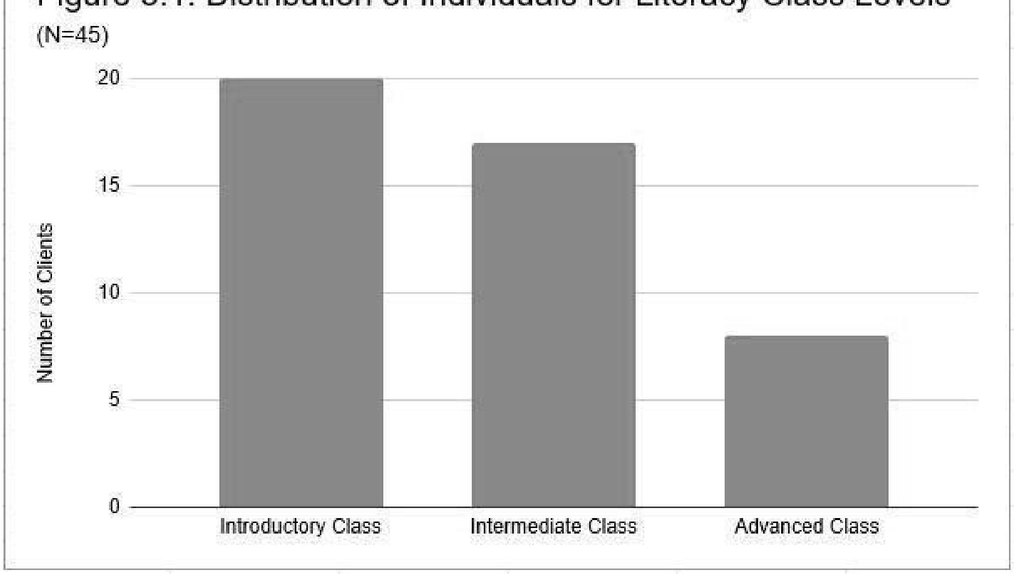
For the literacy assessment, there were three separate levels that clients were tested on. The first level all clients were tested on, which consisted of a simple passage. The clients were asked to read the passage aloud and were then asked three questions about the content of the passage (see Appendix A, Part 3A). All clients were additionally tested on the second passage, a slightly more complex excerpt, which was read to the client, and they were then asked three comprehension questions (see Appendix A, Part

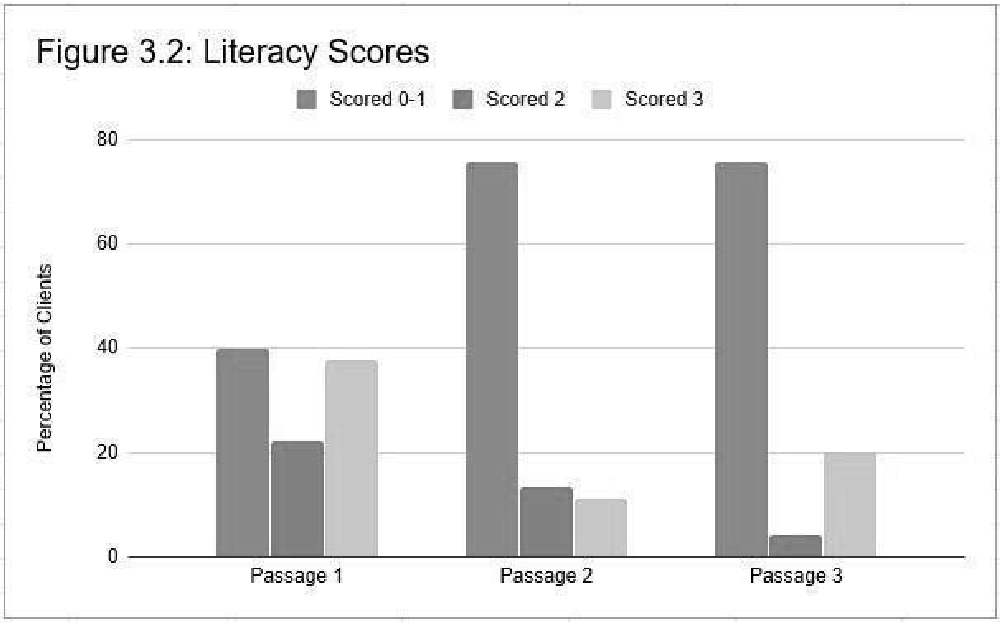
3B). Only clients who demonstrated advanced comprehension skills moved on to the third passage. This passage was also read to the client, and they were again asked three comprehension questions (see Appendix A, Part 3C).

For passage 1, the spectrum of ability was relatively evenly distributed across all three levels, with 40% of clients scoring either a zero or one, 22.2% of clients scoring a 2, and 37.8% of clients scoring a three. This translated into three groups, clients who were illiterate, clients who had beginning literacy skills, and clients who demonstrated advanced literacy skills. (See Figure 3.1). Passage 2 is where the advanced readers were separated from the intermediate. An overwhelming majority (75.6%) of clients scored a zero or one on passage two. A small group scored either a two or a three (24.4%). This passage quickly differentiated clients who had minimal reading skills from those who had more experience and confidence. Finally, in the small group who advanced on to passage three (n= 11), 20.2% scored a three, with 4.4% scoring a two. The same eleven clients who received scores of two and three for passage two and three were the same. We would be interested in retesting these clients on different passages, since a higher percentage of clients scored a three on passage three than did passage two, which could indicate an inconsistency in the progression of passage difficulty.

After examining the breakdown of scores amongst passages, we used the data from each of the passages to create a distribution of three separate literacy levels, meant to place clients into different classes if a class is to be designed using these data. The distributions for both introductory and intermediate classes are about equal, with the advanced class being the smallest population. (See Figure 3.2).

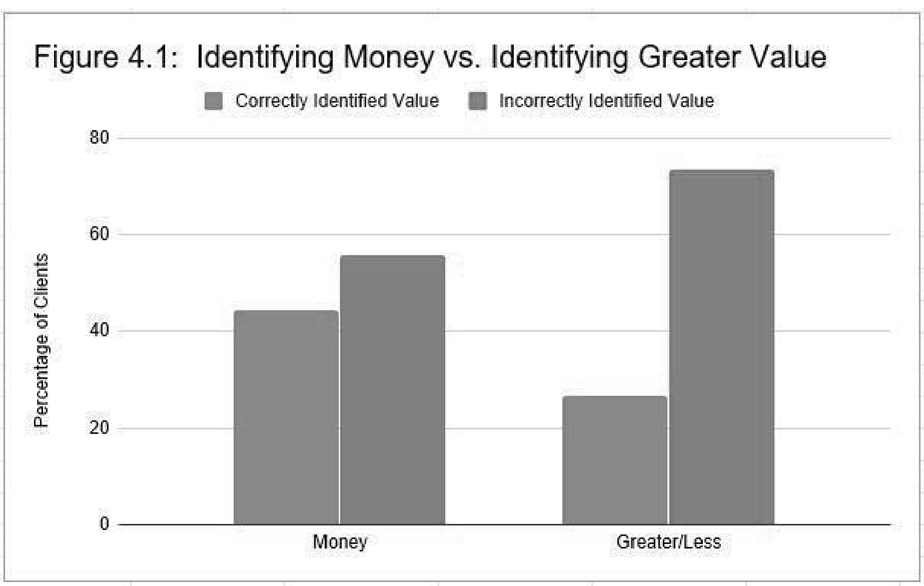
Figure 3.1: Distribution of Individuals for Literacy Class Levels





Math Skills for Independence

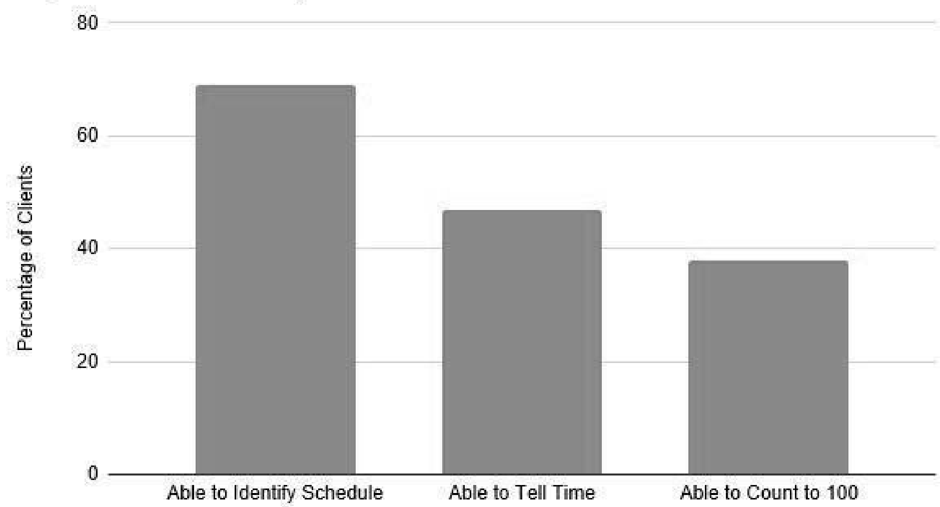
For this section, there were three separate assessment levels testing money skills, time-spatial awareness, and ability to count. For the first section, we asked clients to identify different values of money in the form of bills and coins (See Appendix A, Part 4A). The split was almost equal in that 44.4% of clients correctly identified all the values, with 55.6% either making a few mistakes or not knowing the difference between values. We then tested whether clients could tell which amount was greater between two different values of money, such as a dollar bill versus a twenty-dollar bill. The majority of clients had difficulty with this, with only 26.7% correctly identifying which value was greater (See Figure 4.1).



We then tested the clients time awareness by asking them several questions about their daily schedules such as, “what time do you wake up”, “What time do you need to take your medicine,” etc (see Appendix A, Part 4B). About two-thirds (68.9%) of clients easily answered these questions, while 31.1% of clients could not answer. Then, we tested the clients’ ability to tell time using both analog and digital clocks. Approximately 46.7% of clients were able to correctly tell time using both types of clocks, while 53.3% either could only use one, made mistakes using both, or could not tell time at all. (See Figure 4.2).

Finally, we asked clients to count to fifty, and if they did that successfully, to count to 100 (see Appendix A, Part 4C). All the clients who were able to count to fifty were also able to count to 100 (37.8%). Any clients who could not count to fifty stopped around the number twenty (62.2%). (See Figure 4.2).

Figure 4.2: Time- Spatial Awareness



While we cannot make any generalizations about the clients, it is clear that the general spectrum of ability across the sample is very broad. Using these data, we have made some suggestions for future practices in the following section.

PROGRAM RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction to Literacy Programming

First, we recommend implementing an adult literacy program. Upon examining the data from the evaluations, the area where the greatest number of clients had difficulty was the literacy section. As literacy is an important skill for independence, it would be beneficial for the clients to improve this skill. There are many resources for teaching individuals with disabilities literacy, such as the Learning Disabilities Association of America and the American Speech-Language-Hearing Association.

