

MISSION STATEMENT

Advocates' Forum is an academic journal that explores implications of clinical social work practice, social issues, administration, and public policies linked to the social work profession. The Editorial Board of *Advocates' Forum* seeks to provide a medium through which SSA students can contribute to public thinking about social welfare and policy in theory and practice. Above all, *Advocates' Forum* serves to encourage and facilitate an open, scholarly exchange of ideas among individuals working toward the shared goal of a more just and humane society.

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Advocates' Forum is published by the students of the School of Social Service Administration (SSA) at The University of Chicago. Submissions to the journal are selected by the editorial board from works submitted by SSA students and edited in an extensive revision process with the authors' permission. Responsibility for the accuracy of information contained in written submissions rests solely with the author. Views expressed within each article belong to the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the editorial board, the School of Social Service Administration, or The University of Chicago. All inquiries and submissions should be directed to:

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ON THE COVER

The University of Chicago
School of Social Service Administration
Photographer: Lloyd DeGrane

FROM THE EDITORS

For more than twenty years, student voices at the University of Chicago's School of Social Service Administration have found an audience through *Advocates' Forum*. In light of our country's current political climate and uncertainty about the future of social welfare, we find the thoughtfulness, curiosity, and compassion demonstrated by the pieces in *Advocates' Forum* to be especially important. We see social work as an increasingly necessary and broad-reaching profession, and are consistently awed and inspired by the incredible commitment to social justice we see every day at SSA. The articles included in this journal represent just some of the many ways SSA students think about the world and our place in improving it.

This year's *Advocates' Forum* is comprised of a breadth of perspectives and voices, encompassing both clinical and administrative social work topics. Jocelyn Broitman's article describes one organization's attempt to genuinely incorporate youth voice into its programming. Clariza Saint George, Lara Burt, and Brett Penner's article focuses on the associated risk factors of maternal depression, specifically work stress and income level. Kelli Chavez's article looks at the impact of public-private economic partnerships, specifically the case of Gary, Indiana's attempt at revitalization. Tadeo Weiner Davis' article explores the Mexican and Mexican American experience during the Great Depression, drawing important parallels to the current climate and social work today. Andrea Haidar's article about immigrant and refugee rights specifies the necessary role of social work in action and advocacy based on our profession's history and code of ethics.

We would like to thank everyone who helped make this year's journal a success. We are grateful to our authors who submitted such insightful, timely pieces that contribute to current conversations at SSA and beyond. We also want to thank Daniel Listoe, PhD, for working with our authors to make these pieces even more excellent and streamlined. Thank you also to Assistant Professor Angela S. García for her thoughtful guidance this year as our Faculty Advisor. Thank you also to the Dean of Students Office, most especially former Dean Shawna Cooper-Gibson and Nerissa Osby, and Dean Neil Guterman for their unwavering support and commitment to *Advocates' Forum* and the students of SSA; to Director of Marketing and Communications, Julie Jung; and to the SSA SGA. And, of course, to our dedicated Editorial Board, First-year Editors, and to you all, the students of SSA and our readers.

Nora Frazin & Kathryn West
Co-Editors-in-Chief

POWER IN YOUTH-LED PHILANTHROPY

Jocelyn Broitman

Introduction

The Chicago-based Mikva Challenge Foundation has long believed that young people have the ability to challenge entrenched power structures and thereby exert political influence. I worked at Mikva for four years before returning to graduate school and saw firsthand how it generated programs that would help youth analyze and engage political power. Its core curriculum focuses on having youth identify issues they care about and then advocate for those issues by appealing to the decision-makers who influence and shape public policy. To successfully appeal to decision-makers with power, Mikva has found that young people first need to develop the skills to analyze power in decision-making structures.

In 2016, Mikva set out to create a youth-led philanthropy council. This council would help fund and guide youth-led action projects across the city. In the philanthropy council, the participating youth themselves became the decision-makers with power. The focus of this article is the dissonance between the identity, values, and roles of youth who had been trained by Mikva to challenge power and their role as council members with the power to determine, fund, and guide projects.

This article begins by looking closely at Mikva Challenge and how it helped develop the identity of its “youth activists.” It then describes a moment of conflict experienced by the council members. Then I discuss my intervention to resolve this conflict, describing the theoretical framework used, the intervention itself, and the council’s reactions to it. Finally, the article examines the promise of youth-led philanthropy and the challenges of power that come with it.

MIKVA CHALLENGE

The Mikva Challenge Foundation is a non-profit whose mission is to make Chicago’s young people “informed, empowered, active citizens and community leaders.” To help bring Chicago youth into the

policy arena, Mikva develops programs around what it calls “action civics.” Action civics is based in large part on the harnessing of youth expertise—the knowledge that youth possess regarding the problems they encounter in their daily lives. Through training in action civics, the youth who pass through Mikva’s program learn how to effectively present their expertise and exert pressure on decision-makers. Mikva’s core curriculum teaches participants a six-step process for leveraging their expertise effectively. This six-step process starts with what youth know and builds that knowledge into action through examining community, identifying issues, conducting research, analyzing power, developing strategies, and taking action (Mikva Challenge, 2016).

Mikva created six Citywide Youth Councils (CYCs) to work with different government bodies (e.g., City Hall, the Department of Health, Chicago Housing Authority) in an “advisory” role. The young people on these councils employ the six-step process on an issue and present policy recommendations to decision-makers. Typically, decision-makers select one or two policy recommendations and then work with the group to implement them. Past recommendations that have reached the stage of implementation are a pilot program for free CTA cards for Chicago Public School students and a citywide campaign on condom use designed by young people (Mikva Challenge, 2016).

The success of Mikva’s CYCs can be seen as having achieved these “wins” through using “insider tactics,” which is defined as actions “carried out with policymakers directly [that] include activities such as lobbying, providing testimony, and sitting on policy committees” (Mosely 2013, p. 232). Although formal lobbying isn’t a regular activity Mikva engages in, one can see the logic behind “insider tactics” at work in the ways CYCs engage powerful decision-makers through building reciprocal relationships. Thus their “wins” are practical, in that they achieve real gains for young people, but are also symbolic, in that they create legitimacy for youth voice in the policymaking process more generally.

In an effort to harness both a larger and broader set of youth expertise with which to influence high-level decision-makers, Mikva created the Youth Voice Infrastructure (YVI) in 2015. YVI represented a program expansion, as well as a new way to frame the work Mikva was already doing. It established a network of active young people across the city that in partnership with city leaders would address the city’s most pressing problems. The plan to implement YVI involved coordination with Mikva’s CYCs and school-based student voice committees to engage the larger population of marginalized youth

and bring their knowledge and expertise to city decision-makers (see Appendix A) (Mikva Challenge, 2015).

To build the YVI, Mikva proposed a multi-step process that began with the recruitment of youth action teams at schools across the city. These youth action teams were brought together for the Youth Action Congress in February 2016. At the event, CYC members trained them in “youth activism” strategies. Participants also developed plans for their own community action projects and met one-on-one with community decision-makers. The next step in the process was for these youth action teams to apply for funding to implement their community action projects. To manage this step of the process, Mikva created a student led philanthropy council called the Youth Action Council (YAC), which was responsible for reviewing the action plans and making decisions about what funding they would receive to implement their project. All members of the YAC were recruited from other Mikva programs. The majority of the YAC came from the CYCs (B. Aguayo, personal communication, March 3, 2016).

YOUTH-LED PHILANTHROPY IN CHICAGO

In their discussion of community practice models, Boehm and Cnann (2012) differentiate between organizing from a geographic community and a community of interest. They define communities of interest as those that come together around shared identities or interests as opposed to geographic location. Mikva, which draws young people from across Chicago’s deeply segregated—racial, cultural, and socioeconomic—lines, creates a shared identity of “young people in Chicago” for their participants to organize around. This identity is defined by being systematically disempowered and left out of decision-making structures (e.g., schools and local government) that deeply impact their lives. When the youth utilize this identity in their organizing, they can better advocate for the inclusion of *youth voice* within existing power structures.

In the view of Boehm and Cnann (2012), successful community practice depends in large part on having a space for discourse. Regular Mikva events, like this Youth Action Congress, provide such a space. This particular event drew together 400 youth and decision-makers from across Chicago (Mikva Challenge, 2016). At events like these, young people who might never have crossed paths discuss issues they see in their communities and use their shared expertise to come up with possible solutions. While the differences between communities are not ignored, the shared identity of the “active” young people is

emphasized in everything from the signage at events to the group chants like “youth voice rocks!”

At a similar event I ran for the organization, many participant evaluations emphasized that one of the best parts was realizing they weren’t the only young people who cared about community issues. The sense of shared values and interests fostered at these events allows young people to feel connected to a larger youth activist community in Chicago and integrate that positive connection into their own identities.

In theory, using youth-led philanthropy and youth expertise to fund other youth expertise is the epitome of Mikva’s mission. The thought was that the YAC would use their Mikva training to make decisions about allocating resources, and that the young people they funded would utilize those resources to implement solutions they thought would best address the needs of their communities. In practice, however, the YAC ran into some unexpected challenges. Their facilitator, also a former Mikva student, listened to the YAC make disparaging comments about the action plans submitted by the youth action teams and told me in frustration that the students on the YAC were “acting like city hall.” For example, when an action team proposed a project of bathroom beautification, the YAC dismissed the issue as “too small.” That complaint from the YAC was repeated often. Instead of trusting the expertise of the youth action teams, the YAC was rejecting proposals that did not fit their sense of what action projects “should” look like.

In order to understand this, we can turn to Mizrahi’s (2002) critique of community practice. Mizrahi explains why the members of the YAC might have shifted away from their previous activist identity. As Mizrahi (2002) states, “values, power, and resources inform the way you and your constituency define the problem and select the solutions” (p. 518). Because members of the YAC were accustomed to making recommendations to powerful decision-makers like the mayor and the CEO of Chicago Public Schools, they had come to hold a view of community problems as defined by a certain kind of policy implementation. The youth action teams, however, were based in school communities and focused only on problems and solutions that they encountered in their day-to-day lives. When their respective views about what constituted a proper problem to be addressed didn’t align, the YAC used the power they had to reject the proposals of the youth action teams.

REFLECTING ON POWER

I asked the YAC facilitator if I could come into one of the sessions to do a workshop that might address this shift in power, and he agreed. For the session, I drew on the anti-oppressive practice modality outlined in Tew's (2006) *Understanding Power and Powerlessness: Towards a Framework for Emancipatory Practice in Social Work*. Tew suggests that power should be seen as a social relation that plays out through systems, relationships, personal identities and the interactions between them. To capture the complexity of this understanding of power, Tew lays out a "matrix of power relations" (see Appendix C). Across the vertical axis are the categories of "power over" and "power together" and across the horizontal axis are "productive modes of power" and "limiting modes of power." The categories that emerge in the resulting matrix each represent a way that Tew believes power has the potential to operate.

The workshop session that followed was meant to provide a space for the members of the YAC to come together and reflect on their power, their relationship to it, and how they were using it in their current role (see Appendix B). When we created a shared definition of power, the YAC included money, but it also included relational aspects of power, like social networks and reputation. By highlighting this complexity about power, they conformed to Tew's definition.

YAC members were then asked to think of a time when they did not have power. As Tew (2006) recognizes, people's relationship to modes of power may shift over time and that "People may be involved in more than one mode of power relations at the same time" (p. 40). It is important to recognize that while the individual members of the YAC were in a position of relative power in this group, many of them also inhabited marginalized identities through which they experienced oppressive power on a daily basis. One young person talked about the negative reactions people had when she would tell them she was a teen mother and how, in turn, she took power back by emphasizing that she is meeting her educational and financial responsibilities. A young man shared a story of trying to plan a conversation between youth and police in his community and how, on the day of the event, the adults providing the event space told him it "wasn't a good idea" and called it off. A young woman said she felt powerless when having to choose a gendered bathroom when neither felt like it fit.

After sharing their experiences with each other, members of the YAC concluded that power and powerlessness could happen in relationships and in systems. They went back to revise their definition of power accordingly. After complicating the definition

of power, we turned to the matrix of power relations. I asked about other ways they had seen these uses of power play out and our conversation quickly turned to politics. One member pointed out the way Donald Trump has used collusive power to play on the fears of the white working class. There was a discussion about how local politicians have used a mix of oppressive and protective power to gentrify neighborhoods and take over schools. They all agreed that cooperative power was the ideal.

I wondered aloud what kind of power they were using as the YAC. The room got quiet. After a minute one member spoke up and observed that maybe they had been using some protective power but that perhaps cooperative power might work better. I then asked the YAC to come up with a statement of how they planned to shift their use of power from one that would be wielded against the youth action teams to one that would strive to better align the local groups and the council. Their statement included remembering what it was like to be in the grantee's position and reaching out to the action groups to better understand the motivation for their respective proposals.

For the YAC, having the space for these conversations about power was important because, as Tew (2006) reminds us, "a crucial element of emancipatory practice is to help people to develop a greater understanding of the power relations that may impact on their lives" (p. 35). Beyond personal insight, this deeper understanding of power helps avoid damaging uses of power, whether intentional or unintentional.

