

# ILLINOIS SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION



**2019 ANNUAL CONFERENCE**  
**Wednesday, November 20<sup>th</sup>, 2019**  
**8:00am-4:30pm**

**NORTH PARK UNIVERSITY**  
**3225 W. FOSTER AVE. CHICAGO IL 60625**

From  To  
Social Problems Social Promise

**Organized at North Park University by the Department of Sociology and  
Criminal Justice, Urban Peace Lab, Catalyst Hub, Sociology Club, Criminal  
Justice Club, and University Ministries**

Contact: ISA President, Peter K. B. St. Jean, Ph.D. |  
[pkstjean@northpark.edu](mailto:pkstjean@northpark.edu) / 773-244-4660

# CAMPUS MAP



North Park University, Nancy and G. Timothy Johnson Center for Science and Community Life

# GENERAL PROGRAM

Time	Hamming Hall	Dining Hall	Johnson Center 209	Johnson Center 211	Johnson Center 208	Johnson Center 206
8:00 AM	Registration, Welcome, Breakfast, Opening Remarks (8:00-10:25)					
8:30 AM						
9:00 AM						
9:30 AM						
10:00 AM						
10:30 AM	BREAK 10:25 AM to 10:40 AM					
11:00 AM			Session 1.1: Plenary Panel	Session 1.2: Poster	Planning Room	
11:30 AM			(10:40- 12:00)	(10:40- 12:00)	(10:40- 12:00)	
12:00 PM		Lunch				
12:30 PM		12:00-1:00				
1:00 PM	BREAK 1:00 PM to 1:15 PM					
1:30 PM			Session 2.1: Panel	Session 2.2: Poster	Planning Room	Session 2.3: Roundtable
2:00 PM			(1:15-2:35)	(1:15-2:35)	(1:15-2:35)	(1:15-2:35)
2:30 PM	BREAK 2:35 PM to 2:50 PM					
3:00 PM			Session 3.1 Roundtable	Session 3.2 Panel	Planning Room	Board Meeting (4:15-4:45)
3:30 PM			(2:50-4:10):	(2:50-4:10):	(1:15-2:35)	
4:00 PM						
4:30 PM						

\*Room 208 will be used as a planning room for all session time slots.

# FULL SCHEDULE

**8:00 AM – 10:25 AM: REGISTRATION, WELCOME, OPENING REMARKS, AND INTRODUCTION (HAMMING HALL)**

**8:00 AM – 8:45 AM: Registration (Gym Foyer)**

**8:15 AM – 9:15 AM: Continental Breakfast (Hamming Hall)**

**9:15 AM – 9:45 AM: Opening Remarks: NPU President Mary Surridge, ISA President, Peter K. B. St. Jean, Ph.D., President, Sociology Club, Hana Crnovrsanin, Chair Criminal Justice Club, Sarah McKay, (Hamming Hall)**

**9:45 AM – 10:15 AM: Networking and Free Time (Hamming Hall)**

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**10:15 AM – 10:30 AM: WALK OVER TO JOHNSON CENTER**

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**10:40 AM – 12:00 NOON: SESSION 1 (JOHNSON CENTER)**

**Session 1.1: Johnson Center 209**

**PANEL: UNDERGRADUATE RESEARCH PROJECTS IN PETER K. B. ST. JEAN'S FALL 2019 METHODS IN SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COURSE.**

Discussant: Peter K. B. St. Jean

**1.1.1. STUDENT-ATHLETES AND ACADEMICS: A Chicago based study at North Park University**

Tyrell Smith, Bianca Fantauzzo, and Jefferson Portillo

## Abstract

The comparative academic performances of student-athletes and non-student-athletes are of great concern to many in society. Researchers have mainly explored these relationships within Division I schools. The main focus in such research has been NCAA athletes and pressures associated with participation in sports and socializing with their college peers. Comparisons of academic performance between athletes and non-athletes are common, especially when associated with gender and race. Past research indicates that college athletes underperform in academics at Division III level colleges and universities. Therefore, in this study, we seek to explore these issues at North Park University, a Division III School. Through a self-administered survey, we seek to obtain data from 15 or more students in each of those two categories of student-athletes and non-student athletes. We seek to better understand the issues associated with being a student-athlete which include sleep, homework completion, class schedule, and the time

spent dealing with practice, film, meetings, and games. We will explore theoretical, methodological, policy, and programmatic implications.

