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MCNAIR PROGRAM STAFF

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*Associate Vice President Graduate Studies and Research
Principal Investigator*

JEANNINE SLATER

Director

NISHA GURBUXANI

Academic/Research Coordinator

ANGELICA OCHOA

Administrative Coordinator

Faculty Mentors for the 2008-2009 Research Year

ARLENE ASUNCION

DAVID BROOK

GLENN CALLAGHAN

SHARVARI DIXIT

LARRY A. FAHNESTOCK

ANNE FOUNTAIN

ELENA KLAU

ASHLEY LUCAS

LINDA MITCHELL

NEELAM RATTAN

ANA E. ROSAS

GUADALUPE SALAZAR

CARLOS SANCHEZ

GUNA SELVADURAY

MARTHA T. TUCKER

Editors

Nisha Gurbuxani

Marina Corrales

Angelica Ochoa

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ARNE DUNCAN

United States Secretary of Education

LINDA BYRD-JOHNSON

Director of the Office of Federal Trio Programs

JOSEPHINE HAMILTON

Program Officer

SAN JOSE STATE UNIVERSITY ADMINISTRATION

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GERRY SELTER

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PAMELA STACKS

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Interim Associate Vice President Enrollment and Academic Services

A MESSAGE FROM THE DIRECTOR

The San Jose State University McNair Scholars Program is pleased to present the fifth SJSU McNair Scholars Research Journal. This journal represents the diverse and practical research experiences of the McNair Scholars during the 2009-2010 academic year.

I would like to congratulate the scholars for their hard work, dedication, and accomplishments in the summer research program. My sincere appreciation to the faculty mentors for their guidance, time, and commitment to the scholars, their research and the program. A particular word of thanks goes out to the families and extended support systems that made these outstanding presentations possible.

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Andrea Arroyo-Flores

Major:
Behavioral Science
and Sociology

Mentor:
Dr. Arlene Asuncion

The Positive Effects of Music
Listening
Among Adolescent Minority
Students

Biography

Andrea Arroyo-Flores is a Senior double majoring in Behavioral Science and Sociology. Her research investigates the relationship music listening has on adolescent minority students. This includes their music preference, their emotions, and their values when listening to music. Outside of her interest in research, Andrea works part-time at Chipotle. When she is not working, she loves to be outdoors. She plays tennis and jogs the trails of Silicon Valley. She also loves to listen to music and visit her hometown, Monterey to spend time with friends and family. She began in Upward Bound, participated in College Readiness, and continues to be part of the TRIO programs at San Jose State University. In the future she wants to obtain a PhD in Social Psychology and focus on the adolescent population. She would like to conduct more research as well as teach at the college level.

***The Positive Effects of Music Listening
Among Adolescent Minority Students***

ABSTRACT

The goals for this project are to determine the positive effects of music listening within minority adolescent students and to understand why music should be viewed as having a positive as opposed to negative influence on this group. Music is one of the many subcultures that adolescents choose to identify themselves. I was able to conduct a study on 20 students who are considered minorities or at-risk youth including, African Americans, Mexican/Latinos, Asian, and Islanders. This study was conducted at a summer program known as Community Partnership for Youth. This program is offered to children and teenagers ranging from five to eighteen years of age, who participate in reading, writing, and other extracurricular activities within the program. In conducting the study, a forty-question survey was handed out to students ranging from thirteen to seventeen years old. I used the Likert 1-7 scale to analyze how highly music is associated with their values, behavior and identity. Findings in past research for adolescents' identity include the way they distinguish their values as well as relate to others with similar values. Adults assume their children are being influenced and brainwashed by the music they currently listen to, but they should realize that music is a subculture and adolescents are able to establish an identity through music. This identity may not be what the parent expects, but rather it is an identity that the adolescent establishes to relate to his/her peers. For this research, the primary focus was to identify the positive effects of music and to find any similarities adolescents share according to the music they listen to. This research is important for future studies as music is essentially social and serves many purposes in the realm of adolescents.

Introduction

Music is essential

Music is essentially social and it serves many functions ranging from the search for one's identity, to communicating with peers, and the need to reduce or intensify emotions. A study conducted by Tarrant and Hargreaves states that, "English and American Adolescents' Reasons for Listening to Music," found that the reasons for listening to music are

simply social needs that lead to self actualization. Adolescents continue to be the largest consumer group of music since they are on a continuous search to find and fulfill social acceptance. What other factors are involved with music and adolescents?

Identifying oneself with his or her “badge”

Communication is another element that music is able to have within a group of adolescents. As Hargreaves describes, “music is used as a badge which communicates values, attitudes and opinions to others.” This badge can be viewed as the genre one chooses to listen to, and how that type of music reflects on the individual. For example, if one decides to listen to rap music, one carries the 'badge' of “I like to listen to rap.” The following stereotypes are associated with those who carry the “rap badge”: violent, deviant, destructive, etc. Adolescents are easily stereotyped by the type of music they decide to listen to. Their choice of music is associated with primed stereotypes ranging from gender, age and ethnicity. It is wrong for people to associate the music one listens to with an individual's identity. Adolescents who listen to heavy music (e.g. rap, rock, and hip-hop) are negatively stereotyped. In this study we will find the use of listening to heavy music and if there is any relationship to the adolescents in this study.

Expectations: Mood and emotions

Expectations also come into play; adolescents realize that they can set values for themselves. Parents have expectations for their son/daughter to view the world in a different way, as their children become adults. The issue brought up by adults regarding their children is adolescents' values, including the conflicting values of the adult society to that of the adolescent society. Lyrics are analyzed and viewed by adults as inappropriate or deviant. Adolescents listen and relate to lyrics as they are more than words; these lyrics define their life, emotions, and moods. The book, “The Power of Sound,” illustrates this concept of guided imagery according to the use of lyrics in music. The authors define guided imagery as, “when words are used in conjunction with music that complements the imagery, a very powerful match of verbal and nonverbal cues are then sent to the brain.” Music is able to arouse emotions and moods with guided

imagery as it is trance-like. Music has words and rhythm; this creates the trance-like experience.

Adolescent Consumers

The Journal of the American Medical Association found the average teenager listens to 10,500 hours of music between seventh to twelfth grades. They found this amount of time just slightly less than the entire number of hours spent in a classroom from kindergarten through high school. It comes as no surprise that adolescents are the largest consumers of music, especially since they are able to access music easily through their cellular phones, iPods, Mp3 players, computers, radios, and the list continues. They are able to listen to music practically anywhere.

All the factors mentioned above, social acceptance, communication, expectations and the consumption of music, are all relevant to the survey I handed out for this research. We will continue to see how these students evaluated their values, dealt with any stereotypes because of the music they listened to, and if there were any positive connections between time spent listening to music.

Literature Review

Adolescence is a time when communication can be very difficult, especially between teens and their parents. Parents have a hard time understanding their adolescent and his or her development: “Sometimes I feel like I don't have control of the music I listen to because my mom hears it and it can say some stuff she doesn't like or doesn't agree with.” (Participant #12) Parents can have a different preference in the music they listen to, compared to their son or daughter. Adults generally agree that what their children are listening to is obscene, and find most of the lyrics offensive.

In the research, “Social Identity on a National Scale: Optimal Distinctiveness and Young People's Expression through Musical Preference,” the researcher Dominic Abrams also states the reason for adolescents' musical subculture and the significance of it being different. “Adolescents may maintain optimal distinctiveness by immersing themselves in a subculture [musical subculture] to which they conform very strictly making them distinct from one another, but makes them very unusual or distinctive to majority or out-group members [adults and other

groups of peers].” Dominic used the optimal distinctiveness theory and the self-categorization theory to relate them and associate the theories with what he defines as “moderately distinctive, rather than general or unique, social categories should be more central to self-conception.” He did this longitudinal study and used these theories to see the relationship the adolescents' musical affiliations have to their social identity. He found that his prediction about self-categorization in adolescents' musical style preferences, provide an avenue for maintaining satisfactory identity. He identifies the adult society “casting out” youth music as deviant or destructive. He points out how important it is to recognize that music genres or forms of music serve significant positive functions for identity. Once there is an understanding through the music listened to, the social relationships are able to develop and also routes are built where adults can make sense of the music listened to. In comparison, in my study, students valued their family relationship as very important. The students' averages, as well as their individual results, show that they value their family the most. These results were very interesting to me, and I believe cultural values play a large role in an adolescents' point of view on the value of his or her family. More research should be developed on the values of adolescents according to their ethnic culture.

What is the reason behind adolescent culture preferring heavy types of music, especially rap and rock music? I pose this question because the three most preferred genres for all groups (male, female, Mexican/Hispanic, and Mixed ethnicity), were rap, rock, and pop music. In the study conducted by K. Schwartz and G. Fouts, found in the *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, they examined the personality characteristics and developmental issues of three groups of adolescent music listeners: those who prefer light qualities of music, heavy, and eclectic preferences for music qualities. They found that each of the three groups demonstrate a unique profile of personality dimensions and developmental issues. Their main findings of adolescent music listeners are the way these adolescents gravitate to particular kinds of music. They gravitate to particular kinds of music, according to Schwartz and Fouts, “because they have particular personality characteristics, issues, and/or needs that are either reflected in the music they choose or that the music satisfies.” They also find how music preferences are related to issues of identity, dependence-independence, values, images, beliefs, and perceptions of self.

So if the adolescents in my research chose rap, rock, and pop, according to Schwartz and Fouts, they belong to the group of heavy music listeners. What are the characteristics they found that adolescents relate to in heavy music? Schwartz and Fouts recognized in their study how heavy music carries three main themes or messages: 1) telling them (adolescents), they are not alone in developmental task; 2) give them refuge for validating their confusions about identity, and 3) provide a safe context for beginning to explore and organize a sense of self. Their study also related heavy music to adolescents as more likely to be independent, demonstrate low self-esteem, and higher self-doubt. Instead of viewing adolescents as having problems, they identify adolescents as problems. This stereotype is most commonly used when relating to youth at-risk and minority adolescents. Their behavior is viewed as a result of their subcultures. They carry their identity through the music they listen to and they have the “badge” according to their style of music they prefer. This theory is carried out by A. North and D. Hargreaves.

In their study of “Music and Adolescent Identity”, North and Hargreaves investigated the function of musical preference as, “an identifying badge by which adolescents express their own self concepts and make judgments of others.” They found this “badge” of identity, predicting several other aspects of lifestyle and attitude. Both North and Hargreaves bring up the importance of music consistently because according to them, and other literature referring to adolescents, music is very important to their social world and the “badge” they carry conveys information about the adolescent individual. Their results proved that music does serve as a “badge” in adolescents' social cognition. Self-esteem was a mediating factor in their research as they found higher levels of self-esteem associated with adolescents that identify themselves stronger to a particular musical subculture.

These results continue to be supported as previous research associated levels of self-esteem with self-concept, and the lower ones' self-esteem, the higher the chance of a poorly developed self-concept. This translates to having low self-esteem leading to a poor sense of self. Comparing the results from the research I conducted with the results of North and Hargreaves, the group of females and the group mixed ethnicity adolescents had the highest ratings overall on the Likert 1-7 scale for mood and values. The relationship with high ratings of mood and values

for these two groups resulted in having higher grade point averages. What about the other two groups, the Mexican American adolescents and the group of males? As for their results, their values and moods were ranked slightly lower, with major differences in cultural values and socializing. The interesting and constant variable is the amount of time listening to music. The assumption that is associated with much time spent listening to music for adolescents, is their destructive behavior associated with the rap genre of music.

Is there a connection with music listening and destructive behavior? Previously Fouts and Schwartz identified rap as a form of heavy music and the negative stereotypes associated with this genre. They also pointed out the themes that are carried out by the heavy music audience. But do these results encourage destructive behavior or is it just a stereotype towards heavy music, including rap and rock music? In Alex Keshen's article "Does Music Affect Teens: Can the Music Youth Listen to Affect their Behavior", she states music that is categorized as rap, hard-rock or heavy metal are "pinpointed" when something within a community goes awry because of the strong influence music has. Keshen refers to R. King who is a child psychologist, and he poses the statement, "the answer to whether or not music can affect a person's behavior is not a simple matter of yes or no answer. Findings thus far are mixed, but overall they [studies] suggest that listening to rap does not cause aggressive behavior." Much research has been done and found a correlation with these heavy types of music, between the preferences of these types of music with behavioral problems. However, these behavioral problems are found to have begun before adolescents begin to listen to rap, rock, or heavy metal. Keshen suggests in her article, "At-risk youth are more inclined to prefer rap or heavy metal music." Rap is biased and the audience that does not associate with it ascribes a negative affect due to subconscious racism. In a study found by Keshen, subjects were to describe a lyrical passage associated with a genre of music. Subjects were given a violent lyrical passage and they were more inclined to rate it as dangerous or offensive if they believed it came from a rap song than if they were told that it originated from a country song. With these results, it shows how audiences unfairly malign rap music with negative effects.

Question forty in the research I conducted, asked the students if they feel the music they listen to stereotypes them, and the following

participant responded, “Yes, in a negative way because I listen to music that has profanity, drug and gangs in it, and people think I am just another ignorant black kid. But I prove them wrong by being intelligent” (Participant #19). Rap is increasingly denoted with themes of devaluing women, violence, and excessive use of profanity. Travis L. Dixon and TaKeshia Brooks from University of Michigan, analyzed rap music and the controversial themes that have psychological effects. They identified rap music arising in the 1970's, and it was not until 1980's where rap was immediately criticized for its “street” message and origins. Both scholars made two inferences on their observations. In their first observation, they claimed rap music as a form of cultural expression. In their second observation, they stated “understanding rap is rooted in understanding the cultural underpinnings of the music.” Their results on rap music concluded rap being primed, being highly associated with African Americans and violence, that exposure to violent rap themes automatically elicit aggressive thoughts in listeners. Rap music will continue to be a moving target, but both Dixon and Brooks point out the different subgroups that rap has, and how they should not all be “lumped” together negatively.

According to the results I gathered in this research, we will see how my research contributes to future research in social psychology of music and adolescents.

Methods

For this study I conducted a survey with forty one questions. Many of the questions were concerning the importance and role of music in the lives of adolescent minority students using a Likert 1-7 scale. As I investigated the positive effects and common factors of music listening, I chose a group of twenty students who are part of non-profit organization called the Community Partnership for Youth program that began in 1991, when a high school athlete from the community was killed in a proposed drug deal. Because of this incident, CPY was created to provide alternative to gangs, drugs and violence by conducting prevention programs for at-risk youth through a variety of academic and enrichment programs. The twenty students were chosen by age, ranging from 13 to 17 years old. I handed out consent forms for the parents of the students, since they are minors. I needed the parents' full consent for their child's participation in this study, as well as the minors' initials. The students

were informed that the survey would be anonymous. They were told to bring a pen or pencil to fill out the survey. The following week I was able to conduct the survey to the twenty students in a small classroom setting supervised by a site coordinator. The process of explaining the survey to the students and answering questions took ten minutes. The students sat at three large tables where they were handed the survey. Most completed the survey within twenty to thirty minutes after instruction. When they finished, they would individually hand me their survey and head out to continue with their organized activities regarding the program. The site coordinator was helpful and the surveys were completed.

I chose adolescents because they are well known to struggle with their needs for self-actualization and needs for social acceptance. Music is the most common form of finding and identifying themselves with other peers. Music serves as a “badge” where adolescents identify themselves by the types of music they listen to. I chose to focus on minority and at-risk youth because they are stereotyped by the music they listen to. Other stereotypes include their age, their ethnic background and their values. I will take into consideration all these variables in the survey as well as the effects music has on their moods and emotions.

Results

The results of the participants were broken into four main categories when comparing results to the entire group as a whole. The groups are evenly distributed into males, females, Mexican/Hispanic, and other. The group of “other” refers to students who are mixed, African American, and Asian or Islander. Therefore there were 9 males, 11 females, 12 Mexican American/Latinos, and 8 of the category “other” races. The breakdown of the Mexican American/Latinos compared to other races seemed significant to me for the fact that different cultures have different values. As for the races of the students used in my study, they are considered the minority in our society and most likely to be at-risk. I analyzed the surveys individually, and then I was able to compare the averages between all four groups.

Music Listening

In this research, students listen to their music mainly on an I-pod and cell phones. All groups averaged over two hours of music listening

per day. (Males: 106.7 min/day Females: 101.8 min/day Mex/His.: 103 min/day Other: 105 min/day). When comparing the male adolescents to the females, and the Mex./His. to others, does the time spent listening to music affect their grades? As one can see, the males in my study listened to music somewhat more often in a day when compared to the females, and according to the results in my research, males did have significant lower grade point average (2.97) than that of the females (3.04). There also was a significant difference in the amount of time listening to music when comparing Mex. American/Hispanic students to the group of other ethnicity when relating their grade point averages. (Mex.American/Hispanics: 2.70 GPA Other: 3.47 GPA). The reason for their large difference varies much on their values. The group of adolescents belonging to Mex./His. valued their family the least. When referring to North and Hargreaves, those adolescents that put the least value on family, will deviate from their parents and even family values. The male adolescents are the group with most time spent listening to music, as well as their ranking for the genre of rap was very high to that compared to the rest of the other groups. This was measured on a scale 1-11 on their preference of genre of music. The genres I included were Alternative Rock, Blues/Jazz, Classical, Country, Pop, Rap, Reggae, R&B/Soul, Rock, Folk, and Other. They were instructed to rank from, one being the most listened to, to eleven, hardly ever listen to the genre of music. All groups ranked Rap, Rock, and Pop music the highest (Ranking for Males: Rap 2.2, Pop 4.1 Rock 4.2 Females: Pop 4.1, Rock 4.5, Rap 5.5 Mex/His: Pop 4.1, Rap 4.5, Rock 4.6 Other: Rap 3.12, Rock 4, Pop 4).

These results are relevant to the research results found in Schwartz article about heavy music. The heavy music is used to associate with a negative identity. Schwartz found that the listeners of heavy music share the same characteristics as their listeners, through their music. The two characteristics include, the music is telling them they are not alone in this developmental task, and also (heavy music) gives them a refuge for validating their confusions about identity. The adolescents in this study are then categorized in the heavy music listening group.

The next set of questions involves the adolescents to rate statements of music listening from 1 not true to 7 very true. This includes the statements: I listen to music when I am alone, when I am with my friends, my family, I pay attention to the lyrics, and I listen to music when

I study. For all of these statements, all four groups of adolescents ranked higher than 5. The only significant differences include listening to music with their family (All groups average: 4.7). Also another result that was significant was listening to music when they study. Between females and males (Females: 5.7 Males: 5), there is also a noticeable difference between Mexican/Hispanics and Other (Mex/His: 5.8 Other: 4.8). Even though music is used more as a distraction, females still have a higher grade point average. Their choice in music can also be different than when they are with friends or in other situations. For further research, studies should look into music listening with academic performance. How students, particularly adolescent minorities, choose their music while studying and also how loud they listen to it. Studies have shown classical music to have a positive effect on academics, but they should look into how the music is listened to when it is not classical but other genres of music.

The students were also asked questions how often they listen to music in different situations. These situations were moods from bored, angry, sad, lonely, happy, excited and if they were in a relationship or liked someone. The Likert 1-7 scale was also used to rank their mood conditions using music. They would rank their mood to how much music they listen to, 1) was they never listen to music up to 7) they listen to music non-stop. All groups ranked an average of 6.1 on the Likert Scale for when they are bored, happy, and excited. There are significant differences when they are sad for Mex/His (6.1) compared to other races (4.9), but not so much for males (5.3) to females (5.8). For future research, cultural values and emotions should be further studied.

The following section asked how they value their culture, education, family, friends, music/media, money, material items, relationships, parties/events, sports/activities, and lastly how much they value their goals in ten years from now. I used the scale with 1) rating of not at all important, up to 7) extremely important. The ratings for their values maintained high (above a rating of 5) within all groups. The significant differences began in the cultural values. The average of all groups was a 5.4, but comparing males to females, females value much more their values than those of the males (Female: 6 Males: 4.7). Also there was a difference within the Mexican/Hispanic group (5.8) to that of the Other ethnicity group (4.9). What I found interesting were the results

for their education. The average rating of all groups was at a 6.1, and both the females and the other group rated education at a 6.3. The males and the group of Mexicans/Hispanics, rated education high as well, but fall short to that of the females and other (Mex/His: 5.9 Males: 5.9). The grade point averages were also lower for the male and Mexican/Hispanic group. When it comes to the adolescents' family, they value family the most (All: 6.6 Female: 6.7 Male: 6.3 Mex/His: 6.5 Other: 6.6). I believe their cultural values come into play for their family values. Also, I believe their family values affect and influence them to have an outlook according to their family and culture. Money was another factor that had a significant difference between Mexicans and Hispanics (Mex/His: 4.8 Other: 6.3). I find this interesting because it shows that money is not of much importance to the adolescent group of Mex/His. A question that should have followed their importance of money, should asks if they currently work or receive money. This is important because many adolescents are not able to work because of their age, therefore their worries do not depend so much on money. Parties and events also had significant differences between male (4.7) to female (5.6), as well as Mex/His (4.8) to Other (5.8). These results show males and Mexican/Hispanic adolescents not attending events or socializing as much as females and the Other groups. This observation is relevant to their grades. The adolescent who has a positive self-concept, and socializes, is more likely to do well in activities as well as academically. If they have a negative self-concept, they are more likely to not socialize for the reason they are not comfortable around others. This can be reflected from Abrams article where he describes subcultures (identifying oneself with small groups) provide an opportunity to define oneself in relation to others. If they are unable to socialize, they are unable to find themselves and have a poor self concept.

Music brings adolescents together, it is their badge and they identify themselves through music. If they are unable to relate to others through music, then they do not socialize with others because of their music preferences. Lastly, I asked how much they value their future goals and aspirations ten years from now, and all the groups together averaged a 6.3; Males: 5.9, Females: 6.6, Mex/His: 6, and other: 6.8. All ranked very high, but as you can see there was a big gap between that of the males to females and somewhat of a gap between the other two groups. All the

adolescents in this study show importance and high value to their future and education. I feel that students should be encouraged and talked to about their goals. Adolescents relate to their peers because of the music they listen to but also with this study, adolescents share other similar values.

Artists are very influential, if it is a style, an attitude, or simply their music, adolescents identify the kind of artists they listen to as well as compliment or disagree with an artist. One participant chose Michael Jackson as an influential artist because he believes Michael Jackson impacted our culture, and taught respect through his music. Another participant didn't specify any artists, but he believes artists have influencing lyrics about striving for what one believes in. One participant chose the group Owl City, and their song "Rainbow Veins". She describes this song as positive because it makes her feel better about anything that is going on. I looked up this song and the lyrics, and it is categorized as pop/indie music. The lyrics describe sadness and how one won't be alone because someone will be there to them up. It is a positive song and describes how if one is sad because they are alone, their heart lacks of color, so therefore, the rainbow above will be shot through ones' veins to bring happiness. Another participant chose the artist Pink, because she likes how Pink says and does what she wants to. This is an example of adolescents and freedom that an artist portrays through their music. Not many of the participants had one influential artist, but had several artists they admire. Artists should realize how much of an impact their music has on adolescents.

Lastly, I asked the adolescents if they feel they are stereotyped by the music they listen to, and if they feel it is positive or negative. Many had mixed feelings about music stereotyping them as individuals. Those who chose music to stereotype them positive, was adolescents that listen to music that inspires them to not give up. They mention music that gives positive feedback as well as religious music. One student chose to talk about the music he listens to not being negative. He listens to Spanish music and is able to dance to the music. What is interesting about his point of view on music and stereotypes, he believes that rap is more of a stereotypical genre where people "bob" their head to the music instead of dancing. Some students recognize music and their effects it has on other peers. As another student points out, "it is negative because if you listen to

a nasty song, you most likely wear tight clothing.” Adolescents listen to music and also realize why certain peers act or dress the way they do. In addition to the other participants, a female participant points out music showing others who you are and what you like, but also she mentions, “people think you like a certain kind of music and you are what the music says, but sometimes you might like to listen to that music because you enjoy it.” The last question that was brought to the students’ attention was, “Do they feel they have control of the music they listen to?” All students agreed that they have complete control of what they listen to. Their parents might disagree with the lyrics, or other peers do not agree with the artists others listen to, but it does not matter because they will listen to what they want to. Many have control and feelings of independence when they establish their liking for a certain genre.

Conclusion

Adolescents are stereotyped by the genre of music they listen to. Within their peer groups, music is their badge and they identify themselves by the music they listen to. According to the participants in my study, they average to choose rap, rock, and pop music. They listen mostly to this kind of music that is considered heavy music. Heavy music is associated with violence, destructive behavior, and other negative issues. Youth at-risk are highly exposed to heavy music as they identify themselves with the lyrics, the artist, and the music tempo as well. It has been researched that adolescents who listen to heavy music, had problems before they gravitated to heavy music such as rap, rock, and pop music. These kinds of genres have not only been seen as negative but also carry the stereotype of negative influences. The participants in my study identify the music they listen to, as negative and positive. They realize certain effects caused by artists and their music, for example tight clothing, profanity use, and other stereotypes music has according to ones ethnicity. One has to understand students relate to certain music, not because it has profanity, but the expression through music of hard times and struggles. Adolescents struggle in many ways to establish their own identity, and music is one of the subcultures that can be used to learn about themselves.

Future Research

For the purposes of social psychology, further research should be conducted taking into consideration adolescents' socioeconomic status. If I conducted this research using their S.E.S I would be able to find out what kind of neighborhoods or people they identify with. It would be interesting to find out their cultural backgrounds in depth and find out if their cultural values are associated with their academic performance. If there was more time to conduct this study, it would have been interesting to have a follow up survey for the parents and their expectations on their sons or daughters moods, values, and how they feel about their adolescents' music choice. If I were to gather more data, especially with those from outside their environment, I would be able to identify more factors that affect adolescents and their choice in music genres.

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**Abaynesh (Abby)
Berhane**

Major:
Psychology and Child and
Adolescent Development

Mentor:
Dr. Neelam Rattan

Bullying and the
Contributing Factors

Biography

Abaynesh (Abby) Berhane is a Senior majoring in Psychology and Child and Adolescent Development. Currently, she is working with the preschoolers at the Child Development Center at San Jose State and as a suicide and crisis counselor at Valley Medical Hospital. Her passion has always been to research the lives and psychological well-being of children and adolescents. She plans to receive her Ph.D. in Clinical Psychology and pursue her masters in Child and Adolescent Development. She would like to thank all those who participated in this research. Dr. Rattan, you will never know how much you made this possible and changed my future forever. Nisha, you have always helped me pursue challenges until I succeed and I always succeed when you are beside me. Jeannine, without you, this research would not have been possible, I owe you everything. Thank you to my family, friends and McNair cohorts, and San Jose State University for all you support throughout my past, present, and future. I love you all.

