Dear Reader--

Welcome to Vol. VI of U-High’s history and economics Journal, *InFlame!* Dedicated to publishing excellent student papers written in history and economics, Inflame is published twice annually. This issue marks our second of the year, and the tenth overall for the journal.

All U-High students are eligible to submit papers written during their high school career. Submissions are reviewed anonymously by our student board composed of seven members. Please see page 4 for submission guidelines — we look forward to reading your papers!

Happy Reading!

The Inflame Board
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University of Chicago Laboratory High School
Mission Statement

We are a student-run journal dedicated to publication of work in history and economics. We wish to promote scholarly discussion by providing students a forum in which to publish and share work with their peers. Our editorial staff works directly with authors at each stage of the publication process. As a journal, we hold ourselves to a high standard of excellence. We value honest academic research and strong theses. We look for papers of a high quality that demonstrate a clear understanding of the material, draw meaningful conclusions, and present new and interesting ideas. Our goal is to foster a community that encourages thoughtful and creative writing in history and economics.

Criteria for Submission

All submissions must be written by a U-High student during their tenure at U-High for a history and economics class or independent study course. Papers must meet the following formatting and length criteria:

- Between 4 and 20 pages in length
- Include proper citations (footnotes/endnotes and works cited list) in Chicago Turabian format (guidelines [here](http://people.ucls.uchicago.edu/~abadlani1/))
- Include a cover page which contains: title and class for which paper was written
- Double spaced
- 1 inch margins
- 12 pt., Times New Roman font
- Header with page number
- Illustrations, maps and tables are welcome but should be properly cited

All submissions are reviewed anonymously by the student board. No decisions may be repealed, however all students are encouraged to revise and resubmit their papers if not accepted. No special consideration is given to papers that have received external recognition. InFlame typically publishes between 3-5 papers an issue.

Submissions should be sent in via the Inflame Turnitin Class. For instructions on how to do this, visit [http://people.ucls.uchicago.edu/~abadlani1/](http://people.ucls.uchicago.edu/~abadlani1/). Questions about any of our policies should be directed to cgerst@ucls.uchicago.edu.
Crypto-Judaism throughout the Inquisitions in Spain, Portugal and Mexico:

Formation and Continuation of a Secret Movement of Judaism in the Spanish Colonies

An enormous quantity of scholarship has been written on the Spanish Inquisition, but less attention is given to the lives of those Jews who were displaced by it. Once expelled from Spain, those who refused to convert to Catholicism migrated to other countries, the majority settling in Portugal where they could continue practicing Judaism. However, when Portuguese King Manuel I married Princess Isabella of Spain in 1497, he was reluctantly forced by the Spanish royalty to issue an Edict of Expulsion in Portugal. King Manuel I did not want Portugal to experience an economic disruption comparable to Spain’s after its Jews were expelled, so he forced the Jews in Portugal to convert by means of torture. With conversion as the only option, the Portuguese Edict produced a large number of conversos who were disloyal to the Catholic Church. The persistence of crypto-Judaism, the practice of Judaism in secret under the guise of Catholicism, in Portugal led to the Portuguese Inquisition in 1536. The Inquisition reached its climax in 1580 when Philip II unified Spain and Portugal under the Iberian Union. The sudden increase in persecution initiated a massive migration of crypto-Jews to the Spanish colonies. As they had in Europe, these crypto-Jewish immigrants established supportive communities and accelerated economic expansion. While authorities in New Spain had initially been tolerant of its few crypto-Jews, the sudden increase in their population caused the Mexican Inquisition to become more robust. Particular intensity was reached during the time of Portugal’s revolt against Spain for its independence. Because most of the crypto-Jews living in the colonies had come from Portugal, the Holy Office worried they would initiate an internal rebellion in support of Portugal’s revolt against Spain. At this time and throughout the Mexican Inquisition, crypto-Jews such as Luis de Carvajal the Younger who practiced openly were martyred to strike fear into those in hiding. The persecution prompted movement away from Mexico City to more isolated locations, where crypto-Jews could practice in peace. While this led to the decline of the Mexican Inquisition, it also led to the formation of crypto-Judaism as a distinct movement of Judaism. Although devoted to preserving Judaism, the crypto-Jews modified recognizable
traditions and beliefs to remain discrete. In order to survive the Mexican Inquisition, crypto-Jews assimilated economically and socially while practicing in secret as during the prior Inquisitions in Europe; however, practicing in isolation to avoid persecution profoundly affected crypto-Judaism, which evolved into its own movement of Judaism, distinct from institutionalized Rabbinical Judaism.

**Iberian Inquisitions**

On March 31, 1492, Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon issued the Edict of Expulsion, providing the Jews living in Spain with three months during which they had to convert or depart. The Jews were officially accused of preventing conversos, Jews who had already converted to Christianity, from fully embracing Catholicism by enticing them with Jewish traditions and laws. Some scholars, however, consider the true motive of the expulsion to be the religious zeal of the Catholic Church, having just succeeded in driving the Muslims out of the Iberian Peninsula. Of the estimated 200,000 Jews in Spain, fewer than half converted to Catholicism. While some scholars argue the majority traveled westward into Portugal where they could continue their practice of Judaism, others argue this number could be as small as 80,000. But even the conversos, those who converted to Catholicism, who remained in Spain felt the heat of persecution and discrimination, and were thus pressured to leave. Between 1494 and 1530, the Holy Office in Valencia sentenced one thousand conversos to death and in Seville four thousand were burned at the stake. Spain’s persistent intolerance incentivized tens of thousands of conversos to follow the example of the Jews before them by migrating to Portugal among other relatively tolerant nations.

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The loss of Spain’s Jewish and converso population had profound economic implications, for nearly all contributed significantly to the economy and some were an economic necessity. Most Jews in Spain were middle class and lived modestly alongside the Spanish Christians. The men worked as cobblers, grocers, tailors, shopkeepers, blacksmiths, butchers, chemists, dyers, jewelers, and a myriad of other occupations while the women worked as weavers, spinners, and midwives. Compared to the Catholics of Spain, however, a greater percentage of the Jewish population climbed the social ladder and enjoyed wealth and influence as astronomers, philosophers, cartographers, doctors, and other celebrated, high-paying professions. With access to extensive commercial, trading, and lending networks, the numerous Jewish merchants made large sums while furthering international and intranational commerce. But the wealthiest Jews were tax collectors, royal treasurers, and royal financiers. The Christians relied on Jews to take on these essential governmental positions because they themselves would not. The Catholic Church frowned upon usury, i.e., lending money with interest, so Catholics tended to distance themselves from jobs involving the acquisition or management of money. And yet these functions are required for the financial stability of any nation. For this reason, Spain has been termed a sociologically incomplete society, meaning it would not function without the aid of non-Christians. Jews were an economic necessity in Spain.

The expulsion of the Jews was detrimental to the Spanish economy. With the Christians unwilling to contest the Catholic Church’s decree against usury, it was difficult to find replacements to take on the necessary monetary functions the Jews once performed. Spain therefore became more reliant on loans from foreign banks such as the Dutch, Germans, French, and Genoese. These loans were often at high rates, but Spain had no choice after the Holy Office destroyed the primary source of credit: the Jews and conversos. Furthermore, the Spanish royalty lost a significant source of income: taxing Jewish loans in return for permitting their charge of interest. This combined with the financial expense of imperial expansion and the

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5 Chua, Day of Empire, 134.
7 Chua, Day of Empire, 135.
8 Ibid, 133.
Inquisition itself sent the economy into chaos. Because Jews were the wealthiest minority in Spain, the Holy Office was able to sustain itself by confiscating their property and money; however, in doing so, Spain lost a sizable portion of its middle class, creating a gap in the social and economic structure. Ferdinand himself seemed to have been aware of the economic ramifications expelling the Jews would have. In a letter written the same day as the Edict of Expulsion, he is documented to have written that the Holy Office convinced him to sign the decree “despite the great harm to ourselves, seeking and preferring the salvation of souls above our own profit and that of individuals.” His fears became a reality as Spain’s economy declined in the sixteenth century, culminating in royal bankruptcies in 1557 and 1575. The reason behind Spain’s decline has been debated by scholars for years. Recently, more emphasis has been placed on the expulsion as a major factor alongside others such as the inflation of silver. The loss of the Spain’s Jewish population greatly disrupted the Spanish economy, contributing significantly to its economic decline and ultimate bankruptcy.

