

A PUBLICATION BY STUDENTS OF
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SERVICE ADMINISTRATION

Advocates'
FORUM

2014

DEFINING PROBLEMS. SHAPING SOLUTIONS.

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2014

A PUBLICATION BY STUDENTS OF **THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO**

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SERVICE ADMINISTRATION

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ON THE COVER

The University of Chicago
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FROM THE EDITOR

Each edition of *Advocates' Forum* provides a lens into the interests, insights, and intellect of social work students on a range of issues. This year is no different, as the journal presents articles that reflect the wide range of issues relevant to social work and social justice. Two of these articles focus on clinical social work practice and challenge readers to rethink the construction and treatment of Borderline Personality Disorder as well as the gender formation and identity of trans* individuals. Three more articles demonstrate the commitment of the School of Social Service Administration to serving individuals both domestically and internationally, exploring timely issues of social justice in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil and Gary, Indiana, and analyzing the provision of social services in the United States to the children of undocumented parents. The range and relevance of these topics demonstrate social work's commitment to addressing inequality and injustice on all levels.

The journal is a result of the meticulous work of many within the SSA community. I sincerely thank Associate Professor Virginia Parks, our faculty advisor for *Advocates' Forum*, for her unfailing support and sound guidance, as well as Daniel Listoe, Ph.D., editing consultant, for his comprehensive and nuanced work with the authors, Julie Jung, Director of Communications, and Dean Neil Guterman. Finally, I thank the editorial board for their dedication and hard work to ensure the journal's excellence and representation of the many facets encompassed within the field.

Liza Doran
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

If you are interested in writing for the 2015 edition of *Advocates' Forum*, please contact Jenny Mancino at jmancino@uchicago.edu or Cait Quinlivan at quinlivanc@uchicago.edu.

POWER, SELFHOOD, AND IDENTITY: A FEMINIST CRITIQUE OF BORDERLINE PERSONALITY DISORDER

Bria Berger

Abstract

This paper presents new perspectives on the conceptualization and treatment of Borderline Personality Disorder (BPD). This is achieved by first outlining current modes of classification, diagnosis, and treatment. Second, the current understanding is critiqued by deconstructing modern notions of selfhood and identity from which the BPD diagnosis is derived. A feminist critique is also explored as women comprise the majority of those diagnosed with BPD. Last, narrative therapy is discussed as a new treatment direction for BPD, and implications for clinical social work practice are discussed.

Borderline Personality Disorder (BPD) is currently conceptualized as an intense instability in mood, affect, and relationships. Named for the borderline between psychosis and neurosis, distinguishing traits of BPD include disturbances in self-image and chronic feelings of emptiness (Paris 2007; American Psychiatric Association 2013). Linehan (1993) has clustered BPD symptoms into five core areas of dysregulation: emotions, interpersonal, behavioral, sense of self, and cognition. People diagnosed with BPD experience chaotic interpersonal relationships and intense fears of abandonment. Impulsive, self-damaging behaviors are also common, such as reckless driving, spending, or sexual activity. Self-injury and suicide attempts are also characteristic traits (American Psychiatric Association 2013).

The fifth edition of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM-5) broadly defines personality disorders as “enduring pattern[s] of inner experience and behavior that deviate markedly from the expectations of the individual’s culture” (American Psychiatric Association 2013). BPD is therefore found in the Dramatic, Emotional, and Erratic

cluster of the Personality Disorders section of the DSM-5, along with Antisocial, Histrionic, and Narcissistic Personality Disorders.

A BPD diagnosis is often based on self-reported information from the client and the clinician's observations (NCCMH 2009). Several structured interviews and assessments exist to guide the clinician's diagnosis, but outpatient settings most often rely on unstructured interviews, even though inter-clinician reliability on the BPD diagnosis is poor (Mellsop et al. 1982; NCCMH 2009). In the United States, 75 percent of those diagnosed with BPD are women, and BPD can only be diagnosed in someone under 18 years if features have been present for more than one year (American Psychiatric Association 2013).

Evidence-based treatments for BPD include dialectical behavior therapy, mentalization-based therapy, transference-focused psychotherapy, and general psychiatric management, including psychotropic medication (Gunderson 2011). Increasing emotion-regulation skills and tolerance to negative emotions tend to be the primary goals of the psychotherapeutic treatment of BPD.

A CRITIQUE OF CURRENT PRACTICES

In this section, I will offer a critique of the current conceptualization of BPD by addressing three primary areas. First, I will address the role of power in the diagnostic and clinical processes. Next, I will explore the particular conception of selfhood and identity that underlie and inform the diagnosis. Finally, because women are a great majority of those diagnosed, a feminist critique of BPD will be offered.

Diagnoses are a matter of classification and categorization (Foucault 1982; Madigan 1992). BPD is currently understood through an arrangement of human behavior that classifies like individuals into typologies of deficit. A personality disorder diagnosis declares the deficit to be a fundamental feature of a person rather than a transient state. When a clinician, armed with this model and definition, makes a diagnosis of BPD, for instance, the power to classify derived from this knowledge can influence how individuals view themselves in relation to societal standards. In Foucault's (1982) sense, the client may therefore internalize the problem discourse and come to understand themselves as deficient and that deficiency as a fundamental quality.

The etiology of BPD is a highly studied field by researchers, and even critics of BPD have adopted a causal model that names childhood abuse as a risk factor for BPD (Shaw and Proctor 2005). The public comes to think that BPD is the understandable and inescapable result of a stressor, when in fact it is a diagnosis dependent on the mere judgment of a clinician.

This is to say, “there is no disorder . . . unless somebody with authority applies a psychiatric conceptualization” (Burstow 2005, 1299).

Of importance here is that a BPD diagnosis is situated within the dominant Western discourse on identity, a conception of selfhood that values autonomy and goal-directed behavior. These characteristics are closely tied to cultural norms of self-provision through work. In order for members of society to be self-sufficient and goal-directed, personality and identity must be conceptualized as relatively stable, inherent aspects of oneself that emerge through behaviors, traits, and other external manifestations (White 1999; Bradley and Drew 2006). In traditional treatment, clinicians decode and interpret these manifestations in relation to their deviation from society’s norms for behavior (Madigan 1992).

For example, self-injury and suicidal behaviors—two diagnostic criteria of BPD—are seen as pathological actions that undermine the valued sense of selfhood. Disrupting the dominant narrative of goal-directed behavior, the self-directed injury is seen as an inability to be an agentic, goal-directed individual. Some types of self-harm—such as overworking at one’s place of employment to the point of causing physical ailments, neglect of interpersonal relationships, and loss of sleep—are not seen as pathological because these acts resonate with cultural values, such as self-sacrifice for a greater goal. But because the self-directed nature of self-injury cannot be reconciled with other cultural norms, self-injury is seen as a manifestation of severe pathology; the person must be viewed as disordered for such an action to make sense (Madigan 1992).

Studies of BPD offer us reasons to rethink these dominant conceptions of pathological behavior and the supposed stability of identity. We know now that BPD symptoms diminish over time such that “after about 10 years, as many as half of the individuals no longer have a pattern of behavior that meets full criteria” for BPD (American Psychiatric Association 2013). Another study showed that among an adult cohort, 73 percent were in remission from symptoms after six years (Zanarini et al. 2003), which undermines the narrative that personality is largely unvarying. Furthermore, many symptoms of BPD are normative during adolescence, such as chaotic relationships, recklessness, and extreme emotional shifts, but deemed unacceptable in adulthood.

Feminist critics of BPD offer an alternative perspective, generally viewing the diagnosis of BPD as pathologizing the ways that women respond to gendered abuse and oppression. Shaw and Proctor (2005) theorize the diagnosis as a form of social control: “[BPD] can be applied to women who fail to live up to their gender role because they express anger and aggression. Conversely, the diagnosis is also given to women who conform ‘too strongly,’ by internalizing anger, and expressing this through self-focused behavior such

as self-injury” (485). They show how the diagnosis of BPD presents a double-bind: women with BPD who engage in behaviors that are not stereotypically feminine—self-injury, multiple sexual partners, external expressions of anger—are cast in the archetype of the overemotional hysterical woman.

Here, it is evident that the feminist framework, like other radical frameworks, ties the individual problem to a broader political context. Rather than a pathology that is endogenous to the individual, a feminist perspective theorizes these behaviors as a response to, or relationship with, gendered power relations.

TREATMENT ALTERNATIVES FOR SOCIAL WORKERS

An alternate approach will offer new possibilities to the conceptualization and treatment of BPD. This section will detail new possibilities for conceptualizing BPD through the discussion of narrative therapy as an alternative treatment approach.

Narrative therapy, which rose to prominence with Michael White, offers a new framework for clinical treatment. White was an Australian social worker who, along with his colleague David Epston of New Zealand, drew upon Foucault’s idea of *internalized personal discourses* and in turn promoted a narrative therapy that emphasizes externalizing practices and re-authoring. Narrative therapy begins by viewing the problem not as BPD or inappropriate behaviors, but as the client’s retelling of the problem, which is centered around an internalized negative identity. It involves *storifying* events and other surface phenomena into alternate storylines to help clients more richly describe the alternate stories of their lives. The goal of therapy is not to reduce symptoms or increase emotional regulation skills, but to assist clients in generating narratives that feel truer and more meaningful to them than the problem-saturated account.