The Learning Disabilities Association of America is an organization founded to bring awareness, promote advocacy, and provide resources for educators and families of individuals with learning disabilities. The Learning Disabilities Association of America web page (Learning Disabilities Association of America 2014) specifically discusses that educators who plan to teach individuals with learning disabilities, which can be extended to all individuals with disabilities, should be trained in at least three different methods. It also specifies that one of the most effective methods of teaching literacy is the multisensory teaching approach, which is a comprehensive, multi-sensory program in reading, spelling, alphabet and dictionary skills. The website provides specific resources for further information on multisensory teaching approach along with about 20 other teaching methods.

The American Speech-Language-Hearing Association was created to advocate for the development of national guidelines in developing and implementing educational programs to meet the needs of children and adults with disabilities. The website attached below features resources for educators of individuals with disabilities in assessing literacy, literacy instruction, and reading and writing. This source may provide additional resources aimed at specifically individuals with more severe disabilities, in contrast to the resources provided by the Learning Disabilities Association of America(American Speech-Language-Hearing Association 2019).

The purpose behind these resources would be to teach Community Connections staff different teaching methods, and potentially purchase pre-made lesson plans, in order to run an in-house class. This way, the organization is not limited to how many clients would be able to take such a class.

Based on the data collected, the literacy program would have three levels including introductory, intermediate, and advanced. Each of these levels would work on developing different skills aimed at generally improving the clients familiarity and comfort with literacy. The introductory class could teach skills such as letter and site word recognition, as those are the building blocks of basic literacy. The intermediate class could teach skills such as basic sentence reading and sounding words out. The advanced class could work on reading and comprehension of short passages. Similarly to the assessment, the literacy program would have to be fully adaptable and have several iterations in order to be used to teach a wider net of abilities. This is one of the main difficulties in working with the varied population of Community Connections.

Potential Grants

Second, we recommend seeking grants as a source of funding for the introduction of a literacy program. Grants are potential sources of funding to help meet the primary goal suggested above. For example, the Murray Family Foundation funds organizations who are dedicated to the care, training, and education of people with disabilities, as well as the training and education of those who will provide education. This foundation could be a potential source of funding for creating a literacy program at Community Connections as the education of clients works them towards independence. One note about the application process for this grant is that, “All applicants for a Murray Foundation Grant must be sponsored by a Murray Lineal Descendant 18 & Over. Descendants represent the Foundation on site visits, assist the applicant with the grant process and act as an advocate on behalf of the applicant.” This appears to just be a step in the application process, but the organization should be aware of it before applying in case extra steps are to be required (Murray Foundation 2019).

The usage of grants would help fund the necessary teaching materials required for a literacy program such as books, work books, flashcards, and other teaching aids. It would also allow Community Connections to purchase or hire the necessary training materials in order to teach staff how to implement different teaching methods without using funds from the program’s existing budget, which is already used to fund all existing activities and curriculum. With grant funding, the organization would be able to expand and improve the services and training they currently offer.

Future Evaluations

The third recommendation would be to expand the evaluations to all clients currently in the program, and additionally to new intake clients. The Community Connections program would benefit greatly from having this information for every client in order to understand their skills and abilities, and to use this information to work with the client to create achievable, meaningful goals. In addition, if they decide to implement new curriculum, it would be beneficial to retest clients, and continue to collect data to view both the client’s and the whole program’s growth over time.

Additional Curriculum

The organization is doing excellent work in preparing clients in terms of travel and vocational training, especially considering the change of programming over the short amount of time it has adapted. In general, based on the results of the evaluations, there could be more programming and curriculum to improve the basic “academic” skills of the clients, such as alphabet recognition and basic money skills in addition to the previously recommended literacy program. These skills were generally more developed than literacy skills, however, there is a wide gap in ability between many of the clients. In the future, we recommend incorporating more basic independence skills in the programming Community Connections produces.

CONCLUSION

The Community Connections program is making excellent first steps towards preparing their clients for independence and community integration. The results of the evaluations show that clients have a wide spectrum of skills and abilities, as well as room for improvement. For each sub section of the evaluation, there were individuals who were deficient, proficient, and excellent in the skills tested.

Through this evaluation, we have determined that curriculum addressing the skills tested would be beneficial to the development and improvement of these tools for independence. Such a curriculum would include a literacy class, a basic finance class and an alphabet readiness class. In addition, through this evaluation we were able to gauge the skills of nearly everyone in the program. We recommend that the organization look into existing literacy programs designed for individuals with disabilities in order to implement this recommendation. In the future, it would be beneficial to evaluate every current and new client in the program in order to best understand what skills need improvement. Additionally, it would be beneficial to retest clients already evaluated to track their growth over time. The Community Connections program has made great progress in moving their clients towards community integration and independence, and we feel that these recommendations, if implemented, will help them improve and adapt their programming to add to their client's growth.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Client Name:
Date:
Assessment Given by:

Community Connections Basic Cognitive Independence Skills Assessment

Part 1: Letter Recognition and Sound Assessment

A. Staff will show flashcard with letter name one at a time to client. Client must identify letter by name. Staff will record client's response to assessment as follows: If client identifies card correctly, staff will write "Correct" in designated box, if client identifies card incorrectly, staff should write down response given by client in designated box.

B. Staff will play phonetic letter sound using video, pausing between each letter. Client must identify letter by name. Staff will record client's response to assessment as follows: If client identifies card correctly, staff will write "Correct" in designated box, if client identifies card incorrectly, staff should write down response given by client in designated box.

	Uppercase Recognition	Lowercase Recognition	Phonetic Identification
A/a			
B/b			
C/c			
D/d			
E/e			
F/f			
G/g			
H/h			
I/i			
J/j			
K/k			
L/l			

M/m			
N/n			
O/o			
P/p			
Q/q			
R/r			
S/s			

T/t			
U/u			
V/v			
W/w			
X/x			
Y/y			
Z/z			
Total Correct	/26	/26	/26

Date Completed:
Comments:

Part 2: Word Recognition/Fluency

A. Staff will show client flashcard one at a time with a word that they must identify correctly. Based on client's response staff will sort card into one of two piles, correct or incorrect. Do not tell client which pile is correct or incorrect. Clients will be shown 20 cards. Client must complete 10 words correctly to move onto the next Recognition level. Staff should try to keep reactions as neutral as possible to not affect assessment results.

Recognition Level	Correct	Incorrect	Total Correct/Incorrect
1st			/
2nd			/
3rd			/
4th			/
5th			/
6th			/
7th			/
8th			/
9th			/
10th			/

A.
B.

Date Completed:
Comments:

B. Staff will show client one set of three pictures. Staff will ask client to identify picture by name as demonstrated below. Client will be given five minutes to complete the task, staff will then record the results of how many pairs client matched correctly. Staff should remain neutral when scoring and recording assessment. Client must identify 10 pictures correctly to move onto next fluency level.

Can you tell me which picture shows___________?

Fluency Level	Correct	Incorrect	Total Correct/Incorrect
1st			/
2nd			/

3rd			/
4th			/
5th			/
6th			/
7th			/
8th			/
9th			/
10th			/

Date Completed:
Comments:

Part 3: Reading Comprehension

A. All clients will be tested with the same passage for this section (Bob's Pets). Client will be asked to read a passage, either in their head or out loud. Client will then be asked three questions about the passage they just read. Staff will record client's responses in the form below.

1. a) Who has a red ball?______________ (Answer: Dog)
b) Who has a blue ball?______________(Answer: Cat)
c) Who has a green ball?_______________ (Answer: Bird)

B. All clients will be assessed on the passage Mule Thoughts. Staff will read passage to client, while showing client passage to read along with. Staff will then ask client three questions and record answers below. If client demonstrates advanced comprehension one additional passage may be tested in attached section.

Passage 1: Mule Thoughts

1)Where did the Mule sit?_____________________________________(Answer: Milking Stool)_
2)What couldn't he find____(Answer: Ink)__
3)What did he think about writing letters home?_____________________(Answer: Too much of a bother).

--------------------Only Proceed if client demonstrates advanced comprehension----------------

Advanced Section

Passage 3: We Are Important

1)Why are Doctors important? ________________________________(Answer: Keep us Healthy)
2)What important thing does a teacher do? _______________________(Answer: Help us learn)
3)Why are scientists important? Point to the Sentence that told you. ______________________
(Answer: Learn new things to help us)

Date Completed:
Comments:

Part 4: Math for Independence

A. Money Skills

Staff will show client a single piece of money and ask them to identify it. If client correctly identifies currency, staff will mark “correct”, if client identifies incorrectly, staff will mark “incorrect”.

Identify the following values	Correct	Incorrect
$1		
1 Dime		
1 Penny		
$20		
1 Nickel		
$10		
$5		
1 Quarter		

Staff will show client two different money values, and ask the client to identify which value is greater than the other. If client identifies correctly, mark “correct”, if client identifies incorrectly mark “incorrect”. Do not tell client what values you are placing in front of them.

Identify which value is greater	Correct	Incorrect
$20 and $1		
1 Quarter and 1 Nickel		
$1 and 3 Quarters		
3 Quarters and 5 dimes		

Date Completed:
Comments:

B. Time Management

Staff will ask client to identify the following times. If client can identify a time in under 30 seconds, staff will mark box as “correct”, if client is unable to identify time staff will mark box as “incorrect”.

Task	Correct	Incorrect

What time do you wake up in the morning?		
What time is lunch at?		
What time do you need to take your medicine?		
What time do you go to sleep?		
Analog Clock set to 6:30		
Analog Clock set to 4:00		
Digital Clock Set to 3:49		
Digital Clock Set to 11:45		

Date Completed:
Comments:

C. Counting to 50/100

Clients will be given 5 minutes to count to 50, or highest number possible, correctly. Staff will record the highest correct number client counts to below.