The economically valuable Jews and conversos fleeing Spain were tolerated by the Portuguese, but persecution increased as Portugal’s ties with Spain grew stronger. On December 5, 1496, King Manuel I of Portugal was coerced into issuing his own Edict of Expulsion. While personally opposed to the Edict because of the economic disruption that followed in Spain, Manuel I was pressured to sign by Isabella and Ferdinand, who offered in exchange the hand of their daughter, Isabella, in marriage. By marrying the Spanish princess, Manuel I would have a stronger diplomatic relationship with Spain, valuable for both countries involved. The young Isabella herself refused to marry Manuel I until he had expelled “all those condemned [for

10 Chua, Day of Empire, 137.
11 Ibid, 135.
13 Chua, Day of Empire, 137.
heresy] over here [in Castile], who are presently in his realms and lordships.“

To please Isabella, the Portuguese King took great measures to convert the Jews of Portugal:

By order of the king they were conducted to the capital under promise of being furnished with facilities for transportation to Africa. As soon as, to the number of about 20,000, they had been gathered together in Lisbon, they were herded in a concentration camp, and in place of being transported were starved and maltreated until they embraced Catholicism. [...] Altogether only seven or eight persons, seven or eight martyrs and heroes whose names history has unfortunately forgotten, resisted violence to the end and eventually embarked for Africa. These seven or eight persons comprise the totality of Jews who emigrated from Portugal in consequence of the decree of expulsion.

Compared with Isabella and Ferdinand, King Manuel placed a stronger emphasis on converting the Jews rather than expelling them, for he wanted to keep the Portuguese economy fully intact. Just as had been the case in Spain, the Jews in Portugal were mostly middle class and fulfilled crucial financial roles. Manuel’s implementation of torture converted nearly all the Jews to Catholicism, but many of the conversos went on to practice Judaism in secret. These crypto-Jews risked their lives to preserve their faith, forming extensive support networks. Crypto-Jewish communities were close-knit. They met and discussed Judaism discreetly, maintaining the image of honest conversos all the while. With the banning of all Hebrew books, they relied on hiding the books they already possessed to continue their study. Despite the efforts made by Manuel I to extinguish Judaism in Portugal, the crypto-Jewish population persisted.

To combat the strength of the crypto-Jewish communities in Portugal, King John III initiated the Portuguese Inquisition in 1536. The punishment for the practice of crypto-Judaism became more severe, but this did not stop faithful Jews from continuing their secret practice. During this time, crypto-Jews became even more isolated from the orthodox Rabbinical Judaism that was practiced openly in other countries. In their Catholic context, crypto-Jews became more

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reliant on the Bible instead of the Talmud. Although the isolation was necessary for their survival, crypto-Jews began to evolve without concrete direction from rabbinic authority.19

The Portuguese Inquisition reached its peak 45 years after it started. King Philip II of Spain took advantage of the unexpected death of King Sebastian I of Portugal, creating what is now known as the Portuguese succession crisis of 1580, to unite Spain and Portugal under his control.20 The formation of the Iberian Union was economically beneficial for Spain: in great need of capital, Philip II began taking loans from wealthy Portuguese Jews and conversos; however, this did not last. Once again, the animosity against the Jews superseded their economic value, and the Inquisition in Portugal flourished with newfound vigor.21 The result mirrored the Spanish Inquisition almost a century prior. Some historians believe the cruelty surpassed that of 1492, for the Spanish royalty disliked the prosperity of all those without Catholic lineage; thus, all conversos were suspected of being crypto-Jews, even if they were honest Catholics.22 Through the implementation of limpieza de sangre, “purity of blood” statues, anyone with Jewish blood was banned from government, universities, military, and religious institutions.23 The dramatic surge in the activities of the Holy Office in Portugal led to a mass emigration of conversos, among whom were crypto-Jews, from Portugal. One town, Castelo Branco, is recorded to have been nearly entirely depopulated by 1625 after all the crypto-Jews had fled, demonstrating the scale of both the emigration and the communities the crypto-Jews of Portugal developed.24 Most Portuguese crypto-Jews sailed to the Spanish colonies to escape the clutches of the infamous Portuguese Inquisition, but some made their way to the Netherlands, where they experienced religious freedom.

The crypto-Jews who migrated northeastward to the Netherlands were able to practice their religion openly. No longer in hiding, the crypto-Jews in the Netherlands rejoined

21 Chua, Day of Empire, 135.
23 Chua, Day of Empire, 136-137.
24 Hordes, To the End of the Earth, 34.
institutionalized Judaism. The Dutch had a Reformed Church, but the state did not punish those who did not agree with its teachings. While officially members of other religions had to meet in secret and could not hold government offices, great leniency was demonstrated in practice. Calvinists, Catholics, Lutherans, Mennonites, Remonstrants, Jews, and other religious groups were allowed to gather and print their own sacred books. Even those not devoted to the Dutch Reformed Church in government had to do little to conceal their true religion. In the Dutch territories, Holland specifically, Jews relished their freedom of religion by building extravagant synagogues. Dutch Jews thrived in this atmosphere of tolerance and became merchants, investing in a variety of markets. Jews were essential in marketing the sugar from Dutch Brazil. With a strong hold over sugar distribution, Jews were able to take advantage of their time in Spain and Portugal by appealing to these countries more efficiently and utilizing already established trade relationships. Their increased productivity corresponded to greater profits. In addition to sugar, Dutch Jews invested in spices from Asia and, regretfully, slaves from Africa. The Dutch Jews also dominated the diamond trade: refining the raw stones from India and selling them for high profits to European aristocracy. The wealth that crypto-Jews from the Iberian Peninsula brought with them multiplied with their investments, and this capital fueled Dutch expansion. Compared to the Jews entering the Spanish colonies, the Jewish merchants living in toleration had an easier time, without the constant fear of persecution, amassing the capital that contributed to the rise of the Netherlands as a center of banking and commerce.

**Entering the Spanish Colonies**

In contrast to the Jews in the Netherlands, the Portuguese crypto-Jews that flooded the Spanish colonies during the late 16th and early 17th centuries did not experience religious

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25 Chua, Day of Empire, 148.
27 Davis, “The Slave Trade and the Jews.”
28 Ibid.
29 Chua, Day of Empire, 135.
31 Ibid, 151.
freedom, so they continued to hide their practice of Judaism. While leaving Europe, crypto-Jews continued to disguise their identity because of Spanish laws prohibiting Jews from entering the colonies. After they acquired voyage across the Atlantic, most crypto-Jews first settled in Mexico City along with many other immigrants. There, close-knit communities of crypto-Jews were established, mirroring those in Portugal. These served as welcoming destinations for newly arrived crypto-Jews, who wanted to be around others who, like them, practiced Judaism in secret. Fundamental to the establishment of these of these communities is the fact that most crypto-Jews still had a nearly complete understanding of Judaism. Their knowledge stems from their Portuguese origin: before the climax of the Portuguese Inquisition in 1580, Portugal was more religiously tolerant than Spain. While it was challenging to practice crypto-Judaism in Portugal, it was more difficult in Spain. Had the arriving crypto-Jews been from Spain, they would have lacked a firm foundation in Judaism that was needed for the religion’s survival. A firm understanding of Judaism was essential because all books of prayer were banned. In many cases, crypto-Jews had to rely on memory and traditions; however, it was also common to keep hidden books. The text of a 1621 Edict against prohibited books in New Spain states, “these prohibited books still do not cease from entering into these kingdoms,” evidence that banned books, including books of prayer, were still present in the colonies. As in Europe, the vast majority of crypto-Jews in the colonies were literate: more than 90% could read. Their literacy allowed them to continue developing their understanding of Judaism through the reading of prohibited books and also served as a source of great animosity toward them. The knowledge and devotion of crypto-Jews coupled with the secrecy practiced since living in the Iberian Peninsula allowed the crypto-Jewish presence in the Spanish colonies to thrive.

Crypto-Jews played major roles in the economic expansion of the colonies. Conversos, many of whom were suspected of being crypto-Jews, were integral in the establishment of the

33 Hordes, To the End of the Earth, 34.
34 “Order and Information Given to the Commissaries of the Inquisition concerning Prohibited Books in the Kingdom of New Spain,” Mexico City, September 22, 1587 in I in S, 322.
36 Hordes, To the End of the Earth, 44.
initial commercial businesses. Most crypto-Jews were middle class entrepreneurs, as they had been in Europe before the Inquisitions. From around 1590 to 1620, the Mexican economy boomed, and “In this atmosphere of economic expansion, enterprising crypto-Jews found themselves ready and able to participate in all levels of commerce throughout viceroyalty.”