Psychology and Child and Adolescent Development

Abstract

Bullying is known to affect an individual's school performance (, Monsen, & Rivers, 2004; Twemlow, Fonagy, & Sacco, 2001), ones physical condition (Gini, 2008); psychologically (Klomek, Marrocco, Kleinman, Schonfeld, & Gould, 2007) among other parts of the individual. The purpose of this study was to review different literature on the contributing factors of bullying. The target group for this study was students grades three through ten. The factors investigated included age, gender, ethnicity and personality. The conclusion explains the findings along with the newest form of bullying: internet bully.

Introduction

Bullying is a subset of more general aggression, distinguished by an intent to harm, the repetitive nature of the acts, and the power imbalance between bully and prey (Batsche, 2002; Nicolaidis, Toda, & Smith, 2002; Parada, Marsh, & Craven, 2003; Sampson, 2002; Smith, Cowie, Olafsson, & Liefoghe, 2002). Likewise, Olweus (1991, 1993) presented strong evidence to support his argument that all of the following acts can meet the criteria for bullying—threatening, taunting, teasing, name-calling, making faces and dirty gestures, intentionally excluding someone from a group, and refusing to comply with another person's wishes as cited by Boulton, Trueman, & Flemington (2002). Categories of bullying include, overt (which can be physical or verbal) and indirect or relational. Physical bullying is the most obvious and gains the most attention, particularly given the heightened concern about violence. Verbal bullying refers to the practice of name calling and teasing as well as verbal threats. Less attention has been directed to relational bullying, perhaps because it is erroneously perceived as less harmful or because it may be discounted as normative female behavior (Harachi, Catalano, & Hawkins, 1999). Relational bullying is defined as a type of aggressive behavior defined as spreading rumors or excluding an individual from a social environment. A victim is an individual who is being picked on based on their physical or emotional attributes, social status, or gender among other characteristics. A bully/victim is a victim of an aggressive individual and then therefore bullies others who are inferior to them.

Moreover, there are short term and long-term effects of bullying in school-aged children. A few short term effects are feelings of sadness, isolation, and low self-esteem. Some long term-effects of bullying are diminished social skills and psychological well-being; behavioral, emotional, and social problems; and negative outcomes in school achievement. Bullying is important to study because of the long-term effects that bullying brings upon those school-aged children.

In addition, Concerned about victim's psychological well-being, Gini (2008) found bullying to be an interesting issue due to the high frequency of psychological issues it may cause victim(s). Following a study which consisted of 565-third, fourth, and fifth graders, findings proved that students who bullied were at a higher risk of hyperactivity. It was also found that victims can experience short or long-term effects of social anxiety due to being bullied. In addition, Gini discovered that children who reported being victims of bullying had sleep problems, were frequently tired, had feelings of dizziness, and were always tense. This is a significant issue because sleep disturbances and frequent feelings of being tired are signs of depression. Other researchers support the notion that individuals may develop depression or commit suicide due to frequent exposure to bullying (Klomek, Marrocco, Kleinman, Schonfeld, & Gould, 2007). They also discovered that there are gender differences in victims at risk for suicide. Klomek et al., also revealed that boys who bullied were not at risk for suicide, but boys who were victims were at risk. On the other hand both girls who bullied and those who were victims of bullying were both at risk for suicide.

School bullying pessimistically impacts educational environments making students feel more fear, depression, and physical complaints which affect students' attendance, attention, and academic performance (Reid, Monsen, & Rivers, 2004; Twemlow, Fonagy, & Sacco, 2001). Likewise, Rigby, (1999) found that children who are bullied are more likely to report physical ill health, experience low self-esteem (some become significantly depressed), have few friends and tend to avoid school on a regular basis. Ma, Phelps, Lerner, and Lerner (2009) exposed that bullying affects a child's school performance and academic competence. They established that children who bullied had a low-school performance and perceived a negative outcome in their academic competence. In addition, those who were victims of being bullied also

perceived a negative outcome in their academic performance. Bullying in school-going children is an important issue because it is common in our society for children to be victims of aggressive behavior or to express aggressive behavior onto others.

In the following paper, we will attempt to present a literature review on factors such as gender, age, ethnicity, and personality that affect the bully and victims. Also, different coping strategies will be presented.

Factors contributing to bullying

Gender: Bullying/Victims

It is commonly said that gender is a contributing factor to the behavior of bullying. It has been thought that being male or female can contribute to whether or not you will become a bully. Gini (2008) conducted a study in Italy on a total of 565-third, fourth and fifth grade students to measure the effects of bullying on their emotions and behavioral well-being; she discovered a gender difference. Gini (2008) discovered that, compared to girls, boys were twice as likely to be labeled as a bully. In another study conducted Chapell, Hasselman, Kitchin, Lomon, MacIver, and Sarullo (2006), there were no significant gender differences when studying bullying in different ages. Nevertheless, they did find that male students in elementary school and high school participated in more bullying behavior when compared to female students in their age group (Chapell et al, 2006).

Most research studies observed that boys bully more than girls, however, the following researchers observed the contrary. Wang, Iannotti, and Nansel (2009) observed the bullying behavior of a total of 7,508 participants who were in grades six to tenth. Wang et al., collected their data based on self-reports and questions based on the Olweus Bully/Victim questionnaire which was presented to the adolescents in order to measure physical, verbal, and relational forms of bullying. They discovered that in the past two months, 20.8% of the adolescents were involved in physical bullying, while 53.6% were involved in verbal bullying, and 51.4% were involved in relational bullying. Wang et al., also revealed that name calling and spreading rumors were the two most common type of bullying found in that age group. According to Wang et al., when it came to bullying, gender differences have been observed between boys and girls. They noticed that boy and girl bullies both

peaked in middle school, but girls tended to reduce the amount of bullying after middle school. They also noticed that boys tended to be involved in direct bullying, while girls took part in indirect bullying. They discovered that boys are more likely to be involved in physical and verbal bullying, while girls are more likely to be involved in relational bullying.

Lee (2009) conducted a study on 338 fifth-grade students, which included 164 boys and 174 girls. Lee proposed a questionnaire that measured the student's physical, verbal, and relational aggression. Then the students were presented with the definition of bullying and were expected to nominate three of their peers who they perceived as bullies. Lee discovered that there were no significant gender differences when it came to being a bully. Boys do not bully more than girls. Although, Lee found that there was a significant gender difference in their style of bullying and expressing their aggression. It seems that boys express their aggression through physical acts like kicking and pushing, while girls expressed their aggression through relational acts like spreading rumors. Relational aggression is more of a threat to girls than physical aggression because this can terminate their social role at school, which is very important to school-aged girls. Physical aggression is more of a threat to boys because this can determine how masculine they are perceived by their peers. Lee also exposed that there was a gender difference in peer-acceptance when committing an aggressive behavior. Boys were more likely to be disliked by their peers for being a bully than girls. In conclusion, Lee added that boys and girls are both prone to becoming a bully, but they will develop different styles of bullying. Boys are perceived as being bullies more than girls because boys are more likely to express physical and verbal bullying which are the forms of bullying that are often reported and exposed in the media.

Being a victim of a bully is also an important issue because it can cause an individual to develop psychological, behavioral, social, and emotional problems due to ridicule and victimization. Victimization is defined as being oppressed and ill-treated by a peer hierarchy. Berger and Rodkin (2009) performed a research study on 508-fourth and fifth grade children, 275 were boys and 233 were girls. These researchers attempted to determine if there was a gender difference in being a victim of a male bully. Berger and Rodkin's study was based on peer nominations of who the children thought fit the 14-item characteristics of being a bully.

Berger and Rodkin (2009) discovered that social status and gender played a role when determining whom of their peers best fit the description of a bully. Girls with a high social status were recognized by their peers to be victims of male bullies, but the girls themselves did not believe themselves to be victims; boys with a low social status were recognized by their peers to be victims of other male bullies; and girls were generally more recognized as a victim than boys as noted by Berger and Rodkin. It is normal in a middle school environment for boys to pick on girls because this is their way of showing affection. Also, it was revealed that boys harassed popular girls because they were interested in them and harassed unpopular girls because they were not interested in them and ridiculed them due to their social status. In addition, age also plays a role in bullying.

Age: Bully/Victim

An individual's age can play a part in determining whether or not an individual will carry out bullying behaviors. A common phrase is, "once a bully, always a bully." Although, this is not necessarily always true, some researchers found evidence to support and contradict this idea. Chapell, Hasselman, Kitchin, Lomon, MacIver, and Sarullo (2006) found it to be true in some individuals who were involved in a retrospective study examining bullying behavior patterns in elementary School, high school, and college

Chapell, Hasselman, Kitchin, Lomon, MacIver, and Sarullo (2006) performed a study on 119 undergraduate participants with a 32-item self-report questionnaire to measure present and past bullying behavior. Chapell et al, (2006) discovered that throughout the years, bullying behavior decreases; there is more bullying in elementary school compared to high school, and more bullying in high school compared to college. In support of this, Wang, et al (2009) found out in their study that there were no grade differences in forms of bullying between sixth, seventh and eighth grade students. However, Wang et al. discovered that seventh and eighth grade students were less likely to be victims of bullying. In addition, compared to sixth graders, ninth and tenth grade students were less likely to display physical, verbal, and relational bullying onto others as Wang et al. exposed. In another study conducted by Seals and Young (2003), they learned that seventh graders were significantly more involved

in bullying than eighth graders, but they did not find a significant difference in the prevalence of the different forms of bullying within the two groups. Furthermore, O'Brennan (2008) believed that high school students tend to internalize their problems when compared to elementary and middle school students who tend to express their aggression. This could be a possible explanation to why bullying behavior reduces with age.

Chapell et al, (2009) concluded that if an individual bullied others in elementary school, then that individual will continue to bully in high school and in college; the same ideas are applied to those who were bullied and those who were bully/victims. Bullies, victims, and bully/victims remain the same status regardless of age.

Ethnicity: Bully/Victims

Another possible contributing factor of bullying behavior and one that can help determine if individuals are more likely to be involved with bullying is a person's Ethnicity. There are not many studies analyzing the connection between. Although, Seals and Young (2003) decided to further investigate the relationship between ethnicity and bullying.

Seals and Young (2003) performed a study on a total of 1,126 participants who were in seventh and eighth grade to investigate the prevalence of bullying and victimization. Yet, for this particular study, we will only focus on the relationship between ethnicity and bullying; Seals and Young compared African-Americans and Caucasians. They collected their data by using the Peer-Relations Questionnaire, the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale, and the Children's Depression Inventory. The Peer-Relations Questionnaire analyzed the frequency of bullying activities (Seals & Young, 2003). Seals and Young discovered that there was no significant difference found between African-American bullies and Caucasian bullies, although, they did find a difference between the two groups. African-Americans were more likely to be the bully, victims and bully/victim when compared to Caucasians as exposed by Seal and Young. In addition, Seals and Young revealed that African-Americans participated in more bullying behavior than Caucasians. Such bullying behaviors are; physical, threats of harm, name-calling, mean-teasing, and exclusion. However, Seals and Young did not find a significant difference in bullying behavior and ethnicity.

In support of Seals and Young's (2003), Wang et al. (2009) also measured the relationship between ethnicity and bullying. Wang et al. compared the relationship between African-American, Caucasians, and Hispanic bullies. Wang et al. found in their study that African-Americans were less likely to be a victim and more likely to be the perpetrator when compared to Caucasians. Wang et al. also measured Hispanics relationship with bullying and discovered that Hispanics are more likely to be physical bullies than Caucasians. Other ethnicities that were involved in the Wang et al. study were less likely to be relational bullies or verbal bully/victims when compared to Caucasians.

Personality

The type of personality an individual acquires can contribute to the act of bullying. Aggression and socialization are two types of personality factors that can contribute to bullying behavior. Aggression is defined as feelings of hostility with intention to harm. Socialization is defined as learning norms, values, and behaviors in order to create a social identity. These personality factors can be developed biologically or environmentally. Individuals are labeled as bullies because they exert an aggressive behavior. Individuals can become bullies because of their social surroundings.

O'Brennan (2008) discovered that those who externalize their anger are usually perceived as bullies. Furthermore, O'Brennan found out those who were labeled as bullies were perceived to be popular because they have "power" due to their skill in manipulation, even though they lacked social skills. In Lee's (2009) study, she discovered that aggressive kids were perceived as popular even if they were disliked by their peers.

It has been discovered by Wang et al. (2009) that the more social an individual is the more likely he or she will behave in bully-like activities rather than be a victim of a bully. This is due to social support from the individual's peers and surroundings. Individuals with social support are more likely to tease and ridicule an individual who is perceived as a "loner." O'Brennan (2008) stated that in middle school, bullies and bully/victims see peer relationships and friendships as very important factors to socialization. In high school, victims and bully/victims see peer relationships and friendships as less important as O'Brennan discovered.

Coping Strategies

Coping strategies are psychological mechanisms that help deal with difficult issues and stress. Coping strategies can help alleviate pain and suffering from experiences of bullying. The impact of bullying may be very hard on an individual, and in some cases, they may need to develop coping strategies to deal with the problem. Also, support from families and teachers can help prevent and correct bullying behaviors.

Grennan and Woodhams (2007) stated that there are two common forms of coping styles which are problem-focused and emotional-focused coping. Problem-focused coping style is described as using cognitive and behavioral approaches in order to solve the problem that is causing distress to one's life as discussed by Grennan and Woodhams. They also stated that emotional and avoidance coping styles are best used when dealing with depression, anxiety, and stress caused by bullying.

Kanetsuna, Smith, and Morita (2006) suggested that when an individual is being bullied, the best way to cope and deal with the issues is to seek help and do something about it. It is believed that the best outcome comes from those who take action. If an individual who is constantly bullied does not take an action to make it stop, then that individual will continue to be a victim of a bully. It could be as simple as avoiding the situation, seeking social support, and making new friends.

Conclusion

Society has created a new advancement in technology over the years. Thus, new technology has created a new form of bullying: Cyber bullying. Cyber bullying is a form of aggressive behavior through the use of the internet. Cyber bullying is characterized as verbal humiliation, destructive messages, gossip, slander, and other virtual taunts communicated through e-mail, instant messaging, pagers, chat rooms, and blogs (Willard, 2006). In the article written by Katzer, Fetchenhauer, and Belschak (2009), they mentioned that 34% of chatters in the internet chat room have been victims of cyber bullying. Cyber bullying contains forms of verbal and psychological bullying. Some examples of this type of bullying could be blackmailing, teasing, and harassment. Katzer et al. stated that cyber bullying gives a chance for bullies and bully/victims to create an anonymous identity in order to ridicule and tease others. Teens

today can utilize networking agents like Facebook and MySpace, with the intention of using it as a form of cyber bullying. A bully may pose a spiteful comment on their victim's page in order to slander their victim's name.

Physical, verbal, relational, and cyber bullying are forms of aggressive behavior that an individual can express onto a weaker victim. Such factors can contribute to bullying behaviors: Gender, age, ethnicity, and personality. In order to prevent such aggressive behavior, society must educate children about the short-term and long-term effects bullying can construct. Also, teaching useful coping strategies can help an individual manage their psychological well-being when being bullied. Lastly, being supportive can help bullies, victims, and bully/victims prevent future acts of aggressive behavior. Since bullying does pose a serious threat to students, intervention programs are very important. Hunt (2007) investigated the effect of educational anti-bullying intervention in Australian high schools. The data indicated that short-term educational programs have miniature impact on bullying behaviors. Similarly, Baldry and Farrington, (2004) investigated the impact of educational programs on bullying in Italian schools and reported that the program positively impacted older students more than younger students.

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Leonna Davis-Ross

Major:
Psychology

Mentor:
Dr. Linda Mitchell

A Literature Review on
Resolutions Recommended
to Increase Retention of
African American Males in
Four-Year Universities

Biography

Leonna Davis-Ross is a Senior majoring in Psychology with a minor in Sociology. She is currently a Peer Advisor for Science 90T: Success as a Transfer Student. She is responsible for helping transfer students transition smoothly into San Jose State University and also works with students on academic probation. Her research focused on reviewing literature proposed by scholars regarding solutions on increasing the retention of African American males attending four-year universities. Outside of her research interest, Leonna loves to spend time with friends and family, dance, read books, and learning. Her future goals include obtaining a PhD in either, Education or Counseling Psychology. Leonna is passionate about motivating young African American women from inner city communities to be successful. She hopes to one day run a non-profit organization doing just that. Leonna is also interested in opening a charter school, and teaching at the university level.

***A Literature Review on Resolutions Recommended to
Increase Retention of African
American Males in Four-Year Universities***

ABSTRACT

This literature review evaluates resolutions recommended for increasing the retention of African American males in four-year universities. When African American males enter college they are frequently faced with a number of disadvantages. They often experience adjustment problems with the curriculum, lack of support services, financial problems, and lack of interpersonal relationships with faculty, peers, and staff. It is well known by scholars that African American males are not graduating in the numbers they should be-compared to their female counterparts. Many African males come from backgrounds where they receive inadequate K-12 schooling, which often places them behind their female and other student counterparts when entering college. The undergraduate campus imbalance between African American men and African American women appear at predominantly White institutions and community colleges as prominently as it does on historically Black campuses. Once in college, African American males have little knowledge about how the university operates. The pressure from college can often be both discouraging and overwhelming for some African American males to handle, which can lead to a decrease in academic performance and eventually to withdrawal from the institution. This literature review discusses factors such as mentorship, sense of belonging, pre-college programs, and positive classroom experiences. All of which are reappearing themes in scholarly literature which discuss tools to increase the retention of African American males in college.

Introduction

When African American males enter college they are often faced with a number of disadvantages. They often experience adjustment problems with the curriculum, lack of support services, financial problems, lack of interpersonal relationships with faculty, peers, and staff (Walpole, 2008; LaVant *et al.*, 1997; Hall & Rowan, 2001). Many African males come from backgrounds where they receive inadequate K-

12 schooling, which often places them behind their female and other student counterparts when entering college (Walpole, 2003; Young & Johnson, 2004; Harris, 1996). Once in college African American males have little knowledge about how the university operates, and often there are minimal resources on campus geared to directly assist them (Hall & Rowan, 2001). Many African American males at traditional four year institutions fail to connect and establish relationships with faculty members, yet faculty fail to reach out and get to know them (Kobrak, 1992; Bobb, 2006; Sherman & Williams-Green, 1994). In addition, being the minority on a traditional college campus can cause African American students to feel inferior in and outside the classroom. These feelings of inferiority can often lead to students experiencing a phenomenon known as stereotype threat, which hinders academic performance.

Also, African American males are not entering college at the same rate as their female counterparts. Compared to African American female students, African American males have a lower retention rate (Credle & Dean, 1991; Dunn, 1998). The discrepancy in attendance between African American men and African American women show up predominantly in White institutions and community colleges as prominently as it does on historically Black campuses (Roach, 2001). The retention rates for African American males lag behind not only their female counterparts, but also all of their academic counterparts. African American males enter college at a disadvantage that often the institution does not fully understand and are not equipped to handle (Herndon & Hirt, 2004; Hall & Rowan, 2001). For many African American males the pressure of college becomes overwhelming, and many often get discouraged and eventually disconnect with school and drop out. Numerous scholars have tried to find solutions to help revive the retention of African American men in college. In this literature review I explore the reappearing themes that scholars have agreed have worked to increase the retention of African American males in college. Factors such as mentorship, sense of belonging, pre-college programs, and positive classroom experiences, all of which seem to work.

Theories on Increasing Retention

Hall and Rowan (2001) carried out a study that looked at African American male college students and their experiences in college as well as

their opinions about issues they faced. Focus groups were conducted, and included 8 to 12 African American men per group. The participants were asked six questions, with the sixth question being thrown out because it was only used to provoke discussion. The remaining five questions asked why the men came to college, what special issues African American men faced in college, what problems the men encountered regarding staying in college, what aspects could improve African American male retention, and what institutions could do to increase African American male attendance (Hall & Rowan, 2001).

The results revealed that the majority of the participants believed race was a special issue faced by African American men in college. Furthermore, the campus environment contributed to their troubles with staying in college. The majority of the participants agreed that having a diverse college campus along with mentoring would attract more African American men to go to college. As expressed by the participants, numerous institutions have done little to recruit African American men or even make the ones in college feel welcomed. Hall and Rowan's findings indicate that by having a diverse campus environment, mentoring, and increased recruitment efforts can help turn around the retention of African American men.

Another line of research supports that faculty involvement is a key factor in the retention of minority students. LaVaunt, Anderson, and Tiggs (1997) reviewed a variety of mentoring programs that were created by various four-year institutions, and were aimed at increasing African American male retention in college. LaVaunt et al. identified several successful programs that various institutions had implemented on their campuses. However, the University of Louisville was the only program reviewed in depth. The University of Louisville created a faculty-mentoring program designed to assist African American students in their academic endeavors. The program was created on the campus in response to the continuous dropouts of African American students only after their first year. The program placed a large emphasis on African American men, because they often declined more than their female counterparts (LaVaunt et al., 1997; Whiting, 2005; Dunn, 1988). The University believed that campus climate had a lot to do with the issue of retention regarding African American males. Most of the African American students at their institution came from low SES communities where they

were accustomed to being the majority; however, once they entered college they became the minority. Being the minority often caused the African American students to feel alienated and disconnected, which often led to dropping out of college (LaVaunt et al., 1997).

The program involved matching incoming African American students with faculty members based on students' majors. All mentors were trained extensively and prepared for the role. Once matched with students, mentors were responsible for encouraging, advising, having frequent face-to-face contact, and providing a nurturing environment for their mentee. In 1992 the program had a total of 29 African American men. The men in the program were tracked for nine academic semesters. The results revealed that two-thirds of the African American men who entered the program in 1992, had graduated from the university by the fall of 1996. The outcome of the program displayed when African American men were paired with mentors and formed great connections they successfully competed with their White counterparts (LaVaunt et al., 1997).

LaVaunt and colleagues concur that in order to have successful mentoring programs, they must consist of a committee to identify which African American males qualified for the program, have the financial support, have administrators who support the program, have community and outside support, have mentors who genuinely want to help African American males, have proper training for mentors within the program, and have continuous unbiased evaluation of the program's effectiveness. Mentoring programs appear to be necessary in providing support needed for African American men to be successful in higher education (LaVaunt et al., 1997). Having mentors and others who invest their time in African American men will encourage these men to believe that they belong in college and can be successful (LaVaunt et al., 1997). Among all the programs the researchers evaluated, mentoring was a vital element in reducing dropouts. These programs are focused on building relationships, improving self-esteem, increasing leadership skills, and improving academic achievement. However, there are some programs that are not successful and do not get a chance to meet their full potential. Thus, funding hinders institutions from creating mentoring programs exclusively for African American males (LaVaunt *et al.*, 1997). However, the majority

of the mentoring programs created appear to be successful in aiding the problem of retention faced by African American men.

Another line of research provides examples of African American male college graduates, who testify that having a mentor, having financial support, realizing the importance of education, and being resilient during adversity got them through college. Warde (2007) highlighted the stories of eleven successful African American men who had Baccalaureate degrees and were enrolled in graduate programs. These men comprised of all socioeconomic levels and traditional and non-traditional age groups. In sharing these African American men stories Warde (2007) hoped it would provide an insight on how to create programs to aid and support future African American male college students. The participants were selected on a criteria met basis at a public institution in New York City that comprised primarily of minority students. There were a total of 11 African American men who participated in the study. Most of the participants had a low to moderate income, with one participant having a higher income. Two focus groups were established: one with six participants and the other with five. Each focus group was recorded and held for approximately two hours. One question was asked in order to provoke discussion, which was "What key events and/or experiences contributed to your successful completion of a baccalaureate degree?" Each discussion recording was transcribed into a typed protocol and significant statements were highlighted, paraphrased, assigned a theme, and then evaluated by sociology and psychology professors (Warde, 2007). Through the analysis of the focus group discussions, four major themes were revealed. The participants had an epiphany about the importance of attending college, having the financial support to attend college, having diversity on their campus, and having a mentor. However, having a genuine mentor was seen as a key factor that helped the men stay motivated to get through college. Once again, having a mentor as support along with other factors appears to play a vital role in the retention of African American males.

Research not only supports having connections with faculty as an important factor, but it also reveals that campus environment is an important aspect of retaining African American males. Campus environment is described as whether students feel like they belong in college, and if the environment is a representation of them. Johnson et al.

(2007) conducted a study that examined the experience of minority students, who attended predominately White institutions, and their feelings on finding a sense of belongingness. Their results yield that African Americans were least likely to experience positive perceptions of the campus racial environment. Because of a lack of diversity on their campus it caused a negative impact on minority students sense of belonging.

Campus involvement has also been linked to feelings of belongingness. According to the ASHE Higher Education Report (2007) higher levels of involvement within a campus community (student involvement, and academic involvement) including living on campus, has been shown to lead to greater intellectual and social engagement among students. These factors are imperative in the retention of students who come from economically and educationally challenged backgrounds. Tinto's (1993) model of persistence and educational attainment shows an increase in belongingness when students are successfully integrated within the campus community. This leads to students experiencing a stronger sense of commitment to the university, which promotes higher retention in minority students (Tinto, 1993).

Moreover, further research has looked at the effects of students' sense of feeling comfortable amongst the institution. Dr. Michael J. Cuyjet, an associate professor at the University of Louisville is the author of the book titled "Helping African American Men Succeed in College". He believes that in order to increase the retention of African American men in college, universities must focus on making African American men feel comfortable seeking academic assistance. From reviewing literature on Black men's experiences in college, it is known that African American males are less likely to seek assistance for help compared to their female counterparts (Roach, 2001; Credle & Dean, 1991; Walpole, 2008). If African American males feel comfortable with receiving help, they are less likely to struggle in situations where assistance is available. Feeling comfortable with seeking assistance can increase African Americans grades.

Walton and Cohen (2007) conducted two experiments looking at the sense of belonging in regards to academic achievement and motivation in college. In experiment one, researchers manipulated African American and White students to believe that they had fewer friends in their major of

study. The results revealed that African American students sense of belonging and motivation significantly decreased when they believed they had fewer friends within their major-White students were unaffected. The experiment provoked African American students to question whether they belonged in college, and to further question did their peers belong as well. The results yield that it is important for African American students to have a sense of belonging within the institution, because not identifying and feeling like a part of the institution can negatively affect their academics. Because there are fewer African Americans attending traditional four-year institutions, and by far less African American men, having a sense of belonging is especially imperative to African American males' success and retention.

Parallel to African American students needing a sense of belonging, various universities have created programs on their campuses that serve as support systems for minority, first generation, and economically disadvantaged college students. These programs consist of: EOP (Education Opportunity Program), Upward Bound, Talent Search, Student Support Services, and the Ronald E. McNair Postbaccalaureate Achievement Program (Bergerson & Aldous, 2009). These programs were created to help assist minority college students. Programs such as EOP provide college prep courses, supportive advisors and staff, a student community cohort, and financial support. EOP is designed to assist minority students who are first generation, and low income. This program and others like EOP provide African American students with a sense of community, and belongingness. Students in EOP spend a portion of their summer forming bonds with advisors and peers, while at the same time completing a few courses (Bergerson & Aldous, 2009). By being a part of a cohort environment like the one EOP provides it gives students hope, because it allows them to know they are not alone in their situation. Once the program ends and the students start school, they already recognize familiar faces, which contribute to their positive experiences in college. Minority students who participate in these programs are often able to integrate into the universities smoothly and do well academically.