In narrative therapy, the social worker’s task is to help the client re-author their story, and the client’s role shifts from the therapeutic subject to the creator of the story. Again, because many people diagnosed with BPD have internalized the dominant, deficit-based narrative of the diagnosis, exploring other possibilities beyond the problem-saturated narrative becomes imperative. *Externalizing practices* are a primary practice of narrative therapy, with the intended effect of disentangling deficit-based and problem-saturated narratives. In summarizing the practice of externalizing, White and Epston (1990) write:

Externalizing is an approach to therapy that encourages persons to objectify and, at times, to personify the problem that they experience as oppressive. Those problems that are considered to be inherent, as well as those relatively fixed qualities that are attributed to persons and to relationships, are rendered less fixed and less restricting. (38)

By separating the problem from the individual and objectifying or personifying it into a character, externalizing practices challenge dominant narratives and “encourage a dramatic reengagement with life and with history, and provide options for people to more fully inhabit their lives and their relationships” (White 2005).

In a clinical setting with someone diagnosed with BPD, the externalization process can begin by asking the client how the problem has affected their lives and relationships. This may provoke a problem-saturated account of the person’s life (White and Epston 1990). Next, the social worker might ask the client to describe how they have influenced the problem. This can also be achieved by asking the client about how they have resisted, navigated, or negotiated the problem. For example, Allison, a young woman who is diagnosed with BPD, believes herself to be an angry person, and frequently refers to herself as having an “anger problem.” In externalizing conversations with the social worker, Allison details several stressful events where she resisted anger and did not become angry at all. Here, the social worker can integrate these profound discoveries by helping the client to redefine her relationship with the problem. The social worker can ask Allison more questions to help her ascribe meaning to the discovery, such as, “How had you managed to be effective against anger in that way? Does this give you any ideas on steps to take to reclaim your life from anger? What attributes were you relying on in those moments to resist anger? Knowing this now, do you think your view of this problem might change in the future?”

These discoveries or exceptions form the basis of re-authoring conversations. Re-authoring conversations help clients explore “neglected territories of their lives, and to become significantly acquainted with the knowledges and skills of their lives that are relevant to addressing the concerns, predicaments and problems that are at hand” (White 2001, 9).

One way of engaging in re-authoring conversations is to ask the client about the creation and maintenance of the problem, or problematic identity. For example, in the example presented above, the social worker might ask Allison about the first time the story of the anger problem was first told, whether the story ever changed, and which characters in her life influenced the story. Within this process, the social worker should listen for alternate ways that Allison understands herself and past events, or other stories she prefers to the story of her anger problem. These preferred stories can be explored further in future-oriented conversations about her hopes, dreams, intentions, or other commitments she has in mind for her future.

During these re-authoring conversations, the social worker is given the opportunity to explore events to which clinicians might often have negative reactions. For example, after establishing basic principles of safety, the social

worker can ask the client what happened in detail during a recent self-injury event. If clients have previously discussed these events with clinicians, it is unlikely that they have been able to explore their relationship with self-injury. It is therefore a unique opportunity for the social worker to encourage engagement with alternate future possibilities. This can be achieved by asking questions to encourage the client to generate new ideas for future action, to explore circumstances that would help facilitate these actions, and to discuss the potential outcomes of these actions (White 2001). Notice how this helps the client move from the therapeutic subject to the creator of an alternate storyline.

It is possible to connect a feminist approach with narrative therapy because both the perspective and the practice value cultural context—clients are seen as members of a social world with various ways of relating to it (McLeod 2004). Furthermore, feminism is alive within re-authoring processes. If a woman diagnosed with BPD is now engaged in re-authoring, this is inherently feminist work, as she is resisting the problem-saturated discourse of womanhood and creating a narrative that is meaningful for her.

CONCLUSION

In summary, while BPD has traditionally been defined as a disorder of extreme instability and deficit, there are crucial and vital alternatives that theorize the important role of power and knowledge in shaping our conceptions of identity, stability, and selfhood. Narrative therapy and feminist perspectives can help clients to distance themselves from problem-saturated accounts of their lives, and to identify new ways of understanding themselves through narratives. In externalizing and re-authoring conversations, clients and social workers integrate new storylines into alternate narratives that are truer and more helpful to the client than the original problem-saturated narrative.

One challenge of narrative therapy is its difficulty to facilitate in comparison to other therapies. In contrast, Dialectical Behavior Therapy—wherein the clinician instructs clients on ways to manage and regulate overwhelming emotions—is considered the easiest to learn of the evidence-based therapies for BPD (Gunderson 2011). Narrative therapy requires clinicians to move away from traditional theories of human behavior. Additionally, because the discussions and work of narrative therapy are quite divergent from traditional therapies, the practices may require explanation from the clinician in order to procure buy-in from the client.

In the same way, it is important to acknowledge that many people do not see feminism as relevant to their personal experiences. Clients who

feel that their lives are out of their control may feel an increased sense of helplessness if the therapeutic discussion centers on societal causes of BPD symptoms. In addition, clients may view the social worker's feminist framing as the imposition of another unwanted narrative.

Finally, narrative therapy presents important implications for clinical social work practice. As social workers continue to expand into independent clinical practice, it is imperative that the field continues its commitment to social justice through the exploration of alternative frameworks, such as anti-oppressive practice, feminist social work, and narrative therapy. By challenging the dominant deficit-based framework, narrative therapy aligns with core social work ethics and principles. Narrative therapy promotes social justice by collaborating with clients to disentangle from narratives that have been imposed upon them, exploring collaboratively how power and oppression have shaped their views of themselves. Furthermore, narrative therapy affirms the value of self-determination through the co-creation of new storylines that are meaningful for the client, regardless of labels, diagnostic categories, or the presumed power and expertise of the clinician.

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SHOCK OF PEACE: INTERSECTIONS BETWEEN SOCIAL WELFARE AND CRIME CONTROL POLICY IN RIO DE JANEIRO'S *FAVELAS*

Brooke Fisher, A.M. '13

Abstract

As Brazil prepares to host the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympic Games, the municipal government of its second-largest city, Rio de Janeiro, seeks to establish infrastructure and security for the hundreds of thousands of expected tourists. To that end, the city is undertaking urban development projects and a novel policing strategy called “pacification” in several of the city’s *favelas*, the informal settlements that house roughly 22 percent of Rio’s population (Hurrell 2011). This paper analyzes the role of social service provision in ensuring the success of both urban redevelopment projects and crime control strategies in the *favelas*.

As Brazil prepares to host the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympic Summer Games, the municipal government of its second-largest city, Rio de Janeiro, faces considerable challenges. In an attempt to provide the infrastructure and security needed for the hundreds of thousands of expected tourists, the city is undertaking urban development projects that Brazil’s Sports Minister, Aldo Rebelo, says will “build a lasting legacy of economic growth and reducing social inequality” (Smale 2012b).

Some of the areas targeted for new development are the *favelas*, the “slums” that house nearly 1.4 million people, roughly 22 percent of Rio’s urban population (Hurrell 2011). Home to many of the city’s poorest residents, *favelas* developed in the 20th century as a space for rural-to-urban migrants lacking the means to acquire housing through the formal market (Perlman 2005). The Brazilian research institute *Observatorio de*

Favelas outlines four key defining features common to these informal settlements (Turcheti e Melo 2010).

First, business, labor, and property relations in the *favelas* typically fall outside of formal regulatory structures and residents face disparities in access to public infrastructure, social services, and entertainment facilities. Second, investment from formal sectors of the economy is traditionally sparse. Third, residents often lack formal titles to their properties, and development patterns in *favelas* rarely reflect centralized urban planning schemes. Fourth, the majority of residents tend to be black, multiracial, or indigenous, and the *favela* often functions as a space for cultural expression and social and political organizing (Turcheti e Melo 2010).

Anthropologist Janice Perlman (2005) writes that *favelas* have long been a source of social unease and conflict in Rio, noting that their “continued existence and proliferation challenges the legitimacy of the social system that created them” (2). According to Perlman, a common refrain in Rio is that *favelas* are a “social problem” and “a blight on the city,” their very presence attributed to an enduring culture of poverty among the areas’ residents (3). Rio politicians have used this sentiment to justify urban renewal programs focused on *favela* eradication. For one salient historical example, Rio’s government in the 1970s used garbage trucks to forcibly move residents to public housing in other parts of the city, often distant from jobs and social networks and supports (Perlman 2005).

Often rising on the hillsides above Rio’s neighborhoods and coastlines, *favelas* occupy some of the city’s most desirable real estate (3). Many *favelas* cleared in 1970s urban renewal programs were subsequently replaced with high-priced condominiums and other luxury real estate developments (3). The rapid growth in Brazil’s economy and the acute need for accommodations among tourists expected to attend the Olympics and the World Cup have created increased interest in the *favelas* as sites for real estate and tourism development (García-Navarro 2014). For example, one real estate investor from São Paulo who recently bought a property to develop into a high-end tourist lodging in Vidigal, a hillside *favela* overlooking an exclusive beach, said that the space is “going to be almost like a Mediterranean village in 10 years” (Romero 2012).

Human rights groups estimate that 3,000 people have already been evicted from their homes during the development of the World Cup and Olympics, and as many as 200,000 people remain at risk for displacement and resettlement in public housing on the outskirts of the city (García-Navarro 2014). Many *favela* residents perceive that their forcible evictions reflect the desire of Rio’s elites to push them to the margins; in the words of one former resident of the Vila Harmonia *favela*, “In my opinion, they

want us to be there to serve them, then they want us to go as far away as possible” (Garcia-Navarro 2014).