After initially settling themselves in Mexico City, crypto-Jews expanded in all directions in search of greater economic opportunities, such as mining in Pachuca and the Zacatecas or access to ports in Acapulco, Veracruz, and Campeche. As they migrated away from Mexico City, many crypto-Jews ran general stores, bringing goods and capital from Mexico City to more isolated areas. Crypto-Jews arriving from Europe integrated themselves into the Spanish colonies by working as businessmen, government leaders, shop owners, and other professions that propelled the economic and social growth of colonial society. By the time they were arrested by the Holy Office during the Mexican Inquisition, some could afford to pay for extraordinary rations in prison, a testament to the wealth crypto-Jews possessed.

**Mexican Inquisition and Portugal’s Independence**

The Mexican Inquisition did not begin in earnest until after the vast migration of crypto-Jews in the 1580s. Although the Inquisition was founded in the late 15th century when small numbers of crypto-Jews had begun migrating to the Spanish colonies, few Inquisition cases were tried. Because there were so few Jews living in New Spain, the Mexican Inquisitors were more tolerant compared with those in Spain and Portugal leading up to 1580. As more crypto-Jews flooded the colonies, the number of Inquisition cases increased, with just under two hundred individuals documented for having been tried for the crime of *judaizante*, practicing Judaism, between 1589 and 1596. Beginning in the late 16th century, the Tribunal in New

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37 Hordes, “The Inquisition as Economic and Political Agent,” 29.
38 Hordes, To the End of the Earth, 32.
39 Ibid, 34.
40 Hordes, To the End of the Earth, 35.
41 “Register and Account of the Pesos Spent by Order of Their Lordships in Order to Pay for Extraordinary Rations to the Following Prisoners,” Mexico City, March 25, 1601 in *I in S*, 124-125.
42 Hordes, To the End of the Earth, 33.
43 Ibid, 79.
Spain began to surmise that crypto-Jews were disloyal to the Spanish crown because of their Portuguese origin. Spain’s fear of vulnerability propelled the Inquisition forward after Portugal’s revolt for independence in 1640.

Portugal’s revolt against Spain altered the Spanish perception of the Portuguese and, by association, the crypto-Jews living in the colonies. The Count-Duke of Olivarez, the prime minister of Spain from 1621 to 1643, convinced King Philip IV to resume war with the Dutch in 1621 (after a 12-year peace) and partake in the Thirty Years War (1618-1648) so as to restore Spanish prestige. The results were abysmal: Spain was defeated by both the Dutch and the French. To pay for these wars, Spain utilized high taxation, which inspired a successful revolt in 1640 by the Catalans in the north-east to acquire the autonomy they had previously enjoyed. Olivarez planned to use Portuguese soldiers to suppress the Catalans, but the Portuguese revolted for their own independence instead. Portugal had no interest in Spain’s wars or the resulting taxation. Furthermore, the Dutch victory over the Iberian Union’s fleet cost Portugal its title as leading maritime power in the East. Portugal’s revolt against Spain in 1640, initiating what is now known as the Portuguese Restoration War, led Philip IV to prohibit those with Portuguese heritage from entering the colonies in January of 1641. Additionally, he decreed that the Portuguese residents of the colonies were to be expelled if they supported the Portuguese Revolution. By giving this order, the King “reflected the growing fear of internal revolt by the Portuguese and concern for the security of New Spain.” It was at this time of paranoia that the Mexican Inquisition accelerated in New Spain, targeting crypto-Jews because of their Portuguese ancestry dating back to the Edict of Expulsion of 1492 and the migrations that followed. The fear that crypto-Jews would fight alongside Portugal, not their religion or ethnicity, drove the Mexican Inquisition to its climax.

Crypto-Jewish Martyrs

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45 Jameson, *A Short History Of Spain And Portugal*.
46 Hordes, *To the End of the Earth*, 50-51.
Of those who were discovered and tried by the Mexican Tribunal, the illustrious Carvajal family deserve mention for being the most influential in life and in death. In 1579, before he was convicted of crimes against Catholicism, Luis de Carvajal, a man with Portuguese heritage, was given the position of Governor of the Nuevo León, a large province in northeast Mexico. Although some scholars believe Carvajal bribed King Philip II, others claim that he earned the title through his service to Spain, including discovering a pass through the mountains that enabled further settlement, quelling Native rebellions, capturing English troops, and building a fort in Xalpa to secure the northern front.\textsuperscript{47} Because of his status, Carvajal sent relatives from Europe to the colonies without routine checks proving they were not newly converted Catholics. However, when Antonio Perez, King Philip II’s Secretary and the negotiator of Carvajal’s contract, underwent investigation, this loophole of avoiding customs was discovered.\textsuperscript{48} Antonio Perez was accused of being a Jew, which prompted the Holy Office to investigate Carvajal, whom Perez could have promoted because of a shared devotion to Judaism.\textsuperscript{49} The investigation into Carvajal revealed that members of his family for whom he had authorized passage to the colonies were Judaizers: “The Inquisition brought him to trial and, though absolved of practicing Judaism himself, he remained convicted of abetting and concealing Jewish apostates.”\textsuperscript{50} After being convicted of assisting crypto-Jews fleeing Portugal, Carvajal was sentenced to six years in exile, but he died in jail before he left.\textsuperscript{51} Although it cannot be ascertained whether or not Luis de Carvajal was himself a crypto-Jew or even if he knew he was helping them cross the Atlantic, his actions supported the crypto-Jewish community, and he was punished.

Luis de Carvajal’s nephew, Luis de Carvajal the Younger, is considered by some scholars to be one of the most learned crypto-Jews in New Spain.\textsuperscript{52} In 1590 he was arrested and convicted by the Holy Office of the Mexican Inquisition of \textit{judaizante}. His tears and cries for repentance led the Holy Office to reaffirm his devotion to Christianity rather than impose a harsh

\textsuperscript{48} Tobias, A History of the Jews in New Mexico, 14.
\textsuperscript{49} Temkin, “Luis De Carvajal and His People,” 82.
\textsuperscript{50} Tobias, A History of the Jews in New Mexico, 14.
\textsuperscript{51} Temkin. “Luis De Carvajal and His People,” 79.
\textsuperscript{52} Tobias, A History of the Jews in New Mexico, 13.
punishment. After Carvajal was released, however, he continued to practice Judaism, his devotion outweighing his fear of discovery. His dedication led to his capture in 1596. He was arrested and relaxed, the term used by the Holy Office for the burning of heretics. The extent of Luis de Carvajal the Younger’s prominence among the crypto-Jewish community is demonstrated by the charges against him: teaching and writing books to support his religion. He wrote under the alias Joseph Lombroso and had circumcised himself since the time of his previous arrest, an action that had almost resulted in his death. He was so influential that, before he was relaxed at the San Hipólito marketplace, he was paraded down the streets on a horse to set an example for the entire crypto-Jewish community. This celebration was known as the auto-da-fé, Portuguese for “act of faith,” during which those convicted by the Holy Office as heretics were given their punishment, most often burning, in public. Strict guidelines were followed in terms of the extravagant decorations, who sat where, and the order of the proceedings. The extent to which the Inquisitors made a public show of those convicted of judaizante, such as Luis de Carvajal the Younger, indicates that those murdered in this way served as examples for the entire crypto-Jewish community. Luis de Carvajal the Younger is quoted to have exclaimed soon before his burning at the hands of the Holy Office, “Oh, the Holy Office is so terrible, that if it did not exist in this Kingdom, I could count the Christians on these fingers.” Carvajal considered the persecution of the Holy Office to be the only reason Catholicism persisted in the colonies, for the fear of death outweighed the religion’s faults. Outspoken Judaizers like Carvajal were met by increased activity of the Mexican Inquisition.

53 “Selected Autos and Proceedings of the Second Trial against Luis de Carvajal the Younger, Reconciled by This Holy Office as a Judaizer, a Relapsed Practitioner of Judaism, and a Formal Heretic,” Mexico City, 1594-1596 in I in S, 240.
55 “Relation of the Auto-da-fé That was Celebrated in the City of Mexico in the Major Plaza on the Second Sunday of Advent,” Mexico City, December 8, 1596 in I in S, 176.
57 Ibid, 244.
60 Hordes, To the End of the Earth, 79.
By murdering influential Judaizers in such a public manner, the Holy Office frightened crypto-Jews into maintaining intense secrecy under the facade of being Catholics, for they feared what would become of them if they were caught.