Diversity on a college campus and sense of belonging contribute to increasing retention of African American males. However, the environment within the classroom can often have an effect on their academic performance. Steele and Aronson (1995) demonstrated in

several experiments that African American college students performed increasingly poorer on standardized test when their ethnicity was emphasized compared to White students. Steele and Aronson attributed this effect to what is known as stereotype threat, which is the fear of confirming a negative stereotype about ones ethnic group. Stereotype threat is suggested to be a contributing factor in explaining why some African Americans fail to do well in college (Aronson, Fried, & Good, 2002). When African American students are aware that they are being tested on their academic ability the effects of stereotype threat is often triggered. African American students feel a sense of anxiety in fear of not confirming to the negative stereotype about their group intellectual abilities. Stereotype threat has also been shown to affect African American students across all academic subjects. In addition to African American students dealing with stereotype threat, many often encounter a phenomenon called spotlight anxiety. According to findings from Osborne and Walker (2006), spotlight anxiety can occur in academic settings. It occurs when a student is the only one of their race, in their class, and they feel that they have to be a representation of their entire group. The effects of spotlight anxiety and stereotype threat can often lead African American students to feel academically inadequate, and feel like they do not belong in college (Steele & Aronson, 1995).

Steele (1999) proposed that in order to stop feelings of stereotype threat some African American students stop identifying with school. This often leads to having lower expectations for school and in result receiving lower grades. If African American students no longer identify with school, they may turn to other sources to identify with, which eventually can lead to failure and dropping out of school (Osborne & Walker, 2006). Stereotype threat is relevant to African American males, because they are highly aware of the stereotypes about their motivation and intellectual abilities (Steele, 1999; Aronson *et al.*, 2002; Cohen & Sherman, 2005). By having this awareness or unconsciously knowing these stereotypes can heighten the effects of stereotype threat. Steele (1999) suggests that experiencing stereotype threat in academic environments could send messages to African American students initiating that they do not belong in college, or any other environment where intellectual ability is tested. Steele and colleague found that when they tested African Americans and White students, with matched academic ability levels, on intellectual

ability African Americans performed poorly in comparison to White students. To validate his theory, Steele et al. administered the same test to another group of African American and White students, under different conditions. Before starting the test, the students were told that the test did not test their academic ability. The results showed that African American did as well as Whites. The study shows that when African American students are not told their academic ability is being tested, the effects of the stereotype of being academically inferior do not have an effect.

In response to stereotype threat, Aronson, Fried, and Good (2001) challenged the theory by conducting a study that focused on reducing the effects. The goal of the study was for African American college students to have increased positive thoughts about their intelligence, which would reduce the effects of stereotype threat. In the study there was a mix of male and female, which were African American and White Stanford college students. The study consisted of a total of 79 students, 42 African American and 37 White. The participants were randomly assigned to 1 of 6 conditions. The 2 x 3 design that was used for the study was created by crossing race, African American or White, with different intervention treatments. One group participated in a pen pal program that incorporated “attitude change techniques” on intelligence. These techniques were supposed to help students believe that intelligence was expandable. Another group also participated in a pen pal program, but under a different intelligence orientation. The last group did not participate in a pen pal program at all. The attitudes and the achievements from group one were compared to the other two groups. Participants in the pen pal groups wrote to middle school students who were going through academic adversity. The two pen pal groups came into the laboratory a total of three times to write letters to the students. The theory hypothesized that the way the groups were instructed to view intelligence would reflect on how each group responded to the middle school students, and how each groups own beliefs on intelligence would change by writing the letters.

Findings from the study indicate a positive and enduring change in the views of intelligence for African Americans in group one. This group also reported valuing and enjoying their academics more, which also reflected better grades. Furthermore, White students in group one also reported similar effects but not to the degree of African Americans. The researchers suggest it was due to African Americans increasing belief that

intelligence could be improved, whereas White students attitudes did not reflect this. Aronson et al. concluded that even though the positive effects happened to the African American participants, they still lagged behind the White students. Aaronson et al. suggest that having an intervention that combines theories of intelligence, along with a program Steele created, would produce a stronger outcome on retention. Steele et al. designed an intervention program that successfully raised the grades (by four tenths) of African American students attending the University of Michigan. The intervention program consisted of having weekly study groups, and mastery workshops. The program had a great impact on changing African American feelings about how their peers viewed them as intellectually incompetent. When the students no longer felt inferior, they experienced feeling judged less by their White counterparts (Aronson et al., 2001; Fries-Britt, 1997; Bobb, 2006)). By combing both the intervention program by Aronson et al. and Steele et al., the intervention could have a stronger effect on the retention of African American students. These interventions can especially be vital to the persistence and retention of African American male students, especially within predominately White institutions.

Conclusion and Suggestions

The retention of African American males in higher education is a complex matter to solve for both institutions and scholars. There have been many solutions proposed and proven to work. It is clear that large portions of African American males enter college and are not academically up to par with their student counterparts. This often places them at further disadvantage regarding academic achievement. African American males would benefit from participating in pre-college programs such as EOP and Upward Bound. These programs would give African American men an introduction as to what to expect in college, and it would also allow them to make essential bonds with peers they relate to. Once entering college it is important that African American males continue to feel a part of the institution and make further connections. Being a part of a mentorship program would be the greatest benefit to African American males. However, if those programs were not developed on their campuses, just having a mentor in general would be just as beneficial. It is important that faculty be aware of stereotype threat and how it can affect the academic performance of their African American

students, especially African American males. It is vital for faculty to not impose their biases on African American male students, and give those students the opportunity to prove themselves. If the African males feel that no one believes in their ability, it will be a challenge for them to believe as well.

The literature review presents how successful mentoring programs could be. Further, the literature provided testimonies from African American men about their experiences in college and what institutions could do to help future men. Future research could examine the stories of African American men who did not continue their degree. More longitudinal studies could be done focusing on the effects of reducing stereotype threat, as well as the effects of mentoring programs. Future research could look at how African American men who attend college view themselves now that there is an African American president, compared to the views of African American males who are in high school. The problem of retention regarding African American men is reversible; however, it will take a lot of dedication from institutions as well African American men. Finding solutions to aid retention of African American men will contribute to closing the achievement gap in our education system, which our whole society can benefit from.

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Julissa Duenas

Major:
Psychology

Mentor:
**Dr. Glenn
Callaghan**

Impact of Interpersonal
and Intrapersonal
Variables on Body
Image Disturbance and
Disorders

Biography

Julissa Duenas is a senior majoring in Psychology. Her research investigates the relationship between body image disturbance (including Body Dysmorphic Disorder), interpersonal expression of emotions, and experiential avoidance. Aside from engaging in research, Julissa was previously volunteering as a crisis counselor for a local domestic violence agency. She hopes to earn a Ph.D. in Clinical Psychology from one of the universities she applied to this past Fall. Her ultimate career goal is to work as a professor at an academic institution, conduct research, and integrate it with clinical practice.

Impact of Interpersonal and Intrapersonal Variables on Body Image Disturbance and Disorders

ABSTRACT

As body image disturbance becomes more prevalent, researchers attempt to investigate mitigating factors, especially those that lead to diagnosable

problems such as Body Dysmorphic Disorder. Recent studies on various forms of psychopathology suggest that intrapersonal processes, including experiential avoidance, and interpersonal processes such as difficulties identifying and expressing emotions, correlate with higher levels of psychopathology. However, few studies have integrated the role of both intra- and interpersonal processes on body image disturbances. The present study aimed to investigate this relationship. It was hypothesized that individuals reporting increased body image disturbances would also show higher levels of experiential avoidance and interpersonal difficulties. Five hundred-forty four participants completed a series of questionnaires measuring these constructs. Data analysis revealed a significant relationship between higher levels of body image disturbance and difficulties in interpersonal expression of emotions, with experiential avoidance serving as a partial mediator in this relationship. Implications for clinical application and limitations of the study are discussed.

Introduction

Body image disturbance encompasses psychological factors in addition to general body dissatisfaction, including distressing emotions over body image, investment in one's appearance, and poorer quality of life (Cash & Grasso, 2005; Cash, Phillips, Santos, & Hrabosky, 2004). Cash, Phillips, Santos, and Hrabosky (2004) propose that body image disturbance lies on a continuum where less severe negative body image can be considered body image dissatisfaction, while the extreme end of the continuum contains more distress and suffering such as in Body Dysmorphic Disorder (BDD). BDD is characterized by excessive preoccupation with an imagined or slight physical defect leading to significant distress or impairment in functioning. According to the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (4th ed., text rev.; *DSM-IV-TR*; American Psychiatric Association; APA, 2000), BDD is present if these criteria are met and cannot be attributed to an eating or other disorder (APA, 2000). Aside from preoccupation and impairment in functioning, typical characteristics demonstrated by individuals suffering from BDD include concern about several body parts, poor insight, high rates of suicidal thoughts and attempts, and comorbidity with other disorders (Phillips, Menard, Fay, & Weisberg, 2005).

Prevalence rates for BDD have been examined for different populations and rates of 0.7-1.1% have been found in community samples (Faravelli et al., 1997; Otto, Wilhelm, Cohen, & Harlow, 2001; Phillips et al. 2005). College student samples have shown higher rates ranging from 4.8-13% (Biby, 1998; Bohne et al. 2002; Cansever, Uzun, Donmez, & Ozsahin, 2003) and psychiatric inpatients have demonstrated similar rates of 13% (Phillips et al., 2005). However, the true prevalence of BDD is believed to be higher but underreported due to individual shame and hesitancy to seek treatment (Fuchs, 2002; Pavan et al., 2008), seeking cosmetic procedures in attempt to fix the perceived defects (Cansever et al., 2003; Pavan et al., 2008), and misdiagnoses of other disorders, which undermines the true problem of BDD (Zimmerman & Mattia, 1998). Because it is relatively common in the general population, researchers continue to investigate possible causal variables to further understand and treat BDD.

Categorizations of BDD

The current *DSM-IV-TR* categorization of BDD under somatoform disorders states that it is characterized by physical symptoms that appear to result from a medical condition, when no medical condition is actually present, and which cannot be attributed to substance use or any other disorder (APA, 2000). This classification leaves more uncertainty regarding the etiology of BDD. In addition, it has led to criticism and suggestions that BDD may be more closely related to other disorders.

One of the proposed constructions of BDD is that it is related to eating disorders such as Anorexia and Bulimia Nervosa (Pavan et al., 2008). Ruffolo, Phillips, Menard, Fay, and Weisberg (2006) found that more than 30% of individuals with BDD had a comorbid eating disorder in their lifetime. The central features of BDD and eating disorders contain similarities such as a disturbed body image, an evaluation of self-worth based on appearance, repetitive behaviors related to appearance, and intrusive thoughts about one's appearance (Rosen & Ramirez, 1998; Grant & Phillips, 2004). While these characteristics are common in both types of disorders, the diagnostic criteria of BDD according to the *DSM-IV-TR* requires that an eating disorder not be present (APA, 2000). Although there are similarities in characteristics in relation to appearance preoccupation, dissatisfaction, and behaviors in BDD and eating disorders,

Grant and Phillips (2004) suggest that because anorexia and BDD respond differently to treatment, it would be inappropriate to suggest that anorexia is a subtype of BDD.

Additionally, the *DSM-IV-TR* inclusion of Somatic Type Delusional Disorder as a psychotic variant of BDD has prompted research on comparisons of delusional versus nondelusional BDD. The main feature of BDD, the belief of having a physical defect despite looking normal, is also described as the core psychotic feature of the delusional form of BDD. An additional distinction is referential thinking, the individual's belief that everyone around them notices their defects (Phillips, 2004). Despite the distinction between a delusional and nondelusional type of BDD in the *DSM-IV-TR*, studies comparing individuals diagnosed with each type demonstrate similarities in the characteristics of BDD, including comorbidity and quality of life (Phillips, Menard, Pagano, Fay, & Stout, 2006), with only slightly more functional impairment found in individuals diagnosed with the delusional variant (Phillips, 2004). It has been suggested that the two variants should not be distinguished as separate conditions, but rather, they are actually the same problem with different levels of severity (Pavan et al., 2008; Phillips, 2004; Phillips et al., 2006).

A third proposed categorization of BDD is that it falls on the spectrum of Obsessive-Compulsive Disorder (OCD; McKay, Neziroglu, & Yaryura-Tobias, 1997). BDD shows similar characteristics to OCD, such as intrusive thoughts that cause preoccupation and distress, attempts to resist the preoccupations, and, typically, a compulsive behavior aimed to reduce distress (Phillips & Kaye, 2007). In a study comparing the characteristics of BDD to OCD, individuals diagnosed with BDD showed higher levels of obsessive-compulsive behaviors than those diagnosed with OCD (McKay et al., 1997). The similarities between the disorders highlight the possibility that they may be related in characteristics and, furthermore, may be understood in terms of one another.

There are multiple ways to understand causality and it depends in part on how the problem is constructed. Categorizing BDD into any of these three proposed classifications would each present its own possible causal factors. However, the important distinctions between BDD and each of these disorders limit the possible interpretations of causality. Despite this limitation, the presence of psychological variables in the

proposed related disorders indicates that body image disturbance, including BDD, is also comprised of psychological variables that may help point to possible causes.

Intrapersonal Factors

Much of the research on intrapersonal processes and body image has focused on the role of cognitive processes. Altabe and Thompson (1996) found that body image was related to cognitive schemas resulting from an interaction of environmental events and individual's self-perceptions. Similarly, Jakatdar, Cash, and Engle (2006) found that distorted cognitive processing is associated with more body image dissatisfaction and poorer quality of life. In presenting a cognitive-behavioral model of body image, Cash (2002; ch5) suggested that avoidant behaviors are used in response to distressing thoughts and feelings regarding body image. He describes these strategies as becoming negatively reinforced in that they temporarily reduce discomfort but later exacerbate distress. Additionally, Cash, Santos, and Williams (2005) found that individuals who engaged in avoidance coping strategies experienced higher degrees of body image disturbance, believed their appearance influenced their self-worth, and had more negative quality of life. As predicted by the researchers, those who showed more positive acceptance had more positive body image and quality of life (Cash et al., 2005). These findings align with previous research suggesting that avoidant coping strategies exacerbate psychological struggles and support the idea that similar processes occur in those suffering from body image disturbance and possibly BDD.

One important factor to investigate in any psychopathology may be intrapersonal variables. Intrapersonal variables refer to experiences unique to an individual, such as thoughts and emotions, and the individual's reaction to these internal experiences (Blackledge & Hayes, 2001). The inability to experience these intrapersonal processes often leads to experiential avoidance, which includes avoiding unpleasant internal experiences by engaging in behaviors in an attempt to get rid of or ignore them (Blackledge & Hayes, 2001). On the other hand, those using emotional acceptance abandon any attempts to change or get rid of unpleasant internal experiences, and instead experience feelings and

emotions as they are, without allowing them to interfere with behavioral functioning (Blackledge & Hayes, 2001).

Intrapersonal variables, including experiential avoidance, are at the root of much human suffering and psychopathology in areas such as substance abuse, trauma, anxiety, depression, and obsessive-compulsive disorder, among others (for reviews see: Biglan, Hayes, & Pistorello, 2008; Chawla & Ostafin, 2007). Acceptance and Commitment Therapy (ACT) is a contemporary behavioral therapy based on the idea that individuals commonly label their internal processes as aversive and make ineffective attempts to change them (Hayes, Strosahl, & Wilson, 1999). ACT helps individuals realize that experiential avoidance is ineffective and helps them develop more effective ways of experiencing unpleasant experiences through emotional acceptance and living toward one's values (Hayes, et al., 1999).

Interpersonal Factors

Several teams of researchers point out the importance of examining body image disturbance in the context of interpersonal processes, rather than just as an intrapersonal process, to further understand the variables that cause body image disturbances (Boyes, Fletcher, & Latner, 2007; Cash, Theriault, & Annis, 2004; Davison & McCabe, 2005; Tantleff-Dunn & Gokee, 2002, ch.13). Tantleff-Dunn and Gokee (2002) have distinguished three interpersonal processes that affect body image disturbance. They suggest that body disturbances develop from an individual's perceptions of how others view them, feedback from others on one's physical appearance, and the tendency to compare one's appearance with that of others (Tantleff-Dunn & Gokee, 2002). Boyes, Fletcher, and Latner (2007) also examined the relationship between body disturbance and interpersonal processes and found that individuals with more body dissatisfaction show higher levels of social withdrawal and seek more reassurance about their appearance. Similarly, Cash, Theriault, and Annis (2004) found significant relationships between body disturbance and interpersonal relationships, with those experiencing more body image disturbance also demonstrating more concerns of social approval in interpersonal interactions. While these studies focus on different interpersonal factors and their relation to body image disturbance, they demonstrate that interpersonal processes are in fact

related to body image and further research is needed to help understand their role in exacerbating body image disturbances. One additional area that could be explored is the process of interpersonally expressing one's feelings, thoughts, and emotional needs to others.

Interpersonal variables can refer to social interactions, including the expression of feelings. Problems identifying and expressing emotions may lead to avoidance of social interactions and engagement in destructive behaviors to prevent the emotions (Callaghan, 2006), all of which can contribute to long-term problems in interpersonal relationships (Follette, Naugle, & Callaghan, 1996). In contrast, adequate expression of feelings helps individuals obtain positive reinforcement from others, get their needs met, and maintain fulfilling relationships with others (Kohlenberg & Tsai, 1991).

The idea that psychological struggles and psychopathology result from problems in effective interpersonal relationships is the basis of Functional Analytic Psychotherapy (FAP; Kohlenberg & Tsai, 1991). FAP is an interpersonal-based approach rooted in behavior analytic theory that uses the therapeutic relationship to help develop more effective interpersonal skills within therapy, with the goal that these improved skills will ultimately generalize to other relationships in the client's life (Kohlenberg & Tsai, 1991).

Combination of Factors

While ACT and FAP focus on the intrapersonal and interpersonal variables that affect psychopathology, respectively, there are limitations to this conceptualization. The focus of intrapersonal experiences, such as emotional avoidance, in ACT does not account for the impact this has on the individual's relationships with others (Callaghan, Gregg, Marx, Kohlenberg, & Gifford, 2004). Likewise, while focusing on interpersonal skills in FAP, the therapist may unintentionally reinforce problematic intrapersonal behaviors such as avoidance (Callaghan et al., 2004). The integration of core principles from each of these interventions is suggested as a more effective way to create lasting improvement and demonstrates the role that, both, intra- and interpersonal variables play on psychopathology in general.

While numerous studies support the idea that intrapersonal and interpersonal processes both play a role in body image disturbance, few

have extensively investigated the integration of these processes and how they affect body image disturbance. The present study aimed to investigate these relationships. It was hypothesized that higher levels of body image disturbance would be related to difficulties in interpersonal experience and expression of emotions and to higher levels of experiential avoidance. Specifically, a model is proposed that interpersonal expression of emotions and experiential avoidance will be highly related to body image disturbance, such that experiential avoidance will mediate the impact of problems with interpersonal expression of emotions on body image disturbance. Further, as part of this model, it is predicted that experiential avoidance and problems with interpersonal expression of emotions will predict the severity of distress for those diagnosed with BDD.

Method

Participants

A sample of convenience consisting of 544 undergraduate students at a diverse university participated in this study, which was conducted in university classrooms on campus. The sample included 373 women and 171 men aged 18 to 52 years ($M = 19.32$, $SD = 3.1$). The participants identified themselves as White/Caucasian ($n = 132$; 24.3%); Asian ($n = 186$; 34.2%); Black/African-American ($n = 29$; 5.3%); Hispanic/Latino/Spanish ($n = 105$; 19.3%); American Indian ($n = 1$; 0.2%); Pacific Islander ($n = 8$; 1.5%); Other ($n = 11$; 2%); or multiple ethnicities ($n = 72$; 13.2%). All participants gave their informed consent before completing the questionnaire. Before data collection, this study received approval by a university Human Subjects Institutional Review Board. Participants received university course credit without any other compensation.

Materials and Devices

Participants completed a questionnaire packet containing: (a) a brief demographic questionnaire; (b) the Functional Idiographic Assessment Template Questionnaire-E (FIAT-Q-E; Callaghan, 2006); (c) the Acceptance and Action Questionnaire-II (AAQ-II; Bond et al., *submitted*); (d) the Body Image Disturbance Questionnaire (BIDQ; Cash, Phillips, Santos, & Hrabosky, 2004); and (e) the Body Dysmorphic Disorder Questionnaire (BDDQ; Phillips, 2005). Participants who met criteria for and participated in the interview portion of the study were

interviewed using the Body Dysmorphic Disorder Module for Adults (Phillips, 2005) and the Yale-Brown Obsessive Compulsive Scale Modified for Body Dysmorphic Disorder (BDD-YBOCS; Phillips, Hollander, Rasmussen, & Aronowitz, 1997).

Brief demographic questionnaire. A demographic questionnaire constructed by the researchers consisted of questions about the participants' age, height, weight (used to calculate body mass index [BMI]), gender, ethnicity, and past or current diagnosed eating disorders. Additionally, participants indicated whether they had any past, present, or future plans to undergo cosmetic surgeries or procedures.

Functional Idiographic Assessment Template Questionnaire-E (FIAT-Q-E). The Functional Idiographic Assessment Template (FIAT) System is an assessment device designed for use with Functional Analytic Psychotherapy (FAP; Callaghan, 2006), a cognitive-behavioral therapy designed to alleviate intra- and interpersonal difficulties (Kohlenberg & Tsai, 1991). The FIAT System organizes behavior into five classes that are often targets of change in interpersonally based psychotherapies. Each of these five constructs is assessed using the FIAT-Questionnaire, which consists of five subscales. One of those subscales, the FIAT-Q-E, assesses emotional experience and expression. Respondents react to a series of 24 statements using a likert scale consisting of six options ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*). This subscale assesses behaviors such as problems identifying emotional experiences, problems discriminating when to express emotions, escape and avoidance of emotional experiences, inaccurate labeling or unclear descriptions of emotional experiences, and excessively expressing emotions (Callaghan, 2006). High scores indicate higher levels of these behaviors.

Studies on the psychometric properties of the FIAT-Q and its subscales show promising data supporting the reliability and validity of this assessment. A reliability study using a nonclinical, ethnically diverse, sample of 619 participants demonstrated high internal consistency (Cronbach's $\alpha = .92$, $p < .05$) for the FIAT-Q's overall assessment of interpersonal effectiveness (Gummesson, Callaghan, Weidman, Nzerem, & Kirby, 2004). Similarly, the FIAT-Q-E was also found to have high

internal consistency (Cronbach's $\alpha = .88, p < .05$), suggesting the questions in the assessment device are consistent measures of emotional experience. This study also yielded data for the overall test-retest reliability of the FIAT-Q ($r = .82, p < .05$); the FIAT-Q-E also demonstrated test-retest reliability ($r = .61, p < .05$).

In the same study the convergent validity data of the FIAT-Q and its subscales supported the assumption that the FIAT-Q measures one construct, interpersonal effectiveness (Gummeson, Callaghan, Weidman, Nzerem, & Kirby, 2004). Convergent validity data supported that the subscales measured each construct of interest. Specifically, the FIAT-Q correlates with other measures of interpersonal skills and psychological distress, and inversely correlates with social skills. The FIAT-Q converges with the Outcome Questionnaire-45 (OQ-45; Lambert et al., 1996), a measure of global distress ($r = .56, p < .05$). The FIAT-Q-E correlates with emotional avoidance, specifically to the Acceptance Action Questionnaire (AAQ; Hayes et al., 2004; $r = .45, p < .05$). In the same study by Gummeson et al., the AAQ was found to significantly correlate with the OQ-45 ($r = .58, p < .05$). The FIAT-Q-E also correlates with applicable subscales of the Social Skills Inventory (SSI; Riggio, 1989; emotional expressivity, $r = -.33$ and social expressivity $r = -.26, p < .05$).

Acceptance and Action Questionnaire-II (AAQ-II). The Acceptance and Action Questionnaire-II (AAQ-II) is currently under development (Bond et al., *submitted*) and is based on the AAQ-I, which was developed as a broad measure of the construct of experiential avoidance and psychological inflexibility. These constructs include the need to control thoughts and emotions, avoidance of private experiences, and immobility in taking action (Hayes et al., 2004). Researchers investigating the mechanism of change in Acceptance and Commitment Therapy (ACT) developed this measure (Hayes et al., 2004). The two versions correlate at .82 (Bond et al., *submitted*).

The AAQ-II consists of 10 items on a 7-point likert scale ranging from 1 (*never true*) to 7 (*always true*). The measure can be scored positively so that higher scores indicate greater acceptance and action, or negatively, with higher scores indicating higher avoidance and immobility (Hayes et al., 2004). This study used negative scoring.

In the preliminary study on the psychometric properties of the measure, the AAQ-II demonstrated good internal consistency ranging from .81 to .87. Additionally, the AAQ-II had moderate to high correlations with general measures of psychopathology including anxiety ($r = .48$) and depression ($r = .59$) and with the White Bear Suppression Inventory ($r = .58$; Bond et al., *submitted*), a measure of thought suppression also based on the construct of experiential avoidance (Wegner & Zanakos, 1994). Overall, the AAQ-II shows higher reliability and validity than the earlier version.

Body Image Disturbance Questionnaire (BIDQ). The Body Image Disturbance Questionnaire (BIDQ) is a self-report measure developed to assess body image disturbance, including body image dissatisfaction, distress, and dysfunction, on a continuum (Cash & Grasso, 2005; Cash, Phillips, Santos, & Hrabosky, 2004). It was derived from Phillips' (2005) Body Dysmorphic Disorder Questionnaire (BDDQ), a clinical screening instrument used as an aid in diagnosing BDD (described in the following section). The development of the BIDQ from this clinical screening measure for BDD was based on the researchers' belief that BDD encompasses body image disturbances that can also be found in nonclinical samples.

The BIDQ contains 7 questions measuring preoccupation, distress, impairment in functioning, and behavioral avoidance in relation to body image. Each question contains a 5-point rating scale, and 5 of the 7 questions also contain an open-ended component to help clarify the extent of respondents' image disturbances (Cash et al., 2004). The BIDQ is scored by calculating the mean of all seven questions and comparing the score to normative scores, for both men and women, established by the researchers (Cash & Grasso, 2005).