CONCLUSION

The YAC's struggles to maintain an empowering approach with the youth action teams demonstrated to me the critical importance of centering power in youth-led philanthropy. Hasenfeld (1992) believes that many different kinds of social service organizations are guilty of not centering power. He believes social workers often fail to acknowledge or address the ways in which power lives in their work and writes that when individuals have power to control outcomes, the choices they make reinforce "personal and professional ideologies" (p. 267). This is not often dealt with, in large part because professional values emphasize clients' rights, creating the illusion that social workers are immune to wielding power in harmful ways. The power still exists, Hasenfeld argues, and social workers should acknowledge it and then empower clients to "make choices and gain control over their environment" (p. 269).

Mikva's work with young people follows this path. A power analysis is a crucial element of their programs and gives young people the chance to critically engage their power while attending to the power within the structures they are engaging. The members of YAC held certain ideologies about how youth activism should look, many of them shaped by their own participation in Mikva programs, and they struggled to balance these as they implemented their given tasks. I believe my workshop helped bring these ideologies to light and enabled them to re-center power in their approach.

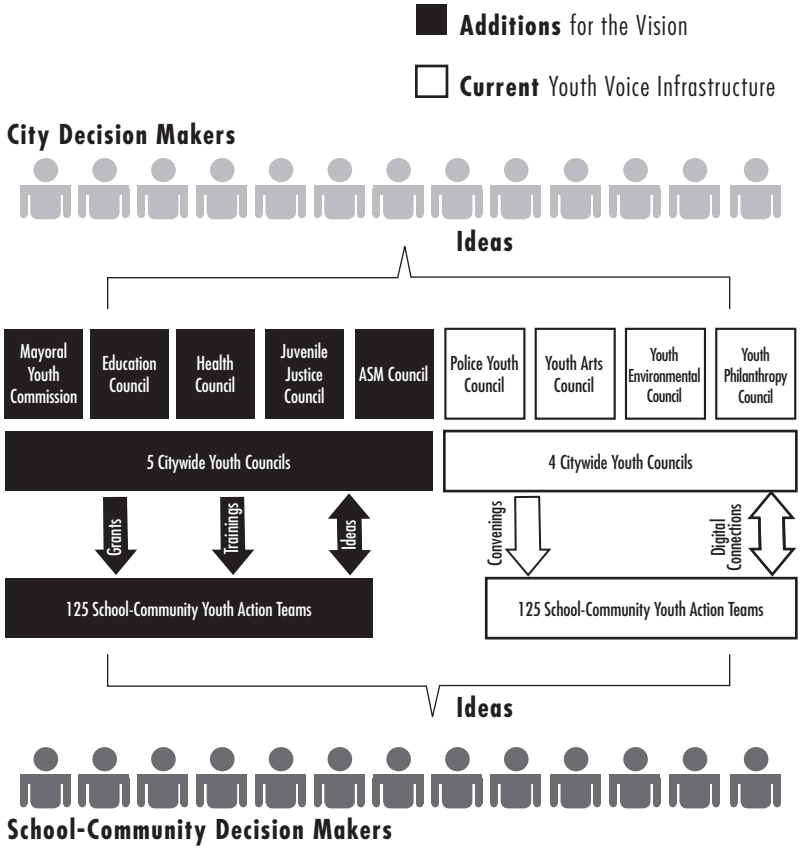
In addition to talking about power, Mikva's approach to youth empowerment includes giving youth direct access to those who have power. However, achieving this kind of access comes with the cost of creating interdependent relationships with decision-makers whose decisions may not always align with the values of the organization. Mosley (2013) notes that the recognizing these interdependent relationships creates an incentive to avoid confrontational strategies. In the case of Mikva's work, its ongoing relationships with decision-makers means that it cannot engage in outsider tactics without risking its ability to give young people a "seat at the table." While avoiding outsider tactics has worked for Mikva in the past, it is not clear if it will be successful in solving all issues young people care about. It very well might get young people in the room with powerful people to share their solutions. However, if their solutions present a serious threat to existing power structure, those solutions may be ignored. Having been on the other side of power, members of the YAC learned firsthand how such power works to reject new ideas.

Mikva Challenge's use of "insider tactics" means that they have taken a long view of achieving change. Instead of overtly disrupting current structures of power in the short term, they are attempting to change them gradually through creating a generation of empowered young people who are able to see and strategically use power. This approach is one that has widely resonated with both young people and decision-makers in Chicago. Mikva has experienced considerable growth the last few years both in Chicago and nationally.

Creating the youth philanthropy council and directly placing resources under their control certainly matches the logic and ideology of Mikva's other successful programs. However, in practice, the complexity and relational nature of power emerged in a way that threatened to derail its potential. A reflection on power and its centering might be a tool the organization needs to add to its curriculum in order to facilitate deeper conversations about forms of power emerging within and through the organization.

APPENDIX A:

**MIKVA CHALLENGE'S VISION FOR YOUTH VOICE INFRASTRUCTURE
(Mikva Challenge, 2015)**



APPENDIX B:

DETAILED AGENDA- POWER ANALYSIS 2.0

<p>Intro/Ice Breaker</p>	<p>Who I Am: Jocelyn/former Mikva staff/social work student Why I'm Here: They are in a unique position as a council (grant giving) and I wanted to create some space to talk about how that changes how they think about power. Who They Are: Go around and share, name, favorite candy, what you are most passionate about</p>	<p>5 minutes</p>
<p>Arts And Crafts To Show Power</p>	<p>Play by Play</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Make three to four small groups 2. Group 1 receives the most resources, Group 2 receives just enough, Group 3 a little less, Group 4 receives barely anything. 3. Pass out the different packets and the instruction sheets to all participants and explain that the groups have 10 minutes to complete the activities. 4. The facilitator should help out the groups with more resources (group 1 and 2) while ignoring and treating group 3 unfairly. 5. The facilitator should tell Group 3 to ask group 1 and 2 to share their materials. However the facilitator should tell Group 1 and 2 NOT to share their materials. 6. After the 10 minutes are up have each group present what they have completed. <p>DEBRIEF</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Which group had the most resources? 2. Which group ended up having the best results/ why? 3. How do the conditions created during this activity reflect real life situations? 4. Who might Group 1 represent, who might Group 2 represent, who might Group 3 represent? 5. Why didn't group 2 and 3 get together and share resources? 	<p>20 minutes</p>

<p>Thought Museum Power</p>	<p>Play by Play:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Round 1: Group walks around read quotes. Use post it notes to write down thoughts/ feelings they bring up. • Round 2: Stand by the quote that to you feel truest about the nature of power. In that small group (if just one student, join with another group or facilitator) and answer... <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o How do you think the person who wrote/said your quote would describe what power is? o Does the person who wrote/said your quote think power is good or bad? SHARE OUT • Round 3 Debrief: Power plays out on an individual level, in relationships in positive and negative ways. It also plays out in systems, like school or government, and we as individuals are a part of that too. • Get in a new small group (of people who had a different quote and answer... <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o What do you define power as? o What is time in your life when you have had power? What is a time in your life you have not had power? SHARE OUT 	<p>20 minutes</p>
<p>Power Chart</p>	<p>Play by Play:</p> <p>Intro: This is one way to understand power. The author of this believes 2 important things about power.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Power is not zero sum. So there is not a finite amount of power we are fighting over in the world. We have the power we are able to create. 2. That power can be both good and bad depending on how you use it. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pass out one pager with the power chart • Read out loud as a group • Can we think of one current event happening that fits in each mode of power here? <p>Big Group Discussion:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What does the power in your group look like now? • Does your group have power? What kind? • How are you using it? • Where does your group fall in this chart? 	<p>15 minutes</p>

<p>Developing Group Manifesto/ Mission Statement</p>	<p>Intro: The way your group decides to use the power you have is important. It will frame how you make decisions about grants and how you are able to support those who you work with. To do this you can collaboratively create a manifesto/mission statement for your group.</p> <p><i>On Big Butcher Paper</i> As the _____ (council name) we want to see a Chicago that _____ change you want to see). We believe our work is doing this by _____ (what power do you have that you are giving). We believe that young people of Chicago _____ (what power/expertise do the young people you are working with already have).</p>	<p>15 minutes</p>
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Quotes for Thought Museum:

- Power is of two kinds. One is obtained by the fear of punishment and the other by acts of love. Power based on love is a thousand times more effective and permanent than the one derived from fear of punishment. Mahatma Gandhi
- With great power there must also come great responsibility! Stan Lee
- The most common way people give up their power is by thinking they don't have any. Alice Walker

APPENDIX C:

Tew’s Power Analysis Matrix

Original Version (Tew, 2006)

	Power over	Power together
Productive modes of power	Protective Power Deploying power in order to safeguard vulnerable people and their possibilities for advancement	Co-operative power Collective action, sharing, mutual support and challenge – through valuing commonality <i>and</i> difference
Limiting modes of power	Oppressive power Exploiting differences to enhance own position and resources at the expense of others	Collusive power Banding together to exclude or suppress 'otherness' whether internal or external

Revised Version Used for Workshop

	Power Over	Power Together
Productive Modes of Power	<i>Protective power – Using power over others to protect people perceived as vulnerable.</i> EXAMPLE: A parent takes away their child’s phone after they experienced cyber bullying.	<i>Co-operative power-working with others that are both similar and different than you to take a collective action.</i> EXAMPLE: Community leaders engaging residents in their community about a new company wanting to move into the neighborhood that some want and others did not.

<p>Limiting Modes of Power</p>	<p><i>Oppressive power-exploiting people's differences to enhance your own resources at the expense of others.</i></p> <p>EXAMPLE: A developer kicking residents out of their homes who have recently immigrated by having them sign a contract in a language that they are not fluent in.</p>	<p><i>Collusive power-exploiting people's similarities to enhance your own resources at the expense of others.</i></p> <p>EXAMPLE: A political leader uses race or background to appeal to a group of people his policies do not in reality benefit.</p>
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PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIPS FROM A NEOCLASSICAL AND KEYNESIAN POLITICAL ECONOMY PERSPECTIVE

Kelli Chavez

Introduction

Founded in 1906 by the United States Steel Corporation (U.S. Steel), the city of Gary, Indiana was once considered a city of opportunity for immigrants, African Americans coming from the South, and others looking for work in the steel mills. At its peak in the 1950s, Gary had a population of nearly 180,000 (Indiana University, n.d.) with over 30,000 residents employed by U.S. Steel (Wolfe, 2012). When steel manufacturing in the United States began to slow, Gary entered a period of radical decline. Its population has now fallen to just over 80,000 and its poverty rate is 38% (US Census Bureau, 2010). There are 6,500 abandoned buildings in the city and one in four parcels of land sit vacant (van Dyk, 2016).

Gary's current mayor, Karen Wilson-Freeman, has been focused on revitalization since being elected in 2011. Her administration obtained capital through the federal government's Hardest Hit Fund and has demolished over 260 buildings since 2012 (Bierschenk, 2016). But given the scale of the problem, it would take an additional \$40 million dollars to tear down every unsalvageable building in the city (Carlson, 2016). Revitalization efforts have been further hampered by county-level tax lien laws that make city acquisition of salvageable buildings difficult, if not impossible, for the law ensures that auctions for buildings under a tax lien are first open to private investors (Hackworth, 2014). Since interested investors must pay any back taxes on the property – which are typically higher than the property's value – before they can legally own it, most sales do not go through and properties remain abandoned, only decaying further. The legal fees the city would have to incur to acquire these properties, in addition to the opportunity costs incurred from the loss in potential tax revenue from a successfully auctioned property, nearly guarantees

that properties will remain vacant and the city will continue to lose revenue (Hackworth, 2014).

In such circumstances, Gary's best chance to combat disinvestment and blight was to find a developer who would partner in a large-scale revitalization project. In July 2016, the city signed an agreement with MaiaCo, LLC (MaiaCo). The contract has not been made public, but parts of it have been discussed at town forums meant to educate the public about the partnership and assuage any concerns from citizens. The agreement as understood has MaiaCo making "significant up front capital investment" (van Dyk, 2016) to help the city acquire land and identify others who would develop it (Tejeda, August 2016). For this, MaiaCo would receive 65% of the total land sales; Gary would keep the remaining 35% (Tajeda, August 2016). In this partnership, the city would own the land acquired by MaiaCo until that land was sold to developers (van Dyk, 2016). The city's goal is to acquire 3,500 parcels of land within the first year of this partnership (Dolan, 2016).

As part of the agreement, MaiaCo will co-write an annual action plan with the Department of Planning and Redevelopment. This action plan will be approved by the city's Redevelopment Commission (van Dyk, 2016). The Redevelopment Commission will also review quarterly reports from MaiaCo which document all expenses and progress made towards the blight-reduction goals. Lastly, all proposed developments for the acquired land will be subject to the same process any other development would face before being approved by the city (van Dyk, 2016).