### **1.1.2. THOUGHTS ON WEED: A Study of Perceptions of Recreational Marijuana Use Among College Students of Various Backgrounds in Chicago**

Sarah McKay, Crystal Navarro, and Oshay Reynolds, North Park University

#### **Abstract**

Sociological research indicated that there are considerable variations in college students' use, perceptions, and attitudes toward the recreational use of marijuana. However, there is little information about how proposed legalization of recreational use of marijuana affects students' perceptions and attitudes toward the recreational use of marijuana. We are specifically interested in understanding those variations among college students of various backgrounds such as race, gender, and academic year. Using a self-administered questionnaire, this study includes a survey of students across various colleges and universities in Chicago. It sought to understand and describe in further detail the various relevant perceptions of recreational marijuana use. Our findings will seek to determine how if at all, the proposed legalization of recreational use of marijuana in Illinois is affecting the perceptions and attitudes of Chicago students about the rightfulness or wrongfulness of the recreational use of marijuana. Theoretical, methodological, policy, and programmatic implications will be explored.

### **1.1.3. WHO'S TEACHING ME? How the race and gender of faculty members affects the college experiences of their students**

Jasmine Miller, Elsie McConaughy, and Terence Hollis, North Park University

#### **Abstract**

Race and gender diversities are often claimed to be important aspects of life on college and university campuses. Researchers have found that the racial compositions of faculty members considerably impact the GPAs and sense of community among African American students. Most of the studies conducted on this subject have mainly compared African American students and White students. However, there is little information about how the race and gender of faculty members affects students' college experience. In the study, we propose to focus on how the gender and race of faculty members affect students' college experience. We will gather original survey data with a sample of 60 students at North Park University, Chicago. We seek to understand how students from varied backgrounds value the presence of gender and racial diversity in their classroom, and how they perceive such experiences on campus affect their academic and social experiences on campus. Theoretical, methodological, policy, and programmatic implications will be explored.

### **1.1.4. MORE MONEY LESS SCHOOL WORK? How the Social Class of Students at North Park University Effects their Attitudes Towards Schoolwork**

Elizabeth Stone and Lauryn Alba Garner, North Park University

#### Abstract

Students from different socioeconomic backgrounds view schoolwork differently. While many conditions can affect people's attitudes towards aspects of life, some studies have found that college students are often unaware of how their social class can affect their attitudes towards schoolwork, and their general work ethic. This study administers an anonymous survey to current students at a Christian university in Chicago to understand the extent to which the social class (upper, middle, or lower class) of students directly affect their attitudes toward schoolwork, and how. Based on findings of past research, at our university research settings, we seek to test the hypothesis that compared to students of lower or middle socioeconomic class backgrounds, students of higher social classes will have more negative attitudes towards schoolwork. Theoretical, methodological, policy and programmatic implications will be explored.

#### **1.1.5. GUN REGULATIONS AND VIOLENCE REDUCTION IN CHICAGO: College Students' Perceptions**

Odalis Arcadio, Mateuz Szuba, and Yuliya Valnytska, North Park University

#### Abstract

What are the views of university students about how gun regulations impact violence in their city? Chicago is known for having strict gun laws. However, those laws have not been able to stop the rampant distribution of illegal firearms in the city. Chicago is ranked in the top fifteen most violent cities in the USA. There is considerable research focused on perceptions and realities associated with gun regulations and crime in Chicago. However, little is known about how university students in Chicago perceive the relationship between gun regulation and trends of violence in their city. We contend that since current university students are likely to be future policy makers in society, it is important to gain such insights among them. Therefore, we aim to fill this gap in knowledge by surveying a diverse body of 60 students at a Christian university in Chicago. We anticipate a range of perceptions associated with students' political preferences, race/ethnicity, gender, major, community of origin, personal experiences, and other factors. Theoretical, methodological, policy, and programmatic implications will be explored.