In the main study on the psychometric properties of the BIDQ, Cash, Phillips, Santos, and Hrabosky (2004) found good internal consistency for both women and men (Cronbach's $\alpha = .89$). Additionally, they found that the BIDQ correlates with other measures of body image dissatisfaction, dysphoria, and quality of life. Although the correlation was higher for women, both women and men who reported higher levels of body image disturbance also showed higher levels of social anxiety, depressive symptoms, and eating problems (Cash et al.,

2004). Additionally, the BIDQ demonstrates good test-retest reliability (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.88$; Cash & Grasso, 2005). Overall, the BIDQ demonstrates adequate validity and reliability in measuring body image disturbance in nonclinical samples.

Body Dysmorphic Disorder Questionnaire (BDDQ). The Body Dysmorphic Disorder Questionnaire (BDDQ; Phillips, 2005) is a self-report screening measure developed to determine whether someone meets *DSM-IV-TR* criteria for BDD. The BDDQ uses a yes/no format to establish whether the respondent experiences a preoccupation with a perceived physical defect and whether the preoccupation causes distress or impairment in functioning. However, even if a respondent meets the criteria on the BDDQ, a face-to-face interview is necessary to confirm the diagnosis and to determine if the defect exists. Additionally, the interviewer uses the clinical interview to determine whether the distress or impairment is significant and to rule out the presence of an eating disorder (Phillips, 2005).

Published psychometric data on the BDDQ is limited. Phillips and her colleagues have found the BDDQ has high sensitivity and specificity for the diagnosis of BDD (Phillips, 2005). In a sample of 66 psychiatric outpatients, the BDDQ accurately suggested BDD in 100% of the patients that clinicians determined met diagnostic criteria. Additionally, when clinicians determined a patient did not have BDD, the BDDQ was accurate in 89% of the cases (Phillips, 2005). A slightly modified version of the BDDQ used in dermatology settings (BDDQ-Dermatology Version; Dufresne, Phillips, Vittorio, & Wilkel, 2001) yielded similar sensitivity and specificity percentages. Overall, the BDDQ appears to be an acceptable screening measure for BDD.

Body Dysmorphic Disorder Diagnostic Module for Adults. The Body Dysmorphic Disorder Diagnostic Module for Adults is a clinician-administered interview developed to confirm the diagnosis of BDD in individuals whose self-report responses on the BDDQ indicate possible presence of BDD (Phillips, 2005). The BDD Diagnostic Module is based on the *DSM-IV-TR* criteria for BDD and was developed in a format similar to that of the Structured Clinical Interview for DSM (SCID). The *DSM-IV-TR* criteria are listed next to each question to determine if a criterion is met

before continuing with the subsequent questions. Criterion A is met through a preoccupation with an imagined physical defect; criterion B is met through significant distress or impairment. Criterion C is met if the preoccupation is not attributed to an eating disorder. Clinical judgment is necessary for this assessment, particularly when determining whether the distress or impairment reported for criterion B is significant enough to meet diagnosis. The BDD Module shows high inter-rater reliability ($\kappa = .96$; Phillips, 2005).

Yale-Brown Obsessive Compulsive Scale Modified for Body Dysmorphic Disorder (BDD-YBOCS). Phillips et al., (1997) developed the Yale-Brown Obsessive Compulsive Scale Modified for Body Dysmorphic Disorder (BDD-YBOCS) to measure BDD severity, based on the Yale-Brown Obsessive Compulsive Scale, a measure of obsessive-compulsive disorder (OCD) severity (Goodman et al., 1989). This measure was modified for BDD based on the similarities in behavioral patterns between BDD and OCD. The BDD-YBOCS is a measure of BDD severity when diagnosis is already established (Phillips et al., 1997).

This semi-structured clinical interview contains 12 items assessing obsessive thoughts and behaviors, including resistance and control of thoughts, insight, and avoidance regarding a physical defect, during the past week (Phillips et al., 1997; Phillips, 2005). Each item's score ranges from 0 to 4, with 0 indicating absence of symptoms and 4 indicating severe symptoms. The sum of the 12 items indicates severity of symptoms, with scores over 20 indicating mild to moderately severe BDD, scores over 30 indicating moderate to severe BDD, and scores over 40 indicating very severe BDD (Phillips, 2005).

In a psychometric study, the BDD-YBOCS demonstrated good internal consistency (Cronbach's $\alpha = .80$). Test-retest reliability was also high ($r = .88$) and interrater reliability was extremely high ($r = .99$). Additionally, the BDD-YBOCS is significantly correlated with measures of global severity of illness and discriminates from measures of general psychopathology (Phillips et al., 1997).

Procedures

At least two experimenters were present at each session. Upon arrival at the session, the experimenters greeted participants and asked

them to take a seat within the classroom. Each experimenter followed protocol devised prior to the running of participants. The experimenters informed participants that the study was investigating people's emotions related to body image issues. Participants received a consent form and were asked to follow along as an experimenter read it aloud. Participants provided consent prior to initiating the study. Along with a consent form, each participant received a sheet of paper with information regarding free counseling services, which participants were encouraged to use in the event that the experiment elicited concerns or distress. The experimenters provided an opportunity for participants to ask any questions, and all questions were answered.

Experimenters distributed questionnaire packets and instructed participants to submit the completed forms to an experimenter when finished. An experimenter checked the packet for completeness and quickly scored the BDDQ of each finished questionnaire. Participants who answered "yes" to select questions met threshold criteria, and were invited to the subsequent interview portion (Phillips, 1996). Those who did not meet criteria and completed their portion of the experiment received proof of participation. Of those who met criteria using the BDDQ, participants who were overweight (using BMI) and whose primary concern was weight, were excluded from the interview portion. Participants, who listed weight as the main concern but were not overweight according to the BMI scale, were eligible.

Upon inviting the participant to the interview portion, the experimenter reiterated that participation was voluntary. If a participant agreed to continue to the second portion, an experimenter led the participant to a private room for the interview procedure. The other experimenter(s) remained with any further participants who had met criteria for and agreed to an interview. Before beginning the interview, the experimenter reminded the participant that his/her answers were confidential and that he/she was free to withdraw from the interview at any time. Interviews were conducted using the BDD Module for Adults and the BDD-YBOCS. In the interview, an evaluation was made to determine whether the areas of concern were obsessive or disproportionate (e.g. concern of acne with no visible blemishes). Interviewers received training from a professional clinician as how to conduct the structured interview with empathy, but without providing feedback or intervention of

any kind to the participant. At the end of the interview, the interviewer gave each participant the opportunity to ask questions, answered the questions, and debriefed participants. Eligible participants received proof of participation if applicable.

Eighty participants met screening criteria and participated in the interview. Only 55 of these participants (42 females and 13 males) met diagnostic criteria for a formal diagnosis of BDD. The remaining interviewees were excluded on the basis of not meeting diagnostic criteria of BDD ($n = 14$), meeting criteria for or reporting a current eating disorder ($n = 3$), concerns of physical defects that could not be verified ($n = 2$), and presenting real (not imagined) defects (e.g. scarring; $n = 6$).

Results

A mediation analysis with an alpha level of .05 investigated whether experiential avoidance mediated the effect of body image disturbance on difficulties in interpersonal expression of emotions. As shown in Figure 1, body image disturbance, as measured by the BIDQ, was significantly related to interpersonal expression of emotions, as measured by the FIAT-Q-E ($\beta = .38, p < .001$). With both experiential avoidance (AAQ-II) and body image disturbance (BIDQ) in the regression equation, the effect of body image disturbance on interpersonal expression of emotions remained significant ($\beta = .09, p < .001$), but experiential avoidance remained a significant predictor of interpersonal expression of emotions ($\beta = .683, p < .001$). The Sobel (1982) test indicated that the mediation effect was significant ($Z = 10.37, SE = 0.65, p < .001$). Experiential avoidance partially mediated the association between body image disturbance and interpersonal expression of emotions.

A logistic regression examined whether the AAQ-II or FIAT-Q-E could predict meeting diagnostic criteria of BDD ($n = 55$) using a backward procedure with BDD (case or non-case) as the outcome variable. Table 1 presents the results of this analysis. Only the AAQ-II significantly predicted that participants would meet diagnostic criteria for BDD. The final model was statistically significant, $\chi^2(1) = 25.76, p < .001$, Nagelkerke $R^2 = .096$. Overall the prediction success was 89.7%. These results indicate that higher levels of experiential avoidance predicted meeting diagnostic criteria of BDD, while problems in interpersonal expression of emotions did not.

An additional backwards procedure regression examined whether scores on the FIAT-Q-E, AAQ-II, and BIDQ predicted severity of BDD, based on scores on the BDD-YBOCS, in participants meeting diagnostic criteria of BDD. Table 2 presents the results of this analysis. In the final model, elimination of the AAQ-II and BIDQ left the FIAT-Q-E as the only significant predictor of BDD severity ($\beta = .272, t = 2.056, p = .045$). This indicates that difficulties in interpersonal expression of emotions were a significant predictor of BDD severity, while experiential avoidance was not.

Figure 1. Mediation analysis investigating the relationship between body image disturbance, interpersonal expression of emotions, and experiential avoidance.

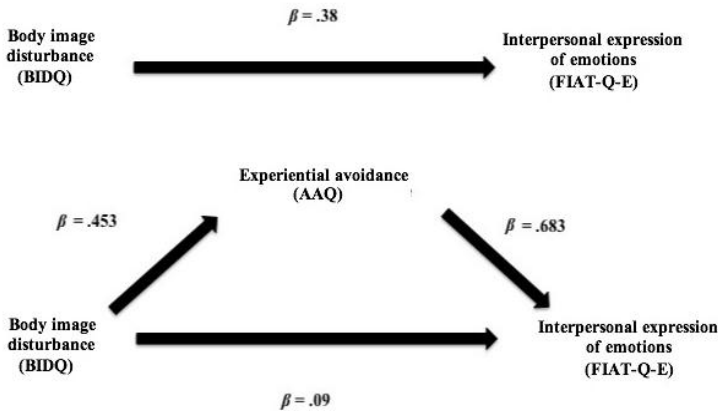


Table 1. Summary of the Logistic Regression Analysis on BDD Status.

Variables	B	S.E.	Wald	Odds ratio	p
Constant	-4.72	.759	38.636	.009	<.001
AAQ-II	.066	.013	25.001	1.068	<.001

Note. AAQ = Acceptance and Action Questionnaire.

Table 2. Summary of the Regression Analysis on BDD Severity.

Variables	B	S.E.	Std. Beta	t	p
Constant	10.77	4.869		2.212	.031
FIAT-Q-E	.133	.065	.272	2.056	.045

Note. FIAT-Q-E = Functional Idiographic Assessment Template Questionnaire-E.

Discussion

The present study examined the relationship between body image disturbances, interpersonal expression of emotions, and experiential avoidance. Results from the mediation analysis supported the hypothesis that a relationship exists between these variables, with experiential avoidance serving as a partial mediator in the relationship between body image disturbance and interpersonal expression of emotions. This finding suggests and supports a model of understanding body image disturbance, composed of experiential avoidance and problems with interpersonal expression. In addition, the relationship between problems with interpersonal expression of emotions and body image disturbance can be at least partly accounted for by the avoidance of those emotional experiences. The present findings are consistent with previous research investigating the relationship between body image disturbance and interpersonal processes (Cash, Theriault, & Annis, 2004) and the relationship between body image problems and the intrapersonal process of avoidance (Cash, 2002; Cash, Santos, & Williams, 2005). However, these findings are unique in that they highlight the integration of intra- and interpersonal processes and their impact on body image disturbance, specifically with respect to experiential avoidance.

Experiential avoidance, based on scores on the AAQ-II, served as a significant predictor of meeting diagnostic criteria of BDD. This suggests that BDD involves avoidance of thoughts, feelings, or behaviors, a finding also consistent with previous research. Cash (2002) identified avoidant behaviors as an important characteristic in body image disturbance. Although avoidance is not a *DSM-IV-TR* criterion for diagnosis, Phillips and her colleagues (1997) suggest it is a common process in individuals with BDD. While the term avoidance incorporates a broad range of processes, support in its relationship to body image disturbances and BDD is an important discovery that has implications for making these processes a target of change in clinical treatment.

In addition, difficulties in interpersonal expression of emotions, measured by the FIAT-Q-E, significantly predicted severity of BDD (measured by the BDD-YBOCS) in those meeting diagnostic criteria of BDD. This supports the idea that difficulties in interpersonal expression of emotions are at the core of more severe psychological problems

(Kohlenberg & Tsai, 1991). Surprisingly, experiential avoidance did not predict BDD severity after its significant relationship to body image disturbance in the first analysis. Nonetheless, these results and those of the previous two analyses have important clinical implications.

The significant relationship among body image disturbance, interpersonal expression of emotions, and experiential avoidance, as well as the relationships between BDD and BDD severity to these constructs, support the idea that intrapersonal and interpersonal factors play an important role in body image disturbance. Furthermore, this suggests that contemporary psychotherapies, such as ACT and FAP, and integrated approaches such as Functional-analytic Acceptance and Commitment Therapy (FACT; Callaghan et al., 2004) may be useful interventions for individuals presenting these problems in psychotherapy.

One important limitation of this study is that the sample used is one of convenience, comprised of college students, which limits the generalizability of the findings. Previous findings suggest that college student populations report higher rates of body image disturbance compared to general community samples (Biby, 1998), possibly limiting the significance of our results. In addition, the relationship between body image disturbance, interpersonal expression of emotions, and experiential avoidance is needed using clinical populations to aid in the continued development and assessment of acceptance and interpersonal-based clinical interventions in treating body image disturbance and BDD.

Further research should examine the relationship between these intra- and interpersonal processes and body image disturbance to determine whether the implementation of these specific interventions is appropriate, but this preliminary study presents a significant foundation. In a programmatic line of research, a reasonable first step is to establish key causal variables before interventions are built. This study suggests that it is reasonable to approach treatment of BDD using both experiential avoidance and problems with interpersonal expression of emotions. Future research can either detail the relationship between the variables established in this study, or begin initial treatments focusing on these factors in an effort to alleviate the suffering in BDD.

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Michael Espero

Major:

Global Studies with an emphasis in Sub-Saharan Africa

Mentor:

Dr. Martha Tucker
Tufts University

*The Fatherless Minority:
Barriers to Success for An
Ethnically Heterogeneous
Population*

Biography

Michael Espero is a Senior in Global Studies at San Jose State University. He is the recipient of the S.H. Scaffold Scholarship for Excellence in Community Service (UNICEF), SJSU Dean’s Study Abroad Scholarship (Egypt), and both a Leadership Alliance Scholar (Tufts University) and a Ronald E. McNair Scholar (SJSU). As the first person in his family to continue education beyond high school, Michael’s research interests include sustainable development of just, urban environments, population growth and determinants of fertility, sexual behavior, public health and populations of mixed ethnicity. Michael plans to pursue his doctorate in social ecology, an interdisciplinary field where he can synthesize his interests into scholarship that lends itself to the analysis of man’s relationship with the environment and with each other.

***The Fatherless Minority: Barriers to Success for an
Ethnically Heterogeneous Population***

ABSTRACT

The social affliction of racial preference as principle grounds for human behavior and institutional design has engaged the fields of social sciences in extensive examination upon a few central questions. What creates inequality within societies? Why do certain populations experience more beneficial outcomes while other populations consistently experience unfavorable ones? There is no such thing as “race”, rather physical adaptations to ancestral origins and differences in cultural heritages. Accepting this, can we look beyond “race” as the most important categorical standard for minority status and instead look for other sources of disadvantage or hindrance? Research has consistently provided precedence that familial structure determines the outcomes of children. Perhaps most notably, the absence of a father in a child’s life has been shown to contribute to problems such as poor self-image, difficulty in forming secure relationships, premature and increased sexual behavior, selection of high-risk activities, and poor performance in school. Focusing on adolescents, this paper seeks to bring awareness and context of the struggles that face the fatherless. The male biological father, as we are accustomed to, may be a diminishing part of familial structure. With the influence of widening financial strife, increased prenuptial conception, the subordination of women, and HIV/AIDS as it kills off parents by the million in the developing world, I suggest further concern for the influence that familial structure has upon adolescents, especially for adolescents without fathers. This population of disadvantaged individuals exists among ethnicities. I recommend that the identification of populations in need must begin to move beyond race, as such populations may not be so easily categorized.

Preface

Kids without fathers struggle. Thank you for your original contribution to the social sciences, Michael. It was with this internal monologue, and many similar thoughts that I began to feel as though I needed to take a break from analyzing research paper after research paper

stating with little variation one dominant theme: Kids without fathers struggle. Frustrated, I opted to rebel from my readings for an afternoon and escape the grounds of the university. I went for a haircut. Being in a Medford Massachusetts for the first time and being unfamiliar with the area, I decided to walk down the street and hope for an open barber's chair in the first shop I saw. After a few blocks I spotted the lines of swirling red and blue and was soon greeted by a man, perhaps five or six years older than myself. An extremely well groomed man, I knew I had come to the right place. The perfect place to take my mind off of the troubles of the fatherless child and whatever research I had hoped to achieve regarding it. Switching on the hair clippers, the barber began to ask me what I was doing in the Boston area, assuming that because of my sandals and lack of a jacket that I was from out of town. In a dull tone I described the topic of my research to him: The struggles of the fatherless child. He switched the clippers off, reaching for a brush to better see my hairline. "Yeah I never had a dad myself," he announced nonchalantly. Both intrigued and slightly annoyed that I could not escape the theme of my research for even a haircut, I concurred with him that I also had never known a father of my own. And in what began as my pitiful attempt at rebellion against mounds of literature, became conceivably the most valuable research itself during my efforts for this paper. His testimonies extended my personal knowledge of the topic with common issues of growing into a man and becoming successful that I had held myself. Beyond my own interpretations of growing up without a father and perhaps what can be accomplished in formal interviews, he spoke without inhibition. Without the formalities of applied theory. Without attempting to discuss the topic "academically". And without trying to impress anyone. He shared stories of having to prove his masculinity among friends, emotional separation from his mother and trouble in school. Our discussion went on for some time, but really it was just until my sides blended well with the top, and my sideburns were cut to an even length. Leaving the barbershop I reflected upon the struggle of kids without fathers struggle, and this is an issue that requires great attention.

Introduction

In a time of increasing urgency for new innovation and bright thinkers, we must be certain that the educational systems that aim to

prepare our young people to contribute to the community do not operate in a manner that provides success to some while continuing to perpetuate the failure of others. In an effort to bring parity to one of our society's most socially stratified institution, we must become especially concerned with those individuals who seem to constantly fall through the cracks. Of those who do fall through the cracks and face consistent difficulty in pursuit of success are adolescents who grow up without the influence of a father in their lives. While proportions of this population may be greatest within racial populations that have historically faced difficulty as well, this is a population that certainly extends beyond the confines of a race of people. My argument is that as positive development in equality among races within society continues, as well as the population of mixed-race individuals rises, the usage of race as the principal indication of populations that require aid will be less telling. Instead we as social scientists should begin to highlight the shared disadvantages that may exist among race, rather than within. Fatherlessness is a disadvantage shared by great numbers of adolescents throughout the United States and throughout the world. This is a population that requires aid for the benefit of themselves as well as the common benefit of all.

Definitions

Throughout this paper I use the words/phrases *fatherless*, *absent father*, *father absenteeism* etc. interchangeably. For the purpose of this paper I am not referring to a specific duration of time in which a child's biological father is not present in the home or an active participant in the child's life unless specifically noted. Throughout the breath of literature I reviewed, negative effects were exhibited during periods of father absence ranging from a few months (such as during periods of migrant labor in South Africa) to absence in the sense of desertion at birth (and at no time during the child's life having contact). Therefore, I have chosen to use these terms loosely with this contention. The term *father present* refers to adolescents who have grown up with physical and social interaction with their fathers.

My Background

From where do we, best gain our understanding of the social problems that plague our society? From research papers? Peer-reviewed

articles? Is it through ethnography and qualitative interaction with the topic of study, meticulously analyzing every minute detail, trying our best to be objective, and remove ourselves from the equation, that we receive answers? Or maybe we are taught to remove the possibility that our first-hand knowledge of a topic may mar our results. But is this imperative to academic scholarship? Is there nothing valuable in our own meditations to be applied toward academic research? I argue that there certainly is. I must adamantly state that I do not suggest that utilizing one's own beliefs and conceptions in research will lead a researcher to less than skewed results and conclusions, but I feel that we must not entirely negate the personal experiences of a researcher as valuable in qualitative study. Imagine if our goal were to better understand why battered wives commonly stay in abusive relationships. We hold focus groups with a population of women in domestically abusive relationships. Now might there be something that a researcher in this area who has experienced such abuse in her life, have to contribute that perhaps one who had not been through such misfortune does not? Might there be something valuable that an African-American who has experienced racism has to offer as a researcher in a study of critical race theory that someone who has not may miss? I am not suggesting that experience will provide "better" or more valid research, but rather that it should be valued rather than completely avoided in pursuit of sound academic scholarship. Many times the passion for research is sparked by lived experiences or personal struggles and it is with this that I choose to include my own personal experience of growing up without the presence of a father as a contribution to the depth of this paper.

My father left my family when I was four years old. I never heard from him again beyond the occasional generic Christmas card or less than three brief phone calls throughout my whole life. I can tell you that his absence did influence me greatly at several stages of my life. In elementary school I was very shy and almost silent. A certain security that perhaps a father could have provided may have given me the confidence to be more outspoken and playful. Instead I feared adult men in a way that lead me to avoid any direct contact with male teachers and even some of my uncles. My mother's role in raising me was limited because of her obligation to work, but indeed I was a "momma's boy", and sought to please her by achieving all A's and avoiding getting into trouble in school.

I did so well in fact that I participated in the Gifted and Talented Education Program (GATE) from the 3rd grade onward. At this time I enjoyed feeling as if I was special, going to another classroom to do activities that involved creativity, imagination and enthusiasm. However, my love of school ended abruptly as I entered middle school. You see before the 7th grade, I had no idea that being a man meant getting bad grades and starting fights (sarcasm). I didn't know that I needed to fit in with the other boys in order to avoid being the target of teasing and bullying. I soon found out. Now there was another choice, I could have played sports and done well in school. But that wasn't a role that I fit into. For this circle it seemed that I needed an invitation. My parents didn't take me to little league practice every week with the same group of other boys, chatting with their parents about our bright futures. Nor did my ambiguous skin color suggest that I was a part of this mostly homogenous group. Rather, I fit in with the other boys of "disadvantage". And as the ambiguity of the word disadvantage can be applied to many social circumstances, the members of my group seemed to have many different hindrances to success. Many of us never knew our biological fathers. Some grew up in violent homes or dealt with drug abuse in their homes. Almost all of us never had a family member go to college. Many were neglected by their parents, and just about all of us would have been from families that may be considered "poor". Through our shared "disadvantages" we became friends and were able to maintain our safety, knowing who was like us and who was better off. An important characteristic of this group was that we were all of different ethnic background and were ethnically heterogeneous. Staying a member of this group meant asserting your masculinity and testing your toughness against the boys who were better off and usually had fathers. Those of this group remained my closest friends as I intentionally neglected homework and academic pursuits until the consequences of staying friends became too great for me. As my friends began selling and using drugs and carrying guns to school I looked toward investing my time in sports to avoid going to prison as many of them did. While I may have invested too much of myself in sports during my high school years, further detracting my attention from academics, I did escape the fate that many of my former friends had not. My path through college education has been both winding and transformational. I am now aware of the pressures that caused me to

make the choices that I did as I grew up. But I do wonder about my old group of friends. As I think about what education has done for me, I wonder if the current manor that institutions seek to aid the socially “disadvantaged” boys and girls overlooks many who cannot easily check the box of ethnicity that a school’s quota may be required to fulfill.

Background

In attempting to address the most acute problems of society, it behooves us to identify the populations that require the most help. Differences of race and creed have separated the social groups of the public from one another, strengthening some groups while others are marginalized as minorities. Also, contrast in gender has defined the roles and expectations of many, obstructing efforts toward equality and creating barriers throughout our places of business, our schools, and the public sphere. And as we delve deeper into an understanding of disadvantaged populations, we find that many may be rooted in the shared personal histories that have created a handicap in social mobility. Specifically, the absence of a father in one’s life places a handicap that has hindered the pursuit to success of a great number of people, spanning race, religion, gender, and sex.

Seventy-one percent of high school dropouts in the US come from fatherless homes and 85% of all imprisoned youth (U.S. Justice Department). The figures are startling. Among youth in the United States, 90% of homeless and runaways, 75% of recognized youth chemical abuse patients, and 63% of all youth suicides are of adolescents from fatherless homes (U.S. Census Bureau). The proportion of fatherless adolescents who face these problems is comparable, and often much greater than that of a racial population that has historically faced challenges, such as African-Americans or Latinos. The likelihood of great struggle in the lives of fatherless adolescents is multifaceted.

In “*Evolutionary Pathway of Child Development*”, Tamas Bereczkei explores the struggles of fatherless females from a psychobiological standpoint. In this study 1,000 Hungarian women were surveyed in order to determine their personal experiences with frequency of miscarriages and healthy births throughout their lives. Among this sample, those who grew up without a father were approximately twice as likely to experience 1 or more spontaneous abortions or stillbirths than

women of father-present families. Fatherless women were shown to conceive more, and give birth to less, healthy children. The likelihood of excessive stress and poorer nutrition inferred to be associated with the struggles of fatherless adolescents might have contributed to such differences in prenatal health (Berezkei 1996). Alexandra Alvergne adds more to this perspective in *“Developmental Plasticity of Human Reproductive Development”*. Measurements of stress hormones such as cortisol were significantly higher among fatherless women, as well as sex hormones such as testosterone (Alvergne 2008). These differences may account for another measurement; difference in average number of sexual partners. In her study, both males and females who grew up without a father in their lives showed to have had sexual intercourse with a higher number of partners than father-present ones. For females this number more than doubles from 2.3 partners to 5.2. While higher numbers of sexual partners certainly does not equate to other social, psychological, or developmental problems, it can be inferred that such a difference is significant nonetheless. Moreover, the possibility of men and women seeking more frequent sexual behavior with different partners may be rooted in issues of self-image and a need for connection with others. Females especially, experience lower self-esteem and self-destructive relationship traits when they perceive emotional distance from their fathers or experience father absence (Carranza 2000). The absence of a father suggests lower investment of resources to a child or lower “paternal investment” (Alvergne 2008). A decreased level of paternal investment negatively influences a child’s performance in formal education.

Adolescents who have had little contact with their biological fathers throughout their lives have repeatedly shown to perform poorer in school and achieve less education than father-present adolescents (DeBell 2008). The combination of reduced financial support and fewer events of interaction influence a lower amount of educational attainment resulting in fewer high school and college graduates (Menning 2002). The consequences related to educational attainment have been significantly measured among fatherless groups as young as 5 years old (Santos 2008). Further, even intermittent absence of fathers has shown to negatively affect the performance of adolescents in school (Mboya 1999). In *“Migrant Labor in South Africa: A Comparative Analysis of the Academic Achievement of Father-Present and Father-Absent Adolescents”*, students

whose fathers occupation required them to migrate seasonally for work (intermittent father absence) as well as “father-present” students were tested both during times when their fathers lived in the household, and during periods when they were away for migrant work. Across the board, students tested lower during times of father absence in tests of English, Math, and Biology. These short, periodic absences showed to be significantly correlated with lower academic performance (Mboya 1999). The conglomerate of research showing both the consequences of long-term as well as periodic absence of fathers of adolescents give continued evidence of difficulty in their pursuit of education and success.