Highest number correctly counted to ______________

If client reaches 50 easily, have them continue to 100 or highest number possible.
Highest number correctly counted to ______________

Date Completed:
Comments:

____

This marks the end of the assessment please double check that all sections have been completed as directions state. If you have any additional comments please write them in section below.
Comments:

Appendix B

Alphabet/Phonetic Recognition

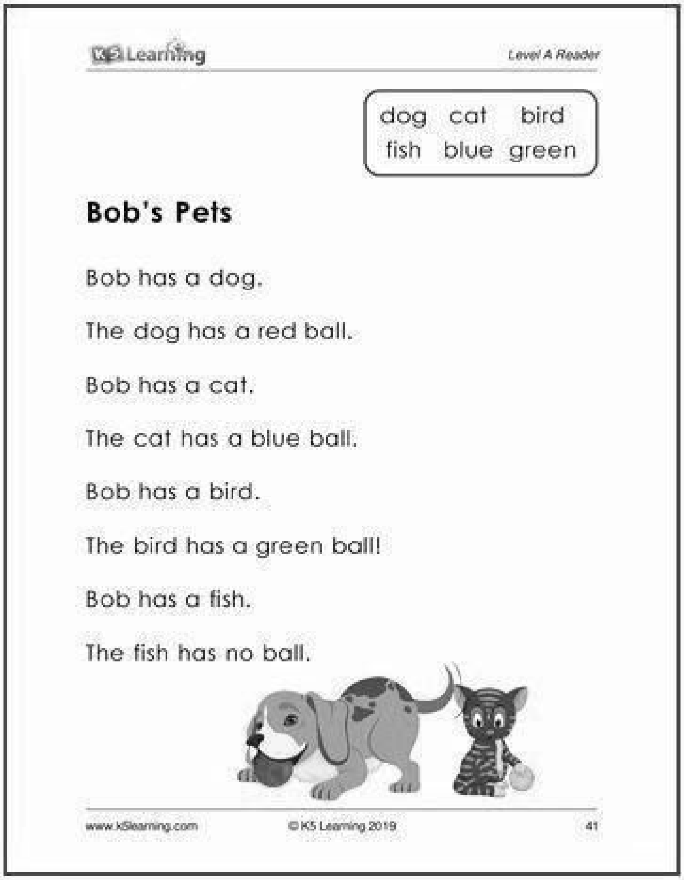
Flashcards containing the uppercase letters:
A,B,C,D,E,F,G,H,I,J,K,L,M,N,O,P,Q,R,S,T,U,V,W,X,Y,Z
Flashcards containing the lowercase letters:
a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h,i,j,k,l,m,n,o,p,q,r,s,t,u,v,w,x,y,z
Video Used for phonetic test:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CyNC-TzigyY

Sight Word Recognition/Fluency

Flashcards used for Sight word Recognition/Fluency test:
https://sightwords.com/sight-words/flash-cards/
Level 1: the, of, and, a, to, is, in, you, that, it, he, was, for, on, are, as, with, his, they, I
Level 2:over, new, sound, take, only, little, work, know, place, years, live, me, back, give, most, very, after, things, our, just
Level 3: high, every, near, add, food, between, own, below, country, plant, last, school, father, keep, tree, never, start, city, earth, eyes
Level 4: body, music, color, stand, sun, questions, fish, area, mark, dog, horse, birds, problem, complete, room, knew, since, ever, piece, told
Level 5: done, english, road, half, ten, fly, gave, box, finally, wait, correct, oh, quickly, person, became, shown, minutes, strong, verb, stars
Level 6: can't, matter, square, syllables, perhaps, bill, felt, suddenly, test, direction, center, farmers, ready, anything, divided, general, energy, subject, Europe, moon
Level 7: cross, speak, solve, appear, metal, son, either, ice, sleep, village, factors, result, jumped, snow, ride, care, floor, hill, pushed, baby
Level 8: row, least, catch, climbed, wrote, shouted, continued, itself, else, plains, gas, England, burning, design, joined, foot, law, ears, glass, you're
Level 9: supply, corner, electric, insects, crops, tone, hit, sand, doctor, provide, thus, won't, cook, bones, mall, board, modern, compound, mine, wasn't
Level 10: company, radio, we'll, action, capital, factories, settled, yellow, isn't, southern, truck, fair, printed, wouldn't, ahead, chance, born, level, triangle, molecules

Literacy

<u>Passage 1</u>



K5 Learning — Level A Reader

dog	cat	bird
fish	blue	green

Bob's Pets

Bob has a dog.

The dog has a red ball.

Bob has a cat.

The cat has a blue ball.

Bob has a bird.

The bird has a green ball!

Bob has a fish.

The fish has no ball.

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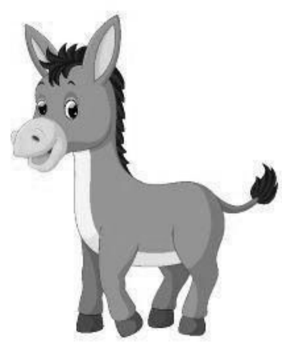
<u>Passage 2</u>

Mule's Thoughts

Leroy F. Jackson



A silly little mule
Sat on a milking stool
And tried to write a letter to his father.
But he couldn't find the ink,
So he said: "I rather think
This writing letters home is too much bother."

<u>Passage 3</u>

We Are Important

Doctors are important. They keep us healthy.

Police officers are important. They keep us safe.

Firefighters are important. They help people.

Teachers are important. They help us learn.

Scientists are important. They learn new things to help us.

Bus drivers are important. They get us places safely.

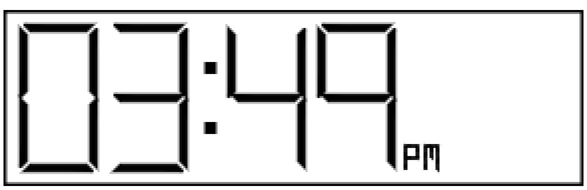
Cashiers are important. They let us buy food and clothes.

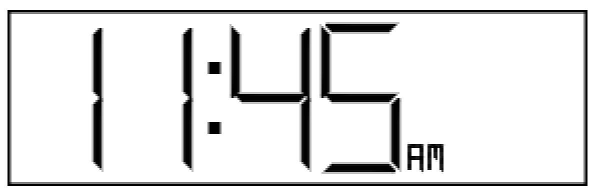
Families are important. They take care of us.

We all are important!

Math Skills for Independence

For both the “identify this value” and “the greater or less than” assessment we used a play money set. For the schedule assessment we asked the questions verbally. For the analog clock we used a real analog clock but used the following images for the digital time telling assessment.





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Inequalities in Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics for First-Generation College Women Compared to Their Female Continuing-Generation Counterparts

By

Taylor Czasnojc and Sose Grum[1][2]

ABSTRACT. There is an unnoticed body of students present on college campuses across America, first-generation college students. A first-generation college student is someone whose parents or guardians have not obtained a Bachelor's degree. Not only are these students often unrecognized, but their experiences and trials navigating through college are different and often unpublicized. These students face countless burdens during their time in college such as familial pressures, potential financial disadvantages, and lack of parental guidance navigating through college. In this study, we examine the differences in experiences between female, first-generation college students in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics compared to their female, continuing-generation college student counterparts.

The experiences of first-generation female students in STEM depict trials, such as parental pressures and financial burdens, when compared to their female continuing-generation student counterparts. Our own findings, in addition to outside research, support our hypothesis that first-generation college students struggle to adjust to unforeseen college challenges. Our first-generation college student subject asserts that this is largely due to the lack of parental higher education attainment, which intensifies the pressure to ignite an upward social mobility trend for her family.

This study illustrates problematic and impairing issues that first-generation college students may encounter during their time as students, specifically in the field of STEM. College campuses, professors, faculty, and staff must aid this specific body of students to help create a more leveled academic experience and opportunistic future.

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[1] Authors are listed in alphabetical order by last name.

[2] This study was completed by Sose Grum and Taylor Czasnojc. Although there were some components of the study that were completed individually, most of the research was completed as a collaborative effort with much revision and discussion. For data curation, Taylor and Sose both interviewed a respondent, one that was a continuing college student and one that was not. We thank Dr. Molly King, Dr. Laura Nichols, Dr. Cara Chiaraluce and Dr. Di for their extensive aid and support.

INTRODUCTION

As one enters the field of higher education, there are many types of individuals with various backgrounds that often go unnoticed. It is not uncommon for students on campuses to look at each other and automatically assume that they all come from pretty similar backgrounds in order to be at the same institution at the same time. Patton O. Garriott and Stephanie Nisle challenge this notion of thinking in "Stress, Coping, and Perceived Academic Goal Progress in First-Generation College Students." In this article, the authors state, "27% of graduating high school seniors and one in every six students on a university campus is a first-generation college student" (2017:436). Although a significant rating, the presence of first-generation college students on campuses is not an aspect that is highlighted nor commonly acknowledged. For college graduates today, only 32% of the degrees in the disciplines of science, technology, engineering, and technology are received by women. Furthermore, "Early Experiences and Integration in the Persistence of First-Generation College Students in STEM and Non-STEM Majors" by Dika and D'Amico, states that "In 2014, women's share of undergraduate science and engineering degrees was less than 20% for engineering, [and] less than 40% for earth and physical sciences" (2016:369). An even smaller percentage of the science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM) fields award degrees to first-generation college females. Specifically, even though first-generation females are equally as motivated as their continuing-generation counterparts, they are less likely to finish or obtain a degree in the STEM fields (Carter 2017). This could be due to the additional adversities that first-generation students have to overcome, such as lack of parental experience with higher education, which makes them less likely to accomplish this goal.

In this study, we examine how the experiences of first-generation female STEM college students differ when compared to their continuing-generation female STEM college student counterparts based off of their familial education status. We argue that first-generation female college students who are in the STEM fields tend to find themselves dealing with more adversity and familial pressure to be in those fields when compared to their counterparts. The first-generation students' inherent minimal financial stability and college experience knowledge from their familial resources perpetuates this belief. First, we will discuss our methods for our interviews as well as our strategy for our codings. Next, we will consider our results and how it connects to our argument. Finally, we will talk about what generalizations can be made about our research.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Role Models and Educational Attainment

One drawback for first-generation students entering the fields of STEM is the absence of role models in their lives who are a part of the STEM fields. A study conducted by Michael J. Fernandez, Julie Martin Trenor, Katherine S. Zerda, and Cassandra Cortes focused on barriers for first generation students in the field of Engineering. The researchers claimed that only three out of the eight students studied had a role model in the engineering field when they were growing up. One of the students even stated that he did not even understand what an engineering degree entailed until a university representative came to his high school (Fernandez et al. 2008). As a result, it is difficult for these students to picture a reality of obtaining a degree that is highly regarded in society, considering the normalized educational trends for this underrepresented group. First-generation students feel a disadvantage to major in STEM because of the lack of parental understanding. Unfortunately, this sparks a conflict between school and family obligations.

Familial Pressures and Guilt

A very common obstacle that first generation college students face while working towards a degree is studying what they intend to rather than what their parents desire. Many first generation college students feel guilty attempting to study what they would like to due to the fact that they are aware of the immense amount of sacrifices their parents are making to send them to college. In “Potential Family and Mental Health Considerations for Working with First Generation College Students Exploring Careers” Melissa Wheeler (2016) illuminates the idea that first generation college students feel an immense amount of pressure and guilt to pursue their own dreams. As a result, this can place a student in great conflict with themselves, making it difficult for them to obtain a higher-education (Wheeler 2016). In addition to this, first generation college students feel an immense amount of guilt as they are expected to help their families financially, hence a main reasoning behind why they feel a need to attend college (Bui 2002). It is uncommon that first-generation college students are awarded the opportunity to attend college without facing pressures and guilt, due to the lack of college attainment their parents or guardians had.

Lower Socioeconomic Status and Stressors

An important drawback for many first generation college students that is overlooked by academic institutions and their familial members is the financial stress they may obtain from being in college. There are many considerable reasons for what the indicators may be for their financial stressors, but often the financial stress they feel stems from the reasoning that they do not have financial support from their familial members. Even if they were to receive financial support from their familial members, it would not be enough of a consistent safety net to reassure them during their time in college. Due to this, there is additional pressure in their field of study to provide financial stability not only for themselves, but for their families as well. In a study completed by Anthony P. Carnevale and Nicole Smith (2018), the authors depict that Black individuals and first-generation college students are often disproportionately impacted financially. They not only tend to come from low-income backgrounds, but also have to work while in school. This is not only to take care of themselves, but of their families as well.