The city of Gary expects community involvement in this partnership. MaiaCo is responsible for creating a community engagement plan within the first six months of the partnership (van Dyk, 2016). As of February 1, 2017, MaiaCo had hired two Gary residents, both with experience working for the city, to serve as community liaisons (Bierschenk, 2017) and established a nonprofit organization called Maia Community Foundation to prepare residents for future employment through job training and assistance with accessing transportation and child care, as needed (Bierschenk, 2017). The final community safeguard states that before MaiaCo receives any proceeds from land sales, they must document that they prioritized Gary-based businesses before reaching out to other businesses in Northwest Indiana (van Dyk, 2016).

This article uses the Gary-MaiaCo partnership to explore how public-private partnerships work. It attempts to understand them through the lens of both neoclassical political economy (with its theories of rational choice and market equilibrium) and the economic

models and priorities associated with John Maynard Keynes (1883-1946), whose approach attempts to account for irrationality and market instability. The article's goals are to show complex reasons why public-private partnerships are so attractive to a city like Gary, to suggest why the Keynesian approach is important for ensuring protections for the public, and to alert social workers to the political economy that impacts their delivery of services. Social workers are often tasked with working at the intersection of such partnerships and understanding their nature can allow social workers to help their clients advocate for the best possible outcomes when public-private partnerships are being used.

PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIPS

Cities like Gary, lacking the financial resources to provide services or facilitate infrastructure improvements, are increasingly turning to public-private partnerships. Public-private partnerships are financial agreements typically related to public services, focusing on infrastructure improvements, utility service delivery, or capital investments for the sake of blight reduction and redevelopment (Amram & Crawford, 2011). These partnerships tend to follow the responsibilities outlined in the Gary-MaiaCo agreement: private companies provide the financial support needed to complete a given project, and the government ensures that the company meets the agreed-upon goals without exploiting the local community.

All public-private partnerships have four components (Martin, 2016). The first component is a value for money (i.e., cost-benefit) analysis, which is completed by the municipality to justify entering into the agreement. The second component is the contract between the municipality and the selected partner that stipulates the length of the contract. The contract includes the third component: specification of the amount of independence granted to the private partner. The final component is the transfer of risk from the public partner to the private partner. It is this risk which forces the private partner to be as efficient as possible when working towards the goals of the partnership.

Martin (2016) distinguishes types of public-private partnerships based on the different degrees of contractor and municipality investment. The level of investment can be minimal, as with design-build public-private partnerships, where the private company is only responsible for the design and building or refurbishing of buildings or infrastructures. The investment can be expansive, as in a design-build-finance-operate-maintain public-private partnership, where the

private company is responsible for the building or infrastructure from its earliest stages through its continued maintenance. Private companies benefit from public-private partnerships through returns on investment. Municipalities may benefit from these partnerships because they are no longer responsible for providing services that would be financially ruinous if not impossible. Citizens can benefit from these partnerships because they receive needed services within the context of a severely weakened municipality.

While cities and private companies enter into these partnerships, that does not mean there are not conflicts with the actual implementation of the agreement. There is often, for instance, conflict over the range of independence allotted to the corporation and the degree of oversight afforded the city (Martin, 2016). Depending on the complexity of the project and size of the investment from the private company, cities and private companies may each try to negotiate terms that minimize their risk and increase that of the other party.

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF PRIVATE-PUBLIC PARTNERSHIPS

Neoclassical political economists believe capitalistic, unregulated markets are the most effective way to organize societies. Adherents to this form of political economics believe that capitalistic or “free” markets are self-correcting and efficient and will benefit all actors who participate in the economic system. They believe capitalistic markets are highly adaptable and able to quickly respond to ever-changing consumer desires (Caporaso & Levine, 1992). Neoclassical political economists view capitalism’s ability to foster innovation as one of its largest strengths, as evidenced by the rapid growth in technology during the early 19th century (Glaeser, 2009; Peterson, 1981). Innovation is believed to enhance the quality of life in a society, because consumers have the greatest amount of choice available and are able to pick products and services that are the most useful to them.

Since economic transactions are believed to only occur when both parties, acting rationally, believe them to be mutually beneficial (Caporaso & Levine, 1992), neoclassical political economy does not address issues of exploitation and inequality; since actors are able to freely enter and exit transactions with other actors, exploitation in free markets is unlikely, if not impossible. Since exploitation is unlikely, neoclassical political economy also argues that regulation is counterproductive to market efficiency. Government interventions are viewed as disrupting the efficiency of the market and, consequently,

should not occur unless said intervention is to protect property rights, which are a necessary prerequisite for people entering markets freely.

What came to be known as a Keynesian approach followed from economist John Maynard Keynes' arguments that unregulated markets fail to maximize resource allocation efficiency and that government regulation is indeed necessary to correct these market failures (Caporaso & Levine, 1992). A Keynesian approach holds that the state should have a significant role in equitable wealth distribution. Moreover, it does not believe that capitalists and workers/consumers operate in the market equally and therefore is alert to worker/consumer exploitation. It sees its economic ideology as protecting the working class, which typically does not own the major means of production (land and capital) and which must rely on labor power to acquire the goods and services needed to survive. Unlike a neoclassical political economy, a Keynesian political economy does not divorce the economic from the political.

In the context of understanding public-private partnerships, a crucial characteristic of Keynesian political economy is the belief that economic decisions should be analyzed from a long-term perspective. It argues that short-term priorities are rational only at the micro level because actors benefit from doing what is in their best interest. When most or all people behave in this way, self-interest is no longer rational from a macro-level perspective and can have negative consequences on society as a whole (Caporaso & Levine, 1992). Keynesian political economics encourages political actors to consider the social consequences of economic policies when deciding whether or not they should be implemented. In ideal situations, community members have the opportunity to be part of the evaluation and decision-making processes for programs and policies that would directly affect their lives.

THE CASE OF GARY

In the case of Gary, Indiana, few would argue that the city is not in need of significant investment. Gary does not have the financial resources to attend to its many needs and can seemingly benefit from partner like MaiaCo. Taking the neoclassical view, the partnership is an example of a market need (investment in demolition and redevelopment) met through a mutually beneficial contract (Caporaso & Levine, 1992). Although MaiaCo will receive the majority of land sale revenues, Gary does receive a percentage and, moreover, will see its cityscape better positioned for commercial and residential redevelopment. Thus, Gary's focus on land acquisition is not only in its best interest as a means to lessen the city's

blight, but is also one of the most impactful projects it could have chosen. Since Gary has a large amount of underdeveloped land, it stands to benefit tremendously from interest in the city's new businesses once the land is primed for development. Cities and towns that are more developed have less available land and are less competitive for large-scale construction projects. If Gary and MaiaCo are successful in parceling together multiple lots of land into larger ones, businesses will have space in Gary to build on a scale unmatched by any other community in the region.

Despite the positive effects this public-private partnership may bring to Gary, there are important things the city must consider if this partnership is to be beneficial to its citizens. Here we see how a Keynesian perspective can help. Indeed, some of Gary's citizens believe they will be left out of the economic gains that MaiaCo and the city expect to receive through this partnership. They argue that the partnership will be more focused on attracting new, more affluent residents than it will be with improving the lives of those who already reside in the city (Tajeda, July 2016).

Community Benefit Agreements (CBAs) between local governments and developers are signed to ensure that "the benefits of new urban development [are redistributed] to less-advantaged communities, residents, and workers" (Parks & Warren, 2009, p. 91). While the CBA-like agreement within this partnership stipulates that there will be at least one resident hired as a liaison and that community forums will be used to keep citizens up to date with progress, city leaders are receiving pushback from residents who claim their interests are not being protected. Specifically, there are concerns that current residents will be displaced once property values increase (Tajeda, July 2016).

There was no citizen input into the CBA included in the Gary-MaiaCo deal, and the city finds it has undermined the trust it was attempting to build with residents. Citizens are therefore right to worry: they have little control over the types of businesses or developers that come into the city. As the current agreement stands, all proposed developments will be vetted by the Redevelopment Commission (van Dyk, 2016). Since Gary will receive a portion of all land-sale proceeds, there must be due diligence on behalf of the city to ensure the pool of potential developers is not "creamed" so that only the most profitable developments — regardless of whether or not they enhance the quality of life in the city — are approved (Kee & Forrer, 2012). City officials must also be cognizant of the workforce and skill expectations prospective employers have when they provide higher wage jobs. Given the high rate of unemployment among current residents, there may

be a mismatch in the skills employers want and the skills potential employees have. MaiaCo's creation of the Maia Community Foundation is an encouraging first step to mitigate these potential gaps.

In order to proceed more fairly, a new CBA should be negotiated with input from Gary residents. That CBA could model the Department of Housing and Urban Development's Neighborhood Stabilization Program (NSP), which stipulates that NSP funds must be used to provide housing services, general services to households at or below 120% of the area's median income, or services that will benefit entire impoverished neighborhoods where "at least 51% of the residents" are at or below 120% of the area's median income (Department of Housing and Urban Development, n.d.). Given the high levels of poverty and unemployment in Gary, a CBA that is centered on the needs of low-income households is the most appropriate agreement, as such an agreement would protect current residents from losing their homes. It would prioritize quality of life by providing lower-income residents with resources and programming tailored to their needs. The trust between residents and the city might also improve if a new CBA with significant resident input could be implemented. Gary's commitment to becoming a more desirable place to live should be reflected in how it treats those residents who have remained in the city throughout its worst years.

CONCLUSION

Regardless of which approach to blight and redevelopment cities and towns choose to take, the needs of current citizens should always be central in local governments' decision-making. A Keynesian approach provides a useful framework for local governments to use when negotiating contracts with potential partners that prioritize the citizens' best interests over private partner's profits.

Social workers can play a unique role in supporting current residents as they advocate for their position within municipalities like Gary. This support by social workers could take the form of traditional community organizing but could also take the form of direct participation within the structures created by public-private partnerships. For example, in the case of Gary, social workers might find themselves employed by the Maia Community Foundation. The Foundation's identified programming in job training, transportation access, and child care access are ideal for social workers. Moreover, social workers could help generate additional programming ideas in response to the needs of their citizen-clients.

Social workers indeed have a unique skill set that allows them to facilitate conversations among diverse or competing groups, understand and appreciate the multifaceted causes of inequality and injustice, and work with vulnerable populations to maintain their dignity and autonomy. As cities continue to redevelop through public-private partnerships, the partnership between the city of Gary and MaiaCo, LLC provides a useful model for how these partnerships can be structured in a way that makes a blighted community a desirable location for new and existing businesses and residents to work, play, and live.

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SOCIAL WORKERS AND THE PROTECTION OF IMMIGRANT AND REFUGEE RIGHTS

Andrea Haidar

Introduction

Immigrant and refugee rights have long been an issue of critical importance for social workers in the United States. Those considered pioneers of the field, such as Jane Addams and Edith and Grace Abbott, developed their expertise while working in settlement houses that served as centers of residence and social services for migrants who had recently arrived in large numbers to work in America (Hansan, 2011). Concurrently, charitable organizations and religious and ethnic associations have long worked to facilitate the wellbeing and integration of migrants and displaced persons.

The National Association of Social Workers (NASW) recognizes that immigrants and refugees face unique challenges due to immigration policies. These policies are important for social workers to consider, as the legal and social statuses of migrants impact social service provision and community well-being in the United States. The NASW describes this relationship between legislation and social service provision in their 2015 policy statement:

Often, social workers' capacity to assist clients is constrained by immigration policies, especially policies that limit family visitation and family reunification. Immigration policies intervene in social work practice when family offenses become grounds for deportation and thereby impede willingness to report (p.178).

Social workers are particularly constrained when serving immigrant and "mixed-status" families in which members include combinations of citizens and non-citizens (p. 176). For many immigrants, refugees, and children of migrants, reporting issues such as employer exploitation, domestic violence, and child abuse to social service and

law enforcement agencies become potentially deportable offenses rather than opportunities to seek justice and healing. The consequences of reaching out for help from state institutions can be devastating for mixed status families, potentially culminating in the separation of family members.

The NASW policy statement also points to the longstanding economic and national security debates that undergird the trajectory of immigration policy. The NASW maintains that “studies show a positive economic effect” of immigrant and refugee presence in the United States, as they contribute to the economy by paying taxes, investing in small businesses, and reinvigorating the labor supply of the rapidly aging U.S. native-born population (p. 178). Yet the NASW adds the qualifier that some scholars have cautioned that “high rates of immigration may harm low-income Americans” (p. 178). These debates flared up often in the 2016 election cycle and will inevitably continue as the new presidential administration brings about changes in immigration policies. President Trump’s rhetoric of “making America great again” has often accompanied calls to restore American jobs, deport undocumented immigrants, and reduce incentives for companies to issue H1-B visas to foreign workers (Liu, 2016).

Social workers will be working under the dual pressures of potentially regressive policies and the NASW’s call for a “balance between security and human rights” within current immigrant and refugee policies (p. 178). The NASW maintains that such a balance must be considered in policies that define admission criteria into the U.S. for migrants, delineate deportable offenses, and establish grounds for detention and surveillance. It is important to note that the debates regarding the balance between security and human rights has taken a keener edge over the two years since the NASW policy statement was written. The intensification of global terrorism has heightened fears around accepting immigrants and refugees, especially Arabs and Muslims, into host countries such as the United States.