Past efforts at economic development in the *favelas* have been hampered by high rates of drug trafficking and violent crime (Turcheti e Melo 2010; Stahlberg ND). In the 1980s, the *favelas* emerged as key sites for international drug distribution (Turcheti e Melo 2010). To circumvent police interference in their trade, cartels operating there developed significant firepower capabilities and established crime syndicates that included police and public officials (Turcheti e Melo 2010; Stahlberg ND). Police corruption, coupled with a long history of misconduct and brutality, has led many residents to distrust any efforts by law enforcement to crack down on violent or drug crime (Stahlberg ND), leaving the cartels as the lone source of law and order. Cartels have also used threats and violence to intimidate local leaders opposed to the drug trade and to discourage residents from engaging with police. Additionally, cartels provide many residents, particularly youth, with higher-wage and higher-status employment than is available to them in the formal market (Turcheti e Melo 2010; Stahlberg ND). Collectively, these factors have led some government officials and policy analysts to view Rio's *favelas* as “ungovernable” (Watts 2013a).

FAVELA PACIFICATION PROGRAM

As it prepares to host the upcoming mega-events, Rio has sought to reduce crime in the *favelas* with the goal of improving the city's public image and securing the areas proximate to event sites (Watts 2013a). The city government has instituted the Favela Pacification Program (FPP) in about 30 of the city's 700 *favelas* (Arsenault 2012; Smale 2012a), the majority of which are located near event or tourist areas (Watts 2013a). Based on US counterinsurgency doctrine (Arsenault 2012) and New York's “broken windows” policing (Emert 2009), Rio's “shock of peace” (Smale 2011) strives to “pacify” both the drug trade and social unrest through militarized occupation of the *favelas*, the long-awaited provision of social services (Bailly 2011), and the integration of local businesses and properties into the formal economy (Stahlberg N.D.).

There are three phases of pacification: first, military troops confront drug gangs and secure the area; then, riot police patrol the area for about a week, before they are finally replaced by community police called the Pacification Peace Units (UPP) (Schiller 2013). Besides keeping the peace, the UPP are also tasked with helping to establish—and even themselves provide—social services, such as garbage collection, improved electrical grids, recreational classes, educational opportunities, and community

engagement (Barrionuevo 2010; Schiller 2013). A 2010 *New York Times* article describes the role of the UPP as “part traditional policing, part social work” (Barrionuevo 2010). According to policy analyst Stephanie Stahlberg (N.D.), community policing and the provision of social services are designed to set the stage for a subsequent phase called “shock of order” (28), in which business and property relationships are formalized.

In some of the *favelas* occupied by UPP forces, it appears the pacification strategy is having notable successes. According to the Brazilian Forum for Public Security, the homicide rate has dropped by 80 percent in select areas policed by the UPP (Schiller 2013). School attendance in “pacified” *favelas* has increased, up by 90 percent in one high school, and some areas have seen improvements in sanitation, health, and social services (Barrionuevo 2010). In some cases, *Favela* residents have launched profitable businesses, often targeted toward foreign tourists who are expected to come in droves for the mega-events (Garcia-Navarro 2013); for instance, some residents build extra rooms to rent out and advertise on Airbnb.com (Garcia-Navarro 2013). One enterprising resident told a journalist from National Public Radio that pacification has been a good thing and that residents no longer pay taxes to drug gangs (Garcia-Navarro 2014).

Yet while many hail these and others successes, the FPP has also been met with a battery of criticisms. The FPP is “stirring the ghosts” (Romero 2012) of historical urban renewal programs, causing residents to express suspicion that the FPP derives from perceived profit potential, rather than concerns about residents’ welfare (Arsenault 2012). Among the criticisms leveled at the program are claims that it facilitates gentrification, causes a migration of crime from pacified *favelas* to other neighboring shantytowns, and that it criminalizes public space in the *favelas* and leads to discretionary policing of residents.

GENTRIFICATION

As some long-term *favela* residents enjoy reduced violence and long-awaited improvements to sanitation, health, education, and social services, many other residents, academics, and journalists question whether these benefits are worth the inevitable price of gentrification (Timerman 2013). After the UPP units occupy the *favelas*, companies, banks, and infrastructure projects often quickly follow (Arsenault 2012). Some of the “pacified” *favelas* “persist amid a sprawl reminiscent of South Florida, with palm-fringed condominiums and shopping malls” (Romero 2012). According to resident Flavio Carvalho, “Things have become more expensive. You see in the newspaper that the economy is growing, but I haven’t seen it for real. Most of the money goes to companies” (Arsenault 2012).

In Rocinha, Rio's largest slum, the FPP brought a new swimming pool, bank, and infrastructure, as well as foreign tourists who resident Leandro Lima says view the neighborhood as a sort of "exotic urban safari" (Arsenault 2012). Some tourists and expatriates express their interest in experiencing the perceived "authenticity" of life in the *favelas*, as compared with other, more conventional, tourist sites. Said one 23-year-old from Philadelphia who recently moved to Vidigal, "I think there are a lot of young people and a lot of students who come here with this idea of: How can we come and live here and really try and learn from a place?...How can we really try and insert ourselves in the community?" (Garcia-Navarro 2013). Others attribute the security provided by the FPP with their decision to reside in a *favela*; said a 22-year-old American who just moved to the Babilonia *favela*, "I always say I feel a lot safer at night walking here than I do in Copa or Leme...I like sprint through Copa or Leme when I get off the bus. When I get here, I say whoa, OK." Whereas previous fears about safety may have kept foreigners or more affluent residents from considering a visit or move to the *favelas*, in spite of their affordability or convenient location, an increased sense of security provided by the FPP seems to have paved the way for new types of *favela* residents (Garcia-Navarro 2013). These trends may validate the fears of residents who are concerned that the FPP will lead to gentrification and displacement due to elevated costs and increased competition for space.

As previously noted, displacement takes a more explicit form for residents of *favelas* that have been slated for destruction. In these communities, residents are served eviction orders, minimally compensated and resettled in areas on the periphery of the city (Romero 2012; Garcia-Navarro 2014). While Jorge Bittar, the head of Rio's housing authority, stated that "No one is resettled if not for a very important reason" (Romero 2012), critics note that these condemned *favelas* are almost exclusively located in areas slated for event sites (Romero 2012) or tourist infrastructure (Garcia-Navarro 2014). Condemned *favelas* in Brazil have been sites of protest—for example, Rio's Vila Autódromo *favela* has filed injunctions and resisted eviction (Romero 2012). Alternately, "pacified" *favelas* have largely surrendered quietly (Smale 2012a).

CRIME MIGRATION

In *favelas* proximate to those where the pacification program has been implemented, there have been reports of possible crime migration. For example, Rio newspapers report that drug traffickers from Mangueira, one of the "pacified" *favelas* located near Rio's Maracanã stadium, have merely relocated to Preventorio, located across the bay (Phillips 2012).

This is indicative of the spatial inequality of the pacification program and security in Rio's *favelas* in general: law enforcement regimes are territorialized and differ greatly depending on their proximity to valuable real estate, future mega-event sites, or pacified shantytowns. Many question whether pacification could ever be a sustainable security strategy for the city writ large; as Paulo Lins, author of the book *City of God* about Rio's eponymous *favela*, stated, "Are you going to have millions of policemen in the more than six hundred *favelas* of Rio de Janeiro? Or are you just going to occupy the main *favelas*? The ones that show up in the media?...They call them pacifiers, but what are they? It's a bunch of men armed to the teeth in a *favela*" (Furloni and Kollman 2010).

If one accepts the oft-leveled critique that the pattern of pacification in the city maps onto the valuable property located near tourist or event sites, then the patchwork quality of Rio's pacification regime is an inequitable byproduct of Rio's urban political economy. As Fainstein (1991) notes, when urban planning is coupled with the objective of economic development, "market rationality and local competitiveness [replace] comprehensiveness and equity as the primary criteria by which planning projects are judged" (79). Even if one accepts the merits some politicians, analysts, and *favela* residents claim for the FPP, its effects are distributed unequally, in a mere fraction of Rio's *favelas*, while other *favelas* with real estate of lesser value deal with chronic neglect and, potentially, the spillover of crime.

CRIMINALIZATION OF PUBLIC SPACE AND DISCRETIONARY POLICING

Pacification was designed following New York City's model of "broken windows" policing, a "zero tolerance policy" against petty crimes such as loitering and panhandling that disproportionately focused on the city's marginalized and indigent (Sampson and Raudenbush 2004). This kind of policing leaves residents vulnerable to police discretion in determining what acts represent "social disorder" (Sampson and Raudenbush 2004). The discretionary policing may explain in part the "intangible something-lost" (Barrionuevo 2010) that some residents have described, as pacification alters prevailing social norms. For example, Barrionuevo (2010) describes how drug traffickers used to subsidize block parties in the *favelas* as a method to recruit dealers—and now the police are controlling the parties, "limiting alcohol consumption among minors and censoring misogynistic lyrics that glorify drug gangs."

THE "SOCIAL ARM OF THE STATE" IN CRIME CONTROL AND REDEVELOPMENT

The philosophy behind the Favela Pacification Program was articulated in documents from the US Consulate in Rio, which, exposed by WikiLeaks, showed that the FPP "shares some characteristics with US counter-insurgency doctrine and strategy in Afghanistan and Iraq" (Arsenault 2012). The documents emphasize that the FPP's success will depend on "*favela* residents' perception of the 'legitimacy of the state'" (Arsenault 2012). The dispatch also stresses the need to "convince [the] *favela* population that the benefits of submitting to state authority (security, legitimate land ownership, access to education) outweigh the costs (taxes, utility fees, civil obedience)" (Arsenault 2012). Officials argue the "program has little chance of success" if merely framed around the Olympics; "If, however, the program wins over 'hearts and minds' in the *favelas*, [it] could remake the social and economic fabric of Rio de Janeiro" (Arsenault 2012).