There are many studies that focus on the underpopulation of first-generation students in STEM, as well as the underrepresentation of women in STEM. Overwhelmingly, these studies conclude that it is difficult for these underrepresented populations to combat the norm that STEM fields primarily consist of white, well-educated men. There seems to be a lack of research that studies this particular intersectionality of parental educational status and gender, so we decided to explore this occurrence further. Our research is unique in that it seeks to explore the differing experiences of women in STEM at Santa Clara University based off of their varying levels of familial exposure to higher education. Our subjects support these claims that the experiences between women who are first-generation students and continuing-generation students are different because first-generation students face more familial obligation to enter the STEM fields.

METHODS

For the methods of our research, we collectively conducted two interviews. Our research population consisted of first and continuing college women majoring in the STEM fields at Santa Clara University. One of the students we interviewed is a black female who is in her fourth year at Santa Clara University, while the other female respondent is a white student who is in her second year. Both respondents happened to be Biology majors. In addition, both of our interviews were carried out in the basement of the dining hall on campus in an area called the Benson Memorial Center. This is located near the on-campus convenience store, The Cellar Market. We sat with each of our interviewees in light-green, comfortable sofa-like chairs, slightly isolated from other students present at the time. Although slightly isolated, we were close enough to see other students and staff walk by. We believed the proximity to other students and staff just lingering by would help the respondents feel more comfortable during the interviews. Each interview lasted around 45 minutes on weekdays between classes.

When selecting our subjects for our study, we used a combination of convenience and purposive sampling. We utilized our personal networks to gain access to our research population and our own judgement when reaching out to people to participate in our research. For example, our first-generation student was selected to help us gather our data because of our team's personal connections to the university's LEAD program. LEAD is a program available on the Santa Clara University campus to support and guide first-generation college students who are looking to maximize their opportunities during their four years as a Bronco. When selecting our continuing-generation subject, we also utilized our personal networks because of knowledge of this particular subject's experience in STEM through interactions outside of a research setting. When trying to establish rapport and field relationships, our main strategy was to establish a non-threatening demeanor with our subjects. As Lofland and colleagues state in their "Getting Along with Members" section, "in most qualitative research situations, the investigator who is supportive, cordial, interested, non-argumentative, courteous, understanding, and even sympathetic will receive a good deal more information than one who acts in the opposite fashion" (Lofland et al. 2006: 68-69). We used this method to help our subjects feel more comfortable with sharing meaningful experiences with us.

As a result, this produced relevant, insightful data for our research. We attempted to take great precaution during the interviews so we would not impact the answers of the respondents in any way. We wanted to obtain the most authentic forms of responses. This method helped to encourage routine activity that is typically carried out in the applicable settings.

When approaching our coding for the interviews, we focused on the primary influences on our subjects' motivation to study within the STEM field. These codes revolved around the theme of familial exposure to higher education. Some of our codes for our interviews include, "familial factors," "school," and "perceptions." This was a finding we did not anticipate but we were able to understand that this could potentially be very important to our overall analysis.
Although we could have used various other codes for our interviews, we chose these codes because they are applicable to specific and broader interview observations. Our variety of codes also comes from an open-minded strategy we used in our coding. In *Writing Ethnographic Field Notes*, the authors explain:

> In such line-by-line coding, the ethnographer entertains all analytic possibilities; she attempts to capture as many ideas and themes as time allows but always stays close to what has been written down in the field note. She does so without regard for how or whether ideas and categories will ultimately be used, whether other relevant observations have been made, or how they will fit together. (Emerson et al. 2011: 175)

This supports our reasoning for our approach in our interview coding. When considering what open codes to use, we focused on prevalent themes, regardless of whether or not they seemed relevant to our research topic at the time. Eventually, this strategy helped us narrow down what codes were more important than others for our study.

We did not encounter any ethical dilemmas as we had created a consent form for our interviewees and went over key logistics with them. They were told that they could opt out at any time, that we would not disclose their names, and that they had complete and total control of what they wanted to share with us and what they would like us to write down, or not. We let the respondents know that they were entering a safe space and that there was no intended manipulation that was to be done. The respondents believed and trusted this, thus providing us with answers that seemed to be vulnerable and dedicated. In addition, due to the previous familiarity the respondents had with us, there was already some rapport established as we were not complete strangers to them.

RESULTS

Some main takeaways we noticed from this study is that as our thesis confirmed, first-generation college students, in particular women in the STEM fields, may face more adversity and familial pressure when compared to their non-first-generation female counterparts in STEM. They also are forced to make certain decisions based on their potential minimal financial security, which was an experience our first-generation subject resonated with. In addition to this, they are forced to make decisions based off of minimal, if any, college experience knowledge from their familial resources. In "Challenging the Model Minority Myth as a First-Generation College Student," Huynh describes this similar notion as he states, "First-generation students of color often navigate the college experience with families who have little to no context surrounding higher education, may have varying levels of college readiness upon entry, and frequently encounter financial challenges" (2019:123). In support, our first-generation college respondent consistently touched on her personal adversities and familial pressures as a first-generation STEM major. She states:

> I think because [my parents] didn't have exposure to college, they were unable to prepare me for the millions of things I wish I had known before I started college, stuff that I know my peers have known like small things...like making sure to buy flip-flops for your shower. I know that's something that some people would be like duh about, but that's such a small example.

We were also able to see that for our respondent, there was much more familial pressure and determination to obtain financial stability in the near future for the first-generation college student in deciding her major than we had anticipated. When asked about deciding her major and the reasons why, the same respondent answered with:

> They [my family] would never be okay with me majoring in like [pause] art. That would not be possible. Or even something like business, I was interested in business when I was in high school. My uncle kind of discouraged it… [my parents] didn't have options when they came. Their options were STEM because they couldn't speak English, you know? That's really ingrained in them and I believe that I see that, you know? So, I think they think that's the same reality for us even though it's not true.

Our respondent makes it clear that due to the differing backgrounds of her familial members, she has had to make impactful decisions on her personal life. The respondent touched on the financial stability she hopes to one day obtain through the STEM field due to the responsibilities she knows she will face of taking care of her immediate and extended family members. In her interview she states:

> There's like a lot of different [reasons] as to why I needed to go to college. But like I think the first thing that comes to mind is like financial stability in terms of my future, in terms of like my family, not just myself. I've always equated college to money, like earning more money. I think because obviously my parents are lucky enough to have money...but it's not something like generational wealth which is something I can kind of lean back on, this is just kind of like a temporary thing, you know what I mean? … I'm here to support my entire family. That it is not just my mom, dad and my brothers, but my cousins, grandparents and my family back home.

Huynh describes the commonality between our respondent and other first-generation college students relating to familial pressure and wanting to create financial stability as he states, "Some first-generation college students express feeling a sense of responsibility to help their families once they finish college, and some express guilt about pursuing a college degree while their families are struggling to survive financially" (2019:126).

Moreover, we encountered a psychology study (Wang et al. 2017) that examined what factors influence a STEM female student's transfer intent from a two-year institution. Similar to our research, one contributing factor was that being a first-generation student was a deterrent for a female's ability to transfer. It was stated that, "first-generation college women may not receive a reaffirming opinion from their parents about the benefits of a postsecondary credential, in that their parents are not able to be role models, or do not have the knowledge and experience of postsecondary education, to encourage their offspring to pursue a postsecondary degree in STEM” (Wang et al. 2017:3). We see how this argument is enhanced with our own findings, especially with our first-generation subject.

For our continuing-generation college student subject, her interview data uncovers a different type of pressure she feels in regards to her studies. However, it does not compare to the multiple other pressures our first-generation STEM female student encounters. Our continuing-generation subject discloses:

> Both of my parents went to law school. So, maybe there’s a bit of an expectation to do a more professional career. But I would just say, that having parents that were/are very motivated and like the ‘whole nine yards’ makes me feel motivated to need to stick to it too, but then also, it's helpful because they might understand how crazy it is and stressful. So, I would say it motivates me… obviously they have expectations for me, so I want to live up to them. It doesn't really matter what I do, they just want me to do my best [laughter].

Our continuing-generation subject faces pressure to meet, if not exceed, her family’s expectations of a professional career. She discloses to us, however, that it also helps her in reaching her career goals, because her parents can provide support and empathize with the kind of work it entails to receive a higher-education degree. Her parents can provide insight into a situation of the unknown. This element can provide a sense of comfort on top of all the other undiscovered, nerve-racking parts of the college experience, which can often be taken for granted.

As previously mentioned, our continuing education respondent felt pressure to attend college because it was an expectation set in place by her parents, who had previously attended college before her. The US Department of Education finds that, “College enrollment rates vary considerably with parents’ educational attainment. In 1999, 82% of students whose parents held a bachelor’s degree or higher enrolled in college immediately after finishing high school” (Choy 2001:3). Our continuing-generation student states in her interview that one of the primary motivators for her to go to college comes from the normalization of it from socializing agents, particularly her peers. When asking our interviewee “the push” to go to college she states: “I'm not really sure there was even a push, but I went to like a college preparatory high school. So only like six kids from our class of 300 didn't go to college. So, I think that was what was expected of you.” The normalization of going to college not only exemplifies the lack of pressure from her family, but also from other sources in her socializing environment. There was never a question that she would not attend college or pursue whatever career she aspired to do because of her financial stability and family’s previous history of attending college.

CONCLUSIONS/DISCUSSION

Our research study enforced an understanding that different levels of parental educational attainment have an influence on multiple factors of a first-generation college student’s experience. As we looked at women within the STEM field, we were able to see that there was a direct impact on major selection due to varying levels of parental educational attainment. While there is an understanding that college should be a place of learning by one’s free will, our literature review and original research finds that many female, first generation college students in the STEM fields could potentially be enrolled in higher education by the pressures of outside forces such as family. We assert the reasons behind this would be to potentially create financial stability that had not been seen in their family before and could last for generations to come. From this study, we believe that first-generation college students face incredible adversities and trials when entering higher-education. These adversities and trials include less familial support for what the students themselves want to study, pressures to take care of individuals who will be reliant on their financial support, familial pressures of choosing a STEM major for potential financial security, and a lack of support and guidance from familial members in terms of basic college navigation skills. These adversities usually stem from the lack of college attainment by parents, leading to a lack of financial security. Due to the lack of financial security, the pressure is placed on first-generation college students to create a sense of security in their own lives and the lives of their family members. In addition, since the parents of first-generation college students did not attend college, they cannot rely on them for information about basic college navigation skills. Due to this, there is an added pressure on students to figure out how to get through the college experience by themselves.

Based on our findings, we came to the understanding that continuing-generation students may not feel a similar pressure to maintain a major in order to provide financial support to their immediate and extended family. Furthermore, we found that the college experience for continuing-generation students may not be as difficult because their parents went to college and are able to guide their children through many realms of the college experience.