There is an imperative need of concern for this population. Greater in proportion nationwide in the US than any minority racial population, over 1/3 of adolescents will live without their fathers for at least part of their lives. As the stresses during times of economic struggle and longing for connection and guidance continue to harm this population, the causes for hardship for the traditional breadwinners of families becomes one of the greatest societal concerns we must face.

Masculine Capital and Education

Is there something that creates additional difficulty for fatherless adolescent boys, in addition to decreased paternal investment? For some, it results in growing up too fast. The absence of a father can lead a young boy to seek hyper-masculine behavior and “masculine capital” in order to compensate for the lack of paternal mentorship and support (Mandara 2005). For some this can amount to a preference for avoidance of emotional matters. For others this can lead to physical and social aggressiveness as well as preference for “high-risk behaviors”. “High-risk behavior” is often shown in instances related to financial gain with fast-return short-investment attempts at generation of income. It is with this financial income that many fatherless boys achieve “masculine capital” and status among peers. Conversely, education, although a pursuit that likely increases one’s ability to generate income, involves a significant (and varying) time investment. One can speculate that there is little promotional value in completing perhaps the 11th grade than the 9th grade, suggesting to those of this population that the time investment required to complete a year of secondary schooling will not be worth their time. In

brief, formal education is not compatible with the fatherless adolescent as he pursues masculine capital.

The Consequences of a Growing Fatherless Population

I have elaborated upon the great hindrance that growing up without a father places upon the individual, but what of society as a whole? What are the consequences of a growing fatherless population? While it can be assumed with relative consequences upon the individual, I will describe a few likely estimations for you. A rise in the fatherless population suggests a rise in the uneducated population. I believe that with this, it is not irresponsible to assume that such a change will increase the number of impoverished people throughout the world. In concern for the welfare of society as a whole, we must be aware of the consequences of the declining presence of fathers and the well being of the fatherless child.

The Fatherless Minority: An Ethnically Heterogeneous Population

There are populations of individuals who have social hindrances to success that do not fit neatly into a category of race nor a box to be checked on an application. I have argued in this paper that one who grows up without a father faces great disadvantage in many aspects of their lives. This is a problem that affects individuals regardless of skin color, race, or cultural affiliation. And as we look to categorize populations (as social scientists tend to do) we can replace or perhaps overlap the title “Black minority” or “Latino minority” with “Fatherless Minority”. This population is indeed one that is composed of individuals likely of all known ethnicities and is thus ethnically heterogeneous. It is my contention that in efforts to identify populations that require the most urgent support, we must apply this principle. We must utilize race as a starting point to show populations of particular disadvantage. But we must go further and look more intentionally. What “disadvantage” truly causes hindrance in the pursuit of education and success? From here our search is no longer for those who look alike, but rather for those who *are* alike.

Conclusion

The purpose of this paper is to support the argument that the identification of populations of individuals of a particular disadvantage is best served without limiting research within the confines of racial

categories, and rather *among* them. Once we identify these ethnically heterogeneous populations of disadvantage, what can be done to be of aid to them? I suggest initiatives similar to affirmative action, as it has been helpful to those of disadvantaged racial populations. The challenge here is literally identifying the individuals of these populations as they can no longer be checked off with a box nor identified solely by skin color. With respect to education and university attendance, evaluators must seek to place weight in the personal statement and interview. This example serves to understand the personal history and the whole person. My contention is that aid to those of disadvantage will be less served by the recognition of a checked box than by thoughtful understanding of the struggles of the individual that may not relate to the color of their skin.

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**Ariana Berenice
López Espino**

Major:
Psychology

Mentor:
Dr. Sharvari Dixit

Reading Interests: A
Comparison of Required
Reading and Recreational
Reading among College
Students and its Impact on
Academic Success Defined
by College Grades

Biography

Ariana Berenice is a Junior majoring in Psychology. She was born in Mexico City and emigrated to the U.S. at age thirteen. She has lived in Watsonville, California for eight years. She transferred from Cabrillo College with an A.A. in liberal studies. Ariana loves SJSU to its fullest, dreams to go into a Ph. D. Program in Social Psychology or Women’s studies, and wishes to accomplish many great things in life. Her hardships as an undocumented immigrant, the support of those around her, and the unlimited love from her mother and sister have motivated her to fight for justice and help those at disadvantage. She recently founded the ¡Sí Se Puede! (Yes, We Can!) Club at a high school in San José to assist undocumented students attend college. She wishes to expand this organization so that more undocumented students can benefit from the counseling, tutoring, and monetary services provided to them. Ariana Berenice loves and admires her mother, her sister, her husband, migrant workers, her family, and all the women in this world! She loves doing anything that involves exercising, eating healthy, helping others, studying, reading, drawing, watching funny videos, hanging out with friends, and challenging stereotypes.

¡Que vivan las mujeres!

***Reading Interests: A Comparison of Required Reading and
Recreational Reading among College Students and its Impact
on Academic Success Defined by College Grades
A review of literature***

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this literature review is to analyze any literature that focuses on the relationship between time spent by college students engaging in required reading opportunities versus the time spent doing recreational reading in relation to students' success. Prior research has shown that individuals engage in reading based on the motivation which is acquired and influenced by their surroundings. Other literature supports that reading habits and interests differ clearly across gender, age, socioeconomic status, and possibly race. Furthermore, studies have shown that situational interest, rather than choice or topic interest, promotes engagement in reading. Some literature conveys that reading interests mirror crystallized abilities and personality factors to a great extent. Several studies indicate that students perform academically better as they engage more in recreational reading. In terms of gender, research has demonstrated that there is an actual link between gender, reading interest, and reading engagement. My future study will help to fill the gap in literature that will specifically explore the relationship between time spent by college students engaging in required reading opportunities versus the time spent doing recreational reading; moreover, we will look into any connection between both required reading and recreational reading and student's success.

Introduction

There is some existing research examining student's academic success in relation to their reading habits. For instance, researchers have focused on the amount of time that college students spend doing pleasure reading, the kind of reading they prefer, their levels of reading achievement, as well as the relationship between overall academic achievement and the amount of time they spend doing leisure reading. In

my future study, I will explore the relationship between time spent by college students engaging in required reading opportunities versus the time spent doing recreational reading; furthermore, I will look into any connection between both required and recreational reading and students' educational success. My hypotheses are that college students will have varied reading interests; college students will not pursue both required reading as well as recreational reading to the same extent; and college students will share reading interests in the areas of their required reading.

For my future study, I will define reading interest as the enjoyment of learning a particular subject or content. When studying recreational and required reading, I will be focusing on the time allocated for reading the required (by coursework) material versus the time allocated for reading the recreational reading material. Finally, I will refer to student success as the one that is only self-reported on a scale. I will distribute surveys among Psychology classes at SJSU to collect data from participants; our subjects will be undergraduate students from different disciplinary fields and of varied ages. Once I gather these data, I will analyze them and draw my conclusions. Moreover, the purpose of this literature review is to highlight relevant information which will guide my future research. This is important because we need to find new ways to help all students succeed in schools, and study various connections between reading and academic success.

Elementary School

Prior research has demonstrated that children's intrinsic reading motivation declines across the elementary school years. In the article "From Spark to Fire: Can Situational Reading Interest Lead to Long-term Reading Motivation?," Guthrie et al. (2006) conducted an experiment with third graders to find out whether situated interest for a specific book may lead to longer-term intrinsic motivation for reading in general. Guthrie et al. (2006) defined situated interest as a "temporary state that is produced by environmental conditions, rather than by well-developed internal needs." Based on their results, Guthrie et al. (2006) concluded that children's changes in situated motivation served as a predictor for their changes in general reading motivation within an instructional context that supports engagement and motivation in reading. Furthermore, it was claimed that situational motivation processes may primarily occur in

classrooms, may consist of either intrinsic or extrinsic motivations, and may increase or decrease in strength and frequency over time. Another source of motivational development identified in this study is contextual support. Researchers argue that reading motivation is context-sensitive, and intrinsic motivation is likely to increase when the classroom context is providing support for children's choices, collaborations, interaction with challenging texts, and hands-on activities connected to literacy. Taking into consideration that reading habits are acquired and influenced since an early age both at school and home, it is important to focus on how these habits are reinforced or altered in the student's middle school years.

Middle School

In the article titled "Reading Interest and Behavior in Middle School Students in Inner-city and Rural Settings," Greenberg et al. (2006), analyzed differences among school, gender, and grade when examining the results about middle school students not showing interest for reading. Researchers found that reading patterns and practices are highly gendered and become increasingly so during adolescence, with females scoring higher on administered tests, as well as maintaining higher average scores than their counterparts. Greenberg et al. (2006) identified socioeconomic trends as an important factor by stating that students from families with high socioeconomic status tend to score higher on reading tests than those students from lower socioeconomic status. In addition, researchers noted that these differences become greater with age. Moreover, Greenberg et al. (2006) revealed that rural students had the worst attitudes toward reading followed by inner-city students. A limitation to this study was the lack of access to students' racial/ethnic identities, which could be something important to look at. Considering the lack of interest in reading and a lack of reading behavior in middle school students, Greenberg et al. (2006) suggest middle school personnel to focus on ways in which to improve the curriculum and the appropriate instruction to increase reading skills while, at the same time, promoting the interest and excitement of reading in students. In general, there is an evident decline in student's reading motivation during middle school; moreover, we have identified a difference in attitudes toward reading among female and male teenagers and those from different socioeconomic status and living setting (i.e., rural

vs. inner city). We now need to focus on how these particular trends continue or stop taking place during high school.

High School and College

“The Role of Choice and Interest in Reader Engagement” written by Flowerday et al. (2004), explores the effects of choice, topic interest, and situational interest on reading engagement, attitude, and learning in high school students. Flowerday et al. (2004) found a small negative effect for choice on the writing of content essays; for instance, those who were not given a choice on what essay topic to write about happened to write content essays of better quality. Flowerday et al. (2004) pointed out that situational interest had a positive effect on attitude, and there were no effects for topic interest. This experiment dismantled the belief that many teachers share about choice being a factor that motivates students and encourages learning and academic achievement. Flowerday et al. (2004) concluded that situational interest, rather than choice or topic interest, promotes engagement in reading. We have come to the conclusion that situational interest is an important factor that pursues high school students to read. In college, however, there may be other essential factors that influence students to engage in reading activities.

In the article titled “Reading Interests: Their Dimensionality and Correlation with Personality and Cognitive Factors,” Dixit and Tirre (1995) analyzed the areas of reading interests among 471 USAF airmen in order to figure out whether these individual preferences had any relationship with personality traits and cognitive abilities. For this, Dixit and Tirre (1995) applied the 16PF, the Culture Fair Intelligence Test (CFIT), as well as a reading interest survey where participants were asked to rate their level of interest in each 81 topics. Factor analysis brought it down to 10 correlated reading interest factors. The scores for such reading interest factors were then associated with six factors (the Big Five plus intelligence) which were found to be the basis of the 16PF and the CFIT. Overall, personality factors and reading interests were decently related. Ability factors considered as crystallized abilities showed modest relationships with reading interests. Dixit and Tirre (1995) came into the conclusion that reading interests mirror crystallized abilities to a great extent. It will be important to consider personality factors when studying reading habits as they are a fair representation of individuals’ reading

interests. However, these habits and interests may vary depending on whether the student is engaging in a specific reading with leisure or required purposes.

Differences between Required Reading and Recreational Reading

In the article “Do They Read for Pleasure? Recreational Reading Habits of College Students,” Gallik (1999) aimed to find a correlation between academic achievement and the time spent in recreational reading, identifying any differences between various groups of students in the amount of time spent doing pleasure reading, and finding out the students’ reading preferences. Gallik (1999) always assumed that better students read more than poorer ones; in addition, she took into consideration the fact that a vast majority of people believe that “reading is cornerstone for success, not just in school, but throughout life.” Previous research cited in this article also showed that recreational reading has been found to improve reading comprehension, writing style, vocabulary, spelling, and grammatical development. Gallik (1999) administered a total of 151 surveys in a private liberal arts college in Texas, USA. The results of this study confirmed that recreational reading habits are acquired early in an individual’s school life, perhaps in elementary school. Most importantly, Gallik (1999) asserted a positive relationship found between cumulative grade-point average and time spent in recreational reading. This study claims that students perform academically better as they engage more in recreational reading. Moreover, this article strongly supports the idea that individuals acquire interest in recreational reading at an early age. Nonetheless, it is crucial to look into differences that gender may bring forth in relation to individuals’ reading engagement.

Gender

In the article “Staying with the Text: The Contribution of Gender, Achievement Orientations, and Interest to Students’ Performance on a Literacy Task” Graham et al. (2008), looks at the process that influences students to pursue reading with any text presented to them. Furthermore, this study addresses the concern about male teenagers approaching reading activities with negative attitudes and its contribution to the topics they read, as well as the amount of reading they do. The authors of this article focused on the effects of gender on students’ interest as they progress

through a reading task. Graham et al. (2008) observed that female students were able to stay with a text longer than male students even if they disliked the text. Also, students' text interests depended mostly on its title and gender-stereotypic representation; for instance, girls opted to choose texts that would have themes of emotions, as well as those that represented a female character; whereas boys tended to choose those texts that included action themes and those which represented a male character. In sum, Graham et al. (2008) declared that there is an actual link between gender, reading interest, and reading engagement.

In "Gender and Interest Processes in Response to Literary Texts: Situational and Individual Interest," Ainley et al. (2002) examined interest in literacy texts among Australian senior secondary students and explored how individual and situational factors contribute to topic interest. Their findings show that gender was the factor most closely associated with topic interest, and text titles served as key situational triggers; individual interest in literature, however, contributed very little to topic interest. Considering the significant numbers of Australian boys who are falling behind the levels of achievement of their female peers, Ainley et al. (2002) confirmed that girls are likely to read about male protagonists and their adventures, whereas boys are less likely to read about female protagonists and their adventures. Such example infers the advantage that females have in succeeding in school based on their openness and willingness to engage in different types of reading, including non-preferred texts. This research emphasizes the importance of considering gender in relation to students' preference and engagement in literature.

Conclusion

I have not yet found any research that focuses on the connection between recreational reading and academic success versus required reading. In my future study, I will aim to fill a gap in the research by exploring the same variables (recreational reading, required reading, and academic success). The field is emerging, and research needs to be more focused in these areas in order to fill the gap between studies.

There may be relevant literature in the field Education Research, or the Teaching of Reading, perhaps also in places where programs for facilitation of early literacy like Head Start or Kindergarten Readiness have already collected data.

The Reading Interest Inventory has shown correlation with standardized personality tests. It has also shown correlation with cognitive ability tests.

Future Implications

One direction of further research would be to assess academic success using GPA or SAT scores and finding the correlation with reading interests. Moreover, future studies should consider and study more variables such as demographics (i.e., ethnic background, household income, social grade); these could support the notion that the higher economic status of a subject, the more she will engage in reading; or that certain races emphasize the importance of reading more than others; or that particular social classes have more access to and resources of literature. It would also be helpful to look more in depth into reading differences between females and males. Lastly, another variable that would draw forth more detailed data would be the major or career of each subject; this may prove that college students tend to engage more in required reading than recreational reading since their major may represent their greatest reading interest.

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Teresa Estrabao

Major:
Spanish

Mentor:
Dr. Anne Fountain

*Desencuentro: un
encuentro con la narrativa
cubana del siglo XXI*

Biography

Teresa Estrabao is a senior majoring in Spanish, with minors in Portuguese and Latin American Studies. She was born and raised in Cuba, and spent four years in both Caracas, Venezuela and Miami, Florida. San José, California has been her home for the past 25 years. Teresa’s research explores the perspective of the Cuban narrative through the works of Cuban author Nancy Alonso, specifically her latest work, *Desencuentro*. Outside of her research, Teresa is passionate about reading, writing, and traveling. She has been tutoring in the Department of Foreign Languages at San José State University for nearly two years. She plans to study abroad in Portugal in the upcoming summer and will be attending graduate school in 2011. Teresa is a member of various prestigious organizations, such as the Golden Key International Honour Society and Phi Sigma Iota. She has also been awarded the honor of being a Dean’s Scholar. Teresa’s ultimate goal is to be a Spanish teacher at the university level.

Desencuentro: *un encuentro con la narrativa cubana del siglo XXI*

ABSTRACTO

Desencuentro, el último trabajo de la escritora cubana Nancy Alonso, es un libro de relatos sacados del diario vivir y de personajes que podemos encontrar en cualquier lugar y en las más diversas situaciones que nos pone la vida. Los cuentos son narrados con un lenguaje claro, sencillo y ameno. Nada tiene esta obra de lecciones moralizantes pero los episodios sí tocan a cualquier ser humano llevándolo a detenerse en los encuentros y desencuentros de todos en la vida. *Desencuentro* es un nuevo toque de frescura dentro de la narrativa cubana de los últimos años.

Introducción

Mi investigación estuvo basada en el libro *Desencuentro* de la escritora cubana Nancy Alonso. A continuación una breve reseña de los doce cuentos de este libro para dar una introducción a mi trabajo.

Breves Resúmenes de Desencuentro

“Domicilio Desconocido” - Es la primera historia del libro *Desencuentro* de la autora cubana Nancy Alonso. Esta primera historia es sobre una joven cubana que va a Etiopía en una misión, sus tristezas y melancolías por su familia, su tierra, hasta que logran sintonizar una estación de Cuba, lo que eso significó para ella y todos los demás cubanos que allí se encontraban. Finalmente en su regreso a Cuba trata de contactar con la locutora de aquel programa para finalmente enterarse que la misma salió del país hacia Miami.

“Mala suerte” - Es el relato de Lilian una joven auditora, cuando comienzan sus anheladas vacaciones y las mismas se ven interrumpidas por una emergencia en el trabajo la cual ella debe afrontar. Lilian podíamos decir que es algo supersticiosa. Suceden unas series de hechos desde el momento en que Lilian emprende su viaje, hasta que finalmente por una de esas coincidencias de la vida, o de la suerte Lilian salva su vida.

“Aniversario” - Es la reunión de un grupo de amigos y ex estudiantes después de 25 años, con la peculiaridad que una parte de esos amigos están fuera del país, en Miami. Ambos grupos celebran su

reencuentro, diferentes en muchas cosas, pues unos lo celebran en Cuba y los otros en Miami, para terminar ambos grupos comunicándose telefónicamente, y darse cuenta que a pesar de la distancia y de las circunstancias la amistad perdura.

“La paciente” - Dos mujeres que se conocen en una fiesta, la pasan muy bien, pero no vuelven a verse ni a contactarse, hasta que se encuentran frente a frente en una situación poco común, una es doctora y la otra es una paciente enferma de cáncer. Ambas deciden no recordar el encuentro anterior, por diferentes razones, que no llevan a otra cosa que a la inmensa tristeza de estas dos personas que pudieron haberse regalado un poco de felicidad, y que por no enfrentar los diferentes miedos que a veces acompañan a los seres humanos, terminaron con el peor desencuentro de sus vidas.

“Que Alá te proteja” - La historia de una joven cubana en Etiopía que trabajaba como maestra. Su confrontación con un país extraño para ella en todo desde su cultura hasta su religión. Sus alumnos, sus descubrimientos, pero sobre todo su deseo de llegar a conocer más de la religión y la promesa de uno de sus alumnos en ayudarla en esto. Su alumno era el más aventajado en todos los sentidos, su forma de tratar a los demás incluyendo las mujeres, su inteligencia, para finalmente darse cuenta la maestra de la triste realidad que también incluía a aquel muchacho el cual podría haber representado un rayo de esperanza en medio de tanta oscuridad.

“Una muerte tranquila” - Es la historia más pequeña de esta colección de cuentos, pero tan hermosa como la más larga. Es la desesperación de las familias cuando se enfrentan a la muerte de un ser querido, la impotencia al no poder detener lo inevitable versus lo que siente quien se marcha definitivamente. La contradicción que representa la vida cuando la miramos desde el momento que comienza y en el momento que termina, esta historia en mi opinión representa tan claramente los encuentros y desencuentros del ser humano en una verdad tan grande como lo es la propia vida.

“Créditos finales” - Una historia donde se plantea el lesbianismo, pero de una manera tan sencilla y al mismo tiempo dramática. Los tabúes que existen en referencia a las distintas orientaciones sexuales, el verdadero amor el cual no tiene etiquetas cuando es verdadero. Una

hermosa y triste historia que nos hace plantearnos si seguimos el respeto a los demás como nos gustaría que lo siguieran con nosotros mismos.

“Confesión” - Todas las historias de esta escritora son maravillosas, pero esta es una de las que toca fibras muy profundas del ser humano. Es un grupo de pacientes con ciertos problemas psicológicos, en la consulta del psiquiatra. Cada uno de ellos tiene su historia, especialmente una madre y su hijo. En esta historia vemos hasta dónde puede llegar el amor incondicional, en este caso de una madre por su hijo, y aunque no estemos totalmente de acuerdo en algunas cosas, esto no deja de impresionarnos y ver la magnitud de ese amor.

“Fin de una historia” - Este es otro de los relatos donde se plantea el lesbianismo, es una bella historia, porque lo sucedido en la misma le puede pasar a cualquier pareja. La desconfianza que finalmente termina por acabar una relación que pudo haber sido hermosa en todos los sentidos. El no controlar esos impulsos que a veces nos hacen hablar cuando debemos callar, en fin la desconfianza de los seres humanos que tanta destrucción puede causar.

“Diálogo” - Es la conversación telefónica entre dos amigas, pero tan diferente la una a la otra como el día y la noche. Aquí vemos la típica persona que habla y habla sin dejar que la otra persona lo haga, para finalmente darnos cuenta que no es más que el egoísmo de algunas personas que no importa si son nuestros amigos, simplemente son superficiales y egoísta y esto es algo que cada día se ve más. Da tristeza que a veces tengamos este tipo de persona a nuestro alrededor porque realmente no ayudan en nada, pero bueno estos son los desencuentros que a veces tiene la vida.

“Huellas” - Otra de las mejores historias de este libro. Una madre que cuenta cómo se siente después que sus dos hijas deciden irse del país, se siente huérfana. Esto es algo que nos llama la atención porque cuando decimos huérfano pensamos en un niño que le falta su madre, pero aquí es completamente al revés. Aunque dolorosa esta historia, también al final vemos como el amor de la pareja también salva a ambos padres de tan infinita tristeza.

“Desencuentro” - Hermosísima esta historia, también plantea la homosexualidad. La historia podría decirse que es la duda en cierto momento que cualquier pareja pueda sentir, cuando el tiempo golpea, cuando sentimos deseos de cosas nuevas pero detrás de todo esto está el

verdadero amor, lo que conlleva una relación de años, y como esto no se puede borrar en un momento por grande que sean nuestros nuevos deseos. Hermosa historia llena de sensibilidad desde la primera línea y al mismo tiempo de un amor tan grande como solo lo pudiéramos encontrar en un verdadero encuentro de la vida.

Investigación

Desencuentro el último libro escrito por la autora cubana Nancy Alonso, cuenta con doce historias narradas de una forma sencilla y clara y sin vocabulario rebuscado. Son historias presentadas de una manera tan natural que al lector le produce un cierto cosquilleo, porque nos preguntamos: “¿Conocí antes a esta autora, le conté lo que me había sucedido a mí, o a mi hermana, o tal vez la historia de mi vecina?” Son así los personajes de estas historias, las situaciones que se dan en sus cuentos también son del diario vivir, nada prefabricado, todo tan natural y sencillo como podría ser la historia que escucharíamos en una bodega, en un café o en una charla amena de sobremesa. Por eso estas historias nos calan hondo y entran en nuestra psiquis de una manera natural.

A través de sus historias vamos descubriendo una inmensa gama de conductas, todas ellas profundas, sus personajes pueden ser enfermos mentales, obsesionados, doctores, estudiantes o locutores. Esta autora nos trae en sus historias y sus personajes una introspección de los mismos, nos plantea sus problemas, sus ansias, sus inquietudes, alegrías, tristezas y supersticiones. Vemos además la manera en que estos personajes navegan con sus características particulares, como sienten, como piensan, como terminan encontrando sus razones, ya sean como verdaderos desencuentros o en otros casos como milagrosos encuentros, los cuales los llevarán finalmente a ser mejores seres humanos.

Lo que vamos descubriendo en los personajes de esta autora, es el potencial del ser humano, el que a veces por estar tan adentro es difícil sacarlo a la superficie. Ejemplos son esos amores que se dan incondicionalmente, aunque no se mida la realidad. Por ejemplo como sucede en el cuento de “Confesión” donde tenemos el amor incondicional de una madre, que piensa que si el hecho de tener sexo con su propio hijo pudiera llevar a este a sentirse más amado o simplemente a ser feliz ella no vacilaría en llegar a estos extremos ya que esto es su manera de confrontar su amor incondicional a ese hijo enfermo, para ella su acto es puro amor.

Los que estamos fuera de la historia tal vez pensemos que no era necesario llegar a esos extremos, tal vez pensemos que no eran los métodos apropiados, que se podían buscar otras alternativas para resolver el problema, pero lo que definitivamente vemos o descubrimos en este cuento es adonde puede llegar el ser humano en su infinita necesidad de amar y proteger a los que amamos, a los que pensamos que están más desvalidos

También tenemos en sus cuentos el encuentro con esa parte que siempre ha estado vetada por la sociedad, por diversas razones, las mismas que nos hacen tomar a veces posiciones equivocadas o simplemente cerrar los ojos a realidades que están presentes, que conviven con los seres humanos en la sociedad día a día como también conviven el hambre, el frío, la alegría, el dolor, y esto es el homosexualismo y el lesbianismo.

Nancy Alonso los presenta de una manera clara, sencilla, simple, tan simple como pudiera verse, si no quisiéramos usar esos anteojos de sol que usualmente nos ponemos los seres humanos cuando sabemos que existe algo, pero que nosotros no queremos mirar, porque no queremos enfrentarlo, para no tener que plantearnos la duda, la cual nos llevaría hacernos análisis de nosotros mismos y de nuestros patrones de vida. Si hiciéramos esto entraríamos en el respeto al nuestros semejantes desde el punto que somos seres humanos con ese derecho.

Muchas veces nos sentimos con el derecho de juzgar, en pos de lo que nosotros mismos hemos creado como verdad, sin ponernos a cuestionar que nuestra verdad no tiene porque ser necesariamente la verdad de los demás, o en todo caso la verdad irrefutable. Es aquí la diferencia de los personajes presentados en estos cuentos, los homosexuales o las lesbianas son presentados como seres humanos tan iguales como otro ser humano, con algunas diferencias como lo serían sus orientaciones sexuales, pero tan firmes en sus sentimientos, tan claros en su proceder como la mismísima razón de estar vivos y pertenecer todos a lo mismo, a la raza humana.