#### **1.1.6. WHICH COMES FIRST? The Relationship Between News Sources and Political Affiliation among Students at North Park University**

Belinda Banh, Lalena Denkin, and Nolan Gomez, North Park University

#### Abstract

In the United States, there appears to be strong correlations between sources of news and political affiliations. Many studies indicate that news commentaries are dominated by information bias, selective hearing, and favoritisms associated with political agendas. News sources seem to purposely skew information to gain a larger audience, causing people to extract what they want to hear from the entirety. Many news sources appear to be biased, seeming to have far conservative or far liberal convictions. Although the correlations between news sources and party affiliations seem clear, the direction of causality is not as clearly known. Therefore, in

this study we will gather data to explore the causal relationship between news sources and party affiliation by surveying 60 North Park University students. Based on dominant themes in existing literature, we test the hypothesis that an established political affiliation influences the news sources that people choose to utilize. Furthermore, we are hoping to identify relevant patterns of knowledge associated with the demographics of students at North Park University. Theoretical, methodological, and programmatic policy will be explored.

## **Session 1.2: Johnson Center 211**

### **POSTER SESSION: POCKETS OF CRIME AND POCKETS OF PEACE: SPATIAL TEMPORAL CRIME INCIDENT ANALYSES IN CHICAGO OVER LAST 20 YEARS**

**BY PETER K. B. ST. JEAN AND JOHANNES BUERGER**

**Johnson Center 208: Planning Room**

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**11:45 AM – 12:00 PM: BREAK**

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**12:00 PM – 1:00 PM: LUNCH (MAGNUSON CAMPUS CENTER DINING HALL)**

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**1:00 PM – 1:15 PM: BREAK AND WALK TO JOHNSON CENTER**

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**1:15 PM – 2:35 PM: SESSION 2 (JOHNSON CENTER)**  
**Session 2.1: Johnson Center 209**

### **PANEL: PRESENTATIONS OF UNDERGRADUATE AND GRADUATE PAPERS SUBMITTED FOR STUDENT PAPER COMPETITION**

**2.1.1. Social Stratification and Race Based Medicine (Undergraduate Paper Competition)**  
Alexia McDermott, Millikin University

#### Abstract

Racism has plagued America culture for hundreds of years and can come in many forms. However, the practice raced based medicine is dangerous in the sense that ignorance and

discrimination can be the basis of legal medical practice. Lives are being mistreated and sometimes lost due to this type of medical practice. The following paper breaks down the different types of ways that African Americans in the country are treated in the medical community, starting from the patent on a drug, to the restriction of certain medications.

### **2.1.2. How Mass Incarceration and Unfree Labor of Minorities have Enriched Corporations in the United States (Undergraduate Paper Competition)**

Franklin Nwoko, Northeastern Illinois University

#### **Abstract**

The issue of mass-incarceration and unfree labor is a structural racism problem. The purpose of this study is to explore factors that led to the current policy of mass-incarceration and unfree labor asymmetrically targeting the minority group. It also examines how mass incarceration and unfree labor of minorities has enriched corporations in United States. This research uses academic scholarly articles (primary) to analyze systematic imprisonment and forceful labor paradigm discourse waged on black bodies. Literature review highlights that actors in the prison industrial complex are the ones making huge amount of money while the peasants (low-income people) are left to rot in prison. The preliminary results show that corrosive corporations use mass incarceration and unfree labor of the minorities to increase their capitalist wealth. This study is crucial for understanding hegemony discourse and for us to know that many accessories, devices and food we consume are made in jail by the prisoners.

### **2.1.3. Unpacking the Complexities in Meanings of Racism and Racists (Graduate Paper Competition)**

Clay Michael Awsumb, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale

#### **Abstract**

How do individuals define the meanings of racism and racist? Do those definitions correspond with Robert Merton's ideal types for the independent variation of prejudice and discrimination? Do individuals' labels of unprejudiced discriminators and prejudiced non-discriminators vary by the meanings individuals have for racism and racist? I examine these questions in a pilot study of white respondents (n=58) and find most define "racism" and "racist" in terms of either (a) ideas, attitudes, or beliefs and/or (b) treatment, practice, or action. However, I also found respondents often applied racism and racist in ways that were inconsistent with one's provided definition when labeling vignettes for unprejudiced discriminators (fair-weather liberal) and prejudiced non-discriminators (fair-weather illiberal). In turn, while individuals may express meaningful definitions, the semiotic construction for racism and racist (ideas and/or actions) are not straightforward in application and I conclude these findings may indicate a more complex discursive reality that suggests more research into the situational, dynamic, and applied understandings individuals have for increasingly subtle, covert, and latent racialized encounters.