It would be essential for future studies to be able to look at first-generation college students and the fields they ended up in after college and using that data to look at outcomes such as satisfaction and happiness in their lives. It would also be essential that future studies focus on why first-generation students must carry the burdens of their families, as in why is there a lack of resources to aid those who did not go to college. Lastly, it would be possible to use this idea in future studies to look at the disparities in the lives of the children of those who went to college compared to those who chose not to or were unable to.

We would like to acknowledge the limitations of our research, as our sample only consists of two subjects. The data presented cannot be generalized to the experiences of all female first-generation and continuing-generation college students within STEM at Santa Clara University. Our findings also cannot be generalized to larger populations of first-generation female college students within the STEM field. We claim that a significant portion of these populations can relate to the experiences being presented in our findings because of shared variables that result in similar, pronounced effects.

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Corruption Within the Police Force

By

Carolina Salame

ABSTRACT. This article discusses corruption and unethical behaviors that have occurred within the police force, in order to demonstrate the importance of systemic changes for policing. The text explores several instances of police brutality linked with racial profiling, such as those of victims Eric Garner and Oscar Grant. The author also depicts police officers who have been found with direct ties to hate groups or white supremacist groups in order to demonstrate that cops contribute to systemic racism that hinders unity and equality. The text also analyzes police privilege and power, showing that due to an absence of a higher authority, immoral actions and corruption continue to exist unchecked. These conflicts are resolved through internal investigation, which often leads to the police officer's colleagues using their privilege to aid each other and escape consequences. The author also talks about larger implications, such as a lack of proper police training, as seen in the mass shootings in Las Vegas and at Stoneman Douglas High School. Further instances of corruption, such as police negligence, can also lead to the deaths of bystanders and innocent civilians. This article attempts to shed light on the systemic issues that contaminate and dismantle the credibility and trust that police departments should have. The author provides solutions, such as more thorough screening processes and establishing a higher authority to audit police officers, to make an effort to alleviate some of these social tensions.

INTRODUCTION

Police brutality and abuse of power is a sociological phenomenon that does not go unnoticed by both the media and by civilians all over the nation (ACLU n.d.). What goes overlooked is just how deep the depths of police corruption are, from police brutality to unchecked power and consequences of the actions of law enforcement. This topic is incredibly relevant to today's society because our governing system is marketed as a protective body for the people. However, it is causing a great amount of harm and damage, especially to minority groups. The extent of the harm caused by police forces sheds light on the effects of racism, greed, and toxicity on society by those who are meant to protect. This work contributes to the literature on policing by collecting and organizing a broad array of data that can then be used to further build upon or provide law enforcement with the proper tools to adjust and fix their programs.

Police corruption has come to light in recent years through police brutality and body camera footage. Despite the extensive history of police violence, specifically geared towards black communities, such as with Rodney King and John Smith, the Black Lives Matter[1] movement was revamped in 2012 with the case of Trayvon Martin[2]. Body camera footage was implemented to instill accountability for misbehavior such as planting drugs and mistreating civilians. The Lab in Washington, D.C. ran a study to test if body cameras lowered crime, however, they found that the change was so minimal that it was statistically insignificant (Yokum, Ravishankar, and Coppock 2017). If the police show no changed behavior while being watched, one can only imagine their behavior in areas where they are not being watched. Body cameras were implemented by the state, which means there is a government awareness of corruption within the police force. This proves that the government knows and still sides with them, therefore it is up to the civilians themselves to demand justice and hold the systems in power accountable for the actions of the governing bodies. Corruption goes beyond an individual scale and has seeped into a departmental scale causing systemic problems, as it is deeply rooted in our law enforcement systems and stems from police privilege, racial profiling, and unchecked power. Correcting the system will prevent future incidents and create a more trustworthy and comforting reputation for the department.

Police Brutality

Racial profiling is a byproduct of the uncontrollable power that the police hold. There is strong evidence that mass incarceration is the modern-day slavery. Although black people make up only about 13% of the United States population, they make up about 34% of the prison population. This means that African Americans are incarcerated at five times the rate of their white counterparts and 1 in 3 black men can expect to go to jail in their lifetime (NAACP n.d.; Porter 2018). According to the article “White Power, Black Crime, and Racial Politics” written by Robert Staples (2011:33), 43% of those executed since 1976 and 55% of the people who are waiting to be executed are people of color . The numbers are clear and prove that not only does racial profiling go beyond mere stereotyping, it causes deep physical and psychological harm to marginalized communities.

Two prominent examples of police brutality are the murders of Eric Garner and Oscar Grant. Eric Garner was unarmed and killed by Officer Daniel Pantaleo in 2014 for selling cigarettes. The officer at fault was not indicted, despite his illegal use of a chokehold to kill Garner. This case went viral and Garner’s famous last words, “I can’t breathe,” were used to fuel the Black Lives Matter movement. Oscar Grant was coming home from a New Year’s Eve party in 2009 when he got apprehended at an Oakland Bart station. Despite being in handcuffs and forcibly laid face down, Officer Johannes Mehserle

[1] The Black Lives Matter movement was inspired by the earlier Black Panther movement from the 1960’s and 1970’s.
[2] Trayvon Martin’s murderer, George Zimmerman, was found not guilty on all charges because he claimed self-defense via Florida’s stand your ground law. He later auctioned off the gun used in this killing for $250,000 and as of December 4, 2019 he is suing Trayvon Martin’s family for $100 million.

placed his knee into Grant's back and shot him. The officer claimed it was an accident and he meant to taser him, but with witness testimony and video evidence, he received a two year jail sentence of which he served 11 months of. As a result, riots erupted and a film was released about Oscar Grant's story in 2013 (Scott 2013). Stories like this are all too common. Other high-profile police brutality cases include Freddie Gray, Philando Castile, Tamir Rice, Michael Brown, and Sandra Bland.[3] It is important to mention that in many of these murders committed by police, the police are often found not guilty as can be seen in the case of Trayvon Martin (Botelho 2013).

Police brutality is not the end of racism in police departments. There are several cases of police officers having direct ties to hate groups or white supremacist groups. In 2017, an officer faced scrutiny after appearing in court in Washington D.C. wearing a shirt with a white supremacist symbol (Johnson 2017).[4] Furthermore, three police officers in Florida were discovered to be members of a local Ku Klux Klan chapter. They were caught after trying to recruit other officers. In Alabama, a lieutenant was fired for being a part of the League of the South in 2015. Stories like this are very common which is highly concerning. Those who we are supposed to trust to protect society often become complacent in the power structures that benefit them and harm others, therefore causing them to act and navigate their positions in very prejudiced and hateful ways. Recently, it was found that border patrol agents were engaging in a Facebook group where they posted racist, offensive, and obscene imagery against women and immigrants (Lopez 2019). Hate crimes are on the rise and police are clearly no exception to this. Cops are supposed to be the protectors of society, yet evidence shows they contribute to this systemic racism that hinders unity and equality in the United States.

Police Privilege and Power

According to "'Don't Elect Me': Sheriffs and the Need for Reform in County Law Enforcement" written by James Tomberlin (2018), ranks within the police department are not always efficient. There are some positions within law enforcement offices that are elected, such as sheriffs. This is highly problematic because of reasons such as: low voter turnout, the difficulty to monitor the ongoing actions of officers, and in rural areas, the subordinate is most likely to replace a sitting sheriff, which would mean going up against their boss. Incumbents are more than likely to get reelected to their position, which is why the average term for a sheriff is twenty-four years. Tomberlin also talks about how when a sheriff was asked how people could hold him accountable for his and the department's actions, the sheriff responded, "don't elect me" (Tomberlin 2018:143). This shows that there is confidence from the police's side that nothing will be done to put their power in check.

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[3] Due to lack of intersectionality, only one of those names listed is a black woman. Cases of structural violence against black men get sensationalized more than stories of women, but that is beyond the scope of this paper.

[4] The shirt depicts the grim reaper holding a police badge and rifle with the controversial phrase "let me see that waistband jo". The article further explores police ties to white supremacy.

Another example of unchecked power is when law enforcement misbehaves, there is no governing body above them, so their actions can only be reported back to that same department. Conflicts arise through internal investigations because colleagues survey and investigate each other. Furthermore, if a cop does something illegal at home, like beat a wife, the people who respond to the call are his[5] friends. This is a serious problem because according to the National Center for Women and Policing, "…at least 40% of police families experience domestic violence, in contrast to 10% of families in the general population" (National Center For Women and Policing n.d.). Realistically, this number is probably larger because of the fear of reporting. Police departments with abusers working in the system will not function properly because they will likely side with other abusers whom they come into contact with. Colleagues who cover up situations like these contaminate and dismantle the caring and supporting nature police departments should have. This can also lead to becoming more comfortable getting involved in further cover-ups, scandals, and unethical behaviors. The article also says that victims of police abuse are especially vulnerable because their abusers know where the shelters are, they know how to manipulate the system, and they have a gun (National Center For Women and Policing n.d.). For those officers who do get caught, they face little to no consequence. The article found that the minority population of officers who got punished simply got sent to counseling, and more than half kept their jobs, with about 19% of departments saying they would terminate after a second offense (National Center For Women and Policing n.d.). Although you cannot be a police officer if you have any charges, police can get away with these actions because some laws do not apply to them and they have the power to bend the rules, despite the immorality of that.

Larger Implications and Incidents

Police corruption weakens our society not just on a large scale, but on an individualistic basis as well. Cops are making highly questionable choices as it is, but the following examples show a severe lack of proper training. At the Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Florida, there was a mass shooting on February 14, 2018, killing 17 individuals and injuring 17 as well (Burch and Blinder 2019). Although there was a police officer on campus, Scot Peterson, he did not enter the building during the shooting. This called for outrage from the community and survivors because he could have saved lives by apprehending the shooter. He retreated to safety and radio dispatched for help. He was suspended without pay, chose to retire, and eventually got arrested[6] for his actions. Captain Jan Jordan was also criticized for failing to confront the shooter in an active matter as protocol states, and instead had deputies line the perimeter (DeMarzo and Nehamas 2018). The shooting in Parkland is a prime example of the police system failing to protect citizens.

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[5] I used male pronouns because the overwhelming majority of cops are male, and the majority of abusers are male. However, I recognize that abuse can happen by anyone and to anyone.
[6] He was charged with 11 counts of child neglect, culpable negligence, and perjury. As of December 11, 2019, there has been no trial date set.

Similar to Parkland, the mass shooting in Las Vegas the night of October 1, 2017 was also mishandled. Somehow, the shooter managed to walk into a hotel with several guns on his person a few days before the shooting and took the time to set up. He deceived security and room service and succeeded in killing 59 people and injuring 869 more. Not only did 9-1-1 receive multiple phone calls about gunfire, but the police officers on scene hesitated to approach the attacker's hotel room out of fear. There was also a witness who claimed a woman told people they were "all going to die" before the concert started (Lockie 2017). Furthermore, one shooter was somehow able to unload over 1000 rounds of ammunition into the crowd, despite his old age (64 years old) and physical and time constraints. Despite all of this, police ruled this event as being a solo act, and it is thought to be one of the deadliest single shooter attacks in all of American history.