Precisamente en estos relatos encontramos muchas de las imperfecciones que tenemos los seres humanos, y estoy de acuerdo con el artículo “Desencuentro, una indagación al azar” de Helen Hernández Hormilla donde dice que esta autora “se sumerge en la imperfección humana con el propósito de encontrar allí sus virtudes” (p. 1).

Es así como después de leer estas historias como por ejemplo “Desencuentro” o “Créditos finales,” sin darnos cuenta estamos entrando en un mundo diferente, un mundo donde no se critica o se condena al azar, sino que se trata de entender, que aunque a veces encontremos situaciones que no necesariamente se atañen a “nuestra verdad,” no por eso dejan de ser verdad.

Es aquí donde puedo ver que los personajes de esta escritora nos hacen reflexionar, nos calan hondo y llegamos a sentirnos a través de ellos como que nosotros mismos hemos mejorado. Es como si nos despojáramos de abrigos viejos que siempre hemos cargado y que aunque a veces sentimos que pesan y que son innecesarios, no encontramos el momento oportuno o el valor necesario para despojarnos de ellos, pero que cuando lo hacemos a través de unas de estas historias entonces nos damos cuenta que nos sentimos mejor, que respiramos mejor, en fin que cambiamos tal vez un poco o mucho pero fue para bien.

Una de las cosas que tenemos seguro al finalizar con el libro de esta autora es que como seres humanos crecimos para mejor, y es esto específicamente lo que me hace ver en esta escritora nueva, y digo nueva porque apenas *Desencuentro* es su tercer libro y no podemos decir que es una autora nueva que lleva 20 o 30 años escribiendo, o que desde pequeña ya lo hacía. Lo cierto que es una autora que con su narrativa, su forma fresca de enfocar las diversas situaciones sobre las que escribe hace que se sienta un aire fresco, diferente en la narrativa actual cubana.

Al leer los cuentos de esta autora una y otra vez, porque cada vez que uno los lee descubre y siente algo nuevo, y no importa cuántas veces uno los lea siempre va a terminar con ese sabor grato que dejan las lecturas que calan hondo en los seres humanos. Al releer los cuentos uno vuelve a preguntarse como hubiese sido esto de no haberlo encarado con la convicción necesaria para no volver a caer en desencuentros, y es aquí donde el lector vuelve a encontrarse consigo mismo para bien, para mejorar.

Nancy Alonso nos presenta sus personajes con conflictos de todo tipo, pero no recurre a una forma de lenguaje rebuscado, ni tampoco hace de sus problemáticas algo tedioso, su sencillez es aparente, porque detrás de sus cuentos hay grandes valores para el ser humano y quedan presentadas conductas humanas completamente desnudas de una forma clara, pero no ofensivas. También en sus cuentos vemos mucha ironía y

sarcasmo, pero todo esto es presentado de una manera tan jocosa que al final terminamos por reírnos de nuestras propias limitaciones, temores, en fin de nuestra propia existencia, no importa en qué lugar estemos y cuanto hayamos pasado.

Además de lo que planteé anteriormente acerca de mi criterio y opinión sobre los cuentos de esta autora, también quiero decir que en sus cuentos puedo ver reflejos los cuales yo considero como críticas sociales, religiosas y políticas también.

En referencia a estas críticas, quiero exponer que es mi punto de vista. Según varios artículos acerca de los cuentos de esta escritora la mayoría concuerdan incluida yo en su manera sencilla, sin lenguajes rebuscados de sus cuentos. Pero como lectora también veo una crítica que en ocasiones puede ser política, en otras religiosa y en muchas otras social, que no han comentado los demás. Digo crítica porque cuando se nos presenta algo que a su vez llegamos a cuestionar, entonces nos planteamos que hay un problema, que hay algo, que necesita cambiarse, o más bien yo diría que se necesita concientizar.

En los últimos 50 años en Cuba, ha sido muy difícil para los escritores hacer algo que pueda interpretarse como crítica social, no quiero decir que no se haya hecho, solo que los que lo han hecho abiertamente, no han obtenido buenos resultados, pero se ha ido trabajando en obras que reflejaban estos problemas sociales por ejemplo en la novela de Ena Lucia Pórtela “El pájaro, pincel y tinta china” y “La sombra del caminante” ambas publicadas en Cuba donde se tratan temas como el lesbianismo, la droga, entre otros males sociales.

También tenemos al escritor Abilio Estévez “(cuya mas reciente creación ficciona el peor drama de los cubanos de la Isla actualmente: el de la vivienda, el de una ciudad que se va cayendo en ruinas, arquitectónicamente hablando, sin poder solucionar el problema habitacional” (artículo de Amir Valle). Y estas problemáticas suceden ante todo porque el proceso político que se ha seguido en Cuba no admite críticas, eso sería aceptar que hay parámetros que se concibieron de una manera pero que – por las razones que sean, estos no se pudieron hacer como se pensaba, o simplemente que lo que se planteaba como una verdad irrefutable no lo era completamente.

Es muy difícil para un escritor escribir sin dejar de delatar de alguna manera la realidad en que se vive dentro de la sociedad que ha sido

tomada como marco de su escritura, sería como negarse a ellos mismos una verdad que quien escribe siempre está buscando ya sea a través de sus personajes, sus acciones o su entorno. Y aunque no necesariamente puede ser el caso de los cuentos de Nancy Alonso para ella misma, yo como lectora si puedo sentir esa crítica, ya sea la burocracia presentada en las historias como por ejemplo” Mala suerte,” todo lo que pasa el jefe para poder mandar a su empleada más capacitada fuera de la capital a resolver un problema, problemas con el avión, etc.

A través de los doce cuentos de este libro *Desencuentro* puedo ver diferentes situaciones que las percibo como crítica social, religiosa y hasta política. Es cierto que la Revolución cubana ha tenido sus logros, pero no ha sido una sociedad perfecta como de alguna manera querían hacerlo sentir los líderes de la revolución. Era una sociedad donde sus jóvenes eran el claro ejemplo de ese proceso, que no tenía nada que lo pudiera criticar, no era una sociedad con lacras sociales como si lo eran otras sociedades, muy específicamente la sociedad americana, con sus jóvenes drogadictos, homosexuales, entre otras cosas consideradas lacras sociales. A través del tiempo hemos vistos que en la sociedad cubana también habían estos problemas sociales, estaban los homosexuales a los cuales los marginaban, los condenaban, trataban de aniquilarlos en toda su extensión, sólo por su orientación sexual y aquí tenemos el ejemplo del escritor homosexual Reinaldo Arenas, el cual fue perseguido en muchas ocasiones solo por su preferencia.

También vemos la intolerancia religiosa que siempre se planteó en Cuba. De mi propia experiencia recuerdo que éramos una generación atea, como bien lo dice la protagonista del cuento “Ala te proteja” quizás por eso me empeñe en comprender, desde mi inveterado ateísmo...” (p. 46) y es que en Cuba las generaciones que fuimos saliendo después del triunfo de esa revolución prácticamente perfecta desde el punto de vista de sus líderes, no teníamos religión, o más bien respeto o libertades religiosas. Estos eran males que se iban acrecentando en esa sociedad cada vez más profundamente, para muchos años después tropezar día a día con una sociedad que se desmorona, no solamente como sus antiguas edificaciones, como lo vemos en el cuento “Desencuentro” en una de las referencias a cuando paseaban los personajes de la historia “disfrutar de aquellos paseos nos hacia olvidar el costado lamentable de la escenografía

de fondo (edificios apuntalados, derrumbes, malos olores)” (p. 101), si en terrenos morales también.

Son en estos cuentos de Nancy Alonso donde puedo ir percibiendo el resultado de ese proceso, que se llamó en su momento perfecto, cuando veo que aún está vigente la intolerancia a quien profesa diferente orientación sexual como lo sentimos en “Créditos finales” en esta historia podemos ver la comprensión de dos personas del mismo sexo, pero también vemos la incompreensión de la hermana de una de ellas, precisamente la que es heterosexual hacia estas dos personas.

Se podrían poner infinidades de ejemplos desde los cuentos de Nancy Alonso que sí me hacen pensar en una crítica social, religiosa y política, pero también cabe destacarse que el punto central de esta autora a través de sus cuentos, es la presentación de conductas humanas, personajes sacados del diario vivir, situaciones simples pero que conllevan a una profundidad psicológica al lector.

Tal vez para hacernos más partícipe del mundo que nos rodea con sus imperfecciones, sus problemáticas, y hacernos sentir que podemos mejorar, si mejoramos nosotros mismos a través del respeto mutuo, de la comprensión, la benevolencia, y así sentir que la raza humana es un regalo, que podemos y queremos ser mejores, que no necesariamente tenemos que tomar como algo propio ese deseo constante que a veces tenemos los seres humanos de odiarnos, en una palabra autodestruirnos, no somos una casualidad, somos algo perfectamente hecho para progresar y hacer de nosotros mismos y nuestro entorno algo mejor.

Aún así cuando leemos los cuentos de Nancy Alonso, nos llenamos de esperanzas, no pensamos que la humanidad sólo piensa en su propia destrucción, que no somos “una plaga que vive en el Planeta Tierra,” como dice en su artículo “Marginalidad, violencia y realidad social en la narrativa cubana actual” el escritor cubano Amir Valle, que oyó decir a un extraterrestre en una película de ciencia ficción. A través de los personajes presentados en los cuentos de Nancy Alonso sentimos que el ser humano también puede dar algo en pos de mejorar su conducta humana, que puede trabajar para llegar a ser mejor ser humano, que si las sociedades no cerraran los ojos a las problemáticas que van encarando cada día, junto con sus líderes podríamos ir mejorando en todos los terrenos, desde personales hasta sociales.

Conclusión y Opinión

Después de leer los doce cuentos presentados por la escritora cubana Nancy Alonso en su libro *Desencuentro*, sostengo que además de que la autora escribe con un lenguaje claro, sencillo, sin complicaciones literarias, que a través de sus personajes podemos ver una inmensa gama de situaciones que se presentan día a día en cualquier lugar, o en cualquier ser humano.

Cuando leemos sus cuentos, nos lleva hacer reflexiones, aunque este no sea el tema central de la autora, pero como seres humanos pensantes, estos relatos hacen que nos hagamos planteamientos, que lleguemos a estados de comprensión, hasta a momentos de unirnos con otro ser humano en su sufrimiento, en su problema, llevando esto a que nos planteemos la meta de ser mejores.

En fin que terminamos tratando de ser mejores, no ante la sociedad, o ante los demás, sino ante nosotros mismos, pero esta conciencia que adquirimos a través de estas lecturas también me llevan a analizar las cosas que aprecio en estos relatos que ya se salen un poco del contexto de los personajes.

Precisamente es lo que rodea estos personajes, estas historias, el lugar donde las mismas se desarrollan, y aunque en algunas partes de mi estudio he recalcado que las mismas pueden encontrarse en cualquier latitud de este planeta, también debo aclarar que en todos estos lugares siempre sobresale algo que al mismo tiempo las hace muy particulares y nos lleva al sistema existente en el lugar donde se desarrollan las mismas, Cuba.

Es aquí donde hace que nos planteemos muchas interrogantes que ya pasarían a ser de índole social, religiosa y política, ya sea desde que pensamos en las misiones de ayuda internacionalista en África, y como las mismas aunque fuesen de intercambio cultural e humanitario, también sabemos que eran de índole políticas.

Además vemos los problemas que aun confrontan las personas de diferente orientación sexual, y recordamos de la manera tan nefastas que fueron tratadas muchas de estas personas durante los primeros años de la Revolución cubana, donde entre otras cosas a esto se le llamaba desviaciones ideológicas, y eran tratadas con el mas riguroso proceso de castigos, no importaba si quien tenía esta desviación ideológica era un escritor joven, y excelente en su trabajo, era homosexual y esto era

suficiente para ser condenado por el proceso que seguía el país y que se decía perfecto, al menos en la mayoría de sus logros, en educar a su juventud, ejemplo de esto tenemos a Reinaldo Arenas conocido escritor cubano el cual sufrió persecución, cárcel e humillación por el hecho de estar en desacuerdo con el sistema político además de ser homosexual, sin importar el potencial de este escritor joven al cual sólo se le dejó publicar en Cuba un libro de su extenso y reconocido trabajo.

También veo el conflicto que muchos jóvenes que fueron productos de ese proceso tienen con los puntos religiosos. Desde muy temprano se siguió una doctrina de ateísmo, todo lo relacionado con religión era atacado, lo mismo sutilmente que abiertamente. Si profesabas alguna afiliación religiosa no cabías en las filas de ese proceso, y cuantas puertas se cerraban sobre todo para los jóvenes de esos tiempos, entonces esto se convirtió en una falta de libertad para el individuo, quien no puede manifestar su criterio ni sus ideas. No tiene libertad ni de expresión, ni religiosa, ni de ningún tipo.

Esto lo recordé justamente en una de las frases de la protagonista en uno de estos cuentos, cuando dice que ella era atea, o más bien podríamos decir que su falta de religión quizás era el producto de crecer en un lugar donde no había libertad de religión.

Fantásticas son las historias de Nancy Alonso, sus personajes, sus dramas, sus soluciones, su narrativa y su lenguaje .Y fantástico también las críticas que podemos deslumbrar entre línea y línea, entre palabra y palabra porque esa es la realidad actual de una pequeña isla que ha dado increíble riqueza literaria, desde siempre, pero también actualmente. Cada escritor vive un tiempo en que siempre de alguna manera se refleja en sus obras. En *Desencuentro* encontramos ambas soluciones y problemas sin soluciones. El mayor desencuentro es haber encontrado la presencia de tantos problemas en una sociedad que según se proclama ha encontrado soluciones para todo.

Metodología

El método seguido en mi trabajo fue hacer una recopilación de información, y basado en lo que había leído hice una introducción del último libro de esta autora. Su manera de enfocar las situaciones que presenta en el mismo, el perfil que siguen sus personajes, su forma de escribir, su narrativa, los puntos en los que coincidí con los artículos que

se habían presentado sobre su trabajo, y los puntos nuevos que yo había encontrado en los mismos.

Como es un trabajo de literatura, las fuentes más apropiadas son libros y artículos. En este caso como Alonso es una autora que vive en Cuba es difícil contactar con la misma para entrevistas o recopilación de datos. De igual manera no ha sido fácil conseguir bastante material relacionado a su trabajo, ante todo porque es una autora relativamente nueva, además de que su trabajo comienza a internacionalizarse hace poco tiempo. Este trabajo abre camino a enfocar en este “nuevo” campo de estudio.

Reseña Literaria

Los métodos usados en mi investigación han sido la lectura comprensiva, la lectura atenta, el uso de fuentes críticas y el análisis personal.

Lectura comprensiva (Reading for content): Después de leer cuidadosamente su libro, hice una lista de los personajes de cada historia, sus características y el papel que jugaban dentro de la trama.

La lectura atenta (“Close Reading”): A continuación hice una minuciosa explicación de cada historia, finalmente una breve reseña sobre mi opinión personal y la manera en que cada historia se entretejía con el título principal del libro *Desencuentro*.

Todo esto fue con el objetivo de ir desmenuzando la historia oración tras oración, siempre que se relea algo, encontramos que hubo algo que se nos escapó la primera o segunda vez. A continuación comencé con los artículos escritos en relación a esta autora y sus libros, no solamente en el que yo basé mi investigación sino los relacionados con sus otros trabajos.

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Luis Funes

Major:
Civil Engineering

Mentor:
**Dr. Larry A.
Fahnestock**

Reserve Capacity of
Beam-Column-Gusset
Connections in
Concentrically Braced
Frames

Biography

Luis Funes is a Senior majoring in Civil Engineering. Born in El Salvador and raised in California, he became interested in math and science at a young age. His research interest is in the field of earthquake engineering. This branch of engineering is devoted to the mitigation of earthquake damage and hazards. He hopes to research smart materials which will help to reduce structural damage as well as cost of repair. In the summer of 2009, Luis conducted research at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign with the Department of Civil Engineering. His research was in the field of structural engineering where he got to research alongside Dr. Fahnestock and Chris Stoakes, a current PhD candidate, in the Newmark Structural Engineering Laboratory (NSEL). After such a rigorous and rewarding experience, Luis has found himself more drawn to pursuing a graduate education. He hopes to begin applying for graduate school starting in Fall 2010.

Reserve Capacity of Beam-Column-Gusset Connections in Concentrically Braced Frames

ABSTRACT

Regions of low and moderate seismicity typically employ a seismic response modification factor of $R = 3$ for concentrically braced frames (CBF). Since the $R = 3$ seismic design approach has little to no scientific development, research is being conducted to determine whether this value is acceptable. Also, alternative approaches that are rational and reliable are being researched. An important requirement for evaluating the $R = 3$ design approach and for developing new design approaches is to study the reserve capacity provided by beam-column-gusset connections in CBFs. This research evaluated the seismic performance of beam-column-gusset connections in CBF's. Large-scale cyclic load tests were performed on three distinct beam-column-gusset connection configurations. Variations in connection type (double angle or end plate), weld type, and bolt location were explored. Differences in rotational stiffness, strength, and ductility were compared and presented. Based on the results, further recommendations for beam-column-gusset connections may be provided.

Introduction

Since the consolidation of several building codes, including the *National Building Code* and *Uniform Building Code* (ICC, 2003), and the widespread adoption of the *International Building Code* (ICC, 2003), formal seismic design procedures are now required in regions of the country where they previously had been ignored. Although the unification of old building codes has been tremendously helpful to many in the design and construction industry, there are certain aspects of the changing seismic design procedures that have led to confusion in moderate seismic regions. Seismic design procedures are more stringent on the West coast, where seismicity is higher, and it would be unpractical for designers on the East coast to use these same procedures, since snow and wind loads dominate the design. According to Carter (2009), Harry W. Martin, a leader in the advancement of structural codes and standards from the 1980'-s, foresaw the implementation of more formalized seismic design procedures in low and moderate seismic regions. Martin understood the challenge that this

would pose since these areas would be compelled to follow guidelines for high seismic areas. Martin then proposed a procedure whereby structures could be designed without considering seismic effects if a lower seismic response modification factor, R , was used ($R \leq 3$). This so-called “ $R = 3$ ” design approach implicitly depends on the reserve strength and redundancy, found in typical steel framing systems used in non-seismic regions. However, this approach was not based on any research but on Martin’s best judgment (Carter, 2009).

Recent research has investigated whether $R = 3$ is an appropriate value in moderate seismic regions, and preliminary studies suggest that this approach does not lead to an acceptable level of collapse prevention (Carter, 2009). This research indicates that it may be more appropriate to develop a different design philosophy for moderate seismic regions. Using a new approach, CBF brace connections will be permitted to fracture below earthquake design-level forces, and reserve system capacity would then mitigate collapse. Such reserve capacity can be provided through the flexural strength and stiffness of the beam-column connections in the CBF after the braces are no longer active.

Reserve capacity is a term sparsely used in the literature and, the concept is not clearly defined. Due to the lack of literature on reserve systems, Hines, Appel, and Cheever (2008) attempt to describe and discuss reserve capacity systems and go on to make suggestions on how to further develop such a philosophy. Hines et al. (2008) conclude that reserve systems open the possibilities for increased safety, reduced construction cost, and innovative designs in Lateral Force Resisting Systems (LRFS). Although reserve capacity systems are discussed, the reserve capacity of a standard frame connection has yet to be quantified. The proposed research project will determine the behavior and performance of beam-column-gusset connections in CBF’s. The aim of this project is to quantify the reserve capacity in a standard braced frame connection. Full-scale experiments will be run on six different beam-column-gusset connections in the Newmark Structural Engineering Laboratory. Variations in connection type (double or end-plate), weld type, and bolt location will be investigated. The six different connection configurations will be compared in order to draw more information from the research. Findings from the experiment will also allow for the improvement of finite element analysis models being developed in

conjunction with the experiments. The connections modeled in the finite element analysis program Abaqus will be configured to react more realistically under seismic loadings. While the finite element analysis models of the beam-column-gusset connections are an important aspect of this research, they are outside the scope of the proposed research project and will not be looked into further.

Literature Review

Although research on flexural response of CBF brace connections is relatively new, several previous research programs provide valuable insight. Since the proposed experiments deal primarily with beam-column-gusset connections, which employ bolted end plates, being subjected to cyclic loading, prior research related to these aspects is of interest.

Tsai and Popov (1990) studied the cyclic behavior of end-plate moment connections. This paper is helpful in that it investigates the cyclic performance of end-plate connections. In these experiments, three full-scale end plate moment connections were subjected to large-amplitude cyclic loadings. Ductile behavior was observed in the connections, yet pinching in the hysteresis loops occurred during the larger cycles. This resulted in a reduction of connection stiffness and energy dissipation capacity. Pinching in the hysteresis loops may have been due to failure between the end plate and column flange (Tsai and Popov, 1990). Full hysteresis loops are considered more desirable than pinched hysteresis loops because they indicate more earthquake energy absorption (MacRae, Kimura, and Roeder, 2004). The results from this experiment also show us that the bolt forces were non-uniform. Tsai and Popov (1990) concluded that the end plate is more rigid at the inner bolts than the outer bolts. This is because the end plate is restrained by both the beam flange and by its web. From these conclusions we can infer that the bolt forces in the proposed research experiment will be non-uniform as well. Such assumption will be verified once enough information is gathered. The Tsai and Popov (1990) research is important because it validates the reasoning behind the proposed research project to alter the placement of the bolts on CBF connections. After results have been gathered, an optimal placement for bolts may be suggested. Also, this publication shows that failure modes can be controlled by changing the strength of the bolts or by varying the stiffness of the end-plate. Although the proposed research

project does not deal specifically with such parameter, the finite element analysis models of the CBF connections may be improved further through these suggestions. One aspect of the Tsai and Popov (1990) study that differs from the proposed research is that the end plate moment connection underwent severe cyclic loading. The present research will deal with regions of low and moderate seismic activity and therefore the cyclic loading would not be as severe. It is possible that the outcome of the Tsai and Popov (1990) experiments will greatly differ from the outcome of the present research experiments.

As it has been show above, research projects dealing with the seismic behavior of structural elements involve the interpretation of hysteretic response. Roeder et al. (1996) studies correlations between hysteretic loops and energy dissipation. This particular research paper deals with the evaluation of seismic behavior of older steel connections. More specifically, this research project evaluates the strength, stiffness, and ductility of riveted steel connections. The experiment consisted of applying a cyclic load history pattern to six T-stub connections as well as to ten clip angle connections in a horizontal position. Consideration of the cyclic inelastic behavior is required to evaluate the seismic performance of a structure. The inelastic behavior of the connections is important because buildings will experience much larger forces than those used in design if the structure is elastic throughout the earthquake (Roeder et al., 1996). This research paper is helpful because it gives insight into how the hysteretic behavior relates to energy dissipation, which is critical for adequate seismic performance. Stiffness of the specimen can be seen through the slope of the hysteretic curve. A hysteresis loop shows how the stiffness of the connection changes as it undergoes cyclic loading. The graph's vertical axis describes the resistance of a specimen and the horizontal axis describes the deformation, while the area enclosed in the loop is the amount of dissipated energy. Although a structures response depends on the energy input by the earthquake, the seismic response of a structure is damped by the energy dissipation (Roeder et al., 1996). Total energy dissipation can be found by integrating the area within the hysteretic curve, although this property of the hysteretic curve is not commonly used in conventional design practice. These research experiments show that larger moment capacity leads to more energy dissipation. In order for data to be accurately interpreted, a thorough

understanding of the hysteretic behavior of any specimen subjected to cyclic loadings is required.

A similar study by Lehman et al. (2008) considered the seismic performance of gusset plate connections. Full-scale one-story one-bay frames were tested to evaluate their seismic performance and to propose a new design approach. The new approach suggested by Lehman et al. (2008) is to balance the gusset plate design in such a way that the entire frame suppresses unwanted failure. Variations between brace, gusset plate, and weld type were considered in order to obtain a desired yielding hierarchy. During large and infrequent earthquakes, brace yielding and buckling in CBF's provides the deformation and energy dissipation necessary to conform to life-safety and collapse-prevention objectives. Gusset plates are designed using the Whitmore width and the AISC Uniform Force Method (UFM), although these methods are not based on seismic design principles. These methods are backed up by empirical relationships; however, they do not accurately simulate the seismic performance of gusset plate connections. In evaluating the seismic performance of gusset plate connections, the results showed that current design methods have limitations which can be improved. This paper is important to the current research project in underlining some possible modes of failure in the beam-column-gusset connection. Aside from verifying the need for an improved CBF connection, this paper also provides background information on the possible failure modes of the connection. The most important modes of failure that must be considered include tearing or fracture of the gusset plate, weld fracture of the gusset plate welds, fracture of the bolts, excessive bolt bearing deformation, and buckling of the gusset plate (Lehman et al., 2008). This directly ties into the proposed research project in that the weld type is varied from fillet to complete joint penetration (CJP). Also, Lehman et al. (2008) seek to create more compact and economical connections.

Methods and Materials

Previous research has focused on the cyclic behavior of braces or connections, but few projects have been concerned with finding the most effective and efficient connection type. The test specimen and experimental setup in this research project were designed to incorporate the response mechanisms that follow an earthquake. The primary focus of

this test was to see how each connection type fared under cyclically applied beam moments.

The six beam-column-gusset connection specimens are: CN1, CN2, CN3, CN4, CN5, and CN6. Each specimen was fabricated as a W10×49 cantilever beam attached to a W14×90 column stub. A325 bolts were used to connect the beam onto the column. All six specimens were fabricated by Novel Iron Works and can be seen in Figure 1. Specimen CN1 was a standard double angle connection. The connection type for specimens CN2-CN6 were designed and detailed in order to test different connection configurations. Variations include connection type (double or end plate), weld type, and bolt location. Further parametric studies will be done using finite element models validated with the experimental data. It should be noted that the finite element analysis models, which will be undertaken at a later date, are outside the scope of this research.