To draw on Michel Foucault (1997), the FPP involves both "technologies of power" that "determine the conduct of individuals and submit them to certain ends of domination," and "technologies of the self," which transform *favela* residents' "bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct and way of being" (225). Foucault (1978) further argues that state power manifests through both violence and political technologies focused on "health, modes of subsistence and habitation, living conditions, the whole space of existence" (144). For Foucault, technologies of power focused on "the task of administering life" (139) provide an impetus for individuals to become self-regulating subjects who willingly reproduce mentalities and behaviors that support existing structures of power. The "technologies of the self" employed by the UPP were summed up by tour guide Sergio Castro who said, "We must above all give poor people a new perspective" (Käufer 2010).

A challenge to *favela* residents' perceived legitimacy of the state is the long history of police misconduct, abuse, and corruption. A Human Rights Watch report accuses Rio police of routinely using excessive force and committing extortion (Boyle 2009), and a highly-publicized case in which ten UPP officers were charged with the torture and killing of Amarildo de Souza, a resident of Rio's Rocinha *favela*, led to large-scale protests and a heightened sense of apprehension about the program among many residents (Watts 2013b). Such records of violence only amplify the role of social work in establishing the legitimacy and credibility of the UPP (Stahlberg ND). US consular representatives emphasized the need for "civilian government and NGO personnel" to establish governance structures and service delivery networks following pacification, warning that "if such a vacuum persists,

it will wear down police capacity and lead to frustration among residents in pacified *favelas*” (Bailey 2011). The use of social services as tool for establishing trust and complicity among *favela* residents refers to what Wacquant (2001) calls the “social arm of the state” in achieving the FPP’s critical objective of winning over “hearts and minds” (121).

Thus, the FPP has significant ethical implications for the field of social work, particularly as social service delivery intersects with criminal justice and economic development. While public officials champion the FPP as a “softer touch,” in reality the consequences may be the same as those of more contentious “slum removal” efforts, if indeed results include the displacement of residents through increasing gentrification. *Favela* residents who have long lacked social services and infrastructure tentatively welcome trash pickup, sewage disposal, and a public pool—even as many complain that development projects seem to favor private investment and tourism. Contrast their muted response to those served eviction orders who coordinate protests, civil disobedience, and legal injunctions. These protests have been a bane to the municipal government, forcing construction delays, shaking investor confidence, and attracting negative publicity (Romero 2012). “Pacification” has proven a more efficient governance strategy, demonstrating that the project of winning “hearts and minds” through the provision of public and social services can play a powerful role in establishing quiescence and social order.

CONCLUSION

At this stage, it appears impossible to say whether the Favela Pacification Program will ultimately be deemed a sustainable benefit to residents of the targeted *favelas*, a passing program that fades away as the city recedes from its spot on the world stage, or a unique yet functionally equivalent mechanism for displacing *favela* residents to make way for new development. Community activist Theresa Williamson of the *favela*-empowerment NGO, Catalytic Communities, offers possible solutions that might help protect *favela* residents against the potential negative secondary consequences of pacification (e.g. gentrification, displacement). Her suggestions include financial education to help residents avoid coercion by real estate speculators; collective ownership of land; and innovative economic initiatives aimed at preserving, rather than displacing, local communities (Timerman 2013). These solutions offer a possible role in pacification for social workers, non-profit organizations, and community groups that goes beyond merely winning *favela* residents’ cooperation in the early stages of the program, but instead involves setting up structures

and supports to ensure that the benefits of the pacification program continue to accrue to *favela* residents in a sustainable way.

Yet such efforts will do little to address the geographic disparities that exist between those relatively few *favelas* in which the FPP has been introduced and the more than 700 others that were not targets of the program. Unfortunately, the FPP remains paradigmatic of the spatial inequality of citizenship that can emerge when private investment dominates the urban political economy. Moving forward, unless Rio prioritizes equity and cultural preservation as it proceeds in its mega-event preparations, there remains a great risk that historic Maracanã stadium, like Beijing's Bird's Nest, South Africa's Soccer City, and the many white elephants that came before it, will tower over the changing *favelas* as a monument to the city's failure to adequately protect many of its poorest denizens.

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THE POLITICS OF DISINVESTMENT AND DEVELOPMENT IN GARY, INDIANA

Erin Devorah Rapoport, A.M. '13

Abstract

For the last half century the city of Gary, Indiana, has been devastated by continued disinvestment. In 2005, the state of Indiana formed a Regional Development Authority (RDA) to attract investment to Northwest Indiana. This paper analyzes the state's approach of fighting disinvestment with this development plan in light of Gary's particular history. It shows why such development is unlikely to translate into jobs for Gary's impoverished residents, and will potentially widen the economic inequality gap in the region.

For more than 50 years, the city of Gary, Indiana, has suffered the effects of extreme deindustrialization and disinvestment. These economic and political changes have left the city with few resources to meet the needs of its residents. In 2005, the state of Indiana attempted to address this problem of disinvestment and uneven development in the area by establishing the Regional Development Authority (RDA) to fund and direct infrastructure projects and catalyze economic development throughout Northwest Indiana.

The RDA, self-defined as “quasi-governmental,” is partially funded by the state as well as by the cities and counties in the region. It uses these funds to attract further federal, state, local, and private financial support. This approach has been successful at funding regional and local projects. But it is not free from “many dilemmas, conflicts, and contradictions regarding the links between space, capital, and power” (Gotham 2001, 3). In particular, while the RDA brings significant capital to the area, the state of Indiana has predetermined the priorities for spending and investment. Gary cannot propose alternative priorities. The RDA is then held accountable by the larger region and the state. The residents of Gary, and their needs, are left as marginalized players in the process of targeting investment. This essay explains why this model for economic development

has perpetuated the region's unequal distribution of resources and left Gary underserved.

A HISTORY OF DISINVESTMENT

Gary has always been subject to socio-spatial redefinitions. Founded as an industry town in 1906 by the world's first billion-dollar corporation, United States Steel, the city, named after its chairman Elbert Gary, drew many African-American workers from the southern states in the wake of World War I (Wacquant 2001, 101-102). As the number of blacks living in Gary steadily increased, they were confined to the downtown neighborhood of Midtown and prohibited from living elsewhere (Hurley 1995, 33). Racist housing laws and racial prejudice worked to keep down property values in Midtown since it was nearly impossible to get reasonable loans for housing. This practice was federally sanctioned by the Home Owners Loan Corporation program that, through a rating process of residential areas now referred to as redlining, systematically made diverse and older neighborhoods ineligible for housing loans, while incentivizing whites to move to new homogenous suburban developments (Jackson 1985). By the 1960s, declining domestic production and manufacturing led US Steel to downsize and it laid off much of its labor force. In just a few years, the city became predominantly African American. It elected one of the country's first black mayors, Richard Hatcher, who fought for integration through an open housing bill. But the effects of white flight, redlining by banks, and the further downsizing and outsourcing of industry, continued to isolate Gary's population.

Just south of Gary, the town of Merrillville was created by using state legislation to remove what had once been a protective, three-mile buffer zone mandated by Indiana law for all cities the size of Gary. With the buffer zone eliminated, Merrillville expanded right to Gary's border. White flight from Gary and continued growth and economic development allowed Merrillville to "cater to commercial interests, entertainment, tourists, and consumers," leaving adjacent areas "to languish in chronic disinvestment and decay"—Gary became "reserved for the homeless, the poor, minorities, and the urban underclass" (Gotham 2001, 3).

Politically, Gary's predominantly African-American population experienced what Wacquant (2001) calls a "double edged sociospatial formation" (103). This formation "operates as an instrument of *exclusion* from the standpoint of the dominant group; yet it also offers the subordinate group partial *protection* and a platform for succor and solidarity in the very movement whereby it sequesters it" (Wacquant 2001, 103). Indeed, as black isolation was forced onto Gary, separate,

autonomous ideas of community development came to the fore. The concentration of African Americans in the city allowed for black leaders to be elected democratically and for it to become central in the Black Nationalist movement, which held a national convention in Gary in 1972. However, national inflation and the severe recession of 1973 meant that Gary's new black leadership would not have access to adequate resources for managing the consequences of such extreme and sustained deindustrialization.

In 1979, the chairman of the US Federal Reserve Bank, Paul Volcker, brought forward "a policy designed to quell inflation no matter what the consequences might be for employment" (Harvey 2005, 23). Within the national trends away from manufacturing labor (which had previously generated wealth and more stable employment) and towards financialization (the redistribution or trading of wealth and unstable employment), US Steel changed its name to USX—with its chairman announcing, "The duty of management is to make money, not steel," (Harvey 1989, 158)—and Gary found itself with an ever-increasing need for new jobs.

With few jobs and a lack of federal and state investment to respond to the decline, Gary has been unable to meet the needs of its residents. Its socio-spatial definition became what Wacquant calls a *hyperghetto*: a space that emerges once a labor force is no longer needed and there remains only "the negative economic function of a storage of a surplus population devoid of market utility" (Wacquant 2001, 105). In such a space, vulnerability and insecurity can be easily commodified by offering predatory lending and unstable low-wage work (Harvey 2005).

Since development in Northwest Indiana has been so uneven, a regional approach does seem like an attractive strategy to reverse the history of local disinvestment from Gary to neighboring areas, ultimately allowing Gary to rebuild its economy from the demand side by providing for its residents' needs. However, in this process it would be imperative for Gary to maintain its autonomy in order to represent the best interests of its residents.

THE REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY

The Regional Development Authority (RDA) was created to address the issue of disinvestment. It was established in 2005 by the state of Indiana (IC 36-7.5-2) as a:

quasi-governmental development entity entrusted to make public investment decisions within a regional framework for supporting catalytic infrastructure projects and inducing private sector investment. Its mission is to be a catalyst for transforming the economy and quality of life for Northwest Indiana. (RDA, 2012)

It was charged with addressing four regional infrastructure priorities: 1) The expansion of the Gary-Chicago International airport; 2) Redevelopment of the Lake Michigan shoreline; 3) Creation of a Regional Bus Authority; and 4) Extension of the South Shore Commuter Train Service (RDA 2012). The RDA raises funds and then awards grants to local projects aligned with these priorities.