**Avoiding Persecution: Decline of the Mexican Inquisition**

The crypto-Jews that came to the Spanish colonies from Portugal expanded beyond Mexico to practice their religion out of the Mexican Inquisition’s reach. Crypto-Jews made their way to South America, settling communities in Brazil, Colombia, Venezuela, Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay. Northward, crypto-Jews settled in the Nuevo León, the territory that Carvajal was the governor of, as well as a number of remote cities. The geographic isolation of Zacatecas made the city particularly ideal. The city was far from other large communities including the Inquisition headquarters in Mexico City. In addition, as a major mining center and mercantile distribution point, the city offered an abundance of economic opportunities. Crypto-Jews living in Zacatecas were able to practice their religion in a more public manner than in Mexico City, where they would be arrested for any suggestion of *judaizante*. As a result, many crypto-Jews settled in the mining city. But some crypto-Jews ventured even further north to escape the constraints of the Mexican Inquisition. The further toward the frontier they traveled, the less they had to fear.

The northern frontier was a sanctum for crypto-Jews. The settlement of this land, now known as New Mexico, began with Gasper Castaño, Carvajal’s successor as governor of Nuevo León. After Carvajal was accused of *judaizante*, Castaño fled. Scholars believe that this action as well as his close relationship with the Carvajal family suggests a *converso* background, possibly even to the extent of crypto-Judaism. By 1590, five months after Carvajal was accused, Castaño joined a group of Europeans traveling from the town of Almadén northwest to what would become New Mexico. In addition to fleeing persecution, these *conversos* left the small town because the mines had dried up and had become unprofitable. The rich mineral wealth in the newly acquired land offered the opportunity to establish farms and ranches. The northern front

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61 Jacobs, Hidden Heritage, 8.
62 Hordes, To the End of the Earth, 83.
63 Ibid, 86.
64 Ibid, 84.

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was the most isolated region in New Spain. It was the furthest crypto-Jews could be from the Mexican Inquisition, so they settled there in great numbers, continuing to establish close communities to support one another and their religious practice. While the crypto-Jews were able to practice openly in such isolation, they still maintained their secrecy; having endured persecution for so long, it became ingrained in their lifestyle.

The Mexican Inquisition began to decline in its persecution of the Jews in the Spanish colonies at the beginning of the 17th century. Although temporarily inflamed in 1640 when Portugal revolted for its independence, Inquisition continued to decline throughout the 1600s. Many scholars attribute this decrease in persecution to the shift of focus from Judaism to more “mundane breaches of catholic orthodoxy, such as such as cases of blasphemy, bigamy, witchcraft, and the solicitation of sexual favors of women by priests in the confessional.” But the Inquisition was also financially draining as those put into prison had to be sustained and those working for the Holy Office had to be paid, including the Priests, torturers, executioners, and jailers. Crypto-Jews were difficult to find because of their intense secrecy, and this made the work of the Holy Office more difficult. Ultimately, the birth of crypto-Judaism during the Spanish Inquisition paved the way for its survival in the colonies. The fundamental secrecy of crypto-Judaism preserved its followers in the colonies, for identifying them became an inconvenience not worth the resources it consumed. As more crypto-Jews settled further from Mexico City, the Mexican Inquisition had fewer targets and thus lost support financially and socially.

**Formation of a Distinct Movement of Judaism**

The isolation of crypto-Judaism separated it from institutionalized Judaism; as a result, crypto-Judaism developed disparities with its orthodox roots, becoming a distinct movement of

65 Tobias, A History of the Jews in New Mexico, 9.
66 Hordes, To the End of the Earth, 199.
67 Ibid, 34.
68 “Register of Rations Given to Prisoners in the Prisons of This Inquisition, Order for Payment, and Receipt during Part of the Year,” Mexico City, 1615 in *In S*, 126.
Judaism. The adaptations crypto-Judaism underwent were necessary for the perseverance of its followers. For example, crypto-Jews in isolation were separated from the holy books of Judaism:

The very existence of a post-biblical Jewish tradition had been forgotten among Portuguese crypto-Jews within a generation of the establishment of the Portuguese Inquisition, and [...] by the late sixteenth century, the Mishnah and Talmud (as authoritative sources of Jewish tradition) had disappeared altogether from the crypto-Jewish vocabulary.69

Crypto-Judaism evolved because of its Catholic context and the lack of Jewish texts in circulation. The Talmud was abandoned both because of the lack of access and the conflict that surrounded it. As a document fundamental to Rabbinical Judaism, the Talmud had been the subject of Christian-Jewish conflict for hundreds of years. Christians accused the post-biblical Rabbis of altering the true Scriptures, thus labeling post-biblical Judaism as corrupt while maintaining the purity of the Scriptures that are central to Christianity.70 By distancing themselves from the Jewish Talmud and focussing instead on the Bible, crypto-Jews established their role as guardians of the true Scripture, thus freed from the Christian accusation of rabbinical corruption.71 Because the Bible was accepted by the Catholics, it was adopted by the crypto-Jews as their primary source of guidance. It was essential to the crypto-Jews that they preserve Judaism to the best of their ability, but this was limited by the threat of death posed by Inquisition.

The restrictions crypto-Jews faced made it impossible to fully embrace fundamental aspects of Judaism. Secrecy was the foundation of crypto-Judaism in the Iberian Peninsula, setting the precedent for their covertness in the colonies. Many crypto-Jewish children were unaware of their family’s religion until they had reached the mid-teens. Some were not told until adulthood for fear they would expose the family’s practice.72 The innate furtive tendency of crypto-Jewish families, arising from the threat of death the Inquisition posed, prevented the inclusion of children. This conflicts with the expectation of Jewish children to learn about their

70 Ibid, 69.
71 Ibid, 70.
religion and the sacred books. Furthermore, while they were hidden from authorities, books of prayer were banned, limiting their supply and accessibility, restricting the capacity to study.\textsuperscript{73} The lack of materials and the dangers of entrusting secrets with youths made it impractical for crypto-Jews to religiously educate their children. Without this opportunity, crypto-Judaism was fundamentally different in practice from institutionalized, orthodox Judaism. This did not, however, prevent families from teaching modified Jewish traditions to their children without revealing their Jewish origins.

The Catholic context of crypto-Judaism in the Mexican Inquisition made the practice of easily identifiable Jewish traditions dangerous. As a result, only those who were far enough from Mexico or those bold enough to risk arrest and probable death practiced the Jewish traditions in full.\textsuperscript{74} For the most part, the crypto-Jews were forced to modify these traditions to be less recognizable. One of the most easily identifiable Jewish traits was circumcision. To avoid detection, the practice of circumcision was modified by many crypto-Jewish families to a mere slit in the foreskin. This symbolic circumcision was a more practical method of preserving the Jewish tradition of circumcision under the eye of the Inquisition.\textsuperscript{75} Within the house, many crypto-Jews hung metal crosses instead of \textit{mezuzahs}, small boxes containing parts of the Bible, on every door. The crosses were attributed the same symbolic significance as \textit{mezuzahs} and protected the crypto-Jews from detection. The candles welcoming Shabbat were hidden in windowless rooms for the same reason.\textsuperscript{76} The crypto-Jews also had to modify their observation of the Sabbath, another easily recognizable Jewish tradition. While all crypto-Jewish families observed the Sabbath to some degree, the extent to which they celebrated varied. While some families could remain in the safety of their home, many had to work to avoid suspicion.\textsuperscript{77} The observation of Passover was similarly modified. Many crypto-Jews are recorded to have made \textit{capirotada}, a ceremonial pudding made of flour, sugar, nuts, and raisins. These ingredients were

\textsuperscript{73} “Order and Information Given to the Commissaries of the Inquisition concerning Prohibited Books in the Kingdom of New Spain,” Mexico City, September 22, 1587 in \textit{I in S}, 322.

\textsuperscript{74} Bodian, “Hebrews of the Portuguese Nation,” 69.


\textsuperscript{76} Kunin, “Juggling Identities among the Crypto-Jews of the American Southwest,” 53.

\textsuperscript{77} Ibid, 51.