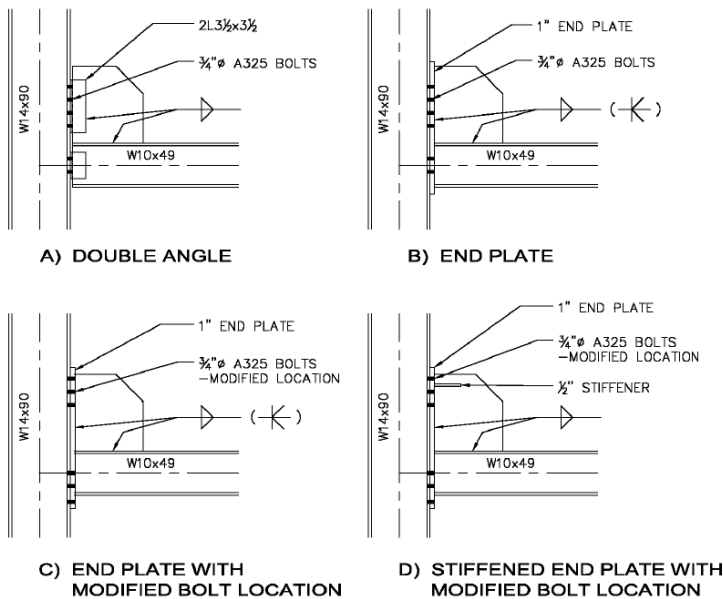


Figure 1: Connection Details: (A) CN1; (B) CN2/CN3; (C) CN4/CN5; (D) CN6 (Fahnestock & Stoaks, 2009)

Five of the specimens, CN2-CN6, are connected with a 1" end plate. These connection types vary in weld type and bolt location. Specimen CN2 has an end plate with bolt locations that match the baseline connection (CN1). The gusset plate for CN2 is connected to the beam and column through a fillet weld. Specimen CN3 also has an end plate and bolt locations similar to CN2. CN3 differs from CN2 in that a full penetration weld is used to connect the gusset plate to the beam and column, instead of a fillet weld. Specimen CN4 is connected with an end plate but modifies the bolt location to the outer edges of the end plate. The gusset plate for CN4 is connected to the beam and column through a fillet weld. CN5 differs from CN4 in that a full penetration weld is used to connect the gusset plate. Finally, CN6 employs an end plate, bolts located on the outer portion of the end plate, and full penetration welds. A ½" triangular stiffener between the gusset plate and column is added to the specimen. The stiffener is added to see if extra stiffness would significantly affect the results.

All specimens were heavily monitored while the test was in progress. This was made possible by connecting each specimen to various devices such as strain rosettes, strain gages, linear variable differential transducers (LVDT), linear potentiometer's (LP), and LED's. It took approximately two weeks for each specimen to be fully set up prior to testing. Strain rosettes were first placed on the underside of the beam, column, and gusset plate. The strain rosettes and strain gages were soldered to wires that connect to the data acquisition system. LVDT's were also placed on the underside of the beam, column, and gusset plate. This device measures voltage differences and these readings are manipulated to display changes in displacement. Once the underside of the specimen was properly wired, it was moved to the testing location and connected to two reaction blocks. The hydraulic actuator, which provides the cyclic loading, is also clamped onto the beam. A plan view of the experimental setup for specimen CN1 can be seen in Figure 2. The top portions of the beam and column were then connected to LP's through a measuring string. Finally, LED's were connected onto the beam, column, and gusset plate. Once all the wiring had been arranged properly, the instruments were checked to ensure relevant data collection.

Once the wiring on the beam, column, and gusset plate had been checked, three still cameras were set up around the testing site in order to capture visual information such as the failure mode. LabView was used to synchronize all three cameras with the data acquisition system. Testing of the CBF connection specimen took about seven hours and the still cameras were programmed to take pictures every five seconds. These stills were taken from the cameras and formatted into a video which allows viewers to see the deformation that the beam-column-gusset connection undergoes.

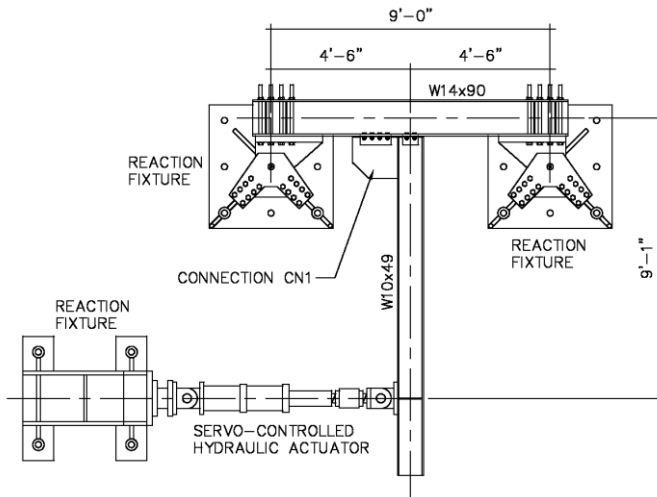


Figure 2: CN1 Beam-Column Test Setup (Fahnestock & Stoakes, 2009)

On testing day, various steps were taken to ensure that the setup was complete and fully functional. All wiring on the beam, column, and gusset plate were double checked to make sure they were properly installed. A final checkout of LabView, the data acquisition system, was done to make sure it was collecting relevant data. Finally, the Krypton camera system was set up. The Krypton camera is a device that is able to measure the position of the small LED's, which were set up on the beam, column, and gusset plate, in three dimensional space. This device is important in the experiment because it will allow the finite element analysis model of the CBF connection to be validated. Once the three-dimensional space of the Krypton camera was set up, then testing for the specimen began.

While the test is in progress and the data acquisition system collected data, additional notes were written down. These were used to compile a preliminary report on the happenings during the experiment. Notes on the appearance of the beam, column, and gusset plate were taken. This was fairly easy to spot since the beam, column, and gusset plate had several coatings of white-wash. This coating of white-wash was placed so that as the connection began to yield, the white coating would crack or flake, thereby revealing the inelastic response of the steel. Also, based on the cyclic loading history, the experiment was paused when a peak was reached. Additional photographs and notes were taken at these points. The test reached its climax when the bolts fractured and the strength of the connection appreciably degraded. The beam was never tested to the point of full detachment from the column to protect lab equipment and personnel. Once the test is over, data from LabView was copied on to several drives for data analysis.

Results

Hysteretic loops for CN1, CN2, and CN4 are shown in Figure 3, Figure 4, and Figure 5, respectively. Whenever a peak in loading history occurred, the experiment would be paused to take further notes and observations. Although the data acquisition system kept running while the test was paused, Figures 3 – 5 plot a reduced version of the data acquired. The displacements measured during these pauses were omitted to obtain smoother hysteresis curves.

The hysteresis loop corresponding to CN1, the double angle connection, is shown in Figure 3. The beam responded elastically up to a load of 10 kips. As the load increased, the connection gradually began behaving inelastically. The white-wash coating along the double angle connection where bolts R1 – R4 line up began to crack. This indicates that yielding began to occur along the angle connection. A large gap became visible between the toe of the double angle attached to the column flange. Also, the heel of the angle connection attached to the column flange fractured halfway along the outer edge. The most visible evidence of damage was along bolt rows 5 and 6. The heels of the double angle connecting bolts R5, R6, L5, and L6 to the top and bottom of the beam flange completely fractured, leaving a large gap. Although the double angles fractured, there were no signs of yielding on any of the beam,

column, or gusset plate. Pinching of the hysteretic loop can be seen in Figure 3. The inelastic loops were due primarily to stretching and yielding of the double angle connection.

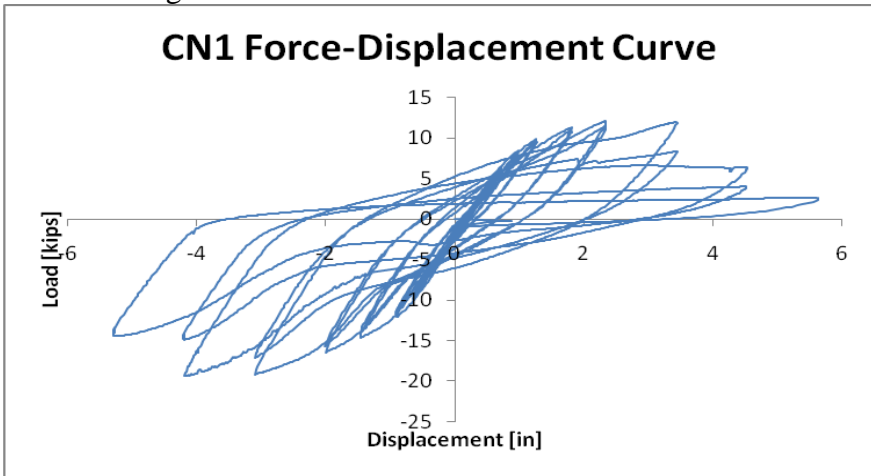


Figure 3: Reduced CN1 Force-Displacement Curve

Figure 4 shows the hysteresis loops for CN 2. This specimen behaved elastically up to a load of 20 kips. Although the hysteresis loop exhibits signs of pinching, the loops are fuller than those of CN1. MacRae et al. (2004) noted that full hysteresis loops are more desirable because they indicate more energy absorption. One thing to also take note of is the steps that can be seen in quadrants one and three of Figure 4. These steps indicate that yielding or fracture of the connection has occurred. In this case, it indicates failure of the bolts attaching the beam and gusset plate onto the column flange. As the specimen began behaving inelastically, the beam web began to show some yielding. The end plate on the outer edge of bolts R6 and L6 developed a small gap as the beam moment increased. Following some minor yielding in the beam five bolts fractured. The following is a list showing the order in which the bolts fractured: R6, L6, R5, L5, and R1. Once the bolts between the beam web and column flange fractured there was a

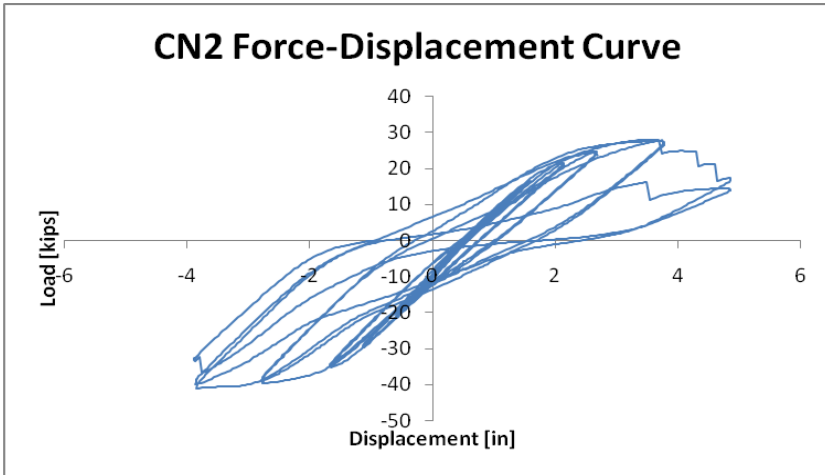


Figure 4: Reduced CN2 Force-Displacement Curve

significant amount of yielding that occurred in the column web. Also, the end plate developed a large gap between the regions connecting the beam onto the column flange. The test was halted when bolt R1 fractured and caused a minor gap between the end plate connecting the gusset plate onto the column flange. The remaining bolts would have fractured causing the beam to collapse if the test had run any longer. Yielding in the gusset plate was observed after the test ended.

Figure 5 shows the hysteresis loops for connection CN 4. It can be seen that the loops are fuller than those of CN1 and CN2. In comparison to connection CN1 and CN2, specimen CN4 shows more energy absorption. Again, steps appear in the first quadrant of Figure 5 indicating yielding of the connection. Specimen CN4 behaved elastically up to a load of 30 kips. Once the cyclic loading increased beyond this point, the connection gradually began showing signs of yielding. As the actuator began forcing the gusset plate into compression it began uplifting, yet no yielding occurred along the beam or column. Eventually, the beam flanges and web began to yield along the gusset plate uplift. At this point the bolts connecting the beam onto the column flange began the fracture. A total of six bolts fractured in the following order: R6, L6, R5, R4, L4, and L5. A minor gap was made visible between the column flange and end plate connected to the beam. Due to the compression the gusset plate underwent, yielding occurred along the welds. After the test ended it was

observed that the outer edge of the gusset plate welded onto the beam flange had begun the fracture.

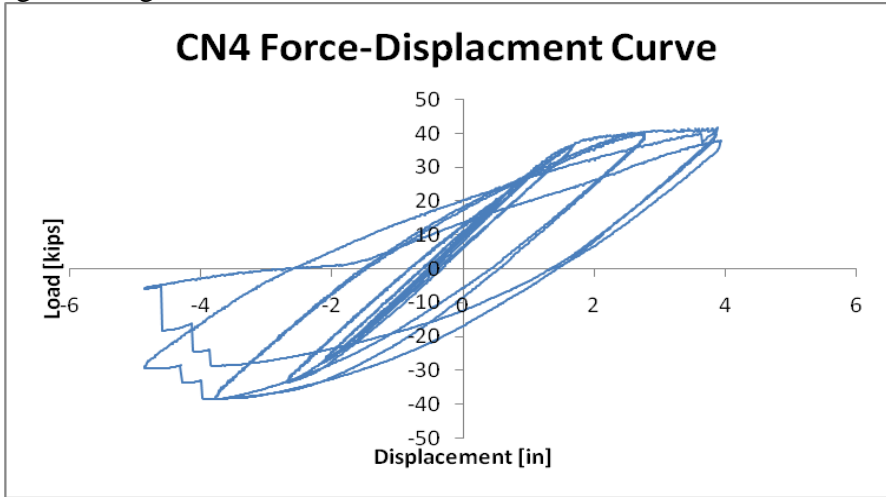


Figure 5: Reduced CN4 Force-Displacement Curve

Discussion

The behavior and performance of beam-column-gusset connections were observed under cyclic loading. Each test specimen (CN1, CN2, and CN3) varied in connection type (double angle or end plate), weld type, and bolt location. These variations were made in order to determine their effects on connection properties such as rotational stiffness, strength, and ductility. One of the goals of this paper is to provide suggestions on how to improve the current standard CBF brace connection.

Testing of CN1 showed that the connection was relatively weak. Although CN1 behaved elastically for several cycles it did not take long for the connection to begin yielding once it entered the inelastic phase. The finite element analysis models tested prior to the full-scale testing were verified. Full-scale testing proved that under cyclic loading, the applied beam moment concentrated primarily on the heel of the double angle and also along the leg connecting to the column flange. This is because the beam moment was being transferred onto the column through the double angle. In contrast to CN2 and CN4, the gusset plate and beam are not directly welded onto the column flange. Instead, CN1 had large gaps between the gusset plate and column flange as well as a gap between the beam end and

column flange. These gaps allow for greater beam rotation. As the gusset plate was put under compression, the angle legs on bolt rows 5 and 6 experienced tension. The double angle connection on bolt rows 5 and 6 completely fractured along the heel. Since this portion of the connection is no longer able to carry more load, it would transfer the load to the double angles connecting the gusset plate onto the column flange. We can determine that this connection would have fractured along the same location if larger cyclic loads had been applied. This experiment shows that although CN1 is a standard for CBF brace connections, there is still much more that can be improved upon.

To improve the standard connection a variation in connection type was suggested. The beam and gusset plate for CN2 are connected to the column flange through a 1" end plate. Bolt locations were kept the same as in CN1. The difference in behavior of a connection using an end plate is significantly different to that of a double angle. As prior finite element analysis models indicated, stresses concentrated along the beam, column web, and gusset plate. Since the end plate is welded onto both the beam and column it is more rigid in bolt rows 5 and 6, than in bolt rows 1 – 4. This caused the column to yield along the web. As the gusset plate was forced into compression, bolt rows 5 and 6 fractured first. Upon further observation of the fractured bolts it was noted that all bolts except L5 failed in tension. The order in which the bolts fractured show that bolt rows 5 and 6 experience the most demand. This outcome also agrees with the concluding remarks in a study done by Tsai and Popov (1990). They also provide two solutions to help improve the connection. The first would be to strengthen the bolts and the second would be to add stiffeners above and below the end plate. These suggestions aim to equalize the forces acting on the bolts. The difference between the present research and the Tsai and Popov (1990) research is that their bolt configuration is symmetric whereas it is not in this case. From this we draw that perhaps it is best to design a connection with symmetric bolt locations.

Specimen CN4 also used a 1" end plate to connect the beam and gusset plate onto the column flange. The difference between CN2 and CN4 were the bolt locations; CN4 was designed with symmetric bolt locations. The experimental outcome of CN4 is different than that of CN2. Since yielding did not occur exactly as it did in CN2 it shows that bolt location does have an impact on a connection's yielding mechanism.

Although the column did not show signs of yielding, the beam web nearest to the end plate did have signs of yielding. Also, the gusset plate showed signs of yielding along the welded areas. After the experiment ended, a small fracture on the outer edge of the gusset plate attached to the beam flange was visible. Unlike CN2, CN4 did not have a large gap between the end plate and the column flange once the test had concluded. The bolts in rows 1 – 3 still remained in good conditions to keep the end plate properly connected to the column flange. The bolts that did fracture were revealed to have failed due to a large moment applied on them. This again indicated that CN4 withheld a much stronger beam moment than CN1 and CN2.

From observing CN1, CN2, and CN4 it has become clear that although CN1 is the standard CBF brace connection, there are improvements that can be made in order to achieve better performance. From testing CN2 it was determined that using an end plate dissipated the stresses concentrated on the bolts to the surrounding end plate. Once the CN2 test ended an undesired gap between the end plate and column flange was visible. CN4 had a symmetric placement of the bolts along the end plate. This improved the connection because yielding in the column web was prevented. Also, although the gusset plate uplifted, yielding only occurred along the welds. The gusset plate did begin to fracture at a high beam moment, but did not collapse.

Future Research

Although this research project namely looked at comparing the experimental outcomes of specimens CN1, CN2, and CN4, there are still three other connections to be considered. Specimens CN3 differs from CN2 only in weld type; The weld type for CN3 is a full penetration weld. Specimen CN5 differs from CN4 in weld type also; a full penetration weld is used for this connection. The last specimen, CN6, has an added $\frac{1}{2}$ " stiffener added to determine whether this will affect the outcome of the test. The setup of CN6 must first be completed in order to test the connection. Once all six connections have been tested further analysis must be done to see which aspects of the connections have helped the overall performance. This step will also help in providing further recommendations for beam-column-gusset connections. Quantification of the reserve capacity in each specimen shall also be determined. The finite element models can be fine tuned in order for them to provide more

realistic results. In the long-run more research must be conducted in order to truly validate the usage of $R = 3$ in areas of low and moderate seismic activity.

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Simon Howard

Major:
Behavioral Science and
Psychology

Mentor:
Dr. Neelam Rattan

An Exploratory Study
Assessing the Relationship
between Symbolic Racism
and Social Dominance
Orientation in a
Multicultural Environment

Biography

Simon Howard is a Senior majoring in Behavioral Science and Psychology. Simon currently works for the Metropolitan Undergraduate Scholar's Experience (MUSE) Peer Mentor Program where he serves the SJSU community as a Peer Mentor. Since 2007, Simon has been involved in the Collegiate 100 Black Men of Silicon Valley at San Jose State University, an organization dedicated to improving and enhancing the educational and economic opportunities for all African Americans through various avenues. He currently serves as President. Simon is deeply interested in issues surrounding racism, sexism and classism and sees himself doing research in these domains. Simon's research was an exploratory study assessing the relationship between Symbolic Racism and Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) in a multicultural environment. Simon's interests outside of research include writing lyrics, human rights activism, and debating. His ultimate career goal is to be a professor influencing the teachers and researchers of tomorrow. He plans to receive his Ph.D. in Social Psychology.

An Exploratory Study Assessing the Relationship between Symbolic Racism and Social Dominance Orientation in a Multicultural Environment

ABSTRACT

The primary aim of this study was to explore whether or not there was a relationship between symbolic racism, a new form of racism different from traditional racism, and social dominance orientation (SDO) in a multicultural environment (San Jose State University). Thirty-three San Jose State University students enrolled in upper division psychology courses completed an eight-item symbolic racism scale and the Social Dominance Orientation Scale (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994). The data confirmed a significant moderate positive relationship between symbolic racism and SDO. Implications for further research suggest conducting similar research with larger samples.

Introduction

In the United States, racism has been present since the country was established. Historically, in the United States, the most common targets of racism have been Black Americans, Native Americans, Latino Americans, and Asian Americans. According to Dictionary.com, racism can be defined in three ways (1) a belief or doctrine that inherent differences among the various human races determine cultural or individual achievement, usually involving the idea that one's own race is superior and has the right to rule others; (2) a policy, system of government, etc., based upon or fostering such a doctrine; discrimination; (3) hatred or intolerance of another race or other races. Today, race relations in the United States are far more complex in comparison to what they were before and during the Jim Crow era. Racism then was overt; it was an amalgamation of structures and actions used to suppress a particular race by constructing and using systems of, inequity, inequality and oppression. For example, schools were legally segregated, anti-miscegenation laws banned interracial marriage, some restaurants served Whites only and Blacks had to sit at the back of the bus. Covert racism, the opposite of the overt forms of racism outlined above,

are subtle, subversive, and deliberate informal and formal mechanisms that allow differential access to rewards, prestige, sanctions, status, and privileges based on racial hierarchies. While covert racism does not carry the weight of law – tradition, norms, and customs typically uphold, justify, or obscure its operation. As a consequence, members of select racialized groups are ‘expected’ to (out) perform selected tasks, develop specific skills and excel in certain environments – as compared to other racialized groups. Thus, covert racism serves to explain obvious racial outcomes as ‘natural’. Alternatively, and correspondingly any deficiencies, lack of achievement, or failure to perform by selected/specific-racialized groups is similarly obscured, misdiagnosed, or misrepresented as individual or group failure, lack or deficiency (Coates, 2008, p. 212).

Overt racism, the racism experienced during the pre-civil rights era, frequently referred to as “old-fashioned,” “red neck,” “Jim Crow,” or blatant racism, is still experienced by Black Americans and other ethnic minorities; however, these forms of racism are generally not practiced today because they are socially unacceptable. These days, it is more common for Black Americans to experience covert forms of racism (Henry & Sears, 2002). These covert forms of racism have been given numerous names such as *symbolic racism* (Sears & Kinder, 1971) *modern racism* (McConahay 1986), and *racial resentment* (Kinder & Sanders, 1996). My focus is on symbolic racism, the earliest of these new racisms and its relationship to *social dominance orientation* (SDO), an attitude predictor and standard personality variable, in a multicultural environment.

Symbolic Racism.

Sears and Kinder (1971) introduced the term *symbolic racism* to describe a new concept of racism that is different from the racism during the pre-civil rights era. Symbolic racism, modern racism and racial resentment have been operationally defined similarly but there are some minor conceptual differences (see Henry & Sears, 2002; Tarman & Sears, 2005). At the same time, the basis of all these theories is a fundamental assumption that new types of prejudice represent negative attitudes towards Blacks as a group combined with the notion that Blacks

contravene esteemed American values (i.e., individualism, self-reliance, hard work, submission to authority). Symbolic racism has repeatedly been used by social scientists to make the distinction between high- and low-prejudice individuals or to test the role of prejudice as a moderating variable (Henry and Sears, 2002).

Henry and Sears (2002) describe symbolic racism as:

a coherent belief system combining the following ideas: that racial discrimination is no longer a serious obstacle to Blacks' prospects for a good life; that Blacks' continuing disadvantages are due to their own unwillingness to take responsibility for their lives; and that, as a result, Blacks' continuing anger about their own treatment, their demands for better treatment and various kinds of special attention given to them are not truly justified (p. 254).

Unlike the “old fashioned” Jim Crow form of racism that supported formal segregation, discrimination and beliefs in biological inferiority of Blacks, symbolic racism suggests that racial prejudice is directed towards Blacks as an abstract collective, rather than at Black individuals (Henry & Sears 2002). Anti-Black racism in the United States is one of the earliest and circulated forms of ethnic prejudice. Researchers have demonstrated that symbolic racism, in regards to Blacks and other forms of anti-Black racism, is related to attitude predictors and standard personality variables such as *social dominance orientation* (SDO; Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth & Malle, 1994).

Social Dominance Orientation (SDO)

In the United States and many other countries across the globe, there has been a long history of group conflict and group-based inequality. Social dominance theory

postulates that societies minimize group conflict by creating consensus on ideologies that promote superiority. Ideologies that promote or maintain group inequality are the tolls that legitimize discrimination... By contributing to consensual normalized group-based inequality, legitimizing myths help to stabilize oppression. That is they minimize conflict among groups by indicating how individuals and social institutions should allocate things of positive or negative social value, such as jobs, gold, blankets, government

appointments, prison terms and disease. (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994, p. 741)

Based on social dominance theory, Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, and Malle (1994) formulated an individual difference variable called social dominance orientation (SDO). Social dominance orientation “is the extent to which one desires that one’s in-group dominate and be superior to out-groups” (p. 742). Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth and Malle suggest the variable of SDO influences the extent to which individuals subscribe to *hierarchy-legitimizing myths* (e.g., racism, sexism, classism), which are ideologies that promote or maintain group inequality, and function as the mechanisms that justify discrimination. SDO is considered to “be a general attitudinal orientation toward intergroup relations, reflecting whether one generally prefers such relations to be equal, versus hierarchical, that is, ordered along a superior-inferior dimension” (p. 742). In addition, individuals high in SDO have a tendency to favor hierarchy-enhancing careers (e.g., criminal prosecutor, FBI agent, politicians), ideologies, and policies, whereas individuals low in SDO have a tendency to favor the hierarchy-attenuating (HA) careers (i.e. public defender, civil rights lawyer, human rights advocate), ideologies, and policies (Sidanius et al., 1996). Pratto et al (1994) also found that men tend to be higher in SDO than their female counterparts and that White men tend to have the highest SDO’s.

In sum, SDO “reflects an individual’s tendency to classify social groups along a superiority-inferiority dimension and to favor policies that maintain social inequality” (Van Hiel & Mervielde, 2005, p.2324).

The Study

The relationship between racial prejudice and social dominance orientation (SDO) has been explored by many social scientists (e.g., Altemeyer, 1998; Duckitt, 2001; Duckitt et al, 2002; Ekehammar et al, 2004; Rotheim, 1988, Van Hiel & Mervielde, 2002). Although many have examined the relationship between racial prejudice and SDO, there are no studies, to our knowledge, that have examined the correlation between symbolic racism, and SDO in a multicultural environment. For the purpose of this study, multicultural environment has been defined as a location where four or more ethnic groups interact daily, and where no single ethnic group makes up more than 50 % of the total population. The current

study took a sample from San Jose State University because of the multicultural atmosphere of the university and the surrounding area. In 2008, no single ethnic group made up more than 30 percent of the total population on campus (San Jose State University, 2009). More demographic information about San Jose State University can be found in Table 1.

Table 1

Ethnicity and Gender Demographics of San Jose State University for Fall 2008

Ethnicity	University Total		Gender	
	Head Count	% Total	Male	Female
University Total	32,746	100%	15,150	17,596
American Indian	172	1%	63	109
African American	1,551	5%	729	822
Asian	7,425	23%	3,808	3,617
Filipino	2,361	7%	1,163	1,198
Pacific Islander	277	1%	119	158
Hispanic	5,325	16%	2,218	3,107
White	9,309	28%	3,988	5,321
Foreign National	2,726	8%	1,497	1,239
Other	3,590	11%	1,565	2,025

In addition, San Jose State University is located in San Jose, CA which is the tenth largest city in the United States, with a population close to one million, and is considered the capital of Silicon Valley. Due to the demography of San Jose State University and its location, a unique multicultural environment has been created.