The decision-making board of directors consists of a chairman appointed by the governor of Indiana, a vice-chairman nominated by a city in Porter County and appointed by the governor, and one member each appointed by the mayor of Gary, the mayor of East Chicago, and the mayor of Hammond (all of which are cities in Lake County). Lake and Porter counties each appoint a member to the board as well, through a joint decision of their executive and fiscal bodies, so that there are seven members serving on the board at a time. Each board member must have significant professional experience in air and rail transportation, regional economic development, or business and finance (IC 36-7.5-2-3c). The state legislation that established the RDA also set goals that 15% of the business enterprises involved in its projects be minority-owned and that 5% be women-owned (IC 36-7.5-2-8b).

The RDA is funded through annual dues (\$3.5 million) from Gary, Hammond, East Chicago, Lake County, and Porter County. The state also contributes \$10 million from the Major Moves Fund per year until 2015. The funds from Gary, Hammond, East Chicago, and Lake County come from their casinos, while Porter County's contribution comes from a portion of the County Economic Development Income Tax (CEDIT).

The RDA's spending in Gary from 2006 and projected spending through 2013 included \$50,264,727 for the airport, where initiatives included runway extension and railroad relocation, as well as developing comprehensive business, strategic, and land-use plans. Over the entire region, the authority has committed \$104,537,364 to shoreline development, including over \$28 million to a project beautifying Gary's lakefront and renovating a pavilion.

The primary strength of the RDA is that it reverses the history of disinvestment in Northwest Indiana by leveraging its local and state funds to draw federal and private investment to the area. For example, the RDA's economic development fund, created in 2011, spent \$4 million to encourage the Canadian National Railway Company to expand a maintenance facility in Gary, potentially leading to the creation of 250 new jobs in the city by 2015 (RDA 2012). The authority also creates jobs by driving its infrastructure projects through local employment, and encourages its grantees to hire employees from minority- and women-owned businesses by providing a database of such businesses and setting goals.

The RDA's transparency gives the public and community-based organizations grounds from which to criticize its decisions and hold the RDA accountable. In its 2011 annual report, the RDA also measures its projects' potential impacts on quality of life indicators through a report card. By reporting on their lack of impact in quality of life indicators like education (graded C-) and health (D+) their report documents a serious need for efforts in crucial areas external to the priorities mandated in the creation of the RDA.

The RDA's emphasis on the shoreline's parks and regional environmental protection provides Gary with the funds to preserve some of its assets and create a healthier environment for its residents. While encouraging the raising of property values along the lake may help Gary bring in (property) tax revenue to help fund public services, these benefits will most likely be unevenly distributed to the city's residents (e.g., the public school system is being rapidly broken up into charter schools with unequal access to resources).

Unfortunately, the RDA development model relies on the assumption that local investment leads to local job creation. It denies Gary's officials the autonomy to set the governing priorities they have been elected to implement. The city's lakefront and a Gary-Chicago airport could be attractive investments if the city could afford to prepare them as such. But these projects seem destined to merely provide opportunities for those with economic power to profit off of Gary's poverty and associated low property values, leaving those without economic power excluded and pushed aside. The overall approach, despite the rhetoric of job creation, makes it more likely that these development projects will provide an opportunity for the region's more affluent to draw profits out of Gary's public assets than they will provide stable employment for the city's poor.

While the RDA commits its contractors to hiring a certain, albeit small, percentage of minority- and women-owned businesses in their projects, the Northwest Indiana Federation of Interfaith Organizations has used the RDA's own statistics to show that "81 percent of man hours presently paid have gone to workers who don't live in Lake and Porter counties" (Rast 2012). They further raised the point that minority- and women-owned businesses do not necessarily hire minority and women laborers. The Federation, similar to Chicago community-based organizations that pushed Mayor Daley to incorporate more progressive policies (Rast 2001), has recently challenged the RDA to adopt a Regional Community Agreement, stipulating that 30% of man hours on their projects "be paid to people from the most economically distressed zip codes in Lake and Porter County" (Rast 2012). The RDA's response to this request will be telling in demonstrating its priorities.

Regardless of such changes, the structure of the authority is built on unequal dues and representation. Although Gary and East Chicago each make significant contributions to the RDA's budget, the smaller, whiter, and wealthier Porter County is overrepresented on the Board of Directors, which makes the RDA's investment decisions. The chairman of the board, appointed by the governor, is from neighboring LaPorte County and the vice-chairman of the board, also appointed by the governor, is from Porter County. When the RDA created a regional bus system and the extension of the commuter train service to improve transportation from the region to jobs in Chicago, Gary did not benefit—the bus system bypasses the city and the train has served Gary prior to the RDA's existence (RDA 2012, 11). At the same time, Gary is now in debt to the RDA, it already owed \$6.9 million as of December 2011 (RDA 2012, 16). This might lead to some of the city's remaining assets ultimately susceptible to acquisition by the RDA.

CONCLUSION

While regional approaches to development have the potential to help poor cities meet their residents' needs and improve their quality of life, the RDA denies Gary autonomy, leading to a neglect of the city's public education system, as well as other essential and social services in favor of projects preferred by the region's more affluent residents. The national shift from stable manufacturing jobs to the era of financialization and what David Harvey (2005) calls "flexible accumulation"—where company profits come less and less from production—means that attracting capital to the area is unlikely to translate into secure jobs for Gary's impoverished residents, whose surplus labor and vulnerability continue to be stored in the hyperghetto. Due to this transformation in the city's political economy, the RDA's current approach towards investment will not be a sufficient means to bring back the jobs that were lost through five decades of disinvestment and has the potential to further widen the economic inequality gap in the region as opposed to strengthening the middle class.

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QUEERING GENDER IDENTITY FORMATION

Ian F. Schroeder

Abstract

This paper presents findings of a qualitative study conducted via interviews with people of various gender identities. Themes that arose in interviews included a correlation of knowledge of trans* identities and higher education, the importance of trans* identified people in discovery of non-conforming gender knowledge, socially implicit privileges for gender conformity, and complicated intersections between race and gender. Analyses of responses shed light on how gender identity formation plays out, providing important information to be used to increase access to mental health services. This study highlights the needs for research that is inclusive of gender variance.

“**I**’m not exactly a transsexual. A transsexual is a man who becomes a woman, or a woman who becomes a man, and I’m not a man, and I’m not a woman. I break too many rules of both those genders to be one or the other. I transgress gender. You could call me transgressively gendered. You could call me transgender. Me, I call myself a traveler” (Bornstein 2006, 16). This is how Kate Bornstein describes hir¹ gender in *Hello, Cruel World: 101 Alternatives to Suicide for Teens, Freaks, and Other Outlaws*. In a book that exemplifies the healing and educational power of storytelling, Bornstein discusses hir personal experiences with suicide attempts, a tragedy that is all too often a consequence of the many layers of societal oppression facing individuals who transgress gender. According to *Injustice at Every Turn: A Report of the National Transgender Discrimination Survey*, a staggering 41% of trans* respondents reported attempting suicide, compared to 1.6% of the general population (Grant et al. 2011).

This paper presents the findings of a qualitative study that analyzes the influences on the knowledge of queer gender, factors that lead to current and past gender identities, and how other identities intersect with gender. It is my hope that such knowledge will be beneficial to social service

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providers who serve lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) clients. The article includes a discussion of the language of gender identity, a review of the sparse relevant literature on the experiences of trans* populations, followed by a description of the study. It concludes with a discussion of the study's findings, limitations, and implications for practice.

THE LANGUAGE OF GENDER IDENTITY

Common notions of gender are informed by a concept called gender essentialism. "Gender essentialism" refers to the perspective that there are two genders (woman and man) that correspond exactly with biological sex (female and male), and that the terms "gender" and "sex" also correspond (Davidmann 2010). To begin unwinding this notion of gender, there are more than two categories of sex. These include female, male, and intersex. "'Intersex' is a general term used for a variety of conditions in which a person is born with a reproductive or sexual anatomy that doesn't seem to fit the typical definitions of female or male" (Intersex Society of North America ND).

Beyond this definition of sex, an effective study of gender identity involves the use of many related terms that are sometimes confusing for those who are unfamiliar with the literature. These terms include: gender, cisgender, transgender, sex, and intersex. In this paper "gender" will be used to reference a system of meanings and cultural coding around masculine/feminine and the symbols and the rules, privileges, and punishments for their use. All the ways in which people express their bodies and communicate with the world can be gendered and encoded with meaning. A non-exhaustive list of examples of categories of gender include: woman, man, transgender, trans*, genderqueer, bigender, and gender fluid. Gender has two main aspects: identity and expression. Gender identity refers to the way individuals conceive of their own gender (e.g., "I am a woman/genderqueer persyn/trans*/man"), while gender expression refers to the way individuals outwardly express this inward conception (e.g., today I will wear a skirt/this month I will not shave my beard).

"Sex" is a word related to, but separate from, gender that will refer to a "category assigned to each of us at birth based on a variety of physical and biological characteristics, usually determined by genitals" (MN Campus Alliance 2013, NP). The gender identity "cisgender" thereby refers to those whose gender expression and gender identity are validated by the dominant culture and are congruent with societal expectations of the sex their doctor, nurse, or health care professional assigned them at birth (based on genitals and/or various secondary sex characteristics). "Transgender," on the other hand, is an umbrella term for those whose gender expression or gender

identity is not congruent with the sex assigned at birth and/or whose gender is not validated by the dominant culture. Gender pronouns are used to talk about people in the third person in many languages. There are an ever-increasing number of pronouns, but some include she/her, he/him, they/them, and ze/hir. They/them and ze/hir are two examples of gender-neutral pronouns that some people use in the English language. Pronouns are most closely related to gender identity, meaning that individuals should (although they too frequently do not) be able to choose which pronoun/s they would like others to use for them. All of the terms outlined above will be used throughout the literature review that follows and in the description of the qualitative study below.