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also used by the Christians during their observation of Lent at around the same time, so they were readily available did not draw suspicion. The addition of cheese to the capirotada was the primary distinguishing factor from what was eaten by the Christians. The crypto-Jews added cheese to differentiate themselves from their Catholic neighbors. While rabbinic law prohibits the use of the flour present in capirotada during Passover, the biblical requirements preventing the use of yeast were preserved by the crypto-Jews. Furthermore, flour tortillas were made intentionally crispy and unleavened, mirroring the Jewish Matzah. Jewish cuisine was difficult for the crypto-Jews to replicate. Certain aspects such as not eating pork were maintained with the excuse of dislike or allergies, but others such as the process of killing and preparing animals for consumption were more difficult to observe. There were, however, some families that bought their meat from a butcher who slaughtered humanely and drained the blood in the traditionally Jewish manner, but this was not the case for most crypto-Jews, who settled for the meat they could acquire within their Catholic context. In some cases, crypto-Jews created new traditions to supplement those modified from Judaism. A common practice among the crypto-Jews was to turn the head of a person near death toward the wall. The origin of this practice is found in 2 Kings 20:2 when Hezekiah faced the wall and was saved by God from death. With external factors hindering their practice of Jewish traditions, crypto-Jews involuntarily differed from their orthodox counterparts. Some scholars go as far as to argue that crypto-Jews should instead be called “catholicized believers in the Law of Moses,” for they mirrored the Catholic focus on religious sensibility and personal salvation. The private lifestyle, deeply-rooted in the crypto-Jewish culture, kept crypto-Jews alive in the colonies; however, it also propelled the religion to evolve, becoming a distinct movement of institutionalized, orthodox Judaism.

While certain traditions were shared among the crypto-Jews, the practice of crypto-Judaism was not uniform. Specific traditions practiced by crypto-Jewish communities depended on the intensity of the Inquisition in that area. A more lenient local Inquisition Tribunal permitted some families to practice more recognizably Jewish traditions without punishment. There were

78 Ibid, 49.
80 Ibid, 71.
even discrepancies among the practice of individual families in a crypto-Jewish community. Each individual family defined their personal practice of Judaism and the extent to which it was modified to become crypto-Judaism. This created different levels of devotion to crypto-Judaism, incentivizing crypto-Jews to marry within a narrow range.\footnote{Lorenzo Dominguez, interviewed by Cary Herz, 1999 in Herz, \textit{New Mexico's Crypto-Jews}, 15.} Not only did this prevent potential imprisonment by an disloyal, Catholic spouse, but the established crypto-Jewish traditions unique to a certain family or community could be maintained and passed on through the generations. The descendants of crypto-Jews are perhaps the greatest resource in the modern understanding of crypto-Judaism.

To this day, descendants of crypto-Jews still live in New Mexico. Most are now openly Jewish, and so they no longer identify as crypto-Jews.\footnote{González, interviewed by Cary Herz in Herz, \textit{New Mexico's Crypto-Jews}, 43.} Some, however, have split from their Jewish roots entirely while still carrying on family traditions or stories from their crypto-Jewish ancestors. After being passed down undocumented for centuries, these stories have finally begun to surface. For example, Gloria and Mona, two sisters living in New Mexico, uncovered their crypto-Jewish roots themselves. Their grandfather only went into church three times in his life: baptism, marriage, and death. Although the sisters were never told why, they found their answer through extensive research. After uncovering their crypto-Jewish past, the two sisters began to make sense of their inklings, such as not feeling as though they belonged in a Catholic Church. Gloria states in an interview, “I knew inside of me all of my life, but I hadn’t put it all together. The more I learned about my Jewish heritage, the more it all fits into place.”\footnote{Alicia Campos, interviewed by Cary Herz, 2006 in Herz, \textit{New Mexico's Crypto-Jews}, 71.} As more and more inhabitants of New Mexico discover their crypto-Jewish heritage, the disparities between crypto-Judaism and Judaism are further revealed. The restraints put upon crypto-Jews limited their ability to practice and discuss their religion even within their own families. Alifia Campos from Carlsbad, New Mexico recalls her experience: “We were always Jews, but it was never talked about.”\footnote{University of Chicago Laboratory High School}
Judaism, it transformed itself to become a distinct religious movement of Judaism, founded on secrecy and fear.

Conclusion

Throughout the Spanish, Portuguese, and Mexican Inquisitions, the devotion of the crypto-Jews to Judaism gave them the courage to persist in their practice despite the inherent danger. They embedded themselves deep within the economy, performing crucial economic functions and promoting economic expansion by providing capital and trade. Spain’s economic decline after the Edict of Expulsion and the Netherland’s flourishing economy in an atmosphere of toleration attest to the economic benefit the Jews supplied. The crypto-Jews also integrated themselves socially by modifying Jewish traditions to blend in with their Catholic neighbors, thus avoiding anti-Jewish persecution. The Mexican Inquisition became more robust when Portugal declared its independence from Spain because of the Portuguese origin of the crypto-Jews in the colonies. Their secrecy, further incentivized by the public murder of martyrs such as Luis de Carvajal the Younger at auto-da-fés, kept crypto-Jews alive. Fleeing persecution, many crypto-Jews settled north, especially in what is now known as New Mexico; the Mexican Inquisition declined as crypto-Jews within Mexico became scarce. As crypto-Jews became more isolated from institutionalized Judaism, their religion adapted and evolved. Crypto-Jews, intent on preserving the Jewish traditions to the best of their ability, were limited by their Catholic context, forcing them to modify these traditions and ultimately become a distinct religious movement of Judaism.

While the area of present-day New Mexico has surfaced as being rich with crypto-Jewish ancestry, further research must be conducted to consider where else the crypto-Jewish communities congregated as they escaped the Mexican Inquisition. Uncovering the personal stories in New Mexico has not only strengthened the scholarship regarding crypto-Judaism, but it has also benefitted the families who otherwise would have no knowledge of this heritage. This work must be continued and broadened to other territories bordering Mexico, such as present-day Arizona or even southern California. While scholars have already investigated Brazil, Peru, and other South American countries, a stronger emphasis on uncovering specific stories and family
traditions would result in a more complete understanding of crypto-Judaism as a distinct branch of Judaism.
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Procrastinating the Paper: How Planning is Correlated to Work

“If it weren’t for the last minute, nothing would get done.”
— Rita Mae Brown

“Implementation intention,” coined by psychologist Peter Gollwitzer in the late 1990s, is a strategy that suggests that those who enact goal-attainment specifics (when, where, and how) are more likely to accomplish their goals. However, as behavioral economists Amy N. Dalton and Stephen A. Spiller describe, “[d]espite good intentions, most goals go unfulfilled...[For example,] People purchase gym memberships because they intend to exercise yet fail to ever show up.”¹ This quote demonstrates how Gollwitzer’s method has limits—not all goals are attained even if an implementation intention strategy is used. However, do implementation intentions work differently to academic activities, such as writing papers? Procrastination has been linked to negative health effects, which makes one wonder why it is so commonplace.² If procrastination is detrimental, there is no reason for humans to engage in it, so there must be related benefits. Is one’s goal-planning strategy related to the amount of time they expect to spend working on a paper? A relatively new topic, the intersection between implementation intentions and procrastination will demonstrate whether setting goals is correlated to results or not. This paper focuses on the effects, both positive and negative, that procrastination and its causes have on a U-High student.

Literature Review

Although economists have written many papers about goal-setting and procrastination, the meeting of the two is often overlooked and difficult to analyze. No books in the curriculum or syllabi at U-High examines the two topics together, with the exception of Dan Ariely’s *Predictably Irrational*, which briefly mentions how procrastination is linked to schoolwork. In the chapter, “The Problem of Procrastination and Self-Control,” Ariely mentions an experiment

in which he gave different groups of students three options to complete their three papers in the
twelve-week semester:

A. set their own deadlines ahead of submitting the three papers (with late penalties).

B. have one paper due every four weeks (with late penalties).

C. have the papers due whenever the student wished, allowing them to control the schedule.³

In Ariely’s example, the students who had the least strict deadlines received the lowest average
marks, demonstrating that a lack of externally enforced goals had a negative effect on student
performance. Those with the most stringent deadlines, however, achieved the highest average
grades.⁴ This relates to my research because it helps reveal the difference found between Ariely’s
university and U-High’s secondary education environments.

Previous research conducted on procrastination has been published in the European
Journal of Psychology of Education, which examines how personality traits relate to
procrastination. Psychologist Carola Grunschel ranked participants using five characteristics and
then determined whether these attributes were related to their procrastination levels.⁵ This
research is an example of how one factor may lead to a change in one’s procrastination levels.

Amy Dalton’s research also focuses on goal-planning and procrastination, the center of my
experiment at U-High. Her research addresses whether implementation intentions affect goals
such as going to the gym, eating more healthily, or cleaning one’s room.⁶ This directly applies to
my question of whether goal planning affects student performance and the amount of time spent
on projects.