#### **2.1.4. Capitalism, Mode of production, Politics, and Class relations (Graduate Paper Competition)**

Ejura Yetunde Salihu, Western Illinois University  
Abstract

In this paper, the author analyzed Marx's theoretical explanations of why capitalism as a mode of production has to be changed using his theories on costs, prices, wages, rents, capital and surplus value. The author also analyzed Marx's general view of politics in relation to class relations. The role of state institutions and political events at the grassroots level were extensively discussed as the driving force of capitalism in pre-capitalist and capitalist eras. Marx's theories were also juxtaposed with that of Alexis de Tocqueville and Adam Smith.

### **Session 2.2: Johnson Center 211**

#### **POSTER SESSION: POCKETS OF CRIME AND POCKETS OF PEACE: SPATIAL TEMPORAL CRIME INCIDENT ANALYSES IN CHICAGO OVER LAST 20 YEARS**

**BY PETER K. B. ST. JEAN AND JOHANNES BUERGER**

### **Session 2.3: Johnson Center 206**

#### **2.3.1. Roundtable: PERFORMANCE LEARNING PRACTICUMS: Teen Justice, Criminal Justice, and Community Outreach**

Keyria Rodgers, Millikin University  
Abstract

Criminal Justice offers performance learning opportunities in courses such as **Teen Justice Practicum** and **Criminal Justice Practicum**. Students registering for the *Teen Justice Practicum* are given opportunities to work with real juvenile justice cases through the Macon County Teen Justice diversion. This program is managed and operated by the Program Director, Teen Justice Staff, student volunteers, student interns, and community volunteers. The main office is located on the 2nd floor of the Macon County Courthouse. In this program, local schools, criminal courts, and law enforcement agencies refer youth offenders to Teen Justice to help program participants avoid criminal proceedings in Juvenile Court. By completing diversion, participants are given an opportunity to have all pending criminal charges or violations dismissed against them in addition to having their records expunged or sealed. Students who register for the *Criminal Justice Practicum* are given opportunities to work with any criminal justice agency within Macon County such as the Macon County Sheriff's Office, Decatur Police Department, Decatur Park District, Macon County State's Attorney's Office, Macon County Public Defender's Office, private legal offices, and more. These positions can be critical as they support new initiatives developed through the City of Decatur, Macon County government, social service, or community-based programs.

### **Johnson Center 208: Planning Room**

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2:35 PM – 2:50 PM: **BREAK**

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**2:50 PM – 3:50 PM: SESSION 3 (JOHNSON CENTER)**

**Session 3.1:** Johnson Center 209:

**ROUNDTABLE: TEACHING AND LEARNING IN SOCIOLOGY: ENVIRONMENT, JUSTICE, MASS INCARCERATION, PREJUDICE, DISCRIMINATION, RACE, AND FRAMING**

**3.1.1. FOREST BATHING: Practicing Shinrin-yoku in the Classroom**

Kenneth Laundra, Millikin University

Abstract

Our students today spend less time outdoors enjoying nature than previous generations and are spending more time engaged in artificial or virtual environments, such as social media, gaming and texting. Not so coincidentally, we are simultaneously witnessing fairly dramatic increases in depression, suicide, and other mental health issues among our students. To better understand this phenomenon, I have developed a "performance learning" activity in my Environmental Sociology course that involves taking students to a local forest for a mindful, meditation exercise known as "forest bathing" (a.k.a. Shin-Rin Yoku), and have attempted to measure its effects on students in terms of improved affect or affinity toward the natural world, and perceived well-being. Preliminary results of this measurement will be shared.

**3.1.2. NITRATES IN DRINKING WATER: Decatur. IL**

Mark Voskoboynikov, Millikin University

Abstract

This paper is a cursory review of relevant research on health risks associated with high levels of nitrates in the drinking water, and a proposal to reduce nitrate levels in city of Decatur's drinking water. Lake Decatur has chronically elevated nitrate levels in the drinking water, which is largely attributed to the surrounding industrial agriculture that takes place. Agricultural run-off, which is highly saturated with nitrates, makes its way to Lake Decatur, and in turn into the drinking water of Decatur and the few smaller municipalities which draw their water from Lake Decatur. Although this is not only source of nitrates, it is the biggest source, which is why municipalities need to monitor and regulate these contaminants strictly. I discuss changes in nitrate standards mandated by the United States Protection Agency, and associated implications for infants and adults. Finally, I provide updates on Decatur's current ability to regulate nitrates in its drinking water.