Language is especially important when it comes to discussing a community of people that are often excluded (Spade, 2011). With regards to this study, language, or rather, the mis-use of language, is recognized as an area for social workers and other mental health practitioners to improve upon in order to increase accessibility of services for trans* individuals. Beemyn and Rankin (2011) and the *Report of the National Transgender Discrimination Survey* (Grant et al. 2011) both point out the almost extreme changes in the experiences and language of trans* individuals. For example, in the 1970s and 1980s, “transsexual” was the only commonly accepted term to use for people outside of the gender binary. Grant et al.’s (2011) study showed that younger people (forty and under) are four times more likely to identify as transgender, trans*, genderqueer, or some other gender-non-conforming category than their forty-plus counterparts. This highlights the need for more studies that are focused on participants who are younger, to understand how their experiences differ from older trans* individuals and what this climate change might mean for the LGBT support community.

One of the most commonly neglected areas of research on gender identity is the study of gender in cisgender individuals that does not problematize gender non-conformity (Olesker 1990). This study highlights the needs for research that is inclusive of gender variance in cisgender individuals and the effects of gender essentialism on cisgender populations.

LITERATURE REVIEW

While there is significant, telling scholarship (Grant et al. 2011; Beemyn and Rankin 2011; Doan 2007) on discrimination against non-conforming gender identities, there is presently very little research that is relevant to the vast array of experiences of gender non-conforming individuals and the processes through which such a non-conforming gender identity is formed. This is aligned with missing research on gender with regards to

cisgender identities and an analysis of counseling with trans* individuals and best practices for social workers. Some of this lack is explained by the barriers to conducting adequate research. Those who identify outside of or beyond the gender binary are a distinct minority, and it is also difficult for the majority, cisgender individuals with cultural privilege, to speak about that privilege. These factors contribute to the lack of attention to intersex individuals and those who are gender queer, and of color, and perhaps living in poverty, with disabilities, and so on.

In the studies we do have, the focus tends to be on a specific, more gender-normative sub-section of the trans* and gender non-conforming population. For example, Gangé, Tewksbury, and McGaughey (1997) conducted a strict study on “masculine to feminine transgenderists.” Furthermore, these (cisgender) researchers conclude that “whereas many transgenderists believe that their actions and identities are radical challenges to the binary system of gender, in fact, the majority of such individuals reinforce and reify the system they hope to change” (Gangé, Tewksbury, and McGaughey 1997, 478). By this, the authors mean to communicate the idea that male to female trans* people are responsible for enforcing the gender binary in the ways that they conform to femininity. They thus exclude the oppression that trans* individuals face given the hegemony of gender essentialism and ignore the notion that transgender people have to over-perform the expression expected from their gender identity to lessen the possibility of violence and discrimination as they move through the world (Bornstein 2006).

Another kind of limitation is found in Devor’s (2004) model of transsexual identity formation, which falls back on gendered terms and reifies a mainstream view of trans* people. Describing a move from a “Tolerance of Transsexual Identity (stage 7)” to a “Delay Before Acceptance of Transsexual Identity (stage 8),” Devor frames trans* identities as inherently negative—something one must struggle to tolerate and then accept.

Of this already limited field of research on trans* individuals, only a small number of studies have included the experiences of individuals who do not declare themselves to be men or women (i.e., gender queer, agender, bigender, and many other people). Beemyn and Rankin (2011) do dedicate several pages of their book, *The Lives of Transgender People*, to outlining the category they call “different-gender” (ix).

In terms of race, *The Lives of Transgender People* is the most inclusive study, involving about 300 trans* participants of color. Because race interacts in multiple, intersectional ways with gender to create specific experiences and oppressions more analysis of the experiences of the gender in people of color is needed.

Intersex communities might seem like an obvious focus area when it comes to gender non-conformity, but it seems that only Preves (2000) has studied this while recognizing, as earlier studies had not, that biology (i.e., hormones) is just one of a very large number of possible determinants of gender. Even in that case, all of the participants in this study identified as one of the two binary gender categories, which limits the study's generalizability.

We can see that the psychological research on transgender people is missing a basic qualitative base—something that would best provide tips for social workers and fill other research gaps. The study outlined below was designed to fill some of these gaps in the research on gender identity formation and associated experiences.

THE STUDY

Interviews were completed with thirty participants who represent a wide array of gender conforming and non-conforming identities so as to identify themes in gender identity formation. It is hoped that these themes might be used to improve the counseling of queer and trans* youth. My hypothesis was that these interviews would show evidence of a variety of experiences with gender, even among individuals who have the same gender identity. It was also hypothesized that these interviews would show a variety of ways in which cisgender individuals are affected and harmed by the prevalent current climate of trans*phobia. Finally, I suspected that the most common counseling tip participants would offer social workers is to be open and accepting, and not to assume anything.

METHODS

Participant Selection

Most of the interviewees were personal friends of the researcher and all were recruited, through phone calls, emails, or in-person interactions with the researcher. Participants were selected according to their ability to meet a pre-set range of gender categories. Of the 30 total interviews conducted, the 10 women participants included 5 transgender-identified women and 5 cisgender-identified women. The 10 participants who identified as men in this study included 5 transgender-identified men and 5 cisgender-identified men. The final 10 participants identified outside of the gender binary: "genderqueer," "tranny/girl," "agender," "trans*," and "unlabeled," etc. All of the thirty participants were over 18 years of age, with a mean age of 32.6 years. Seven of the participants identified as people of color, three stated their racial identity as "Black," two as mixed (one "biracial" and one "Native and Black"), one as "Asian American," and one as "Thai."

Two of the participants identified as physically disabled. Twenty-three of the participants had completed some level of college education. Three participants were part of the same family, a mother and her son and daughter; two other participants were siblings.

Interview Process

Interviews were conducted on the phone, via Skype, over email, or in person. Phone and Skype interviews were held on the Internet, with the researcher situated in their apartment. In-person interviews were conducted in a closed room at a library on the University of Minnesota campus. All interviews were one-on-one with the researcher and a single participant. All interviews began with verbal or physical agreement/signing of an informed consent information sheet, previously approved by the Institutional Review Board of the University of Minnesota.² The interviews lasted between one and two hours, with an average interview length of 1.67 hours. Each interview continued until the participant believed that their experience of gender and gender identity development had been thoroughly described. Interviews were audiotaped, and the researcher took brief notes during interviews. After the interviews were completed they were transcribed from the audiotaped recordings and thematically coded for common responses.

Past research and the specific hypotheses of the study were used to guide the development of the interview questions, which focused on experiences with gender and gender identity formation (contact researcher for the full set of interview questions). For example, the interview question: “4. How do you express this (gender) identity?” was reworded from Beemyn and Rankins’ (2011) question on expression of gender. The question “What advice would you give to therapists/social workers working with trans*/queer individuals?” was asked to address the gap in research on best practice suggestions for therapists who work with trans* clients. The interview question “What life events (if any) do you think had a major impact on your gender?” was specifically developed to facilitate a discussion about how each participant’s individual gender identity was formed.

Because of the sensitive nature of some of the research questions, guidelines set forth by Kvale (1996) for qualitative research were followed. According to Kvale (1996), “The outcome of the interview depends on the knowledge, sensitivity, and empathy of the interviewer” (105). As such, I attempted to facilitate an atmosphere in which each participant felt safe enough to talk freely about their experiences and to share their thoughts and emotions without fear of judgment. As suggested by Mishler (1991), the interviews were fairly unstructured. This is believed to facilitate

openness and honesty in participants' responses. I choose to apply this unstructured arrangement because the outcome goals of the interviews are the subjective experiences of gender of each individual participant. All questions were open-ended, in an attempt to allow participants more freedom to explain their own experiences (e.g., "1. (How) do you define your gender?"). The term "empathic reflection" is defined as mirroring the deeper feelings and meanings implicit in the words and communications of those interviewed (Mishler 1991; Kvale 1996). Paraphrasing and empathic reflections (e.g., "So, it sounds like you have a positive relationship with your gender due to various positive things that happened at your all-boys grade school?") were used throughout the interview to facilitate sensitivity and clarity of responses. These interview tactics were also intended to help deepen the exploration of issues raised by each participant and to elicit rich, detailed descriptions. Each interview ended with a question asking whether the participant had anything else to add, ensuring that participants had explicit permission to speak their minds.

Thematic Coding

Following interviews, responses were reviewed and transcribed. At the conclusion of all thirty interviews, the researcher's in-interview observation notes and the interview transcriptions were studied using qualitative content analysis procedures (Syed et al. 2011) to identify themes associated with gender identity formation and best counseling practices. Thematic coding was done by highlighting all quotes from transcriptions that were repeated in at least two separate interviews. Examples of repeated themes include: "I first learned about trans* identities through my daughter or son, who is queer" and "I found out what 'transgender' is when my brother's friend, who was thirteen or fourteen at the time, told me that they wanted to be called Brad instead of Valerie." Then, these highlighted quotes were reviewed to identify the themes that were most common and related to the goals of this study. Thematic coding was conducted for common themes in all thirty interviews and notes together, and then for each gender category separately.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

My hypothesis that the interview responses would show evidence of a variety of experiences with gender was supported, even among individuals who have the same gender identity. Some non-binary-identified people experienced immense transphobic oppression and negative mental health outcomes. For example, one transgender-identified man had been beaten

to the point that he needed treatment in an intensive care unit. A gender-queer respondent reported that hir had been fired from two jobs for “inappropriate” clothing choices and that hir had been “correctionally raped” by a family member to “cure” hir of hir non-conforming gender expression. However, other non-binary interviewees had encountered almost no blatant transphobia. For example, one transgender-identified man who works for the Air Force reported slight name-calling and rudeness, but had never been physically assaulted, had never experienced occupational or housing discrimination, and was overall graciously accepted and supported by his family.