Other research completed on the topic covers the different causes of procrastination,
not just its effects. Self-management and the expectations of one’s work are also related to
procrastination, as proven by Robert Renn’s research; if someone believes they will do poorly on
an assignment, they may procrastinate more and not try as hard.⁷ This connects to my research

⁴ Ibid.
because it could be a potential flaw in expected grades that participants report. Trisha Gura writes that the “amount of time before a project’s due date also influences the tendency to procrastinate. In particular, people are more likely to dawdle when the deadline is far away.”  

This pertains to my experiment because my scenario gives students a six week period to complete a term paper. With the due date so far in the future, this scenario could yield varied responses from people. Tim Herrera also demonstrates this when he writes about the present bias, stating that many people truly believe they will “get around to” the work they need to complete in the future. This relates to my topic because I believe this is a commonplace in the Lab environment, where many students start work later than they should simply because they believe they will be able to deal with it better then.

**Experiment & Hypothesis**

My experiment was conducted using data from a Google Form with eleven multiple choice questions. To complete the survey, one had to log in with their Lab School email address, ensuring that all respondents were from the Lab School community and that each participant was limited to one response. To maintain anonymity, email addresses were not collected.

The first question asked participants to select their grade level. This was done to make certain that all grades were represented and it allowed me to block data on grade level during analysis. The second question asked students to characterize their course load on a scale of 1 to 5, five being the most difficult. This was done to see the relation between course load and procrastination.

The next question asked participants how often they procrastinated, with the options of always (on 90% or more of assignments), sometimes (on 50-90% of assignments), rarely (on 10-50% of assignments), or never (on 10% or less of assignments). The fourth question of the form was whether the student used a planner or not. This would help me see whether most people engaged in implementation intentions. The last question in the first section asked

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9 The inclination of people to give stronger weight to payoffs closer to the present than the future
participants which factors they include in their planning methods. The options were work-time (how long the assignment would take), where to complete the work, when to complete the work, the relevance of the work (or ranking of each assignment needing completion), no planner, or other (fill in the blank).

The next set of questions was my example in the experiment. I told the participants that they were given six weeks to complete a second-year history course quarter paper, and proceeded to ask questions about how they would go about completing it. The first question asked participants how many hours they would spend on the paper and the second asked how many weeks in advance they would begin the paper. These two questions were used to gauge the level of procrastination of the responders and to see whether these responses would be correlated to my third and final question in the set: what grade they would expect on the paper (ranging F through A+).

The final section was about general procrastination to assess Lab students’ opinions on the topic. The first question asked why they believed they procrastinated, with answer choices being “my ability allows it,” “anxiety,” or “other” (fill in the blank). The second question asked the participants whether they believed they would do better in school without procrastination. This allowed me to track whether or not people believed they were getting the maximum results with procrastination, or at least the results they wanted. Finally, I asked those participants who believed they would not do better why they believed they would not do better in school.

There are a few limitations to my experiment as it was conducted using a hypothetical scenario and answers that were mainly subjective. A student may wish to lie about how difficult their course load is to demonstrate their intelligence, or how much they procrastinate so that those reading the results do not see as much procrastination occurring at Lab. Mainly upperclassmen responded to the survey, as well. The Google Form does not accurately represent a real-life situation as it does not account for every goal-implementation strategy and person at the Lab School. These errors may impact the data, but the results yielded give enough information to make generalizations about Lab School students’ work habits. My hypothesis for the experiment was that people who used goal-setting devices such as planners would tend to procrastinate less and start their work earlier, and they would expect to yield better results. I
thought this would be true because those who do not have to procrastinate have more time to complete assignments, and therefore should be able to do so at a higher level of quality. Also, I thought a very large percentage of Lab students would use a planner as a planner has been provided to us for many years. Additionally, I hypothesized it would be more likely that those with a higher level course load would procrastinate the least, as they would have learned to deal with a multitude of assignments. I also believed that there would be a strong correlation between the amount of work spent on the hypothetical paper and the expected grade, because those who do not procrastinate and work more will likely get a better grade.

Results

A total of 91 students at U-High responded to the survey. This supplied sufficient data for the rest of the experiment. Of these, 36 were seniors, 40 were juniors, 8 were sophomores, and 7 were freshmen (Appendix A). 3 people believed they had a “Level 2” course load difficulty, 28 a “Level 3,” 50 a “Level 4,” and 10 a “Level 5” (Appendix B). It is interesting to note that no students reported a “Level 1” difficulty level, even of the freshmen, who, more often than not, do not have the option to increase difficulty. The only students who characterized their courses as “Level 5” were juniors and seniors. In the third question, 27 students reported that they always procrastinate, 53 sometimes, 8 rarely, and 3 never (Appendix C). There was almost no correlation between grade level, course level, and procrastination, with the exception that the majority of those in the “Level 5” category reported procrastinating less than those in the other levels, matching my hypothesis. Additionally, I expected students at Lab to procrastinate far less than the study seems to show. 70 students reported that they do use a planner and 21 reported that they do not (Appendix D). Only one student with a “Level 5” course load did not use a planning device. This matched my hypothesis as 76.9% of students use a planning device.

Of those who used a planning device, the relevance of the work at hand was the most popular specification, followed by when to complete the work, then work-time, the “no planner” option, where to complete the work, and “other” (Appendix E). This did not fit what I expected. I thought most people would have “when to complete the work” first as that was how our planners were formatted in middle school, then work-time, then relevance. This demonstrates how, at U-
High, there is a large value placed on prioritization, which can be strongly linked to procrastination. If one understands which assignments are most important, they will most likely be able to complete the work. Because many Lab Students understand this, Lab’s heavy procrastination may not be as detrimental as it is in other environments.

When given the paper example, where participants are assigned a paper in a second-year history course due in six weeks, 3 students said they would work 2-3 hours, eighteen for 4-5 hours, 12 for 6-7 hours, 13 for 8-9 hours, 22 for 10-14 hours, 11 for 15-19 hours, 5 for 20-29 hours, 4 for 30-39 hours, 3 for 40-49 hours, and 1 for 50 or more hours on the paper (Appendix F). As shown by the data, most students spend 10-14 hours, and there is an almost normal distribution in the curve. There was a significant correlation between course rigor and the number of hours spent. The only students that would choose to work for more than 20 hours were “Level 4 or 5” students. This demonstrates that students with the most difficult courses also work for the most time. There was not a correlation between students who used a planning device and the number of hours they would spend on the paper, contradictory to my hypothesis.

I also asked students how many weeks in advance they would begin to work on their paper. 4 students chose six weeks, 12 chose five weeks, 13 chose four weeks, 11 chose three weeks, 24 chose two weeks, 14 chose one week, and 13 chose less than one week. These results surprised me, as there did not seem to be a correlation between whether students used a planning device and the amount of time in advance they would begin their paper. However, there was a connection between the number of planning factors a student considered and how many weeks in advance they would start their paper. Only those who would begin work four weeks or more in advance would spend more than thirty hours on their paper. Nevertheless, even those that would begin one week in advance would spend twenty hours. These data show how there may be a benefit to procrastination, as long as the same amount of work is being completed. Those with more than two goal-planning specifications tended to start two weeks earlier than those with just one detail in their planning device.

Finally, I asked the respondents what grade they would expect on the paper. The results were different from what I expected. 3 students replied they would expect an A+, 52 believed they would get an A, 30 thought they would deserve an A-, 3 responded they would expect a B+, University of Chicago Laboratory High School
and three responded they would most likely get a B. No students believed they would get below a B, even though there were students who would spend just two hours on the paper. There was a strong correlation between the grade people believed they would get and the amount of time spent when they would begin working. The only students who believed they would receive an A+ were the three students who would spend more than forty hours on the paper, while two of the three students who would spend two to three hours on the paper believed they would get a B or a B+. Additionally, 90.4% of students who thought they would get an A used a planning device, showing a convincing correlation between planning devices and high marks. This information fit my hypothesis as I believed those who would begin earlier would expect higher grades as well as those who would spend more time on the paper. There was also a correlation between how much students procrastinated and the grade they would expect on the paper. Most students who “always” procrastinate believed they would get an A- or lower, and most students who chose “rarely” or “never” believed they would receive an A or A+. This also fits my hypothesis that students who tend to procrastinate do not perform as strongly.