### **3.1.3. PREJUDICE AND STEREOTYPES: The lesson of the Dandelion**

Jorge Chavez-Rojas, Millikin University

#### **Abstract**

Prejudice and stereotyping are, in multiple occasions, the underlying cause of human conflict. The concepts of prejudice and stereotyping may explain how people develop hatred toward the stranger to the extreme of causing him harm. The social groups with which we identify ourselves help form our identities (Tajfel, 1974). People usually develop prejudice toward people who do not belong to our group or are just different. Prejudice is (usually) a negative attitude or feeling toward an individual who has received a “label” as member of a particular social group (Allport, 1954; Brown, 2010). Social groups’ differences can be based on race, gender, ethnicity, nationality, social class, religion, etc. One current example of prejudice and stereotyping is focused on immigrants. Although people holding this prejudice do not know all immigrant people, they dislike them due to their status as foreigners. Using the example of the dandelions, I will present a class activity that may help to illustrate the concepts of prejudice and stereotyping.

### **3.1.4. CHANGING NARRATIVES IN CHICAGO: How Queer Communities Mobilize and Frame Race around Security Issues in Boystown.**

Jake Stone, DePaul University

#### **Abstract**

Mobilizing and Framing Race in Boystown around Security Concerns with a mixed methods approach utilizing interviews and secondary data from the Chicago Sun-Times, the Chicago Tribune, the Chicago Defender, The Chicago Free Press, and Facebook pages, I compare how queer communities mobilize and frame race around security issues in Boystown. Specifically, I am comparing the 2011 Take Back Boystown movement with the 2019 Lighthouse Foundation movement to remove Walsh Security as the private security force at the Center on Halsted. Depending on the severity of the inciting incident, the framing of the grievance, the racial diversity of the group mobilized, and the goals of the groups involved, organizers will frame race differently. The primarily white-led movement in 2011 used racial animosity to drive their framing around security, while the primarily black-led movement in 2019 uses race to highlight unity and desire for increased sensitivity to and knowledge of black and brown queer and trans youth in policing. The differences between the groups in 2011 and 2019 in terms of their level of organization and institutionalization account for a number of the differences in framing and mobilizing. Changing narratives of race in Chicago over time also account for some of the differences between the two groups.

### **3.1.5. Social Movement Framing Tasks and Contemporary Racisms: Diagnostic, Prognostic, and Motivational Forms**

Wade Smith, Eastern Illinois University

#### **Abstract**

Increasingly, race scholars define racism as a structural and systemic phenomenon, rather than a matter of personal prejudice alone. Various theories of racism have been developed by asking “What causes racial inequality?” and defining as racist those mechanisms that (re)produce it. In this essay, I ask a different question to expand the toolkit from which scholars can identify the racisms that characterize the contemporary era. Acknowledging that dramatic changes to the racial order are historically brought about by social movements, I ask “What causes racially focused movements to fail?” and define as racist those factors that deny movement success. I thus propose, define, and describe three forms of racism that are grounded in theories of social movements, rather than theories of race and racism. To enable success, social movements engage in diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing tasks—that is, they identify conditions as problems (diagnostic framing), propose solutions to those problems (prognostic framing), and elicit action in response (motivational framing). I thus propose the following forms of racism that manifest as sentiments and practices that prevent racially focused social movements from successfully carrying out these tasks: diagnostic racism, prognostic racism, and motivational racism. I demonstrate the utility of these conceptualizations of racism by applying them to a recently published analysis of college student responses to the Black Lives Matter movement. In conclusion, I underscore the utility of the conceptualization of racisms I advance and explain the theoretical compatibility of the forms of racism I propose with other theories of racism.