A recent story is the death of Frank Ordonez, the UPS driver whose truck got hijacked by robbers attempting to steal jewels. The driver was 27 years old and was on his first day on a new route. The cops were led on a 30-mile chase which would usually result in a jurisdiction change, but that did not happen here. Furthermore, instead of attempting to send a negotiator or set up roadblocks, over 18 police officers fired their guns in a trigger-happy gunfight that resulted in the deaths of both the suspected robbers, the UPS driver, and a nearby innocent civilian. The cops used their vehicles and civilian vehicles during rush hour to hide behind and shoot from several angles, which put many lives at stake and broke police protocol. Lives could have been saved if the police were not so negligent. Ordonez leaves behind a loving family, including a wife and two children (Iati 2019).

A comprehensive example of police corruption, gang activity, and drug involvement is the Los Angeles Police Department's 1998 Rampart Scandal. The Los Angeles Police Department attempted to form an anti-gang unit, but the group became so toxic and corrupt that it soon fell apart. Over 70 police officers were implicated in this scandal which included road rage, shootings, bank robberies, drug dealing, missing drugs, planting evidence, perjury, assault, and crime cover ups. Police officer Rafael Pérez was the one who broke the news and told on his colleagues. Only 24 officers were found to be in the wrong but 12 were suspended, seven left on their own accord, and the remaining five were terminated. Over 100 individuals had their cases overturned after this scandal and over 140 lawsuits were filed against the city of Los Angeles (Kaplan 2009; PBS n.d.). This scandal was so broad and affected so many people that there are many cases still open or unsolved as a result. This group was so corrupt that innocent people were hurt, killed, or affected, leaving a lasting stain on the Los Angeles Police Department's reputation.

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

Police departments were formed to protect civilians, but it seems as though they often do more harm than good. Officers need a more thorough screening and constant checks to make sure they are remaining honest and with good intentions. Furthermore, there needs to be a separate system that police have to report to, removing the need for internal investigations. By implementing a more rigorous reporting system, less crimes will be covered up by colleagues and victims will be more comfortable filing reports. Any officer who has an offense or domestic abuse call should be immediately terminated and have all weapons removed from their possession. Lastly, sensitivity training needs to be reformed and officers should be required to undergo extensive education and over 1000 or so hours of training to properly assess situations and wield weapons. It is immoral to allow this corruption to continue, and if it does, people will no longer have faith in those who should be the epitome of trust and of commitment to public safety. Innocent people are dying as a result of this neglect and serious considerations need to be taken to revise all departments across the United States.

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Howard Becker: An Intellectual Appreciation

By

Maria Abastillas, Isabel Michael, and Terrell Smith[1]

ABSTRACT. This paper summarizes the works of Howard Saul Becker and discusses how his research and findings on many social phenomena have led him to become a renowned sociologist. The paper begins with professional and personal biographies, and then discusses Becker's intellectual trajectory and contributions to society. Becker was among the first sociologists to focus on deviance and inner-city life. He began by exploring marijuana use, which led to his later work around the labelling theory. The paper also discusses how his interpretation of the theory has been expanded and used in studies by other sociologists. His study of the arts shows that its creation is a product of collaborative efforts, rather than the preceding notion of it being a result of individual actions. Becker's comprehensive insights on sociological writing and methodology, including an emphasis on empirical data and logic, have paved the way for advancing future sociologist's research practices. Becker's contributions to the social interactionism paradigm will also be discussed, through which he helped develop one of the leading sociological theories, which states that human behavior is formed through interpersonal interactions.

PURPOSE

Throughout Howard Saul Becker's entire career, his work has shaped the ways in which sociologists conduct their own work, and his findings have greatly influenced how society is perceived. The areas of society that Becker focused so much of his time and effort on, which are the arts, life in urban and inner-cities, and the modernization of research methodologies, are often overlooked in sociological academia. Perhaps what sets Becker apart even further from his counterparts in sociology is that his main passion was never sociology. He spent his entire career as a professional jazz pianist, though family and peers could not reconcile with him having such an uncertain career, so he was advised to remain in school (Becker and Keller 2016). Fortunately, Becker's music career led him into his revolutionary work on deviance, where he explored drug use, low-income professions and racial division through his regular immersion in jazz clubs. It was inevitable for Becker's research in the art of music to carry into the fine arts, discussing the effects of arts in society and the contributors to art, from the artists, to the critics, to the spectators. In addition, his major role in refining sociological research practices has helped numerous sociologists to better coordinate their

[1] Authors are listed in alphabetical order by last name.

research, interpretations, and sociological thinking. Becker has not only made an impact in his hometown of Chicago and in the United States, but internationally. He has taught in Brazil, England, and has frequently returned to France to speak at conferences and give lectures (Keller 2016). The tremendous range and significance of Becker's work has allowed him to become one of the foremost figures in American sociology at the height of his career and even today.

PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY

Howard Becker is a well-known American sociologist who is most recognized for the research he has conducted in the sociology of occupations, deviance, art and culture, qualitative methodologies, and education (Bernard 2019). While Becker does not identify with the approach himself, he is widely regarded as a leading figure of the symbolic interactionism perspective of sociology. This reputation began to emerge very early in his professional career in one of his first books, *Boys in White* (1961). In this book, Becker employs an ethnographic study of medical students from the University of Kansas who were on their way to becoming doctors. It was an up-close analysis of their daily lives, looking at "their schedules, their efforts to find out what professors wanted from them in tests and exercises, their 'latent culture…,' their slow assimilation of medical values through peer pressure and example; their learning how to negotiate a hospital or clinic in all its complexity; and their perspectives on their futures" (Laqueur 2002:721). A large element of the culture that Becker discussed in this book is the differentiation between superior and inferior members of the medical field. This division often took the form of "initiation rituals," which are not as relevant today, but were a very important part of this life during Becker's study. Another finding that he stressed was the significant lack of women in the medical profession at the time, which he believed, among other things, helped imply that men were the universal image of superiority and domination. Becker's assertion on this matter has led to a number of the conclusions reached by feminist theorists today. Lastly, he greatly emphasized the importance of the people in uniforms, and the fact that these workplace uniforms are generally white (Becker 1961). He believed that the white coats that doctors wear symbolize ethical authority and distinction, and found that those who dressed in that attire were often shown more respect.

Along with symbolic interactionism, Howard Becker's professional identity is formed heavily by his connection to the "Chicago School of Sociology" which is defined as a specific group of sociologists at the University of Chicago" in the first half of the 20th century, including Becker, Erving Goffman, Gary Fine, and others (Ackerman and Lutters 1996). Becker is a pioneer of this school of thought for many reasons, but mainly for his use of ethnographic research methods which addressed professional and cultural concerns. The primary theme of the Chicago School is that "qualitative methodologies, especially those used in naturalistic observation, were best suited for the study of urban, social phenomena," while also believing this helped give greater overall depth to their work in any topic (Ackerman and Lutters 1996:3). Becker along with his Chicago School counterparts were also known for their conviction to almost solely study the city of

Chicago to learn about deep social interactions, because they found it to have a strong "balance of geography, land value, population and culture" (Ackerman and Lutters 1996:4). Becker was also a key figure in the re-development of the Chicago School's social worlds model. For years, interactions had been viewed as middle-range social phenomena, which was established by the work of William Foote Whyte (1955). Another strand of sociological theories, exemplified by the work from French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, led Becker to believe that his large-scale outlook on interactions did not focus enough on individuals. Becker claimed that "people in Bourdieu's field are merely atom-like entities" (Gopnik 2015). With Becker's new model, social world interactions began being viewed "on a much more micro level… individuals were inhabitants of many, complex and overlapping social worlds each with varying entrance and exit barriers" (Ackerman and Lutters 1996:5). This shift provided a path towards a stronger focus on ethnographic-based research for most other scholars who were also a part of the Chicago School.

PERSONAL BIOGRAPHY

Howard Becker was born in Chicago, Illinois on April 28, 1928. He grew up in the city, and he decided to remain there and study at the University of Chicago. After obtaining his bachelor's degree in 1946, he intended to be a full-time musician, but then he read the book *Black Metropolis* by John Gibbs St. Claire Drake and Horace R. Cayton. (2015[1945]). In this book, St. Claire Drake and Cayton write about race and urban life in the 20th century, focusing specifically on the African American community on Chicago's South Side. It persuaded Becker to continue his studies for another three years for a master's degree in either anthropology or sociology, ultimately choosing sociology. While Becker was working on his master's thesis, he met the illustrious American sociologist Everett C. Hughes. Hughes was known for his studies of occupations, fieldwork and research methodologies. Hughes was impressed by Becker's field notes for his graduate thesis, which focused on marijuana use by musicians and audiences in jazz clubs, because at the time, Hughes found it quite challenging to find people who would study low-level occupations (Debro 1970). Becker spent most of his time as a graduate student in Hughes' department, who later helped him get research money for his Ph.D. thesis that he wrote on public schooling in Chicago. He moved through his education very quickly, obtaining his Bachelor of Arts, Master of Arts, and Doctor of Philosophy degrees in seven years.

Becker then spent most of his professional career as a professor of sociology at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois, teaching from 1965 up until 1991. During this time, he also held a number of significant positions and claimed several awards in the field of sociology. In 1965, he was named president of the Society for the Study of Social Problems, which is a community of scholars, students and advocates who research social problems and develop social policy. In 1974, he spent a year at the globally renowned University of Manchester as a visiting professor. Two years after his return to the United States, Becker was named President of the Society for the Study of Symbolic Interaction, coincidentally the sociological perspective that his work is largely based on. Becker received his first major award among many in 1980, the Charles Horton Cooley Award, for his major contributions to the study of symbolic interactionism. He also claimed the Common Wealth award the following year, which recognizes outstanding achievement in eight major fields of work, including sociology. Perhaps his most notable award is the Award for a Career in Distinguished Scholarship, which he received from the American Sociological Association in 1998. The award has been given to other esteemed sociologists such as George C. Homans, Robert K. Merton, and Everett C. Hughes, and was re-named in honour of renowned sociologist W.E.B Du Bois in 2006. After leaving Northwestern University, he took another position as a professor of sociology at the University of Washington, where he taught for another eight years before retiring. At the University of Washington, he was also an adjunct professor in their school of music, as he has been a jazz musician for the majority of his life.

In his retirement, Becker has been awarded six honorary degrees from various institutions, ranging from the Degree of Scientiae Doctorem Honoris Causa from the University of Edinburgh to the Degree of Docteur Honoris Causa from l'Université Pierre Mendes-France, Grenoble. Even in his retirement, Becker's voice in sociology remains relevant. Whether he is in San Francisco or Paris, he continues to write, mainly about sociological methodology and research, as well as perform jazz music as a pianist, which he claims is his real life's work.