I then asked students why they believed they procrastinated. 34 reported that it was their ability to procrastinate while still achieving the grades they wanted that led to their procrastination, 28 said it was because of anxiety, and 29 gave another reason. Many of those who did not fit either of the two former categories cited “Netflix” or “laziness.” A large portion of “A-” students felt that their ability allowed them to procrastinate. Fitting with my hypothesis, when I asked respondents if they believed they would do better in school without procrastination, a majority said they would. 56 responded “yes,” 12 said “no,” and 23 replied “maybe.” 100% of the students who said “no” also answered that their ability allowed them to procrastinate in the question above. I then asked why students who believed they would not to better in school without procrastination why they thought their grades would not improve. 7 responded that procrastination motivates them, 9 said that they maximize productivity when procrastinating, and 5 gave “other” responses, the most popular being that they always spend enough time on their assignments, regardless of how much they procrastinate.

Analysis

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The data above demonstrate Lab students’ perception of procrastination, and show how much it affects most students’ (albeit projected) grades. There was not as strong of a correlation between planning devices and results of work as I, and most likely Dr. Gollwitzer, would have expected. Additionally, although it was present, the connection between hours spent and expected marks was not as great as I expected. There was not a huge difference between spending 8 through 12 hours versus 13 through 20, as most of those students believed they would receive an A or A-. It is clear that those who plan further in advance tend to achieve higher grades, but there are outliers in every section, and the middle 50% of respondents had very similar results, even if some prepared for the paper further in advance and for longer. This could be because, as the students said, procrastination motivates them, and no matter what, they will spend the time needed at maximum productivity. This reveals how Lab students are able to gauge their workload very well and are able to use this ability to their benefit. With some pressure, students are performing at the same level, just more quickly.

U-High’s responses contrast those of Dan Ariely’s students. Even though those who are more strict with themselves (and work ahead) tend to perform better than their peers, there was not a huge discrepancy between expected outcomes and amount of work put in, with the exception of a few outliers. Procrastination at Lab, it seems, is less detrimental than predicted, most likely as a result of peoples’ high-achieving abilities. Implementation intentions, although a comprehensive idea, may not have quite the effect at U-High as in other academic environments. The present bias is also demonstrated in these results, because Lab students value an assignment more when the deadline gets closer, even though it is worth the same grade from the beginning. The general student body at Lab procrastinates quite often, and it is a large part of Lab’s culture, even if success is still obtained. The amount of time spent on a paper does not seem to matter so much as the quality, which some students are able to easily replicate on every assignment, allowing them to procrastinate.

**Conclusion**

Procrastination at U-High is both a problem and an incentive for the people in the Lab School community to develop a desire to be proactive. Students would probably be able to create
even more impressive work with less procrastination, so teachers and administrators at Lab should attempt to reduce it. To do so, communicating the degree of which procrastination occurs to parents may be the easiest way to mitigate procrastination, as parents are often able to control students’ activities outside of school hours. Additionally, using class time to work on assignments may not be the best use of time for students, as they will most likely put these tasks off for later, engaging in the present bias. The Lab School community has the opportunity to improve students’ procrastination habits; if we can ensure that students use as much time as possible to complete their assignments, the quality of education for the students and the quality of work submitted to teachers would both increase. This can be capitalized on because many U-High students are already high-achieving and able to work hard, so if teachers and motivated students maximize productivity, projects will likely be of higher quality. To do so, setting intermittent deadlines for large assignments would be very beneficial as the deadlines would minimize procrastination in the long-run by creating goals for the short-term. Although maximizing productivity may positively affect coursework, constantly overworking students may be destructive to their health, just as procrastinating is—a balance between working and relaxing must be found. When it comes to procrastination, the costs and benefits must be weighed before discounting its benefits, as, in some ways, it serves as a motivator and maximizes productivity.
Appendices

Appendix A:

What grade level are you in?

![Pie Chart showing grade distribution]

Appendix B:

How difficult would you characterize your course load? (5 is most difficult)

![Bar Chart showing self-reported course load difficulty]

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Appendix C:

*How often do you procrastinate?*

![Pie chart showing how often students procrastinate]

- Always: 53
- Sometimes: 27
- Rarely: 3
- Never: 8

Appendix D:

*Do you use a planner or set goals for yourself for your schoolwork?*

![Pie chart showing planner or goal use]

- Yes: 70
- No: 21
Appendix E:

*Do you include any of the following specifications? Select all that apply to you.*

![Bar chart showing the number of participants per specification.](chart1.png)

Appendix F:

*How many hours would you spend working on the paper?*

![Bar chart showing the number of participants per hours spent.](chart2.png)
Appendix G:

How many weeks in advance would you begin your paper?

Appendix H:

What grade would you expect on the paper?
Appendix I:

Why do you believe you procrastinate?

[Diagram showing the reasons for procrastination with percentages]

Appendix J:

Do you believe you would do better in school without procrastination?

[Diagram showing the responses to the question with percentages]
Appendix K:

If you answered no or thought about saying no to the previous question, why not?

- Procrastination Motivates Me: 7
- I Maximize Productivity When Procrastinating: 9
- Other: 5

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Women Are Just Alright (and so are Men)

“A gender line... helps to keep women not on a pedestal, but in a cage,” Supreme Court Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg said as a young lawyer, as she argued before the Supreme Court in the 1975 case Weinberger v. Wiesenfeld. In much of Justice Ginsburg’s work as a lawyer throughout the 1960s and 70s, she fought institutionalized gender discrimination in the home and in the workplace. In the late 1980s, researchers Alice Eagly and Antonio Mladnic began their research into gender discrimination. Across a decade and several papers, they found that both women and men had a positive bias towards women, a cognitive bias they dubbed the “women are wonderful effect.” However, inequalities in society and the workplace, during both that time period and now, beg the question: If society believes women truly are wonderful, why do inequalities in pay and leadership positions persist? Is the “women are wonderful” effect a pedestal that entraps women, like what Justice Ginsburg argued in 1975? While researchers across the world have continued to re-evaluate these questions, this paper looks specifically at the attitudes of current U-High students towards women and men, and what implications those attitudes may have on the U-High, the future workforce, and the efficiency of the economy.

Experiment Background

Political and social forces in America over the last thirty years have substantially changed the way that Americans view the roles and rights of men and women. Especially with the emergence of the MeToo movement and the intense polarization over the confirmation of Judge Brett Kavanaugh to the Supreme Court, this particular moment in American culture seemed like an opportune time to conduct a pulse check of attitudes, especially among a group of Americans on the verge of both adulthood and joining the workforce.

Besides the general finding that both men and women had a positive bias towards women, research following Eagly and Mladnic’s original findings revealed that women had a strong in-group bias. I was also interested in exploring whether the recent resurgence of the feminist movement has increased in-group bias among young women.

Given the shifting gender dynamics of American culture, I hypothesized that female students would attribute positive traits towards women and negative traits towards men even

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more strongly than in 1989, but male students would attribute fewer positive traits to both women and men, thusly having a more neutral attitude towards both.

**Literature Review**

Although several researchers had previously examined gender bias, its development into a recognized cognitive bias didn’t occur until the late 1980s and early 90s. Professor Alice Eagly and then-graduate student Antonio Mladnic began their work on gender attitudes in 1989 when they conducted their first study around the attitudes of 203 college students who attended Purdue University.\(^4\) Eagly and Mladnic were surprised to find that both women and men’s attitudes towards women as a group were strongly positive, but argued that their findings were not inconsistent with the disadvantaged status of women in society, because social power and favorability are not always directly related to one another.\(^5\) They continued their work through 1994, finding similar results, and coining the term “women are wonderful effect” for the first time to describe their findings.\(^6\) Researchers Laurie Rudman and Stephanie Goodwin furthered the conversation around the “women are wonderful effect” with their 2004 paper, that revealed in-group bias is 4.5 times stronger among women than among men.\(^7\) Rudman and Goodwin argued that women alone have a “cognitively balanced gender identity,” meaning that on a societal scale, a woman often believes that because she is a good person and happens to be a woman, all women by extension are “good.”\(^8\) Besides this cognitive mechanism, early attachment to maternal caregivers and threatening experiences with men bolstered female in-group bias, while the lack of that cognitive mechanism and similar maternal and threatening experiences in men depressed male in-group bias.\(^9\)

Many scholars have proposed that this bias should be called the “women are wonderful when” effect, and have argued that the “women are wonderful” effect only occurs when women are fulfilling traditional gender roles and aren’t in competition with men.\(^10\) Author Kristin Anderson argues that while women who adhere to traditional roles are liked for their warmth, they usually are not respected.\(^11\) As more women join the workforce, they are faced with an

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\(^5\) Ibid.

\(^6\) Eagly and Mladnic, 3.

\(^7\) Rudman and Goodwin, 506.

\(^8\) Ibid, 495.

\(^9\) Ibid, 506.