For example, there has been divided opinion over a U.S. humanitarian response to the thousands displaced by the ongoing conflict in Syria (Liu, 2016). While presidential candidate Clinton proposed to accept 65,000 additional refugees to help alleviate the crisis created by the Syrian war, Trump made several declarations regarding the need to scale back the resettlement program (or even enact “a total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States”) in order to ensure national security (Liu, 2016). Analysts of the refugee resettlement program note that the current screening process for accepting refugees into the United States is already very rigorous, to the

extent that “security reviews have left refugees in dangerous conditions for lengthy periods and prevented the entry of persons who do not pose security risks” (Kerwin, 2012, p. 1).

With Donald Trump as president, the area of immigrant and refugee rights has only become more important. Following his inauguration, he set forth a series of executive orders that attempted to bar people from Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria and Yemen from entering the United States; banned refugees; and temporarily halted Syrian refugee admissions (Qiu, 2017). Further, Trump’s administration has issued new enforcement policies directing the Department of Homeland Security to more aggressively find, arrest, and deport those in the country illegally, regardless of whether they have committed serious crimes (Kulish, Dickerson & Nixon, 2017).

Immigrant and refugee advocates are thus particularly concerned about the future of programs that admit and grant migrants legal status. These programs include Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), Deferred Action for Parents of Americans (DAPA), and the refugee resettlement program (Amos, 2016; Florido, 2017). They are also concerned about the prospect of programs that may target immigrants and refugees, such as Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) workplace raids, a special registration of Muslims, and racially- and ethnically-discriminatory law enforcement practices. While it is unclear how anti-immigrant and anti-refugee programs will be deployed by the Trump administration going forward, immigrant and refugee advocates continue to prepare for further incursion on the rights of refugees and immigrants (Gambino & Kingsley, 2016; Eltagouri, Briscoe & Moreno, 2016).

Since the election results were announced in November 2016, organizations that advocate for and serve immigrants and refugees have produced a substantive collection of online materials. These include public statements denouncing proposed policies that negatively impact immigrants and refugees; fact sheets for immigrants to understand the implications of the potential reversal of DACA and their rights in encounters with ICE officials; and resource guides for cities, schools, townships, and organizations to support local immigrants and refugees. The proliferation of this online content is but one indicator of how organizations plan to try to protect immigrant and refugee rights in this new political era.

To the degree that social workers are positioned within or working beside such organizations, or with immigrants and refugees utilizing services, they too must be prepared. In this article, I argue that social workers can deepen their effective commitment to immigrants and

refugees by engaging social movement strategies and mobilizing resources through non-government organizations and social service agencies. Drawing upon the social movement theories and models described by Deepa Iyer (2015), my analysis seeks to establish the potential for building multi-racial, multi-issue coalitions that connect immigrant and refugee advocates with other racial and social justice groups.

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS THEORIES

The National Association of Social Workers (NASW) *Code of Ethics* states that social workers must “pursue social change, particularly with and on behalf of vulnerable and oppressed individuals and groups of people.” Indeed, while social movements can be broadly conceptualized as a form of collective action with the intention of promoting or inhibiting social change (Abramovitz, 2010), the social movements presented here are defined in terms of their attempts to protect and advance the rights of vulnerable and oppressed individuals and groups.

New social movement theory (NSM) emerged as a paradigm for understanding the historical development of social movements rooted in issues of identity rather than economic struggle. “Old” social movements focused on “organizing the poor” around class- and labor-related issues (Fisher & Kling, 1997, p. 113). They recall the labor movements of the Progressive and New Deal eras (1900s-1940s), which worked to establish labor unions, increase wages, improve working conditions, decrease unemployment, and expand welfare benefits (Blau, 2010). Meanwhile, the civil rights and antiwar movements of the 1950s and 1960s did not fit neatly into analyses of class conflict and economic redistribution (Pichardo, 1997) and thus marked the transition into a post-industrial era of “new” social movements, which are largely organized around issues of identity, exclusion, and oppression (Abramovitz, 2010, p. 213; Fisher & Kling, p. 110). The political goals embedded within new social movements go beyond conflicts between labor and capital to combat “oppressive discrimination, cultural intrusions, bureaucratic domination, unrestrained militarism, and environmental devastation” (Abramovitz, 2010, p. 213). While many issues involved in new social movements cut across multiple identities, recruitment into these movements often involves appeals regarding the issue’s impact on members of particular identity groups.

Some critical scholars and activists refer to new social movements as a potentially divisive “identity politics.” Though the term “identity

politics” is laden with many different meanings, it has generally has come to signify a strategy of gaining political favor by appealing to the narrow interests of particular groups, usually minority groups, as defined by categories of race, ethnicity, gender, or sexual orientation (Heyes, 2016). In the 2016 election cycle, critics on the political right and left criticized liberals and Democratic candidate Hilary Clinton’s campaign for relying too heavily on identity politics, and ultimately failing to address broader economic and domestic issues (Judis, 2016; Lilla, 2016).

Yet the collective identities involved in new social movements are not always limited to narrowly defined population categories, such as race and ethnicity. Collective identity can be conceptualized “as an individual’s cognitive, moral, and emotional connection with a broader community, category, practice, or institution,” (Polletta & Jasper, 2001, p. 285). It implies a perceived sense of relation or shared status, and carries with it positive feelings for others in the group (Polletta & Jasper, 2001). Thus, building a movement around collective identity can contain a broad coalition across lines of race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, socioeconomic class, and other categories—so long as the collective identity around which the movement is organized remains inclusive. Through this lens, collective action organized around identity can be viewed as an opportunity to build bridges across diverse communities, rather than a mechanism to divide them.

Resource mobilization theory (RM) views formal organizations rather than individuals as central to the analysis of social movements. Abramovitz (2010) describes formal social movement organizations (SMO) as “complex, centralized, formal, highly developed, professional” groups that “articulate the goals of the more general social movement and translate them into political action” (p. 208). Any given social movement may have a number of social movement organizations working toward mobilizing organizations for change, effectively comprising a “social movement industry” (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). The organizations involved in resource mobilization serve as rational actors engaging collective action as a strategy for effecting change. They act within the framework of political processes and center their calls for change in relation to the state.

Through the lens of RM, collective action and protest are seen as rational strategies to the extent that they strategically mobilize resources for groups that may have less access to the traditional policymaking process due to structural inequalities (Shefner, 1995). Critiques of RM argue that its emphasis on formal and highly professional organizations diverts analytical attention from “informal, decentralized, less

well-endowed” groups that build social movements through “indigenous leadership, volunteer staff, and mass actions” (Shefner, 1995, p. 209). Such informal grassroots structures are often analyzed through the lens of NSM, given its orientation to mobilizing communities around principles of self-help and self-organization (Huang, 2010).

Resource mobilization (RM) is the theoretical predecessor to new social movement theory, although both remain analytically useful frameworks for studying social movements. RM is often conceptualized as strategy-based and NSM as identity-based. Arguing that a given social movement is either strategy-based or identity-based ignores the extent of interconnection between identity and political strategy (Foweraker, 1995). Identities are often constructed through political struggles and the deployment of political strategy. Meanwhile, political strategies often draw upon the collective identity of social change actors (Hispsheer, 1996). This mutually reinforcing relationship between strategy and identity is often made manifest in the “frame” that develops around a given social movement. Frames are “thought organizers” that bring together symbols, images, and arguments into an underlying idea of “what consequences and values are at stake” within a particular movement (Ryan & Gamson, 2006, p. 14). The concept of framing is important to both RM and NSM theories, as it draws upon collective identities to inform the strategy for how a social problem should be defined and addressed.

The RM and NSM theories are also complementary to the extent that they can shed light on different aspects of a given social movement: RM explains how a group mobilizes resources toward effecting the social change they seek, whereas NSM helps explain the emergence of a group’s interest in that particular kind of social change (Polletta & Jasper, 2001). Strategies of organizing communities around issues of identity and mobilizing resources through formal advocacy organizations and community-based organizations are not mutually exclusive and can be deployed simultaneously within a social movement.

IYER’S APPROACH TOWARD ORGANIZING AROUND AND ACROSS IDENTITIES

Approaching immigrant and refugee issues from a social movement perspective allows for coalition building across a diverse range of communities and identities. Here, I draw upon the work of Deepa Iyer in her book, *We Too Sing America*. Iyer led South Asian Americans Leading Together (SAALT) for over ten years and during that time came to see immigrant and racial justice as inextricably linked in a greater

pursuit for social justice. In her book, she discusses the successes and challenges of organizing South Asian, Arab, Muslim, and Sikh communities in the United States. Iyer focuses on South Asian, Arab, Muslim, and Sikh communities because of what they experienced post-9/11. Each of these communities was a target of discriminatory government policies in the name of “national security,” as well as of hate crimes among the general public. Iyer refers to this group of communities as AMEMSA (Arab, Middle Eastern, Muslim, and South Asian). This term was deployed by community leaders to build coalitions across lines of ethnicity, national origin, and religion and became part of efforts to name and protect the civil rights of all group members. For Iyer, advocating for the rights of immigrants, refugees, and minorities required social movement organizing that included broader issues of racial and social justice. While she identifies particular issues that disproportionately affect people from certain identity groups, she situates her call for action within an inclusive framework that welcomes people of all identities to work together and advance each other's causes.

For instance, Iyer describes the need to be vigilant about local and statewide policy proposals that call for restrictions on reproductive rights, bans on same-sex marriage, restrictions on the right to vote, anti-immigrant proposals and voter identification requirements (p. 88). Although each of these issues disproportionately affects individuals with particular identities, Iyer relates the issues to each other by pointing to the overarching restriction on civil rights that these policy proposals entail. She highlights research indicating that attacks on the civil rights of one community often accompany attacks on the civil rights of other communities. In this way, Iyer productively works with the tension of organizing particular identity groups around general calls for civil rights and justice:

We must build multi-issue and multiracial coalitions to advance affirmative legislation and be ready to push back against policies that restrict the hard-won civil rights of people of color, immigrants, women, and LGBTQ communities. No longer can we afford to work in silos or only on one issue. As we develop these state and local multiracial and multi-issue coalitions, we must centralize the communities who are being singled out for bigotry (p. 88).

Iyer reflects here the ethos of new social movement organizing by focusing on issues of identity, exclusion, and oppression. Although

she calls for us to pay close attention to communities that have been marginalized, she emphasizes the importance of working across identities and issues. Her orientation toward social movements organized by collective identities does not entail “identity politics” as defined by the narrow interests of particular groups. Rather, she points to the interests and struggles of particular groups and demonstrates how they are related to the interests and struggles of other groups, leveraging this commonality to build broader social movements.

Iyer is concerned about framing strategies not only with respect to organizing social movements around identities, but also in relation to resource mobilization among organizations that serve and represent Arab, Muslim, South Asian, and Sikh communities. For Iyer, as long as Arabs, South Asians, Muslims, and Sikhs are framed and perceived as national security threats, their lives will be rendered disposable and their rights expendable. She tasks AMEMSA organizations and supportive stakeholders with “removing the national security frame” from the experiences of South Asian, Arab, Muslim, and Sikh communities and “replacing it with one that evokes racial justice movements” (p. 101). To this end, organizations that serve AMEMSA communities can conduct public outreach and education programs that contextualize the experiences of their constituents within the frame of America’s racial history and the similarly discriminatory treatment of other minorities.

Organizations are key actors in Iyer’s conception of social movements. She points to nonprofit AMEMSA organizations such as South Asian Americans Leading Together (SAALT) and the National Network for Arab American Communities (NNAAC), which engage in “policy and media advocacy, civic and political empowerment, leadership development, alliance building with other communities, and social service provision” (p. 113). Such activities extend the work of framing, which Ryan and Gamson argue must be integrated with larger movement-building efforts in order to be successful (2006, p. 15). Although the above-mentioned AMEMSA organizations formed after 9/11 to respond to the needs of community members being targeted by programs such as the National Security Entry-Exit Registration System (NSEERS), Iyer notes that South Asian, Arab, Muslim, and Sikh immigrants and Americans no longer comprise “just post-9/11 communities” (p. 111). Thus, AMEMSA-serving organizations must work to continue combatting hate violence, surveillance, and anti-Muslim rhetoric, while also addressing issues such as “socioeconomic differences, educational barriers, lack of accessible health care, and

limited English proficiency... and internal community divides along class, faith, and gender lines” (p. 111).

Iyer does not ascribe to the notion that organizations participating in social movement are necessarily formal, highly professional, or membership-based. Rather, she points to the importance of supporting the capacity of local nonprofit organizations, which interface directly with community members and provide services. Encouraging service-providing nonprofits to also participate in grassroots organizing and community building can serve as a core strategy to promoting the sustainable well-being of their constituents.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR SOCIAL WORKERS TO ORGANIZE THROUGH ORGANIZATIONS

Social workers can help facilitate the leadership of people who face individual discrimination and systemic injustice by thinking creatively about the intersection of service provision, advocacy, and community organizing. If social service agencies can integrate organizing strategies in their usual portfolio of programs (Iyer, 2015, p. 113), immigrant and refugee agencies can bring components of community building and political education into English as a Second Language classes, naturalization workshops, and after-school programs. In this way, social workers would be facilitating the gathering of people facing similar challenges in their communities and workplaces and providing them with the space and information to develop their own capacity to create social and political change.