There were, however, particular identity categories of interviewees that were related to particular experiences. For example, all of the respondents of color reported harassment and gender policing, even those who identified as cisgender, while only a few of the white cisgender respondents reported any negative gender policing. Additionally, all of the trans* women in this study had been physically assaulted and all of them had been fired from a job (all but one were explicitly told that their firing was due to the way they dressed). This is compared to the two of the five transgender men who had been fired from jobs, and the three of ten gender-non-binary respondents.

I also predicted that the interview responses would show the various ways in which cisgender individuals are harmed by a climate of trans*phobia. This hypothesis was supported in part. All of the cisgender participants who were under age 35 described at least one unwelcome experience of others policing their gender. For example, one cisgender-identified man indicated that he was often mocked and ridiculed in school for his slightly feminine masculinity. A 56-year old cisgender woman spoke briefly to being teased for wearing jeans nearly all the time, but could not identify any specific cases of other gender-related policing.

My assumption that gender would be tied to a variety of factors was supported. There were no coherent themes that respondents could identify as a source of their gender identity. However, respondents from many different identity categories talked about similar experiences with gender in their interviews. For example, the religious identities of the gender-non-binary respondents were all different, and responses to the question about whether religion had affected their experiences with gender ranged from “Not in my personal life, no,” to “Completely, I honestly do not know how I would conceptualize my gender if my parents had raised me in a different religion.” Some of the factors that participants described as influencing their gender expression included physical attractions, family and societal culture, and class.

Finally, my hypothesis that the most common counseling tip participants would suggest for social workers is to be open, accepting, and

not rooted in assumptions was partially confirmed. The most common tip for social workers was not to make any assumptions about any aspect of their clients' lives. Openness and acceptance were also suggested, as were: "ask clients for their pronouns," "advocate for trans* and queer identities and equality in your community," "have friends that have the same identities as the people you are serving in your job," and "educate yourself—read a book and reflect on your own gender."

Common Themes

Four common themes were discovered: 1) a relationship between knowledge of trans* identities and higher education; 2) the importance of trans* identified people in discovery of non-conforming gender identity/knowledge; 3) areas of privilege for gender conforming people; and 4) intersections between race and gender.

The relationship between knowledge of trans* identities and higher education was indicated by 23 of the 30 participants, who all spoke in support of trans* equality, having had some level of college-education. Of the seven who had not attended college, all but two had graduated high school (six of these seven people and both of the two non-high school graduates were trans*). Additionally, four of the gender non-binary people referenced finding community through their higher-education institution, while only one spoke to an inclusive community in high school. Several of the cisgender respondents (6 of the 10) referenced meeting people at college that educated them about gender non-conforming identities.

The importance of trans* identified people in discovery of non-conforming gender identity/knowledge was shown by the fact that all but one cisgender participant had learned of trans* and gender-non-conforming identities by meeting a trans* person or by having someone they knew come out as trans*. This theme manifested slightly differently for transgender folks, who reported Internet research, specifically YouTube videos, as the most common source of knowledge of trans* identities. For gender-non-binary respondents, discovery of trans* identities was also often from the Internet, but less so from YouTube specifically.

That areas of privilege for gender conforming people was important was made evident by the higher rate of reports of physical and verbal assault for trans* respondents. Also, none of the trans* people had a role model in their real life that shared their gender identity, while all cisgender respondents did.

The importance of intersections between race and gender was indicated by the stories that revealed complicated intersections. All of the non-binary-gendered people of color verbally identified the feeling that they had to compartmentalize their identities in their interviews. One said of their

early experiences coming out, “I could be Black at the BSU, Native at home on the res, and queer for drag shows, but there was nowhere to be just me.”

Other themes that were less prevalent than these main four include: a loss of importance of gender identity through age; first memories about gender centering on policing; the importance of connection in competent mental health care; and the variability of gender expression over time for all identities.

Limitations of the Study

There are several limitations to the reach of this study. For example, it was small, with a total of just 30 participants. This makes it precarious to generalize the findings of this study alone to work with clients without consulting other sources of information. Additionally, there is little data on intersecting identity factors such as race, class, and disability status. A mere seven of the participants identified as people of color and only two identified as living with a disability. Other possible limitations of this study include specific identities of the researcher. For example, the fact that interviews were conducted by a white person who identifies as trans* could potentially make cisgender participants less comfortable sharing their stories or lead to participants of color feeling less comfortable discussing instances of racism. Finally, only vocal questioning was used to gather information from clients in this study, there were no quantitative surveys, observation, or arts-based forms of information gathering that may have painted a fuller picture of the data.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE

The respondents in this study referenced a variety of experiences with gender identity formation and strongly suggested social workers should avoid making assumptions about the experiences of their clients of all genders. Here it is relevant to note that many people of trans* and queer identities are often not “out” to their service providers and thus we should begin with the simple recognition that providing room for people to tell their own stories facilitates client connection and understanding, both of which are vital for competent mental health care.

Additionally, results of this study can be applied in counseling to help therapists realize some of the daily difficulties trans* individuals face that contribute to higher rates of mental health issues in trans* communities. The responses of interviewees tell us that discrimination and harassment fall in line with past research that showed high levels of physical violence and job and housing discrimination for trans* people (Grant et al. 2011; National Center for Transgender Equality 2011). This societal oppression

was even more intense for this study's participants of color. Again, all of the respondents of color reported harassment and gender policing, even those who identified themselves as cisgender.

Two of the tips for social workers that I was most surprised to hear were that social workers should get involved with trans* advocacy and should reflect on who is/is not in their personal friend groups. The fact that these tips relate to personal reflection make them rather simple to enact. While it would be impossible for social workers to advocate for every stigmatized group they counsel, counseling can work to become more accessible and component for people of all identities. As for friendships, close relationships are how we learn and connect readings about transphobia to real life, and who we consider our friends has impact on how we view other identities. Thus, having people of non-normative gender identities in one's close circle of friends would facilitate greater acceptance and knowledge of trans* experiences.

In conclusion, I believe that the themes identified in this study can be used in some way to improve counseling. Given its limitations of the small sample size, I hope that this study can show the way for more inclusive work that will inform service providers and facilitate mental health care that is accessible for the trans* people who face daily discrimination.

ENDNOTES

¹ Some English writers use "ze/hir/hirs" as gender-neutral pronouns, and this practice is adopted in this paper as some cited authors and interviewees use ze/hir/hirs as third-person pronouns. Other writers choose to employ "they/them" as gender-neutral third-person singular pronouns. Kate Bornstein uses both pronouns like ze/hir and they/them.

² IRB number 1301E26661.

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TANF CHILD-ONLY POLICY: IMPROVING ACCESS AND ENROLLMENT IN ILLINOIS

Valerie Taing, A.M. '13

Abstract

This paper offers social work practitioners an intersectional analysis of social welfare and immigration policies, through the lens of TANF child-only policy. The paper assesses how TANF child-only grants for Ineligible Immigrant Parent (IIP) cases provide for citizen children and their undocumented parent(s) and makes recommendations for social work practitioners seeking to improve access and enrollment for eligible children. It focuses on the implementation of IIP child-only policy in Illinois and provides recommendations for improving implementation to better serve immigrant children and families.

The passage of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (PRWORA) codified the radical transformation of the social safety net. PRWORA replaced the federal cash entitlement program Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) with a work support and time-limited income assistance program, Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF). TANF is funded through block grants to states. As a block grant, TANF allows states to fund a variety of programs and activities for low-income families. These are designed to encourage self-sufficiency, work participation, formation of two-parent families, and marriage by providing child care, workforce training, and cash welfare (Falk 2013). Disadvantaged families who are not considered work-eligible are able to access assistance through child-only grants that have no time-limits or work requirements. These families include those with parents who are disabled and receiving SSI (SSI child-only), those with children

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cared for by non-parental caregivers (NPC child-only), and those with parents who are ineligible immigrants (IIP child-only).

Since the signing of PRWORA, two related trends have emerged. First, TANF child-only cases have been on the rise. Nationally, child-only cases make up two in every five TANF cases (Mauldon, Speiglmán, Sogar, and Stagner 2012). The IIP child-only grant is the only means-tested program. It requires reporting of adult earnings from work to determine eligibility. Although children born in the United States to undocumented parents represent the majority of IIP cases, children of parents who are legal permanent residents and have not reached the five-year threshold are also included within this population. IIP child-only grants serve as a partial safety net for mixed-status families, who otherwise have few social programs in which they are eligible to participate.

The second trend is that since PRWORA there has been a decline in public benefits use by immigrant families, even among those who remained eligible for benefits and services (Fortuny and Chaudry 2011). This is largely a result of the five-year ban on legal permanent residents accessing public means-tested programs instituted under PRWORA (Fix, Capps, and Kaushal 2009). Additionally, in the same year, Congress passed into law the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 (IIRIRA), permitting state and local law enforcement agencies—under agreements with the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS)—to provide enforcement of federal immigration laws. Together these policy changes have led to the decline in public benefits use by immigrant families.