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impossible choice; either conform to feminine stereotypes to be liked, yet risk being seen as less competent, or embrace agency and competence at the risk of being penalized socially.\textsuperscript{12}

Most recently, a team of researchers discovered that while the “women are wonderful” effect is present in nearly every culture, the effect is smaller in more egalitarian countries such as Norway.\textsuperscript{13} The authors of that paper suggested that the more egalitarian cultures had fewer gender stereotypes, both positive, like the “women are wonderful” effect, and negative.\textsuperscript{14} While research into the impacts of the “women are wonderful” effect is still ongoing, there is compelling evidence that this effect is a symptom of pervasive stereotypes and rigid gender roles that harm both the social status of women and gender equality as a whole.

Gender equality doesn’t only have social implications; it has a huge impact on the efficiency of the economy. Countries in Asia and the Middle East lose billions of dollars annually due to the education and employment gap between men and women, according to a report by the World Economic Forum.\textsuperscript{15} Conversely, companies with top quartile representation of women in the boardroom perform significantly better than companies without any women executives, and the greater number women in the workforce since 1970 accounts for a quarter of the United States’ GDP.\textsuperscript{16} Unless societies are able to fully consider and utilize the talent pool and consumer interests of women, companies, the economy, and society as a whole is operating at a loss. In order for the economy to operate at full efficiency, the social aspect of gender barriers must be lowered to increase female participation.

**Experiment**

For the experiment, I recreated parts of Eagly and Mladnic’s 1989 procedure. Although their original experiment included three different methods of measuring gender attitudes, I chose to present eight traits (two masculine-positive, two masculine-negative, two feminine-positive, and two feminine-negative) selected from Spence, Helmreich and Stapp’s Attitudes towards women scale,\textsuperscript{17} as Eagly and Mladnic had in one of three sections of their experiment. In a Google Form, anonymous respondents who reported their gender identities were required to rate


\textsuperscript{14} Ibid, 24


\textsuperscript{16} Ibid.

From 1 to 5 (1 being completely undesirable, 5 being completely desirable) how desirable independence, aggression, helpfulness, competitiveness, gullibility, arrogance, emotionless, and easily influenceable-ness were as characteristics in human beings. Afterward, subjects indicated what percentage of Republicans, Democrats, women, and men have each characteristic (Appendix A). As Eagly and Mladnic had in 1989, I asked for opinions on Republicans and Democrats as a decoy to limit the number of subjects who believed the survey was intended to gauge attitudes on women and men, and obtain more legitimate results.

Because the survey was more extensive and time-consuming than most others, only 25 female students and 25 male students participated in the survey for a total of 50 subjects. In order to calculate a numerical value for an individual’s attitudes towards women and men, the 1-5 ratings for each characteristic were converted to a (-3, +3) scale with a value of zero assigned to the middle, neutral category. The percentages that subjects reported were converted to a (-0.5, +0.5) scale, where a value of 0% was given the value -0.5, and a value of 100% was given the value +0.5. Each trait’s converted-percentage value was multiplied by its good-bad rating, and the subject’s overall attitude was calculated by averaging across the eight characteristics. If the resulting value was positive, that means the subject had a favorable evaluation of the group being evaluated (women or men); if the resulting value was negative, the subject had an unfavorable evaluation of the group. The theoretical minimum and maximums of this scale are -1.5 and +1.5, with a value of 0 being a true neutral.

As with the original 1989 study, there are limitations to this experiment. Despite the introduction of Democrats and Republicans into the survey, it is likely that at least a few of the subjects caught onto the fact that the survey was intended to collect attitudes on the basis of gender. This may have caused what Eagly and Mladnic call the “bend over backward” effect, which causes respondents to monitor their own responses to avoid appearing prejudiced, despite the survey being anonymous. The sheer length of the survey also limited the number of U-High students who were willing to take the time and complete the survey, which means the data may not be a completely accurate reflection of the entirety of U-High’s gender attitudes.

Results

Across all 50 U-High subjects, the overall average attitudes towards women and men were 0.11 and -0.01 respectively (Appendix B), as calculated by the procedure outlined above. The average attitude towards women indicates a very slight positive association between women and positive traits. The extremely slight negative attitude towards men indicates that overall attitudes towards men are almost exactly neutral.

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18 Eagly and Mladnic, 554.
Broken down by gender, female respondents reported an average 0.10 attitude towards other women, and a -0.05 attitude towards men (Appendix C). Male respondents reported an average 0.11 attitude towards women, and a 0.01 attitude towards men (Appendix D). Both of these results indicate a very slight preference for women over men.

Analysis

While the data I collected does not perfectly match my hypothesis, it offers a surprisingly hopeful look at gender attitudes at U-High. In Eagly’s original study, respondents provided consistently positive overall evaluations of both women and men (Appendix E). Female subjects had rated other women with a score of 0.30 and men with 0.21, while men had rated women with a score of 0.24 and men with 0.25, with all four values on the same -1.5, +1.5 scale on which my values are calculated.19 (While Eagly’s results for this portion of her experiment showed that men gave themselves a slightly higher rating than they gave women, the other two portions of her experiment showed that men were overall more likely to have a more positive attitude towards women than men.) The results collected from U-High students indicate that thirty years later, students are more likely to have a neutral opinion of both men and women.

While my hypothesis was correct in guessing that female subjects were more likely to have a negative attitude towards men now than in 1989, the value of -0.05 is still very close to being a neutral value of 0. My hypothesis was only partially correct in predicting that female students would be more likely to express in-group bias than in 1989. The average value of 0.10, while positive, is also very close to being neutral, as well as being lower than the 1989 value. However, the gap between how women rated themselves and how women rated men was wider among U-High students than in 1989. Whereas the 1989 gap between how women rated themselves and how they rated men was a 0.09 point difference (Appendix E), the U-High female subjects’ gap was 0.15 points. Despite this gap, I believe the female respondents’ shift towards neutrality is more significant than the slight increase in gender attitude disparity.

The responses of male students correlated to my prediction; for attitudes about women and men, male respondents were more likely to be neutral than in 1989’s study. While 1989’s male respondents reported a 0.24 attitude rating towards women and a 0.25 attitude rating towards other men, U-High’s male respondents reported 0.11 rating towards women and a 0.01 rating towards men. In both cases, current-day male respondents rated both men and women more neutrally.

Conclusion

19 Ibid, 552.

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Even though U-High’s overall attitude ratings reveal a slight preference for women over men, these results reveal that the “women are wonderful” effect has been weakened in the thirty years since its discovery. Based on the evidence showing that more egalitarian cultures have smaller “women are wonderful” effects, the results of this survey may indicate that U-High is an environment that has bred students who are only minorly influenced by traditional gender roles and stereotypes. As U-High graduates move through college into the workforce, these results indicate that they may be more likely to accept both women and men in nontraditional familial and workplace roles, thusly making the economy as a whole more efficient if these attitudes shift on a macro scale. Based on these results, U-High should continue to encourage and provide support towards individuals who operate outside of gender stereotypes, whether in the classroom or extracurricularly. While anecdotally speaking, there is still much to be done to improve gender dynamics within the hallways and in the classroom, these results are a promising step towards eliminating the “pedestals and cages” Justice Ginsburg described over 40 years ago, and forming a more egalitarian culture both in our school and society.

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Appendices

Appendix A: An example of the survey’s format

In your opinion, what percentages of people in these groups are INDEPENDENT/SELF RELIANT?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>0%</th>
<th>10%</th>
<th>20%</th>
<th>30%</th>
<th>40%</th>
<th>50%</th>
<th>60%</th>
<th>70%</th>
<th>80%</th>
<th>90%</th>
<th>100%</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Republic...</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrat...</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendix B: (Note — this is a truncated version of the data. There were 50 respondents total.)

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>What's your gender identity?</th>
<th>Overall attitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>0.13</td>
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<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>-0.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>-0.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>-0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>0.19</td>
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<tr>
<td>Male</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>0.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Female</td>
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<tr>
<td>Male</td>
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<tr>
<td>Average</td>
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</table>
Appendix C:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What's your gender identity?</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
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<td>-0.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>-0.09</td>
<td>0.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Female</td>
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<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
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<td>0.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.11</td>
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<tr>
<td>Female</td>
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<td>0.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
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<td>-0.08</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-0.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
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<td>-0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
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<td>-0.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Female</td>
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<tr>
<td>Female</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-0.21</td>
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<tr>
<td>Female</td>
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<td>-0.15</td>
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<tr>
<td>Female</td>
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<td>-0.17</td>
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<tr>
<td>Female</td>
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<td>-0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Average</strong></td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>