Furthermore, if social workers can create programs that promote storytelling and identity exploration among agency clients, they would be facilitating their development of a public narrative of lived experiences. These programs are aligned with an ethos of grassroots organizing, which grounds itself in the “lived experiences and leadership of individuals who face class, gender, immigration, and racial inequities” (Iyer, p. 113). Funding for such programs can be sought through local and national grants from foundations with aligned social missions. Macro-level social workers within foundations can advocate for greater provision of grants for community organizing, and for the development of sensitive and flexible monitoring and evaluation systems that capture the impact of this work, thereby building grounds to justify further funding for community organizing projects.

Another opportunity for social workers to further their commitment to immigrant and refugee communities is through mobilizing the organizations within which they work to participate in

policy advocacy efforts. Mosley (2014) argues that through advocacy, social service organizations “can help procure resources and improve policies by serving as vital information conduits regarding how policy is working on the ground” (p. 107). Here, Mosley points to the strategic positioning of social service organizations as the closest to the people that are directly impacted by government welfare policy decisions.

Yet because social service organizations are “organized primarily to provide services, not to conduct advocacy,” social workers and nonprofit professionals face challenges that prevent them from leveraging their strategic positioning toward advocacy efforts. These challenges include “severe resource constraints, lack of experience and knowledge about policy advocacy, and confusion about what they are legally able to do” (Mosley, 2014, p. 108). A potential solution to these challenges is the intervention of capacity-building nonprofits that focus their energies on training service-providing nonprofits to more effectively meet their missions, such as the National Network for Arab American Communities and South Asian Americans Leading Together. Organizations such as these can provide pro-bono or reduced fee consultation to nonprofits that provide services to immigrants and refugees and advise them on the rules and best practices of nonprofit advocacy.

Nonprofit professionals in the field of refugee resettlement can also participate in advocacy around refugee issues, with executive directors lobbying federal-level and state-level legislators to secure more robust funding or explain the consequences of proposed changes to refugee resettlement policy (Darrow, 2015). Social workers in other agencies serving immigrants, refugees, and minorities in the United States can utilize similar tactics to advocate for the preservation of policies and programs that benefit these communities, such as DACA and admission of refugees, and for the prevention or removal of those that negatively impact them, such as NSEERs and automatic deportation upon reporting of offenses like domestic violence or child abuse and neglect.

The strength of the social movement approach toward immigrant and refugee policy change is that it builds upon many resources that social workers already have access to: social services, the people that utilize them, and the interpersonal communication skills required to help people understand themselves and others as agents of change. A challenge to this approach is that the integration of social services and organizing can prove difficult when immigrant, refugee, and minority clients have urgent needs and service-providing agencies have limited staff and time, as well as limited expertise in community organizing and policy advocacy. In such cases, social service provision will surely take

precedence over organizing and advocacy efforts. With concerted effort and broader commitment to interagency and multi-issue coalitions, service provision and community organization can serve as mutually-reinforcing strategies for social workers to advance socially just policies.

CONCLUSION

The trajectory of immigrant and refugee issues in the United States has been replete with shifts in public attitude and transformations in legislation over the last century. The NASW recognizes that immigrant and refugee policy is driven by competing values within the themes of human rights, humanitarianism, national security, and economics (p. 176). The themes and values that gain ascendancy within any given historical moment shape policies of immigration and refuge, thus affecting individuals and families within and outside of the United States. The current historical moment, marked by the shift from the Obama administration to the Trump administration, has already yielded consequences that constrain the livelihoods of immigrants and refugees.

Social workers have the power to act in ways that combat unjust policies and help shape public values toward the promotion of justice for immigrants and refugees. Social movement strategies can guide our work in building coalitions across identities and mobilizing resources through organizations. We can serve as advocates by organizing diverse communities around issues of migration and racial justice, encouraging foundations to provide greater funding for community organizing initiatives, and speaking in front of political representatives and government officials about policies that impact immigrants and refugees. Such advocacy efforts will demonstrate and deepen social work's commitment to social justice and the interests of the most vulnerable in society.

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MEXICAN COMMUNITIES IN THE GREAT DEPRESSION

Tadeo Weiner Davis

Introduction

It is tempting to think of history at the level of an event: A led to B, which led to C. But events are shaped by multiple forces. People amass themselves into groups, form social and economic institutions, and take the actions which comprise historical events. As social workers and street-level bureaucrats, we are uniquely positioned within these historical events. We do our jobs at the interface between the institutions charged with policy development and those tasked with policy implementation. As social workers, therefore, we are actors playing a role in implementing change and shaping history. We would do well, then, to study this history more carefully to better understand the development of current events and our role in them. Studying history can better equip us to disrupt systems of oppression before they permanently affect people's lives.

Social workers serve some of the most marginalized and vulnerable individuals in society, and do so while straddling the line between social work and social control. Immigrants are often recipients of social work services and targets of oppressive social control. The latter is true regardless of the political party in the White House—President Obama, for example, removed over three million immigrants from the United States during his presidency, more than the number removed under Presidents Bush and Clinton combined (Chishti, Pierce, & Bolter, 2017). With the exception of some advocacy groups, few protested Obama's removals, mostly because the White House claimed to target individuals with serious criminal records. Many of the Obama policies created the infrastructure for increased deportations under which the Trump administration is capitalizing. The current White House has announced that it will hire 10,000 additional immigration and customs agents "to seek the deportation of anyone in the country illegally... [t]hat includes people convicted of fraud in any official matter before a governmental agency and people who 'have abused any program related to receipt of public benefits'" (Shear & Nixon, 2017). Social workers, many of whom

work with individuals directly targeted by these policies, now have to decide what actions to take in this new political climate. Anti-oppressive social work calls us to engage in critical self-reflection and assessment of people's experiences with oppression historically and contemporaneously (Morgaine & Capous-Desyllas, 2015). This essay hopes to foment such historical reflection.

It is not the first time elected officials and citizens have called for the ejection of marginalized people from the United States. During the Great Depression of the 1930s, there were similar calls for the mass removal of immigrants. Despite the presence of a diverse immigrant body, then as now, the deportation debate mostly focused on Mexicans and Mexican Americans.

In what follows, I show that the inclusion of Mexicans and Mexican Americans in poverty relief at the beginning of the Great Depression varied according to time and location, from semi-limited access to wholesale exclusion and removal from the United States. First, I explain the presence of a transient and precarious Mexican labor force, a particularly vulnerable population, in the years leading up to the Great Depression. I then recount broad trends in the Mexican experience during the Great Depression, including repatriation, deportation, and variation in relief patterns across the country at the time. Finally, I take a closer look at Mexican communities in the Southwest, Los Angeles, and Detroit to gain a better historical perspective on particular relief experiences. Throughout the essay, the reader will note the role of various actors, including some who self-identified as social workers.

MEXICAN LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES PRIOR TO THE GREAT DEPRESSION

Immigration levels from Mexico prior to 1900 were extremely low (Gratton & Merchant, 2013). Both the United States and Mexico had agricultural economies, and in Mexico, "over 90 percent of the people liv[ed] on farms, ranches, or in rural villages" (Balderrama & Rodriguez, 2006, p. 12). But Mexico's population increased significantly at the turn of the 20th century under the "modernization programs" of Porfirio Diaz. These programs disrupted the "traditional land and labor systems" and improved transportation and communication, creating "increasingly mobile communities" (Gratton & Merchant, 2013, p. 946).

Balderrama and Rodriguez (2006) explain how millions of people lost access to their land, prompting new patterns of increased migration:

Mexico experienced an expanding land monopoly controlled by a few rich agriculturalists, commonly referred to as *hacendados*. These individuals were often foreign or absentee landowners living in Mexico City, the U.S., or Europe. Aided by favorable government legislation and a sympathetic legal system, these land barons acquired massive tracts of Mexico's national domain as well as control of *ejidos*, lands formerly farmed collectively. (p.12)

The loss of land and the restructuring of agricultural markets caused widespread hunger and malnutrition across the Mexican countryside (Balderrama & Rodriguez, 2006). The Mexican Revolution of 1910 compounded the economic effects of Diaz's land reforms as almost all traditional Mexican institutions were challenged and various revolutionary factions emerged in the fight to rule Mexico (Balderrama & Rodriguez, 2006). While these economic and political changes pushed people to migrate out of Mexico, economic development in the American Southwest and changes in U.S. immigration legislation at the federal level "pulled" Mexican labor north.

The labor-intensive agricultural industry in the Southwest of the United States came along with the development of a modern irrigation system, and the demand for labor could not be met by an indigenous or African-descendant population (Fox, 2010). The same was true of growing industries in the region. Sometimes, U.S. companies directly "transported Mexican employees across the border to American plants and facilities" (Balderrama & Rodriguez, 2006, p. 17), as in the case of Anaconda Copper, which transported Mexican employees to southern Arizona. Even the Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS), "at times resistant to agribusiness demands, more often facilitated illegal crossings to benefit growers" (Gratton & Merchant, 2013, p. 967) and avoided deportation sweeps during peak harvest season.

It is important to note that most of those who immigrated for work did not intend to stay, but rather followed the agricultural harvest season in a circular migratory pattern between the United States and Mexico (Gratton & Merchant, 2013; Balderrama & Rodriguez, 2006). People moved back and forth easily; the border was not clearly demarcated and "hardly existed except in people's imaginations" (Massey, 2006, p. 1). Still, *colonias* of Mexican laborers, akin to European immigrant enclaves in the North and Midwest, were established (Balderrama & Rodriguez, 2006).

World War I caused further labor-demand changes throughout the country (Gratton & Merchant, 2013). Immigration restrictions from Asia and Europe in the 1920s further deepened the need for other sources of labor, and Mexican workers expanded to the north (Balderrama & Rodriguez, 2006. Figure 1, adapted from data in Gratton and Merchant (2013), shows the resulting population changes.)

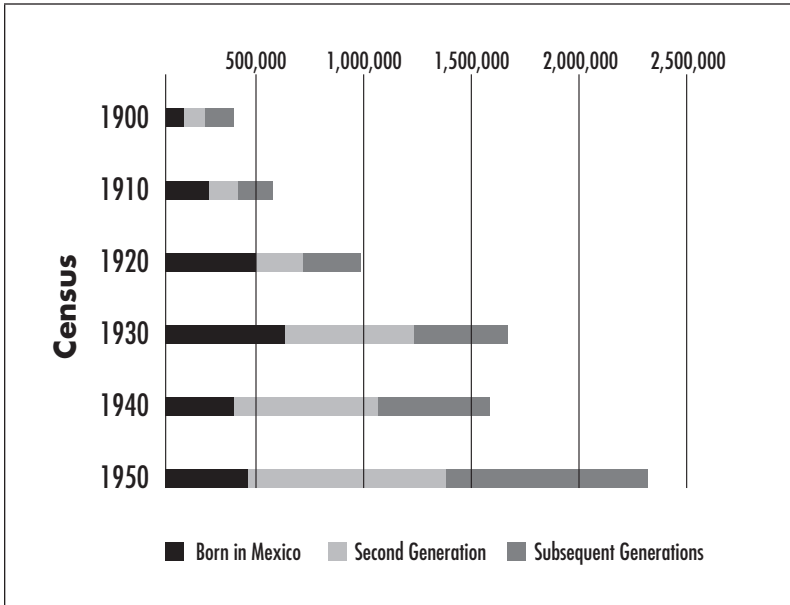


Figure 1. Mexican Origin Persons in the U.S. by Generation. This figure illustrates the number of Mexican origin persons in the U.S., by generation, between 1900 and 1950. “Second Generation” refers to people born in the U.S. with at least one parent born in Mexico. “Subsequent Generations” refers to people born in the U.S. and both parents born in the U.S., but identified as Mexican-origin. Data adapted from Gratton & Merchant (2013).

MEXICAN COMMUNITIES IN THE GREAT DEPRESSION

The economic and social effects of the Great Depression devastated families across the country. Growing inequality, as evidenced by the hidden poverty of the 1920s, and the inherently unstable and unregulated economy combined with “the aging of the population...the

depletion of the soil culminating in the Dust Bowl...and the increase in the labor force” to create the biggest economic contraction the country had ever seen (Patterson, 2000, p. 40). President Roosevelt’s statement that one third of the nation was “ill housed, ill clad, and ill nourished” was conservative—the percentage “was closer to 40 or 50 percent” (Patterson, 2000, p. 41). It is difficult to assess the level of hardship at the time as the federal government did not use official poverty measures until later in the century.

Due to the unprecedented nature and scope of the economic collapse, many people believed that “private charities...and private pension plans...could cope with the situation” (Patterson, 2000, p. 55). Accordingly, increases and innovation in public aid were slow. As the situation became increasingly dire, President Roosevelt and the Congress created two broad sets of experimental projects, programs, and legislation known collectively as the First and Second New Deals to soften the economic impact on people. The Keynesian New Deals included job placements, categorical assistance, and industrial, agricultural, and financial regulations (Patterson, 2000). However, not all communities benefited equally from these programs and the early welfare state served communities differently depending on race and occupation.