## **Session 3.2: Johnson Center 206**

### **PANEL: SOCIAL PROBLEM, SOCIAL PROMISE, AND THE SOCIOLOGICAL IMAGINATION**

#### **3.2.1. From the Social Problem of Dishonesty to the Social Promise of Civic Virtue**

Keith Johnson, Professor Emeritus

#### **Abstract**

National level correlations among self-reports of childhood corporal punishment, student stress, and observed adult honest behavior were done with an N = 19 countries by crossing the data from studies done at the national level. Although the methodologies differed among survey responses on childhood and adolescent corporal punishment and behavioral research on honesty, a high negative correlation was obtained between reported stress among college students and the degree of honesty found in cross national field experiments ( $p=0.001$ ). The reported frequency of corporal punishment received as an adolescent was not as related to dishonesty as was the reported stress experienced. The results appear to show that stress is related to degree of social inequality, as found in public health studies of social inequality. The result is that the higher the

inequality in a society, the less support for civic virtues such as returning lost money and identification to a stranger.

### **3.2.2. THE MATERIALS OF ILLNESS AND WELL-BEING: Considering Inequalities in Education as a Public Health Crisis**

Gwendolyn Purifoye, North Park University

#### Abstract

The public's health and social health can be assessed through various measures. Much of the discourse of the past ten years has focused on healthcare and relatable public health concerns. Social health, the stability and well-being of the social world, is measured differently but can include public health, crime, violence, drug abuse, and other measures that examine the wellness of the public as a whole. In this paper, I interrogate the conditions of educational inequalities as a social health crisis (thus a public one as well). To do so, I examine how educational inequalities are shaped through material differences. Using Jonathan Kozol's (1991; 2005) *Savage Inequalities* and *Shame of a Nation* as a backdrop, I argue that educational inequalities are not only savage brutalities that rip through the bodies of poor and minority children, but that this institutionalized savagery allows for the disenfranchisement of Black and Latinx populations through their children and the material spaces that they interact with hundreds of days out of the year for over a decade. This paper focuses on the role of materiality in shaping this public health crisis but also discusses ways to bring about social promise through the materiality of space.

### **3.2.3. Voluntourism as Alternative Tourism**

Hannah Gdalmán, Illinois State University

#### Abstract

Volunteer tourism, or voluntourism, is a type of alternative tourism that blends volunteer work with travel. Over time, the perils of voluntourism—the exploitation and commodification of locals and volunteers, creation of economic dependency, and social media fueled neocolonialism—have sparked the same sense of contempt for voluntourism as Boorstin (1964) showed for mainstream tourism. What is lacking in many critical accounts of voluntourism, however, is 1) a sense of agency on the parts of the volunteers and host country locals and 2) the understanding that voluntourism manifests in many different contexts and forms. This research will employ an inductive qualitative approach with the aim of better understanding the micro-level aspects of voluntourism that make it both functional and dysfunctional. This research will focus particularly on the interactions between volunteers, hosts, and the destination site and will ask the following questions: 1) What are the primary goals, motivations, and perceptions of voluntourists? Of host community members? 2) How does the voluntourism experience contribute to volunteers' and host community members' identities and their ideas of development? 3) To what extent is the voluntourist experience shaped by the specific activities at the chosen project site?

### 3.2.4. Is the sociological imagination an imaginary ideal or a social fact?

Clay Michael Awsumb, and Danijela Cvetkovic, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale

#### Abstract

C Wright Mills' 'sociological imagination' is an entry point for students developing sociological questions, analyses, and understandings; however, in this paper we position this 'most fruitful form of self-consciousness' as more than a disciplinary lesson, analytical tool, or privileged ability of the sociologically educated. We hypothesize (1) the sociological imagination can be measured as a collection of attributes in the consciousness of persons and (2) the distribution and configuration of these attributes is variable across persons and groups of various intersectional statuses, socio-cultural groups, and material realities. To do so, we begin by reconnecting our conceptualization with Mills' original text, drawing out the neglected dimensions and emphasizing its positioning as a "state of consciousness." We then theorize the sociological imagination as a state of consciousness variably present among individuals – a social fact. We then expand on this approach, connecting these ideas with previous research on pedagogies of the imagination and with our own experiences in the classroom. We conclude with an exploratory framework for the operationalization of the sociological imagination across four dimensions (institution, self, other, and culture) and consider potential quantitative and qualitative measures.

## ISA BOARD MEMBERS

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This 2019 Annual Conference of the Illinois Sociological Association is in part a Catalyst on Campus Event.



Thank you for participating.  
We look forward to seeing you on  
the NPU campus again  
for ISA 2020:  
Wed. Nov. 18<sup>th</sup> 2020.