This paper assesses how TANF child-only grants for Ineligible Immigrant Parent (IIP) cases provide for citizen children and their undocumented parent(s) and makes recommendations for social work practitioners seeking to improve access and enrollment for eligible children. Its focus will be on the implementation of IIP child-only policy in Illinois and provides recommendations for improving implementation at the state level to better serve immigrant children and families

DYNAMICS OF IIP CASES

Nationally, one-third of the children of undocumented parents are estimated to be living in poverty (Anthony 2007) and yet immigrant families are less likely to receive public benefits and are more likely to be uninsured (Fortuny and Chaudry 2011). Children of mixed-status families are also at greater risk of poor educational and developmental outcomes, as a result of the social and legal exclusion experienced by their parents. Their parents often work long hours in low-wage sectors and are unable to

tend to their developmental needs. Moreover, the stress, depression, and anxiety due to social isolation, exposure to poor working conditions, and lack of social supports and resources have a significant impact on children's early development and developmental contexts (Yoshikawa 2011).

For mixed-status families, the IIP child-only safety net is partial, but it does provide more protection in states with generous benefit levels, like California and New York. Nationally, IIP cases stay on assistance at a similar rate as adult-aid cases. According to data on child-only enrollments, IIP cases were most likely to enter or leave assistance within two-year intervals, suggesting that parents use IIP child-only grants as emergency assistance, during periods of instability in employment either through job loss or loss in hours and wages. At the same time, IIP child-only policy is limited to only cash assistance as TANF administrators reported little knowledge of IIP family needs (Mauldon et al. 2012).

ASSESSING ILLINOIS POLICY

Since states have significant discretion in the design, use, and implementation of TANF funds, there is great variability across states in terms of eligibility, benefit levels, and the structure of TANF programs. Child-only benefits are calculated based on the number of eligible children within the "assistance unit" (AU); thus within a household, all citizen children are considered a part of the AU. Beyond this benefit calculation, benefit levels and income thresholds vary. In assessing TANF child-only policy design and implementation in Illinois it is helpful to compare it with a state that has high take-up rates (e.g., California).

As of 2008, it is estimated that there are 87,000 families with undocumented parents and citizen children in the state of Illinois, but in 2010 there were reportedly only 1,581 IIP cases (Mauldon et al 2012). Thus for every 1,000 undocumented families, there are predicted to be only three IIP cases. In California the ratio is 45:1,000. There are a number of factors that may be contributing to the low take-up rate of IIP child-only grants in Illinois. According to Mauldon and others (2012), two factors appear to matter most in determining states' take-up rates of child-only grants: 1) generosity of benefit levels and income thresholds and 2) whether the state's policy environment is hospitable toward immigrant populations.

As for the generosity of benefits, Illinois benefit levels and income thresholds are below average. One eligible child receives a monthly payment of \$117, and for two eligible children the payment is \$230 (Illinois Department of Human Services 2013). Alternatively, California's monthly benefit per child is \$382 and in New York it is \$582. Illinois, however, is considered hospitable relative to other states. The state

recently passed a bill that would allow undocumented immigrants to obtain state driver's licenses (Cano and Nealy 2013) and passed its own version of the Dream Act, which created a private scholarship fund for eligible undocumented college-bound students. The state also withdrew its participation from the Secure Communities Program, which required local law enforcement to check fingerprints of individuals in custody with those filed in the US Homeland Security Department's database (Preston 2011). Finally, although not widely publicized, the state's Child Care Assistance Program (CCAP) provides child care subsidies to eligible low-income families, including legally permanent and undocumented residents.

Another potential contributing factor to the low take-up rate is how a state chooses to prioritize the use of its TANF funds, the central category being basic assistance, or cash welfare, that includes assistance for both adult and child-only cases (Falk 2012). Illinois spends the least amount of its TANF funds on basic assistance and the greatest share on work support and child welfare activities, leaving less available to increase enrollment or assistance levels for IIP child-only cases. Contrast this with California, which has prioritized its TANF funding to provide basic assistance (53 percent), followed by child care (13 percent), and work-related activities (12 percent) (Center on Budget and Policy Priorities 2012).

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PRACTITIONERS

The fundamental challenge for social workers remains the fact that IIP-eligible families are not utilizing the benefit, since many parents avoid interacting with government officials and institutions due to the (real and perceived) danger of exposing a family member's legal status. It is therefore important for the child welfare field to become increasingly aware of the intersection between child welfare and immigration policies by recognizing the fears and anxieties that inhibit IIP families from seeking services. Improving access to IIP child-only grants for this subpopulation might provide an entry point for other family support services, for which citizen children are eligible.

The most fundamental action to improve IIP family access to services is to promote greater transparency of Illinois' TANF programs and services, ensuring eligibility rules and guidelines are publicly available.¹ Doing so would allow social work practitioners and community-based organizations to better inform and educate mixed-status families on this available benefit. In turn, child welfare practitioners should work with community-based immigrant organizations to educate state administrators and promote outreach and recruitment efforts in coordination with the Illinois Department of Human Services (IDHS).

Community-based immigrant organizations can also be utilized when trying to reach IIP-eligible families. In states with high participation rates, strong immigrant networks and organizations have played an important role in disseminating information and allaying parents' fears of enrolling in public benefit programs for their children (Mauldon et al 2012). Outreach efforts should be considered as part of an overall strategy to promote early intervention and attempts at increasing enrollment in TANF would do well alongside efforts to increase Medicaid coverage, SNAP and child care benefits use, etc.

Child welfare practitioners can also work in coordination with medical staff at public hospitals to approach and educate undocumented new mothers about the benefits that their US-born children are eligible to receive, such as Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), the Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants and Children (WIC) and TANF. As suggested by the high take-up rate of WIC among undocumented families (Yoshikawa 2011), such an approach would serve as a less threatening entry point for understanding the services available to mixed-status families and help to ease the fears and anxieties associated with applying for public benefits.

Developing relationships between IDHS, child welfare, early childhood practitioners and agencies, and immigrant organizations should also be a goal for practitioners. Given the lack of understanding of IIP family needs among state administrators, it would be important to coordinate with other agencies or identify ways to provide information on other forms of non-TANF assistance that children are eligible to receive. An assessment of service gaps and needs of mixed-status families could be conducted and matched with identifying existing services available to families. This assessment and knowledge of available benefits and services could be used to inform mixed-status families, TANF agencies, and community-based organizations.

Finally, child welfare and early childhood practitioners and immigrant groups must organize together in order to effectively advocate and illustrate the need for increasing benefit levels for child-only grants generally, and also increase the income threshold for IIP cases, since it is the only means-tested program.² The high proportion of TANF spending on child care subsidies can be attributed in part to the political strength and organization of child care providers in the state of Illinois. This is to say that organized political pressure—through education and advocacy by immigrant rights organizations and social work practitioners—can and must play a role in ensuring the needs of children of mixed-status families are acknowledged and addressed by state funding allocations as well as improving the benefit levels of child-only grants as a whole.

CONCLUSION

In the current policy environment, TANF remains one of the primary funding streams for state social safety-net programs. This paper has suggested solutions for improving TANF's implementation within Illinois for IIP-eligible families by promoting: 1) greater transparency of IIP child-only grant eligibility guidelines; 2) outreach and education efforts; and 3) cross-sector/agency partnerships aimed to improve access and enrollment in TANF child-only grants in conjunction with efforts to ensure that citizen children enroll in other public benefits they are eligible to receive. Efforts to increase enrollment can help public agencies, child welfare and early childhood practitioners, as well as other stakeholders concerned with child poverty, better understand and address the needs of mixed-status families—a growing, but politically invisible population.³ Given the hardships as well as social and legal exclusion experienced by mixed-status families, access to case management or other services would help to connect these families to available non-TANF funded services.

Comprehensive immigration reform that creates viable pathways for obtaining citizenship, increases worker protections, and provides relief from the threat of deportation would help to dramatically improve the quality of life of mixed-status and undocumented families. At the federal level, the prospects for such families are dim, as the current Senate immigration reform bill proposes a difficult path requiring a minimum of nineteen years and a number of fees to obtain citizenship. Although the bill includes increased labor protections, it also proposes substantial investment in increasing border enforcement and security (National Immigration Law Center 2013). As social work practitioners, we have a responsibility to understand the intersection of immigration and social welfare policies and the ways in which the interaction of such policies inhibit immigrant children's access to programs and benefits. Social work practitioners working in the fields of child welfare, early childhood, and education must build a collective knowledge base regarding the dual effects of these policies and work together with immigrant advocates and public agencies to identify creative approaches at the local and state levels to improve access and ensure that mixed-status families obtain benefits that they are eligible to receive as part of efforts to improve overall child welfare.

ENDNOTES

¹ This discretion includes not requiring states to provide or publish eligibility guidelines for TANF programs and services (Falk 2013, 21). Although one of the conditions to receiving the TANF block grant is for states to furnish a plan every three years to the

Secretary of the Department of Health and Human Services, such plans do not require states to provide information on basic eligibility rules for TANF assistance, nor is such information readily provided by states (Ibid).

² Given the structure of the TANF financing system, this will be difficult to do. Under PRWORA, TANF block grant funds are fixed. The law entitles states to a basic block grant equal to states' AFDC spending pre-1996. Thus, the funds allocated to states do not change when caseloads increase or decrease (Falk 2013, 3). Furthermore, incentives are to fund work-support activities in order to meet funding requirements. TANF law sets the requirement that 50% of all families and 90% of two-parents be "engaged in work," definitions of work vary by state. However, work participation rates are lowered by credits earned by states through caseload reductions and expending beyond the maintenance of effort (MOE) requirement (Falk 2013, 15).

³ Although this paper specifically focuses on IIP child-only policy and mixed-status families, it is important to also acknowledge that undocumented children and families are politically invisible and legally excluded from state and federally funded programs. Improving the quality of life and well-being of undocumented children and families is equally urgent, but not the primary subject of this paper.

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