It should be noted that no New Deal program explicitly barred noncitizens or unauthorized immigrants from assistance. Secretary of Labor Perkins and Harry Hopkins, members of the Committee on Economic Security (CES) charged with drafting New Deal legislation, believed that noncitizens should have access to assistance (Fox, 2016)—it was not until the early 1970s that all social programs at the federal level explicitly barred unauthorized immigrants from accessing poverty relief (Fox, 2016). However, occupations were used as a tool of distinction and exclusion. Fox (2016) explains that the Social Security Act of 1935

barred agricultural and domestic workers from social security benefits and unemployment insurance, thereby disqualifying large number of blacks, Mexicans, and other minorities for these benefits and forcing them to rely disproportionately on means-tested cash assistance programs such as Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) or Old Age Assistance (OAA). (p. 1055)

Mexicans and Mexican Americans were thus largely excluded from much of the early safety net because they disproportionately worked in agricultural jobs.

While unauthorized immigrants were not technically excluded from assistance by federal statute, they still did not have broad access to public assistance. Fox (2016) recounts that “durational residency restrictions barred recent state residents, including recent immigrants, from assistance” (p. 1057). As long as immigrants could prove continuous residency in a county for a determined amount of time, they could count on support. But few Mexican immigrants qualified for relief even under these criteria, since most were transient and followed the agriculture-based migratory pattern created by economic forces on both sides of the border (Fox, 2016). One New Deal program that did bar immigrants was the WPA and its projects, which were assigned to U.S. citizens only (Balderrama & Rodriguez, 2006). Since only 5 to 13 percent of Mexican immigrants were American citizens between 1910 and 1930 (compared to 45 to 49 percent of European-born immigrants over the same period) they were largely left out of those government-created jobs (Balderrama & Rodriguez, 2006).

While curtailing access to assistance programs, local and federal authorities responded to Mexican poverty by promoting repatriation and deportation (Balderrama & Rodriguez, 2006). Gratton and Merchant (2013) explain that the dramatic rate of deportations of Mexicans between 1930 and 1933 was part of an “explicit Hoover administration policy announced in his State of the Union Address in 1930” (p. 955). Mexicans were the only immigrant group targeted in this way (Gratton & Merchant, 2013). The Social Security Act prevented “formal cooperation between welfare administrators and immigration officials” (Fox, 2016, p. 1059), but the practice continued, especially when officials from Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS) found welfare workers who were willing to cooperate. Since national polls at the time demonstrated that most U.S. residents believed noncitizens should not receive relief and “those who did should be deported” (Fox, 2016, p. 1056), informal collaboration between INS officials and welfare workers was not rare.

There is some debate in the literature with regard to the level of voluntary departures by Mexicans during the Great Depression. While some scholars hold that significant numbers of Mexicans repatriated voluntarily (see Gratton & Merchant, 2013), others believe such migration was much more often coerced, resulting from systematic intimidation, harassment, and the lack of culturally appropriate practices by county welfare workers (see Balderrama & Rodriguez, 2006; Fox, 2013). Estimates of the number of people who repatriated and were deported range from 331,717 to over 1,000,000 (Gratton & Merchant, 2013). The California State Legislature, for example,

passed an apology resolution in 2005 for the “more than 1.2 million” Mexican immigrants who were forced to leave the United States during the Great Depression (“Apology Act for the 1930s Mexican Repatriation Program,” 2005). Most of the literature agrees, however, that upwards of 40% of those deported or repatriated were in fact U.S. citizens (Gratton & Merchant, 2013). Clearly, citizens’ rights were violated since U.S. citizens cannot be deported legally (Gratton & Merchant, 2013). One can only imagine how deportations affected family members who were too young, sick, old, or otherwise unable to care for themselves, including American-born citizens (Hanna, 1935). This is not too different from today’s unauthorized immigrant community, which is composed of mixed-status families where many members, especially the younger ones, are likely U.S. citizens.

In cases of repatriation, the U.S. federal government was involved to a much lesser extent than the cities, counties, and even private organizations that collected funds to pay for Mexican families’ trips to the southern border by train. There were various cases in which the Mexican government was also involved in the repatriation efforts (Hanna, 1935). There were, furthermore, coordination efforts with Mexican government officials and organizations (e.g., *Comite de Repatriacion*) and American-based Mexican benevolent aid societies (e.g., *Comisiones Honorificas Mexicanas* and the *Brigadas de la Cruz Azul*) (Gratton & Merchant, 2013).

Sometimes, voluntary repatriation efforts became coercive. In an attempt to promote self-repatriation, local governments and federal officials would collaborate in “street sweeps” and raids to round up Mexican immigrants who may or may not have been present in the country with proper documentation (Balderrama & Rodriguez, 2006). These efforts were meant to intimidate immigrants into leaving: “Raids assumed the logistics of full-scale paramilitary operations. Federal officials, county deputy sheriffs, and city police cooperated in local roundups in order to assure maximum success” (Balderrama & Rodriguez, 2006, p. 71).

Once immigrants were apprehended, their experience in custody varied. Gratton and Merchant (2013) give the sense that formal, neutral hearings were conducted to determine the removal of immigrants. Balderrama and Rodriguez (2006) paint a different picture: “Although some courts did employ Spanish-speaking interpreters, there were seldom any interpreters available during the initial critical questioning or pretrial period. In some instances, the judicial proceedings amounted to little more than a kangaroo-court trial” (p. 65). Mexican Americans who organized against these raids

were labeled as “communists or radicals” before being deported (Balderrama & Rodriguez, 2006).

I now take a closer look at Mexican communities in the Southwest, Los Angeles, and Detroit to gain a better understanding of the mechanisms by which public officials and social workers engaged in the oppressive Mexican repatriation of the Great Depression.

MEXICANS IN THE SOUTHWEST AND PATTERNED RELIEF

In 1930, at the beginning of the Great Depression, 87% of Mexican immigrants lived in the Southwest. Most lived and worked in rural settings (Fox, 2010). Fox’s (2010) study discovers a patterning of relief among Mexican immigrants, European immigrants, and African Americans that is different enough to conceptually differentiate as three different worlds. Cities with higher Mexican populations in the Southwest not only spent less in aid overall, they also spent “proportionately more private as opposed to public funds” (Fox 2010, p. 455). In 1929, for example, a 10% increase in Mexican population was associated with a \$0.16 decline in total per capita relief spending and a 7% decrease in relief from public sources (Fox, 2010). One of the main reasons behind the patterned relief is, of course, intolerance in the form of racism and xenophobia. However, Fox’s (2010) study reveals other mechanisms at play, namely the labor market structure and municipal reforms.

The agricultural economic structure in the Southwest depended on migrant wage-laborers who were unattached to any particular employer, unlike black share croppers in the South who received compensation in-kind and were immobile or factory-working European immigrants in the Midwest or Northeast (Fox, 2010). As such, “[a] gribusiness saw relief as necessary to maintain their labor supply nearby during the off agricultural season” (Fox, 2010, p. 468). This explains why public and private relief were considered to be subsidies for the agriculture industry. This also partly explains why American laborers widely perceived Mexicans as dependent on aid and why social workers were so pessimistic about their potential to assimilate (Fox, 2010). Another resulting trait from the Mexican migratory nature of the Southwestern labor market was that working conditions – mobile over large tracts of land – made it difficult for workers to organize and unionize, unlike their European counterparts in centralized factories.

Municipal reform was the second mechanism that determined aid in Southwestern cities and counties. Great Depression-era city

ordinances and county legislation in the Southwest sought to reform elections to diminish the role of political parties. In other parts of the country, such as New England, political party influence allowed for machine politics to emerge. With limited machine politics, Southwestern localities relied less on patronage for social and economic advancement and opted instead for relief spending (Fox, 2010).

As the economy worsened during the Great Depression, counties in the Southwest became less friendly to agribusiness subsidies and public relief. Mexican migrants became increasingly viewed as dependent on aid. Thus, counties took up voluntary repatriation efforts followed by deportation raids to address needy Mexican immigrants (Balderrama & Rodriguez, 2006).

MEXICANS IN LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

The example of Los Angeles demonstrates how various public actors, from social workers to elected officials and police officers, came together under specific economic conditions to create a hostile environment for Mexican immigrants. Los Angeles was one of the most prominent sites of repatriation, deportation, and intimidation against Mexican communities during the Great Depression. At first, welfare officials and private groups collected funds to move Mexicans south of the border. Once they realized some immigrants did not wish to leave, the process became more coercive (Hoffman, 1973; Gratton & Merchant, 2013; Balderrama & Rodriguez, 2006). Hoffman (1973) argues much of the impetus behind the repatriation campaign in Los Angeles started at the federal level when the Hoover administration explicitly stated their intention to remove unauthorized citizens.

President Hoover's appointment for Secretary of Labor, William Doak, reflected his ambition to address unemployment partly through alien repatriation. Secretary Doak announced that one way to address the unemployment troubles facing the nation was to oust as many of the "400,000 aliens who were illegal residents in the United States" as possible (Hoffman, 1973, p. 206). The U.S. Border Patrol, created in 1925, provided the new Labor Secretary the means to attempt it.

At the local level, the Los Angeles city and county governments formed citizens' relief committees in line with President Hoover's Emergency Committee for Employment (PECE). Charles Visel was appointed as the coordinator for the city committee and was eager to address the unemployment issue in Los Angeles. Visel contacted Colonel Woods, Hoover's national PECE coordinator, informing

him of the presence of the migrant communities and suggested that “the police and sheriff’s offices might lend assistance” to the local immigration office (Hoffman, 1973, p. 208). In a move similar to repatriation campaigns in other municipalities, Visel sought to “establish an environment hostile enough to alarm aliens” rather than forcibly deport all of them in order to make more jobs available to natives (Hoffman, 1973 p. 208). Colonel Woods eagerly replied to Visel’s inquiry and advised him to send more details directly to Labor Secretary Doak.

Coordinator Visel devised a plan in which a major publicity campaign would announce the impending immigration raids, raising alarm in the immigrant communities, followed by some symbolic public arrests (Hoffman, 1973). Several raids and arrests took place, almost exclusively in Mexican immigrant communities. One such raid took place in El Monte, where over 300 people were questioned and thirteen arrested (Hoffman, 1973). It was out of these campaigns that the Mexican Chamber of Commerce of Los Angeles was born to counter the immigration raids’ detrimental effects on the social and economic lives of immigrants. Another major raid took place at La Placita, where 400 people were detained and only a handful arrested, including Mexican, Chinese, and Japanese immigrants (Hoffman, 1973; Balderrama & Rodriguez, 2006). Balderrama and Rodriguez’s (2006) argument about illegal immigration detention is substantiated by Hoffman (1973), who points out that aliens were detained “without benefit of counsel and telegraphing for a warrant of arrest after a provable case was found” (p. 216).

These highly visible and oppressive detainments took place at the same time that the Los Angeles County Bureau of Welfare funded “a series of repatriation trains to transport indigent Mexican families as far as Mexico City [starting in 1931]. By the end of that year, four shipments had taken over 2,300 people, including American-born children, out of the country” (Hoffman, 1973, p. 218). Hoffman (1973) concludes that the anti-alien campaigns failed to solve the unemployment issue and created new tensions among various communities in Los Angeles.

MEXICANS IN MICHIGAN

Michigan state and county officials also employed repatriation and deportation tactics to address poverty in Mexican communities. The practice became so common that the Michigan State Welfare Department released a pamphlet that explained the issue: “In technical

language repatriation refers to the alien who by reason of his age or physical condition is unable to become rehabilitated in the economic situation today” (Humphrey, 1941, p. 497). Humphrey (1941) reminds us that Mexican laborers were not migratory everywhere: “in Detroit, [they] became industrial worker[s]” (p. 498). Many Mexican industrial workers repatriated voluntarily due to the economic hardship experienced during the Great Depression, while others were forced to leave (Humphrey, 1941). The Detroit Mexican *colonia* was established in 1918 when Mexicans, replacing workmen who left for World War I, arrived to work in the “motor-car factories” (Humphrey, 1941, p. 500).

Humphrey (1941) describes the repatriation campaign in Detroit as one that involved cooperation between the Detroit Department of Public Welfare and the Mexican government, in which the former paid for train fares to the border and the latter would take care of families thereafter. Diego Rivera, famous Mexican artist and husband of Frida Kahlo, advised fellow Mexicans to return home in 1932 as he painted his mural in the Detroit Art Institute.

Whenever a Mexican family applied for aid, they were first sent to the “Mexican Bureau” in the Detroit Department of Public Welfare where conversations around repatriation occurred (Humphrey, 1941). According to Humphrey (1941), at first Mexican migrants were eager to return to Mexico because of promises of land and tools, only to find these were lies. As word of the false promises made their way back to Detroit (along with the repatriated migrants), fewer Mexicans were willing to repatriate voluntarily (Humphrey, 1941).