INTELLECTUAL TRAJECTORY AND IMPLICATIONS OF HIS WORK

Sociology of Deviance

Howard Becker began his research studying marijuana use. In "Becoming a Marihuana User" (1953), Becker discusses a study that used interviews to identify the sequence of changes in individual experience and attitude that leads to the pleasurable use of marijuana. Becker concludes that an individual will use marijuana for pleasure when smoking will produce real effects, when the effects can be recognized and connected to drug use, and when the individual learns to enjoy the perceived sensations. Becker claims that individuals will form new meanings for an activity through experiences with other people that lead to a new conception of marijuana use. The significance of this article is the focus on a sequence of communicative experiences that lead to drug use rather than predisposing traits. This article challenges the predispositional theories which propose that individual psychological traits predetermine the engagement in marijuana use. Becker claims that these theories cannot account for the marijuana users that do not have the predisposing traits and that they cannot account for the variability of experiences that are able to shift an individual's conception of a drug (Becker 1953). This article marks the beginning of Becker's renowned study of deviance through which he explores how various social phenomena shape human behavior.

Perhaps the culmination of Becker's work on deviance came with the publication of his book *Outsiders* (1963). The purpose of this book was to define deviance by examining the processes of rule-breaking and rule-enforcement, such as the interactions between a criminal and a police officer, that shape society's understanding of deviant behavior. In order to formulate a new understanding of deviance, Becker studies marijuana users and dance musicians, groups that are often viewed as outsiders in society. Becker begins by evaluating the existing views of deviance. The first view he evaluates defines deviance as anything that strays from the average, which Becker claims is too simple and unrelated to rule-breaking.

The next view shares similarities with the medical model as it interprets deviance as pathological, indicating the presence of a disease. This view is limiting because it solely focuses on individual traits and ignores the societal, often political, forces that cause judgment and influence the rules that define deviance. The last view discussed by Becker identifies deviance as the failure to follow the rules of a group. While Becker deems this view to be closest to his own, he claims that it fails to address the ambiguity that arises in determining which rules, when violated, constitute deviance.

Becker (1963:9) describes his own definition of deviance as one that acknowledges how "social groups create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitutes deviance, and by applying those rules to particular people and labeling them as outsiders." According to Becker, deviance is a consequence of other people responding to a behavior and labeling it as deviant. This view of deviance suggests that individual factors cannot sufficiently explain the presence of deviance. Becker (1963) identifies four types of deviance: conforming, pure deviant, falsely accused, and secret deviant. Conforming is behavior that obeys the rules and is perceived as obeying the rules. Pure deviance disobeys the rules and is perceived as disobeying the rules. Falsely accused behavior occurs when others assume an individual has disobeyed the rules when he has not. Secret deviance is a behavior in which an individual disobeys the rules, but the deviance goes unnoticed.

In the next portion of *Outsiders*, Becker discusses deviance as it relates to marijuana use, which includes his work in the article "Becoming a Marihuana User." He also discusses how marijuana use as a deviant behavior is affected by social control. Every society has a form of social control that works to uphold cultural norms and deter behavior that threatens social order, often considered deviant behavior. In his work *Outsiders*, Becker (1963:60) suggests that "the control of behavior [is] achieved by affecting the conceptions persons have of the to-be-controlled activity… Such situations may be so ordered that individuals come to conceive of the activity as distasteful, inexpedient, or immoral, and therefore do not engage in it." Becker therefore conceptualizes a non-punitive form of social control that points to societal and interpersonal interactions as the forces that shape human behavior. Becker's theory of social control enabled contributions to the study of deviance and the imposition of cultural norms.

There are many types of social control, some of which directly enforce sanctions through the use of power or subtly control behavior through social norms, and all of which reward valued behavior and punish deviant behavior. Becker (1963:61) states that the major kinds of control in relation to marijuana use consist of "(a) control through limiting supply and access to the drug; (b) control through the necessity of keeping nonusers from discovering that one is a user; (c) control through definition of the act as immoral." The first form of control limits supply through the use of sanctions to enforce fear of engaging in marijuana use. The second form of control uses secrecy to shield nonusers from marijuana use and prevent them from becoming users. The third form of control uses notions of morality to enforce the attitude that marijuana use is immoral, thus deterring this behavior. Becker concludes that marijuana use will occur if an individual forms his own perception of the activity and replaces this with the conventional conceptions imposed by society.

After discussing marijuana use, Becker (1963:82) investigates the culture of the dance musician, which he defines as "someone who plays popular music for money." Becker (1963:81) explains that "people who engage in activities regarded as deviant typically have the problem that their view of what they do is not shared by other members of society." While the lifestyle of dance musicians is not illegal, it is often viewed as unconventional, which creates the perception of deviance. Subcultures form when people who engage in the same deviant behavior interact and build a community based off of their shared problems. The purpose of Becker's research was to study the conflict that arises from the conceptions that musicians have of themselves as well as the nonmusicians who employ them. Becker focuses on the reactions of musicians to this conflict as well as how musicians experience and create their own isolation from society. The main conflict that permeates the musician subculture is the need to reconcile the desire to express their personal beliefs with the reality that outside forces, involving the nonmusicians, may force the musician to sacrifice his authenticity for financial stability or popularity in the industry. The musician's reaction to this conflict often manifests as segregation from the audience and larger society. This occurs through the inherent isolation of the musician from the audience during performances as well as the selective social groups that musicians maintain, mostly consisting of other musicians.

Another notable section of *Outsiders* is Becker's discussion of moral entrepreneurs, in which he explains that "rules are the products of someone's initiative and we can think of the people who exhibit such enterprise as *moral entrepreneurs*" (Becker 1963:147). Becker focuses on two types: rule creators and rule enforcers. Rule creators are analogous with moral crusaders, as they spread their own ethics in an effort to correct some perceived evil by any means. Rule enforcers, mainly policemen, enforce the rules regardless of their personal convictions. Rule enforcers not only desire to demonstrate the humanitarian value of their work, but also feel they must justify the existence of their position in society. This encourages rule enforcers to exaggerate the severity of the problems they face, which fosters a pessimistic attitude of human nature that permeates the organizations and institutions that support rule enforcers. Once a rule is established, it is applied to particular people and upheld through legal punishment or marginalization by the rule enforcers, which allows rule enforcers to influence the societal conception of deviance. Becker concludes that deviance is a product of the interactions between people whose occupations involve committing crimes and the rule enforcers, as the rule enforcers who catch criminals label those who commit crimes as deviant, thus selectively creating a common perception of deviance (Becker 1963).

One of the most significant implications of Becker's work on deviance stems from his discussion of the labelling theory, which posits that individual behavior is shaped by the terms or labels used to classify the individual (Becker 1963). Labelling theory has been applied to the study of a variety of topics in contemporary sociology. In *The Sage Handbook of Criminological Theory*, McLaughlin (2013:146) claims that "labelling encouraged the development of an explicitly political position in the demand that mainstream social scientists acknowledge and address the issue of the correctionalist bias in their research." Labelling theory, when applied to criminology, provided a means for sociologists to shift their perspective from preventing deviant behavior to studying the construction of deviant behavior and the power structures involved. McLaughlin (2013:146) states that the use of labelling theory marked a "radical reconstitution of criminology as part of a more comprehensive sociology of the state and political economy, in which questions of political and social control took precedence over behavioural and correctional issues." Thus, Becker's contribution to the development of the labelling theory not only helped to shape the sociology of deviance, but expanded the sociological perspective and the rstudy of contemporary criminology.

Sociology of Art

Following his study of deviance, Becker turned his focus to art and contributed to the sociology of art through multiple works, including his notable book, *Art Worlds* (1982). Becker proposes that all works of art result from the cooperative activity of many individuals, rather than a single artist. Becker thus claims that art is a product of collective action, which refers to the cooperation of many individuals to achieve a common objective. Art as collective action assumes that a multitude of factors are required for the creation of art, including the mobilization and manufacturing of resources, the distribution of art, the critics, editors, audiences, and consumers (Becker 1982).

Becker references Émile Durkheim's theories on labor division (Durkheim [1893]1984). Durkheim ([1893]1984) proposes that labor is divided to give specialized tasks to every individual, effectively encouraging solidarity in support of a larger social system. The division of labor helps to explain how a large number of individuals with varying professions can achieve the collaboration necessary to produce art. The motivation required for many individuals to achieve a common goal of producing art is often dependent on the status of the artist as someone who creates objects of value in society (Becker 1982).

Becker makes the argument, consistent with symbolic interactionism, that shared meanings give value to art. Every culture has distinct values as well as symbols that represent them. Artists are able to use these shared understandings to give emotional, intellectual, or historical significance to their art, which will be perceived as valuable within a given society. Becker discusses how conventions enable the collaboration of many individuals, making them essential to the creation of art. Conventions serve as a place where artists can make agreements that establish the groundwork for the production of an art piece, which allows for coordination within the group. Becker (1982) concludes that the study of art should focus on the cooperative network of people, the collective actions they take, and the conventions used to coordinate activity. Becker's approach to the sociology of art suggests that collective action can be studied through the examination of social organizations in order to reveal the mechanisms that contribute to the production that occurs within a society.

Sociological Methodology

In the latter part of Becker's career, Becker produced a significant amount of work that focused on the practice of writing and sociological methodology. In one of his books, *Tricks of the Trade* (1998), Becker provides a wide range of tips for solving "problems of thinking," which can be applied to the examination of any sociological question. Becker uses his experiences as a sociologist and professor, knowledge from his colleagues, as well as sources from a variety of fields such as philosophy, literature, and anthropology, to provide useful methods of navigating the complexities of the social sciences.

The book covers four aspects of sociological research: imagery, sampling, concepts, and logic. Imagery refers to the mental images, or perceptions, that social scientists use to frame their research. When in the beginning stage of considering a sociological issue, social scientists rely on preconceived images of the social group or phenomenon being studied. Scientific research requires data and empirical evidence to be credible, but the process of data collection follows from the initial framing of the research question. The dependence on preconceived images to understand a sociological problem can limit the methods of research such as sampling or data analysis.

In the section on sampling, Becker discusses the various problems that can occur when scientists are sampling for research. The goal of sampling is that the sample accounts for every type of the phenomenon being studied. A common complication with sampling is that the intention of research is to have the findings be applicable to everything, but it becomes challenging to make generalizable claims when a limited number of people or cases can be studied. Becker discusses other issues related to sampling, such as bias and the use of other scientist's research, and provides methods for overcoming these pitfalls, such as random sampling.

The next section of the book provides instruction on how to use concepts to summarize data. Becker explains that the common approach of developing concepts through the use of logic and manipulation of basic ideas is not sufficiently empirical. Becker insists on the constant use of empirical data to inform concepts about one's research, and gives tricks for using data to create complex analyses.

The last section focuses on logic and discusses methods for logical thinking. Becker shares the ways in which social scientists can manipulate their current knowledge or data to draw new conclusions. Logic gives us frameworks for considering the variety of possible outcomes or situations of a social phenomenon (Becker 1998). Becker demonstrates ways of maneuvering problems of thinking such as truth tables, which consider all of the logical combinations of various dimensions or characteristics of a phenomenon. *Tricks of the Trade* provides social scientists with a thorough discussion of effective methods that can be used to improve the quality of research, analysis, or thinking in any field.