The rights of naturalized citizens and U.S.-born sons and daughters of migrants were often ignored by case workers in discussing repatriation with Mexican families (Humphrey, 1941). Some case workers were more paternalistic than others and, “despite frequent protestations by families that repatriation was not desired... [t]he worker might continually question the family about a return” (Humphrey, 1941, p. 507). Humphrey (1941) argues that, even among case workers, stereotypes of Mexicans as lazy and dependent on aid were rampant. He concludes that the Detroit repatriation program was successful as a money-saving endeavor but a failure as a case work method.

CONCLUSION

It is unclear to what degree the various historical actors in these three case studies considered their actions to be part of a wider policy of exclusion and oppression. It’s also difficult to assess how coercive or paternalistic their actions were; the voices of Mexicans and Mexican

Americans are rarely included in case notes or in the decision-making process of local and federal officials. The social workers in the case studies worked in relief departments, but their actions beg the question: relief for whom? Certainly, local welfare agents were willing to push out these foreigners in order to save relief money for the more deserving native poor.

While the Great Depression took place 90 years ago, the most recent economic recession reminds us how easily our fears can dictate policy decisions and elections. More troubling, however, is the quotidian actions of these historical actors. I imagine most acted out of a sense of duty and responsibility to their country or government: they truly believed Mexican immigrants wanted to—or should—go back to Mexico, or that everyone would be better off if people were redistributed across geography. The combination of economic anxiety and a fundamental lack of self-reflection created an oppressive bureaucracy. I hope that our profession has evolved enough to avoid these pitfalls in working so closely with vulnerable immigrant populations. This time, we need to write a different story.

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MATERNAL DEPRESSION: UNDERSTANDING ASSOCIATED RISK FACTORS

Clariza Saint George, Brett Penner, and Lara Burt

Introduction

Maternal depression is a broad term that encompasses several conditions with varying onsets. The conditions associated with maternal depression are as follows: prenatal depression, which occurs during pregnancy; baby blues, with onset a week after birth; postpartum depression, whose onset can be within the first two to three months of birth; and postpartum psychosis, which begins within two to four weeks of delivery (New York Department of Health, 2015). Women experiencing maternal depression disclosed the following symptoms: increased hostility and resentment towards others, difficulty communicating, emotional distance and disinterest, and disaffection (Field, 1998; Gelfand & Teti, 1990; Lovejoy, Graczyk, O'Hare, & Neuman, 2000). A diagnosis of maternal depression, or the prominence of depressive symptoms, negatively impacts the mother's ability to foster healthy relationships and execute management functions strongly tied to parenting (e.g., ensuring adequate nutrition) (Knitzer, Theberge, & Johnson, 2008).

Maternal depression disproportionately affects women of color (Cardoso, Padilla, & Sampson, 2010; Knitzer, Theberge, & Johnson, 2008). Compounded with the implications related to maternal depression, women of color experience unique sets of circumstances exclusively related to their race (Cardoso, Padilla, & Sampson, 2010). Research has found that women of color are more likely to report depressive symptoms when compared to others. Hispanic and African American women with lower socioeconomic status (SES) have higher rates of depressive symptoms when compared to white middle-class women (Yonkers et al., 2001). Research has found a strong positive relationship between race and ethnicity and SES as predictors of mental illness (Cardoso, Padilla, & Sampson, 2010; Knitzer, Theberge, & Johnson, 2008).

The impact of maternal depression is not limited to the mother, but rather reverberates throughout the family. An estimated 15 million

children live with a mother experiencing depression (Beck, 1995; National Research Council and Institute of Medicine, 2009). The impacts of maternal depression can be felt from birth: children with depressed mothers were in lower weight percentiles when compared to children with non-depressed mothers (Field, 1998). Beyond the physiological impact, there are long-lasting, harmful effects on the psychological and physical health and well-being of a depressed mother's children. Children whose mothers suffered from depression score high in depressive symptoms, have reduced cognitive, behavioral, and emotional functioning, and are at a higher risk of developing maladaptive social behaviors (Cardoso, Padilla, & Sampson, 2010; Field, 1998; Gelfand & Teti, 1990; Knitzer, Theberge, & Johnson, 2008; Lovejoy, Graczyk, O'Hare, & Neuman, 2000; Mistry et al., 2010). These maladaptive social behaviors include anxiety, behavioral problems, and difficulties with interpersonal communication (Cardoso, Padilla, & Sampson, 2010; Knitzer, Theberge, & Johnson, 2008). The age of the child has been found to influence the type of effect (Gelfand & Teti, 1990). Young children who spend most of the day in close proximity to their depressed mothers show difficulty with compliance and disturbances to attachment and attention (Gelfand & Teti, 1990). School age children face similar difficulties, along with trouble building relationships with teachers and peers as well as lower school achievement (Gelfand & Teti, 1990). The most pronounced impact of maternal depression on children is the occurrence of psychological disorders in the child later in life: an increased risk for psychopathology including conduct, mood, and affective disorders (Gelfand & Teti, 1990).

Our study therefore seeks to understand the factors that contribute to maternal depression, focusing on work stress and income level. The goal of the study was to determine the impact of work stress and income level independently and together. The decision to explore these two variables is based on the extensive literature that demonstrates a positive correlation between poverty and cognitive development (Petterson & Albers, 2001). Successful prevention and treatment of maternal depression requires an awareness of the many risk factors tied to the condition. Given that research has shown that maternal depression is a variable in child outcomes as early as birth, we believe the findings of our study make an important contribution to policies impacting early childhood care. Recognition of these risk factors for maternal depression could result in improved outcomes for the mother, her children, and the entire family (Gelfand & Teti, 1990; Yonkers, Vigod, & Ross, 2011). Improving healthcare for mothers experiencing

depression, and mothers in general, will benefit children and the family as a whole. Our research questions are: 1) Does parental work stress impact maternal depression? 2) Does income impact maternal depression? 3) Does parental work stress and income impact maternal depression? Our first hypothesis is that there will be a positive association between the level of parental work stress and maternal depression, i.e. as parental work stress increases so will the level of maternal depression. Our second hypothesis is that income and maternal depression will be negatively associated: as income decreases, maternal depression increases. Finally, our third hypothesis is that together, the variables of income and parental work stress will have a higher impact on maternal depression than either one of the variables alone.

METHOD

Participants

We draw on published data collected by Marshall, Roberts, and Wagner Robeson (2013) for the Massachusetts Early Care and Education and School Readiness Study. Our study uses children from two samples. The first group was made up of 170 children who are attending childcare centers and who have been followed since infancy (the Family Income, Infant Child Care, and Child Development Study). Questionnaires were mailed to the families in this study. The second group was made up of 242 children who were attending childcare centers primarily serving low-income families. For the second group of children, data was collected at 12 months, 24 months, and pre-kindergarten; questionnaires were again sent in the mail. Of the 373 children used in the study, 144 reported being female, 56 reported being male and 73 did not report their gender. The ethnicities of the children in the study were as follows: 5.4% ($n = 20$) Native American, 14.5% ($n = 54$) Asian, 46.1% ($n = 172$) Black, Other 10.5% ($n = 39$), and Hispanic 4.0% ($n = 15$). Ethnicity data was missing for 19.6% ($n = 73$) of the children in the study.

Measures

Maternal depression.

The dependent variable in our study was maternal depression. Maternal depression is a continuous variable: a higher score equals more depression. In order to measure this variable, the study used the

Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale (CES-D), which measures symptoms defined by the DSM-V (American Psychiatric Association, 2013).

Socio-economic status

As a measure of socioeconomic status, we used the variable household income at 48 months/pre-K. This input is nominal, and we divided it into two categories: lower than \$40,000 and greater than \$40,000. These categories emerged from trends noticed during the graphing of income levels and the income level that is said to mark lower middle class in Massachusetts (\$44,512), a value that supported the two categories used in the data analysis (Feinauer, 2015).

Work stress

We looked at parental work stress as our second independent variable. Similar to maternal depression, this variable is also continuous: the higher the score the more work stress. Working mothers experience a unique set of circumstances as they navigate home life and the workforce. Negative emotion spillover is defined as feelings of anger, frustration, and disappointment at work creating issues at home (e.g., power assertion, irritability, or impatience), contributing significantly to an individual's stress level (Goodman & Crouter, 2009; Repetti & Wood, 1997). Workplace stressors range in their type and severity. They include lack of time flexibility, high levels of pressure, excessive workloads, conflict with colleagues, and a lack of control over labor (Goodman & Crouter, 2009; Repetti & Wood, 1997).

As previously mentioned, numerous work stressors have been linked to the prominence of depressive symptoms and a depression diagnosis in working parents (Goodman & Crouter, 2009). Thomas and Ganster (1995) found that working mothers with children younger than 16 with inflexible work schedules reported higher depression levels (as cited in Goodman & Crouter, 2009). The lack of a working mother's ability to create a flexible work schedule makes it significantly more difficult for her to balance her home and work responsibilities. The frustration created by the inability to adequately create a balanced home and work schedule negatively affects the parent's caregiving ability. For example, research from Brody et al. (1994) found that parents who report higher dissatisfaction with their employment implement more coercive parenting styles and harsher punishments at home compared to parents who did not (as cited in Raver, 2003). Mothers who use stringent parenting tactics reported higher depressive symptoms, increased irritability, and stronger

feelings of pessimism; this combination yielded an overall decline in their caregiving quality (Goodman & Crouter, 2009; Raver, 2003).

Income level

The rate of low-income women with the diagnosis of depression or depressive symptoms is higher than that of women with higher income levels (Cardoso, Padilla, & Sampson, 2010; Currie, 2005; Knitzer, Theberge, & Johnson, 2008). Knitzer, Theberge, and Johnson (2008) found that 25% of low-income women experience depression or depressive symptoms in a given year (Currie, 2005; Knitzer, Theberge, & Johnson, 2008). Depression is a complex diagnosis; it is able to manifest itself as physical ailments and therefore can negatively impact one's physical ability to work. According to Zill et al. (1995), mothers with menial, low-paying, and low-skill jobs reported more negative effects than mothers with higher-paying and better quality positions (as cited in Raver, 2003).

RESULTS

Descriptive Statistics

For the 373 participants, mean maternal depression scores were 8.99 (SD 8.56). The minimum score reported was 0.00, and the maximum was 47.00. Scores of 3, 6, and 13 represented the 25th, 50th, and 75th percentiles, respectively. For the income variable, 34.9% of respondents had an income of lower than \$40,000, 65.1% reported an income greater than \$40,000, and 22.5% of respondents did not answer the income question. Parental work stress had a mean score of 19.63 (SD = 6.45). Scores of 15, 19, and 23 represented the 25th, 50th, and 75th percentiles, respectively.

Correlation analysis

To determine whether increases in parental stress were associated with increases in maternal depression symptoms, we performed a correlation analysis. This analysis, summarized in Table 1, revealed two significant correlations. Parental work stress and maternal depression were significantly positively correlated, but the strength was relatively weak, $r(269) = 0.345$. In addition, income and work stress were significantly negatively correlated, and this association was also relatively weak, $r(269) = -0.265$ (Table 1). The correlation between income and work stress did not yield a significant result.

Table 1
Correlation Table

	Score for Maternal Depression	Score For Parent Work Stress	Income (Bivariate)
Score For Maternal Depression	1	0.345**	-2.65***
Score for Parent Work Stress	0.345**	1	-0.121
Income (Bivariate)	-0.265**	-0.121	1

Note: ** p 0.01; *** p 0.001

Simple Linear Regression

A simple linear regression was used to predict changes in maternal depression by work stress and income individually. The regression for work stress, summarized in Table 2, indicated that 11.6% of the variation in maternal depression is explained by income, ($F(1, 267) = 36.133, P < 0.000$). As parental work stress increases by 1 standard deviation, maternal depression increases by 0.345 standard deviations.

Table 2
Linear Regression Work Stress on Maternal Depression

Variable	B	SE B	β	t	sig.
Score for Parent Work Stress	0.465	0.77	0.345	6.011	0.000***

Note: Adj. $R^2 = 0.116$; *** p 0.001

The same analysis was also performed for the influence of income on maternal depression: 6.7% of the variation in maternal depression can be explained by income, ($F(1, 287) = 21.67, p < 0.000$). As income increases from the low to high-income category, maternal depression decreases by 0.265 standard deviations. This analysis is summarized in Table 3 below.

Table 3
Linear Regression Bivariate Income on Maternal Depression

Variable	B	SE B	β	t	sig.
Bivariate Income	-4.75	1.021	-0.265	-4.655	0.000***

Note: Adj. $R^2 = 0.067$; *** $p < 0.001$

Multiple Regression

To understand how the variables influence maternal depression when considered together, a multiple regression analysis was performed (Table 4). These variables explain 16.3% of the variation in maternal depression, ($F(2, 257) = 26.129$). Consistent with the results reported above, parent work stress provided positive weight to the model, indicating that those with higher work stress levels can be expected to have higher maternal depression levels. Income, conversely, provided negative weight to the model; higher income is associated with lower maternal depression. Both income and work stress were significant predictors of maternal depression at the 0.001 level.

Table 4
Multiple Linear Regression of Income and Work Stress on Maternal

Variable	B	SE B	β	t	sig.
Score for Parent Work Stress	0.426	0.77	0.319	5.564	0.000***
Bivariate Income	-4.116	1.054	-2.24	-3.097	0.000***

Note: Adj. $R^2 = 0.163$; *** $p < 0.001$

FINDINGS

Our results support our hypothesis that parental work stress and maternal depression are positively associated. Findings demonstrated that as work stress increases, so does maternal depression. However, the explanatory power of work stress was not as high as expected. The adjusted R^2 indicated that only a minor portion of the variation in maternal depression is explained by work stress. This finding appears in line with the correlation coefficient between the two variables as a relatively weak correlation of 0.345 was found. Although the relationship was relatively weak, the significance level of $p < 0.001$ indicates that it is highly unlikely that the observed differences between work stress and maternal depression are due to chance. This finding supports the existing literature on stress and depression. Goodman and Crouter's (2009) theory of negative emotional spillover and Thomas and Ganster's (1995) finding of higher depression levels among working mothers with young children are supported by these findings and can help explain why the p -value was so low.

The results on income and maternal depression also supported our hypothesized relationship between the variables. The simple linear regression indicated that a negative relationship exists between income and depression: as income increases maternal depression decreases. This relationship was significant at the $p < 0.001$ levels. Thus, the null hypothesis is rejected; there is a relationship between income and maternal depression. However, much is left unexplained by this analysis. As the correlation coefficient indicates, the relationship between these variables is very weak, only -0.265. Moreover, the R^2 indicates that only 6.7% of the variation in stress is explained by income alone.

It was hypothesized that the effect of income would be mediated according to work stress. A high income and high-stress job is likely to have a different effect on depression than a high-income job with low stress. However, a correlation matrix revealed no significant relationship between work stress and income, indicating that no interaction between work stress and income exists, highlighting the need to consider income along with other factors. It should also be noted that variables such as work benefits and financial aid for care were not included in this analysis. Expanding our operationalization of socioeconomic status (SES) to include these factors might lead to a different result.

The shortcomings discussed with the income model support our third research question of the effect of work stress and income together on depression. In this model, the explanatory power of the

variables increased to 16.3 percent. In addition, the absolute value of the *t*-values indicates that work stress contributes greater weight to the model. Both *p*-values were significant at the *p* < .001 levels, allowing for the rejection of the null hypothesis. A relationship exists between work stress, income, and maternal depression.

Figure 1 plots the effect of work stress on maternal depression by income category. This graph further confirms there is no clear relationship between work stress and income. The highest level of maternal depression was reported from those who have low income, medium stress jobs. Among the majority of the work stress scores, depression is highest when income is in the lower category. However, in the present data there are several exceptions to this finding precluding the ability to draw a relationship between work stress and income.

Overall, the *R*² of 0.163 implies that much is missing from the model. While the data confirm the hypothesized relationships between the data, it can only be concluded that work stress and income have a significant but small effect on maternal depression. The aim of this research was to investigate the effect of work stress and SES on maternal depression. Although this aim was accomplished, the analysis raises other questions as well. These questions, along with other limitations of this study, will be discussed in the following sections.

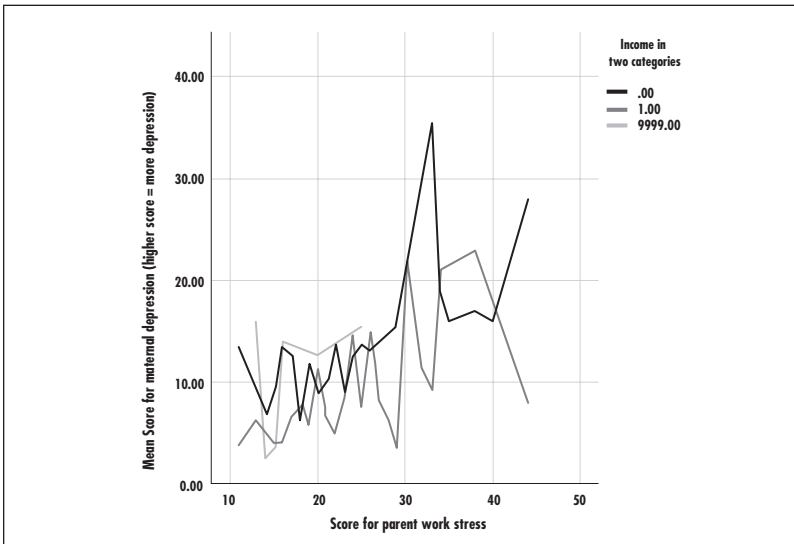


Figure 1. Histogram of maternal depression scores related to parental work stress and income as a dichotomous variable.

Limitations

The goal of this report was to re-examine maternal depression and discern whether work stress is positively correlated with it, and also whether work stress and SES impact maternal depression. Current literature involving work stress and parental caregiving does not examine these factors. With the hope of filling the present gap, this study neglected to inspect other variables that may impact maternal depression with regard to work stress and SES. The literature review revealed that other academics found a positive relationship between SES and race when maternal depression was examined. Future researchers should consider using an ethnographic approach to inform which variables are essential for the regression analyses.

The sample size for each of the three variables explored was different. Twenty-two percent of respondents did not respond when prompted about their income. A total of 373 individuals participated in this study. Only 300 participants provided a response to the question about maternal depression; 269 responded to the parent work stress questions; and 289 reported their income range. Our sample size was thus 269. The reporting discrepancies make it difficult for a complete picture to be generated and analyzed.

The income variable that was explored in the present study was very limited and did not include other sources of income, such as alimony, child support, food stamps, cash-assistance, and other forms of supplemental income. The participants reported their income when their child was 48 months old/before kindergarten and not at other crucial junctures during the child's development. Parental marital/relationship status and education level are also important factors related to a family's income. Changes to relationship status may impact the amount of income the family has on a monthly basis.

The workplace benefits variable did not encompass the totality of benefits that may have been offered by employers, such as child care assistance, maternity/paternity leave, sufficient health care benefits, and flexible work scheduling. Foregoing to include important aspects related to workplace benefits severely impacted this study's ability to calculate its effect when combined with income. In addition, workplace benefits are limited to those of the workplace and do not include educational institutions such as college, graduate school, or trade programs. Historically, these institutions offer assistance to their students in the form of financial aid, independent study, full-time/part-time options, night classes, and even child care.

Finally, the variables inspected in this study—maternal depression, parental work stress, and income range—were not operationally

defined. Due to this, the respondents most likely used their personal understanding of these abstract and broad terms. Using a subjective rather than objective definition of these crucial variables has limited this data set's ability to be extrapolated onto the general public. Reduction in the generalizability of these analyses is a large limitation. The lack of defined key terms combined with varying sample sizes and incomplete variables did not allow for the entirety of the concluded correlations to be explored. Suffice to say, although statistical significance was yielded in both models, the data set was relatively incomplete and may not be easy to translate to large populations.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this research was to demonstrate the effects of workplace stress and socioeconomic status on maternal depression. Results indicate that both variables are significant predictors of depression levels. Significant relationships were found when each explanatory variable was considered alone, as well as when they were considered together in a multiple regression analysis. P-values for all analysis were less than 0.001, highlighting the improbability of these relationships being due to chance. However, the R^2 numbers of each of the models were not as high as expected, indicating the need for future research. The multiple regression R^2 was only 0.163, indicating that much of the explanation for changes in maternal depression remains missing. It is suggested that a qualitative study be conducted to solicit ideas on the influencers of maternal depression, leading to the construction of a more powerful model. Overall, while there is room for improvement, this study demonstrates an important step in examining the link between workplace stress, socioeconomic status, and depression.

It is our hope that this study can lead to improvements in the screening and treatment of maternal depression. As previously mentioned, the impact of this diagnosis is not limited to the mother. It has substantially detrimental effects on the child, ranging from difficulty building relationships to stunted academic growth. Creating social and organizational policies to improve individual and familial outcomes resulting from maternal depression may reduce the likelihood and severity of cognitive, psychological, and physical impacts. Although determining the exact remedy to this pervasive disorder is not within the purview of the authors, we suggest simple and relatively inexpensive interventions that require minimal effort. Postpartum depression screening tools are in abundance and have been shown to be effective tools in evaluating the presence of

depression or anxiety symptoms (American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists, 2008). This study identified a positive relationship between parental work stress and maternal depression and a negative relationship between income level and maternal depression; the combination of income and parental work stress has a more significant impact on maternal depression than each on their own.

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MEGAN GARRAD is a first-year clinical student in the School Social Work program of study at the School of Social Service Administration. Megan has a B.A. from William Jewell College where she double-majored in Psychology and Biology. Prior to attending SSA, Megan worked in psychology research, most recently in Leah Somerville's Affective Neuroscience and Development Lab at Harvard University. Megan's current field placement is at Lake View High School where she assists with restorative justice programming. Megan is a First-year Editor of *Advocates' Forum* and appreciates that the journal represents the state of the field from a student perspective.

COURTNEY HANSON is a first-year clinical student at the School of Social Service Administration. Courtney holds a B.A. in journalism and B.S. in psychology with a focus on gender studies from Loyola University Chicago. Before entering graduate school, she worked for six years in environmental community-based organizing and policy advocacy. Here at SSA, Courtney focuses on bridging the gap between social activism and mental health, looking at how social movements can work to build emotional resiliency in communities dealing with trauma from oppressive systems while also working to dismantle those systems.

EMMA HEIDORN is a first-year clinical student at the School of Social Service Administration. She is in the International Social Welfare program of study and the Graduate Program in Health Administration and Policy, on the Global Health track. Her current placement is at Heartland Refugee and Immigrant Community Services, a refugee resettlement agency. She spent two years teaching 2nd grade in Palestine and plans on returning to the Middle East after graduation. Emma has a B.A. from the University of Missouri, where she studied creative writing and political science. She enjoys blending her love of good writing with her commitment to social justice issues.

BRENDA KISSANE is a second-year clinical student at the School of Social Service Administration. Before attending graduate school, Brenda worked for the Holistic Life Foundation in Baltimore as the Director of Outreach. Brenda's first-year field placement

was at the Sonia Shankman Orthogenic School, where she served as a counselor. Brenda's current placement is at the Replogle Center for Counseling and Well-Being where she conducts individual and couples therapy. Brenda is interested in integrating mental, emotional, and physical care to provide more holistic interventions and services. As a second-year board member, Brenda is excited about the space *Advocates' Forum* creates for students to bring their voices to current academic and political dialogues.

KAYLA MISHLER is an accelerated clinical student at the School of Social Service Administration. In her field placement she delivers psychodynamic therapy to children and families in the North Lawndale neighborhood. She has received her Bachelor's degree in social work in 2013, and has delivered social services in settings ranging from school systems to substance-dependent populations. Here at the *Advocate's Forum*, both her field experience and theoretical understanding of social systems help her contribute to the process in a way that is engaging and aids in the production of relevant social work literature.

NATHAN ROTER is a second-year administration student at the School of Social Service Administration in the International Social Work program of study. Before coming to Chicago, he worked for four years in child and adolescent mental health, most recently as a teacher and counselor at a preschool for child survivors of trauma in Oakland, California. His interests at SSA are in entry and permanence in the United States for immigrants and improving mental health services in immigrant communities. He has won first-place awards for his barbecue with his two cousins and holds a B.A. in psychology with a minor in French from the University of Oregon.

CLARIZA SAINT GEORGE is a clinical student at the School of Social Service Administration in the Alcohol and Other Drug Abuse program of study; she will be graduating in 2017. She graduated in 2014 with honors from Northeastern Illinois University where she received her B.A. in psychology with a minor in women and gender studies. Her past publications include: *The Etiology of Intravenous Heroin Use in Adolescent Girls* (2016). Her academic interests include: interpersonal violence, substance use, and people who identify as LGBTQIA+, and PLWHA. She is presently employed at Gateway Foundation as a Counselor and at Heartland Alliance as a Social Services Supervisor.

ALAINA SCHOFIELD is a first-year student at the School of Social Service Administration focusing on clinical social work. Specifically, her emphasis is on international social welfare, mental health, and community building. Alaina graduated from University of California at Berkeley with a B.A. in gender & women's studies and a minor in dance & performance studies. Here at SSA, she is one of the First-year Editors for *Advocates' Forum* and believes in the power of a person's voice through the written word.

ELIZABETH WEISS is a first-year clinical student at the School of Social Service Administration and is pursuing the school social work program of study. With a background as an artist, teaching artist, and arts administrator, Elizabeth hopes to explore the ways that art can be utilized to impact the lives of students and create a healthier, more just, society. As a first-year member of the editorial board for *Advocates' Forum*, Elizabeth greatly enjoyed reading the works of her fellow SSA scholars.

KATHRYN WEST is a second-year student social administrative student at the School of Social Service Administration and is in the Graduate Program in Health Administration and Policy. She has a B.A. from Northwestern University, where she studied creative writing and philosophy. Here at SSA, her focus is on expanding access to and narratives of health and healthcare via more equitable and expansive healthcare policy. As Co-Editor-in-Chief of *Advocates' Forum*, Kathryn has enjoyed reading the exceptional work that SSA students are producing, and is excited to share these inquisitive, insightful pieces with you all.