CONTRIBUTIONS AND CONTROVERSIES

Howard Becker contributed to different areas of work within sociology including: "sociology of deviance and labeling, sociology of professions, sociology of art, sociology of (jazz) music, sociology and photography, and methodology of sociological research" (Becker and Keller 2016). Becker is best known for his contributions to the meaning of deviance, labelling theory, and criminal sociology. His insights are particularly of importance because he utilized participant observations to create a more individualized approach. He conducted his ethnography in a way that focused on individuals and their impacts on society.

The Outside Game (Gopnik 2015), an article published in The New Yorker, discusses Becker's works and his unique understanding of the world that he lends well to his works within sociology. His understanding of the world stems largely from "a sociology that observes the way people act around each other as they really do, without expectations about how they ought to" leading him to study jazz musicians, marijuana users, and medical students among others (Gopnik 2015). The article sheds light on Becker's understanding of the world in terms of social performance being more like a string of crips, "short phrases that can be combined in a million ways" (Gopnik 2015). This understanding set the tone for his approach to his research while revealing the far reaching impact jazz musicians had on his work.

Becker's development of labelling theory is a large contribution to sociology. His contributions to this theory offer another perspective from which to view delinquency and its process. First, it is important to define the background of labelling theory. Labelling theory came about through a distrust of "government powers in post-war Britain and the USA in the 1960s and 70s" as it explores why this occurred (Hobbs, Todd, Tomley and Weeks 2016:285). It explores the power dynamics in who determines deviancy and why certain individuals are labelled as such. However, his main contribution lies in the way he shifted the way people view deviance.

Becker was able to shift the study of the sociology of deviance through the way in which he studied it. His individualized approach stemmed from his ability to relate to being a marijuana user, as well as being a jazz musician. In his ability to relate to his subjects, he offered a sense of understanding and empathy within his book, *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance*. Through his approach, *Outsiders* served as a departure from "the field's dominant etiological and pathology orientation" that relegated many of the studies in the field to cause and effect (Goode 2018:1). He expanded the sociology of deviance by defining deviant behavior and implications of deviant behavior. Additionally, he focused on who is able to label others as deviant and how they are able to do so.

Through *Outsiders* (Becker 1963), he contributes to the idea of deviance by asserting that individual actions do not cause deviance, and it is instead determined by society, especially those who have the power to label certain people as deviant. Thus, through his work, people came to understand deviance as a mechanism of control and a tool for stigmatization, instead of a form of a manifestation of discontent. He coined the label *moral entrepreneurs* to describe those who have the power to label others, such as criminal justice institutions. Becker categorized moral entrepreneurs as rule creators and rule enforcers but were ultimately "people in positions of relative power, who use their power to get their own way by either imposing their will on others or negotiating with them" (Hobbs et al. 2016:284).

Becker also takes into account the processes that take place for one to be labelled as deviant, which depend on the person and their actions. However, he also placed a great focus on the internalization of being labelled as a delinquent. He argues that this occurs not only because of internalization, but also because of the sense of belonging that the labelling creates. The act of labelling someone as deviant can result in the individual leading a life of crime. Additionally, Becker focused his work on these out-groups clinging together in "small bands of misbehavior" (Gopnik 2015). He asserted that deviants were not made up of people who are unable to stick to the rules, and instead, choose to adhere to *other* rules. This is highly relevant today because it focuses on the dynamic of society and the potential to fulfill their label as a delinquent and lead a life of crime.

For example, mass incarceration is raced and classed, appearing to target people of color. Moral entrepreneurs may be contributing to this through who they label as delinquent, creating a cycle of delinquency for certain communities. Becker's work can be applied to the criminal justice system because the application of labels by moral entrepreneurs leaves groups of people, particularly African Americans and Hispanics of a lower socioeconomic class continually entrenched and stigmatized by the system. The labels placed upon them relegate them as targets of the criminal justice system that perpetuates a cycle of high recidivism rates among these communities, while reinforcing the power of the criminal justice system as a moral entrepreneur.

His ideas contribute to explaining the high recidivism rates in America while shedding light on the problematic criminal justice system. A study conducted by Johnson, Simmons, and Conger (2004) shows the applicability of Becker's work to the system and examines the variable that contributes to labelling. *Criminal Justice System Involvement and Continuity of Youth Crime: A Longitudinal Analysis*, explores the relationship between “system involvement, deviant peer association, and crime” with findings that were consistent with Becker’s labelling theory (Johnson et al. 2004:1). The study’s results illustrate the impact of labelling theory through a correlation of involvement in the system perpetuating recidivism rates. The study also looks to further explore the impact of labelling leading to conformity. Thus, the importance of Becker’s labelling theory is highlighted throughout the studies pertaining to leading a life of crime and exposing the flaws within America’s criminal justice system that further perpetuates labelling.

Becker’s work on deviance is also applicable to present day society in other ways, as it uncovers power relationships and justice issues. Labelling causes individuals to become stigmatized, creating a system of power for moral entrepreneurs and a lack of mobility for those stigmatized as they become continually targeted. Other sociologists have expanded Becker’s work and applied it to how racial stereotypes in institutions wind up labelling people of color as deviant. For example, sociologists have applied Becker’s work on deviance within the educational system ultimately leading to the school-to-prison pipeline for those labelled. Their application reveals a “disparity [suggesting] that racial stereotypes result in the mislabeling of people of color as deviant” (Crossman 2019).

Another study, *The Long Arm of the Law: Effects of Labelling on Unemployment* by Davies and Tanner (2003), explores the impact of labels on future employment through a longitudinal study. The study asserts that the strongest impact labelling had on employment were for those who were labelled as ex-convicts because they experienced “the lowest levels of educational attainment, the smallest incomes, and the most checkered work histories” (Davies and Tanner 2003:16). The study’s overall results were consistent with labelling theory because the indirect effect of those who are labelled by authorities like teachers or police officers upon the transition from adolescence to adulthood were “significant and cumulatively damaging” (Davies and Tanner 2003:16). Thus, Becker’s labelling theory extends far beyond a theory itself but is arguably damaging in nature, especially if one is labelled as a criminal.

Becker also contributed to the sociology of art because he felt that the field was underdeveloped and “mostly at the hands of people who were mostly aestheticians… whose work was a thinly disguised way of making and justifying judgements of value in various arts” (Plummer 2003:24). Similar to his study on deviance, he also focused on the process and finding causal relationships, as well as the idea of collective action, people doing things together. Thus, he deviated from previous studies on the sociology of art because he focused on the collective action aspect. His work shifted the focus of the sociology of art because he focused more on the social relations that make the process and production of art possible instead of individual artists.

In addition to the contribution listed above, Becker’s work contributed to symbolic interactionism and may be considered as one although he considers himself solely as a sociologist. His education at the University of Chicago influenced his work because the university's main contributions to sociology consists of the definition of community and symbolic interactionism. He follows the traditional Chicago School of Sociology of thought because he focused on how society categorizes certain behavior, especially deviance. Becker, along with sociologists Blanche Geer, Everett Hughes, and Anselm Strauss, spent time conducting first hand research in medical schools. They examined the effects of medical students putting on "white, the color symbolic of modern medicine" while capturing the realities of medical education in relation to society, much in the fashion of symbolic interactionism (Becker et. al 1961:4). Becker observed the symbolism in wearing the white coat as a form of authority and the overall culture of medical students in relation to society. Becker contributed to symbolic interactionism through his influence from the university that he brought forward throughout his sociological career.

Finally, Becker also published works in and influenced sociological writing and methodology. In terms of methodology, his contributions are evident in the way he studied deviance that focused more on the symbolism and rituals while also focusing on how to properly frame the question and the mechanisms used to define things. Becker's research methodology largely consists of participant observations that made his writing and research style relevant to symbolic interactionism which was more personal and engaging. In terms of the applications of his work on methodology, as an influential contemporary sociologist, his input in terms of sociological writing may be of high importance to those looking to enter the field.

In terms of the critiques to Becker's work, his research on labelling theory and deviance has been criticized for its failure to acknowledge the influence of other biological, genetic effects, and other personal responsibility. Critics such as Alvin Gouldnder also challenged Becker on the basis of free will, "people frequently fight back in their own defense: free will is far stronger than Becker's work implies" (Hobbs et al. 2016:285). Gouldner asserts that Becker assumes that deviants passively accept their label without acknowledging their free will and capacity to fight back. However, Becker responds to his critics by arguing that sociologists should use individualized cases to reach a macro perspective, instead of looking too closely at the issue. Becker asserts in the new edition of *Outsiders*,

> I prefer to think of what we study as *collective action.* People act… *together*. They do what they do with an eye on what others have done, are doing now, and may do in the future. One tries to fit his own line of action into the actions of others, just as each of them likewise adjusts his own developing actions to what he sees and expects others to do. (Becker 1973:182)

On the other hand, critics have also accused Becker of "romanticising the underdog" to which he argues "unconventional sentimentality… is the lesser evil" (Hobbs et al. 2016:285). Becker argues that a bias towards those that are not in power or moral entrepreneurs is beneficial, especially in his case, towards understanding society.

CONCLUSION

While Becker studied a multitude of topics including alcohol dependence and professional training, his major contributions were to the sociology of deviance and art, as well as sociological methodology. Through his empirically based research, Becker made groundbreaking conclusions related to culture, societal norms, criminology, and social control. His works have paved the way for the development and widespread use of various theories and methods of studying social phenomena such as deviance. Becker also contributed to symbolic interactionism through his constant study of the social interactions, processes, and norms that influence individual and group behaviors.

The implications of Becker's work are extensive, and have been applied to the study of issues related to education, racial injustice, and the criminal justice system. His study of labelling theory and deviance continues to be highly applicable in highlighting the impacts of modern labelling in education, employment, and recidivism rates while shedding light on structural flaws within the criminal justice system. Other sociologists have made these connections and expanded his work, showing how labelling theory directly connects to the struggles of upward mobility through continually becoming involved in the prison system and the issue of unemployment. He is viewed as an innovative thinker who demonstrates the subversive abilities of sociology. In his interview with Reiner Keller, Becker illustrates his intention to question the roles of powerful institutions by stating that "deviance is a kind of co-production of all those people. Not just the police and the marijuana smoker. The legislator who makes the law, the administrator who organizes. You know, all of them" (Becker and Keller 2016:16).

Becker's work often sides with the "underdog" and questions authority within institutions or larger social structures. In the case of the sociology of art, he successfully shifted the focus from the art itself to the processes – the "underdog" – of the field. Thus, he also worked towards expanding the field itself. Becker's significance as a sociologist lies in his effort to challenge our current conceptions of society and to uncover truths. Becker was a keen interpreter of everyday socialization as the basis to derive meaningful hypotheses that provide an alternative interpretation of society. Becker's commitment to empirical studies and his determination to formulate new methods for the framing and analysis of social issues has allowed him to have a transformative impact on the field of sociology.

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