Thus far, research on the relationship between symbolic racism and SDO has usually focused on the analysis of Whites' attitudes toward Blacks. This is because "Whites have historically been the majority group in the United States, dominant economically and politically, and white prejudice against blacks has long been assumed to represent a significant obstacle to full racial equality" (Henry & Sears, 2002, p. 258). However, as the United States becomes more ethnically diverse it is imperative to expand the scholarship of racial prejudice among non-white ethnic groups. This is important in order to attain a more complete representation of Americans' attitudes towards Blacks and American's attitudes towards Blacks in relationship to SDO. Based on this premise, the aim of the current study is to determine if there is a correlation between symbolic racism and SDO in a multicultural environment, specifically San Jose State University.

Method

Participants

Thirty-three San Jose State University students enrolled in upper division psychology courses participated. Of these, 11 were males and 22 were females. In terms of ethnicity, 18.2 % of participants were Asian, 3% were Black, 9.1% were Indian, 15.1% were Hispanic, 9.1% were Middle Eastern, 3% were Filipino, 6.1% were two or more races, 30.3% were White and 6.1% were unspecified. They ranged from 20 – 62 years of age, with a median age of 22.

Materials

The materials used for the study include an eight-item Symbolic Racism Scale 2000 (SR2K; Henry & Sears, 2002) to measure contemporary racial attitudes, the Social Dominance Orientation Scale (SDO; Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994) to measure social dominance orientation, and a survey containing questions on

demographics. The Cronbach’s alpha for the SR2K is .79 and for the SDO scale it was .83. See Appendix for both scales.

Procedure

The researcher told participants that they would be participating in a research study investigating social attitudes and opinions. After reading their consent form, participants were told they would be given three surveys to complete. Participants completed the 8 item SR2K, a 14 item SDO and four questions regarding demographics (i.e., race, sex, age, major). All responses were anonymous and confidential. Following data collection, participants were debriefed and thanked for their time. The participants took approximately 20 minutes to complete both scales and the background information questionnaire.

Results

First to provide comparative reference points, sample-wide scores on symbolic racism and social dominance orientation were examined and are reported in Table 2.

Table 2

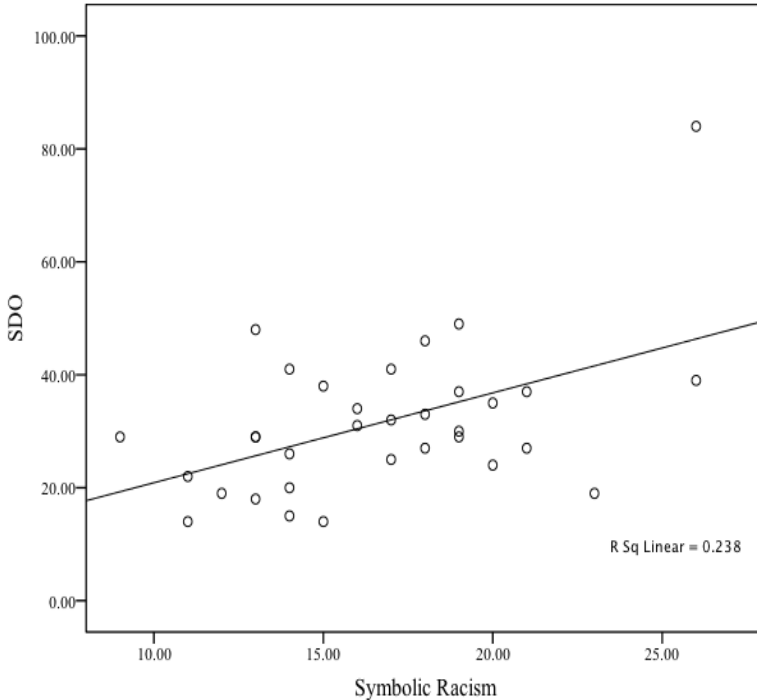
Sample-Wide Scores for Symbolic Racism and Social Dominance Orientation

	M	SD	Low	High
Symbolic Racism	16.7	4.1	9	26
Social Dominance	31.5	13.4	14	84

N=33

Next, a Pearson correlation between symbolic racism and social dominance orientation was calculated. The present study found a significant positive correlation between symbolic racism and SDO, $r(31) = .49, p = .004$. The moderate positive relationship between symbolic racism and SDO can be seen in Figure 1.

Figure 1.



In the first correlation between symbolic racism and SDO, an extreme score was identified. This outlier can be seen in the upper right corner of Figure 1. Through observation, it seemed that the outlier was positively skewing the regression line. The outlier was removed; sample-wide scores on symbolic racism and social dominance orientation were reexamined and are reported in Table 3.

Table 3

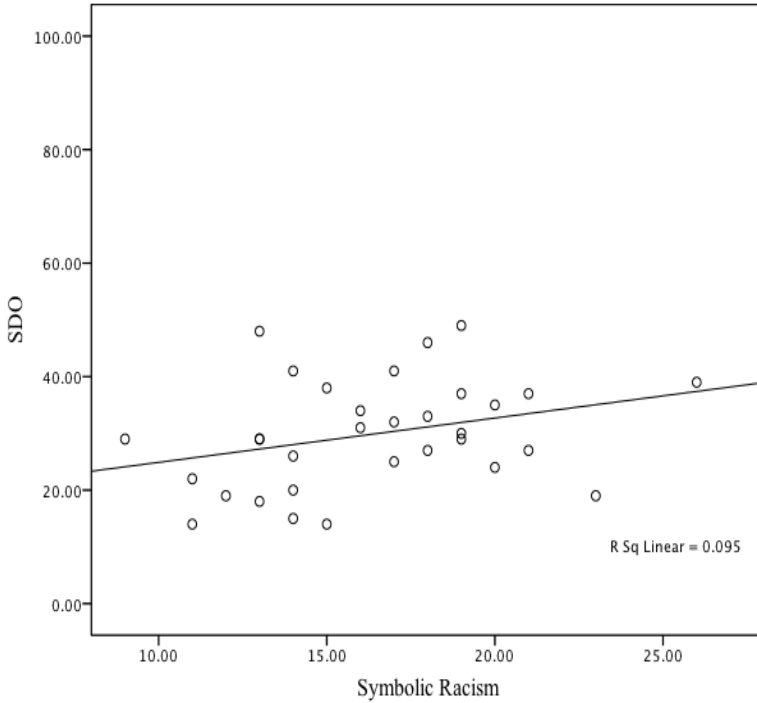
Sample-Wide Scores for Symbolic Racism and Social Dominance Orientation, After the Removal of Outlier

	M	SD	Low	High
Symbolic Racism	16.4	3.8	9	26
Social Dominance	29.9	9.6	14	49

N= 32

Next, another Pearson correlation between symbolic racism and SDO was calculated after the removal of the outlier which yielded a slightly weaker correlation between symbolic racism and SDO, $r(30) = .31, p = .086$. The relationship between symbolic racism and SDO, after the removal of the outlier, can be seen in Figure 2.

Figure 2.



Discussion

Relationship Between Symbolic Racism and Social Dominance Orientation

Symbolic racism was moderately related to SDO ($r = .49$). These results suggest that attitudes involving race (at least with regard to Blacks) are associated with those pertaining to social hierarchy in a multicultural environment. Specifically, individuals who believe that a number of groups in society are simply inferior to other groups were more likely to believe that racial discrimination is no longer an obstacle for Black Americans' prospect for a high-quality life. In addition, they thought that they needed to work harder instead of demanding special attention and better treatment from the rest of society. But as stated in the results, an outlier was identified and with the removal of that outlier a slightly weaker correlation between symbolic racism and SDO ($r = .31$) was produced. Moreover, this correlation was not statistically significant.

Limitations

There are a number of limitations in the present study worth mentioning and should be addressed in future research. First, the size of the sample was relatively small, $N=33$. Also, over 90 % of participants were majoring in psychology and the sample was disproportionately comprised of females (62 %). Individuals who have university exposure to hierarchy attenuating (HA) academic majors such as those that fall under the social science umbrella, display a decrease in anti-egalitarian and group domination (e.g. social dominance orientation; Dambrun, et al, 2009). Females tend to have lower SDO scores compared to males (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994; Riley, 2006). The sample also did not have any Black/African American females, Filipino males, Latino males, Middle Eastern males, or Pacific Islander males or females. As such, the findings obtained from the sample may not be a true representation of the population of San Jose State University.

Second, the results of the current study may have been affected by experimenter characteristics. Because the experimenter in current study was Black, participants, when answering questions on the symbolic racism questionnaire, may have experienced guilt or other psychological experiences, because of the content regarding Blacks. These experiences may lead to lower symbolic racism scores that might be higher if the experimenter were of another race (Fazio & Olson, 2003). In addition, according to Jackson, Sullivan and Hodge (1993), Blacks who are seen or described in stereotyped-inconsistent ways tend to be viewed and evaluated more positively than those who are seen or described in stereotyped-consistent ways. Because the experimenter was Black, and thus in a stereotyped-inconsistent role, it may have had an effect on the way participants completed their surveys.

Implications for Further Research

While finding preliminary support for the relationship between symbolic racism and social dominance orientation in a multicultural environment, this study's findings should be considered with reservations because of the methodological limitations described earlier. As such, the results and the conclusions drawn from them require further research

before validity can be determined. In particular, the size of future samples should be larger in order for the sample to more accurately reflect the population of interest. The diversity of future samples should also more accurately reflect the characteristics of the general population at San Jose State University or other multicultural institutions by including more respondents that are Black Americans, African Natives, Filipinos, Pacific Islanders, Latinos, and individuals of two or more races. Also, incorporating greater diversity of academic majors and ensuring that there is little to no disparity between the number of male versus female participants would add validity. In addition, participants' socioeconomic status should be recorded because it can be a factor that affects SDO (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994). Moreover, these samples should also include individuals from other areas of San Jose and the Silicon Valley as well as other multicultural environments such as Rutgers University-New Brunswick, the University of Houston, and Miami in order to generalize results more broadly.

Furthermore, the Symbolic Racism 2000 Scale (SR2K) (Henry & Sears, 2002) used in the current study may not be applicable to many individuals that attend San Jose State University. San Jose State University has a significant foreign born and international population, and the nature of the how the questions are phrased on SR2K (i.e., about Blacks) may only be relevant to the United States or countries whose history is similar to that of the United States. A new scale should be developed to accommodate for a wider range of participants. For example, Van Hiel and Mervielde (2005) took pre-existing scales with pro-Black and anti-Black items and contextually adapted them for their Flemish sample. Cohrs and Asbrock (2009) also adapted preexisting subtle and blatant racism scales for their sample. The same effort should be done for multicultural environments to accommodate for a wide range of social attitudes.

Further research could examine the correlation between religiosity and symbolic racism or SDO. It would be interesting to see if the more religiously devout an individual is, the higher/lower he or she scores on a symbolic racism scale. It would be equally interesting to see if certain religions (e.g., Christianity, Islam, Judaism, Hinduism) produced higher/lower symbolic racism and SDO scores in comparison to one another. To take it one step further, researchers could also determine if

there is a difference between Western or Eastern religions and their relationship with the two constructs.

Conclusion

The results of this study, found that there is a moderate relationship between symbolic racism and SDO in a multicultural environment. Although this same relationship was found to be not statistically significant after the removal of an outlier, the author believes that with an increased sample size the results would be significant. As stated previously, as the United States becomes more ethnically diverse it is imperative to expand the scholarship of racial prejudice among non-white ethnic groups, in order to attain a more complete representation of Americans' attitudes towards Blacks, and American's attitudes towards Blacks in relationship to SDO. However, in order to capture a more complete representation of Americans' racial attitudes in general, further research is necessary. To achieve this, symbolic racism scales need to be created that include other ethnic minorities (i.e., Latino Americans, Asian Americans, Arab Americans) that experience prejudice.

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APPENDIX A: The Symbolic Racism 2000 Scale

1. It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites.

- <1> Strongly agree
- <2> Somewhat agree
- <3> Somewhat disagree
- <4> Strongly disagree

2. Irish, Italian, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same.

- <1> Strongly agree
- <2> Somewhat agree

- <3> Somewhat disagree
- <4> Strongly disagree

3. Some say that black leaders have been trying to push too fast. Others feel that they haven't pushed fast enough. What do you think?

- <1> Trying to push very much too fast
- <2> Going too slowly
- <3> Moving at about the right speed

4. How much of the racial tension that exists in the United States today do you think blacks are responsible for creating?

- <1> All of it
- <2> Most
- <3> Some
- <4> Not much at all

5. How much discrimination against blacks do you feel there is in the United States today, limiting their chances to get ahead?

- <1> A lot
- <2> Some
- <3> Just a little
- <4> None at all

6. Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class.

- <1> Strongly agree
- <2> Somewhat agree
- <3> Somewhat disagree
- <4> Strongly disagree

7. Over the past few years, blacks have gotten less than they deserve.

- <1> Strongly agree
- <2> Somewhat agree
- <3> Somewhat disagree
- <4> Strongly disagree

8. Over the past few years, blacks have gotten more economically than they deserve.

- <1> Strongly agree
- <2> Somewhat agree
- <3> Somewhat disagree
- <4> Strongly disagree

APPENDIX B: Social Dominance Orientation Scale

Instructions

Which of the following objects or statements do you have a positive or negative feeling towards? Beside each object or statement, place a number from '1' to '7' which represents the degree of your positive or negative feeling.

Response Options

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree						Strongly agree

Items

1. Some groups of people are simply not the equals of others._____
2. Some people are just more worthy than others._____
3. This country would be better off if we cared less about how equal all people were._____
4. Some people are just more deserving than others._____

5. It is not a problem if some people have more of a chance in life than others. _____
6. Some people are just inferior to others. _____
7. To get ahead in life it is necessary to step on others. _____
8. Increased economic equality. _____
9. Increased social equality. _____
10. Equality. _____
11. If people were treated more equally we would have fewer problems in this country. _____
12. In an ideal world, all nations would be equal. _____
13. We should try to treat one another as equals as much as possible. _____
14. It is important that we treat other countries as equal. _____



Thanh Ngoc Le

Major:
Chemistry concentration in
Biochemistry

Mentor:
Dr. David J.R. Brook

Synthesis and
Characterization of A
Novel Verdazyl Radical
with Peroxides

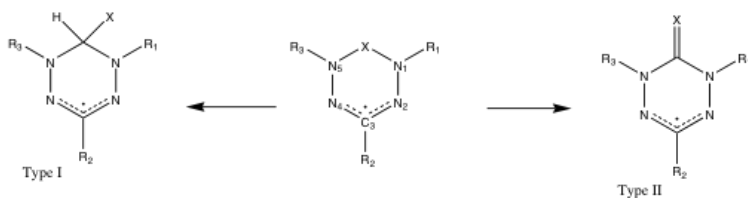
Biography

Thanh Ngoc Le is a Senior majoring in Chemistry concentration in Biochemistry. For the past two and a half years she has worked for Dr. David Brook as an undergraduate. She was also involved in the Chemistry Club at SJSU for more than 3 years and in 2009-2010 she was the Event Coordinator for the club. Her main interests include working with children and inspiring them with science. Taking part in inspiring children with science has been one of the best experiences of her college career. Her passion has developed throughout her undergraduate years working as an undergraduate researcher in verdazyl chemistry, and she sees herself researching in natural products. Her ultimate career goal is to be a professor of organic chemistry, while being able to contribute to the Chemical Society.

Synthesis and Characterization of A Novel Verdazyl Radical with Peroxides

ABSTRACT

Verdazyl radicals are stable free radicals that can be synthesized with different substituents at the 1, 3, and 5 positions. Though they were first reported in 1965, very little is known about their reactivity with oxygen species. In order to better utilize these radicals in applications such as spin probes we are investigating their reactivity towards biologically relevant oxidants such as hydrogen peroxides and superoxides, and also other more reactive organic peroxides. In particular, we report the reactions of 1,5-diisopropyl-3-phenyl-6-oxo-verdazyl with reactive peroxides such as dimethyl dioxirane, and t-butyl hydroperoxide. Reactions were investigated by UV-vis, NMR, and GCMS to determine the kinetics and products of the reactions. Reaction shows auto-catalysis under conditions of excess peroxides.



Introduction

Free radicals are molecules with open-shell electronic configurations and singly occupied molecular orbitals (SOMO). Molecules with open-shell configurations form one less bond than usual, and they lack a complete octet. These types of molecules tend to be very reactive and unstable; however, there are several families of stable radicals that can exist in aqueous or solid states with little to no decomposition and thus defy the notion of being transient, and highly reactive.¹ Stable radicals, having a magnetic quality due to their unpaired electron, can be used as molecular-based magnets.^{2,3} These radicals can act as “spin probes” or “spin labels” and aid in the investigation of macromolecules such as proteins. They can

also induce polymerization, homolytic dissociations, and radical rearrangements.⁵⁻⁷ E.K Zavoisky at Kazan University in USSR was the first to introduce electron paramagnetic resonance spectroscopy in 1944 (EPR also known as ESR – electron spin resonance). EPR uses the spin of the unpaired electron to probe electronic structure; it is particularly suited to the study of free radicals.⁴ In addition, we can use gas chromatography mass spectroscopy, and UV-vis to investigate stable radicals and monitor their reactions.

The most studied stable radicals are the hydrazyl radicals, the neutral radical nitroxide family such as imino nitroxides, and nitronyl nitroxides.⁸⁻¹¹ In addition, stable radicals include semiquinones and verdazyls. These stable radicals have unpaired electrons that are delocalized over the two or more oxygen and/or nitrogens.¹² In this study, we are mainly focus on verdazyls.

Verdazyls are stable radicals that can be synthesized with a variety of substituents at the 1, 3, and 5 positions. The stability of these verdazyls depends on different substituents. Substituents contribute to verdazyl stability by providing steric bulk, resonance delocalization, and lone-pair repulsion to suppress its reactivity. There are two types of verdazyls differentiated by the substituents at the sixth position of the ring. The first type has an sp³ carbon at the sixth position. This type also has a half boat conformation.¹³ The second type has either a carbonyl or thiocarbonyl group at the sixth position, and also has a planar geometry.^{14,15} Two additional types of verdazyl, which replace the carbonyl with phosphorus or boron, have been reported by Hicks and coworkers;^{16,17} however neither is particularly stable.

Verdazyls were first reported in 1963 by Kuhn and Trichmann.¹⁸ Over the decades, various synthetic routes yielded many different derivatives of verdazyls with different substituents on the nitrogen and carbon ring atoms such as the bi- and tri- phenyl verdazyl, which was first published by Kuhn *et al*,¹⁹ and Neugebauer *et al*.²⁰ In addition, Neugebauer *et al*. devised synthetic methods for 6-oxoverdazyls and 6-thioxoverdazyls from carbonic acid bis(1-methyl hydrazide)^{21,22} and thiocarbonic acid bis(1-methyl hydrazide).¹⁴

Further studies include studies of verdazyl coordination chemistry, and magnetic susceptibility . The first investigation of verdazyl coordination chemistry was done by Brook *et al* in 1997 on copper (I)

complexes of bis (verdazyl) diradicals.²³ Since then, many studies have been done for coordination chemistry of verdazyls such the study of Coordination Chemistry of Verdazyl Radicals: Group 12 Metal (Zn, Cd, Hg) Complexes 1,4,5,6-Tetrahydro-2,4-dimethyl-6-(2'-pyridyl)-1,2,4,5-tetrazin-3(2H)-one (pvdH₃) and 1,5-dimethyl-3-(2'-pyridyl)-6-oxoverdazyl (pvd) by Brook and coworkers.²⁴ In addition to coordination chemistry, magnetic characteristics of verdazyls were also studied. The first magnetic susceptibility that was studied was from Allemand *et al.* in 1990 on the ferromagnetic interactions of 3-(4-nitrophenyl)-1,5,6-triphenylverdazyl. They found that the compound had a positive Weiss constant of $\theta = 1.6\text{K}$.²⁵ Since 1990 many other research groups have investigated the magnetic characteristics of other types of verdazyls and several derivatives have demonstrated magnetic phase transitions.²⁶⁻³¹

There have been many studies on verdazyl chemistry, but little is known about their reactivity or about compounds that can alter the ring constituents of the verdazyl.^{32,33} In order to better utilize these radicals in applications such as spin probes for biomolecules, and catalysts for radical polymerization, we investigate their reactivity towards a variety of peroxides. In particular, we report the reaction of 1,5-diisopropyl-3-phenyl-6-oxo-verdazyl with t-butyl hydroperoxide in two different solvents: benzene, and tetrahydrofuran (THF). In addition, we compare the results of t-butyl hydroperoxide to a very reactive peroxide, dimethyl dioxirane, in order to show patterns of how verdazyls react with peroxides.

Experimental:

2,4-diisopropyl-6-phenyl-2-yl-1,2,4,5-tetrazinan-3-one

2,4-diisopropylcarbonohydrazide bis-hydrochloride (350mg, 1.41mmol) and benzaldehyde (212.24mg, 2mmol) were dissolved in minimal amount of ethanol (3mL). Sodium acetate (328.1g, 4mmol) in ethanol was added to this solution and allowed to stand at room temperature for 41 hours. Then solution was filtered and recrystallized with heptane to produce tetrazane (203.2mg, 55.01%). C₁₄H₂₂N₄O (NaCl plate)/cm⁻¹ 3582(NH), 2968(C-H), 2929(C-H), 1580(C=O); δ_{H} (300MHz, CDCl₃) 1.14(6H,d), 1.17(6H,d), 3.75(1H,d), 4.70 (2H, septet), 7.25(1H, s), 7.40(2H,m), 7.58(2H,m); MS (electrospray) 262(MH⁺, 100%).

1,5-diisopropyl-3-phenyl-6-oxo-verdazyl

2,4-diisopropyl-6-phenyl-2-yl-1,2,4,5-tetrazinan-3-one (793.3mg, 3.03mmol) was refluxed with 1.5 mol eq. benzoquinone (494.6mg, 4.58mmol) in 25mL toluene for 2 hours. The solution was vacuum filtered and the solvent was evaporated off. The orange crystals that formed after the evaporation of toluene were recrystallized in pentane. The purity was checked by GCMS (628.3mg, 80.1%). $C_{14}H_{19}N_4O$ (NaCl plate)/ cm^{-1} 2977(C-H), 2928(C-H), 1683(C=O); MS (electrospray) 259 (MH⁺, 100%).

Reaction of t-butyl hydroperoxide with 1,5-diisopropyl-3-phenyl-6-oxoverdazyl

In general, 6-oxoverdazyl (0.01g, 0.039mmol) was diluted in 100mL of solvent (i.e. benzene or tetrahydrofuran). The diluted solution (10mL, 3.86×10^{-4} mol/L) was placed in the cuvette for UV-vis measurement. To that cuvette, increments of 1mol eq of t-butyl hydroperoxide were added every hour. The UV-vis detector was set to take readings every 5 minutes until manually stopped once the peroxide was added. Once the added amount of t-butyl hydroperoxide reached 10 moles total, the UV-vis detector was set to record data every 5 hour intervals. A sample was withdrawn at 1 1mol equivalent of t-butyl hydroperoxide for GCMS analysis.

Reaction of dimethyl dioxirane with 1,5-diisopropyl-3-phenyl-6-oxoverdazyl

In general, 6-oxoverdazyl (0.01g, 0.039mmol) was diluted in 100mL of acetone. To the diluted solution was added 1mol equivalent of dimethyl dioxirane in acetone. The reaction was monitored by GCMS for 24 hours. Preparative TLC was run to purify the two products that were in the reaction.

Results and Discussion

Reaction of t-butyl hydroperoxide with 1,5-diisopropyl-3-phenyl-6-oxoverdazyl

The reaction of t-butyl hydroperoxide (TBHP) with 1,5-diisopropyl-3-phenyl-6-oxoverdazyl was monitored using UV-vis in two different solvents, benzene and tetrahydrofuran. The reaction behaves slightly different for each solvent. In benzene, the UV-vis spectra of the reaction changes with each 1mol equivalent interval for every hour addition of t-butyl hydroperoxide. The spectrum changed little with each

addition of 1mmol of TBHP until approximately 8mmol were added. After this point, the change in the spectrum after each addition became increasingly pronounced. In figure 1, the concentration of TBHP at 10 molar equivalent had the biggest spectrum change. Also, in figure 2 the spectrum of 10mol equivalent of TBHP is slightly shifted from the original verdazyl spectrum. The verdazyl absorbance characteristic had also disappeared from the spectrum of the excess 10mol equivalent TBHP. The verdazyl peaked at about 415 nm is shifted to about 390nm and increases in intensity, as seen in figure 2. Further reaction occurred when the solution with 10 molar equivalent were allowed to stand at room temperature for 55 hours, figure 2. That is due to excess of TBHP in the solution interacting with the verdazyl ring and not the phenyl ring because the GCMS spectrum with many peaks of the reaction after 2 hours from the initial 10mmol addition, showed an untouched phenyl fragment at m/z of 77, figure 7.

Reaction between TBHP and the verdazyl in benzene occurred within 10 hours using less than 10 molar equivalent for the reaction to complete. The color lost of the verdazyl was also within 10 hours further indicate reaction completion. Where as the reaction between TBHP and the verdazyl in THF occurred within two days using more than 100 molar equivalents, figure 3. The reason is THF contains butylated hydroxytoluene which acts as a terminating agent that suppresses oxidation. This means we can monitor a slow gradual change in the reaction between the radical and the peroxide without the sudden data disconnections.

Reaction of dimethyl dioxirane with 1,5-diisopropyl-3-phenyl-6-oxo-verdazyl

The reaction of dimethyl dioxirane with 1,5-diisopropyl-3-phenyl-6-oxo-verdazyl yields two major products with migration time of 11.613 minutes, figure 6 and 9.822 minutes, figure5. The product with migration time at 11.613 minutes is specific for this reaction and we hypothesize that it is the oxidized verdazyl where the oxygen adds to one of the free nitrogen on the verdazyl ring, but the product at 9.822 minutes (1-isopropyl-3-phenyl-tetrazole) was also found as a product from the reaction of t-butyl hydroperoxide with 1,5-diisopropyl-3-phenyl-6-oxo-verdazyl. From the GCMS we can get an idea of what the structure looks

like by analyzing the fragmentation pattern and the molecular ion of the 1,5-diisopropyl-3-phenyl-6-oxo-verdazyl (ion of the original molecule), figure 4. Peak at migration time of 11.613 has fragmentation of the verdazyl and a molecular ion peak at 275 which is the peak right next to the 274, figure 6. Although the reaction has only two major products that can be observed by GC, once taken out of solution and subjected to silica thin layer chromatography (TLC) plate, the products are no longer stable. We can observe many different bands, seen on figure 8. Furthermore, once the bands from the TLC were isolated and scanned on the GCMS, they gave many peaks unlike the original two peaks seen in figure 5, which lead to the conclusion of the two products from dimethyl dioxirane and 1,5-diisopropyl-3-phenyl-6-oxo-verdazyl reaction are not stable once the solvent is removed from the mixture.

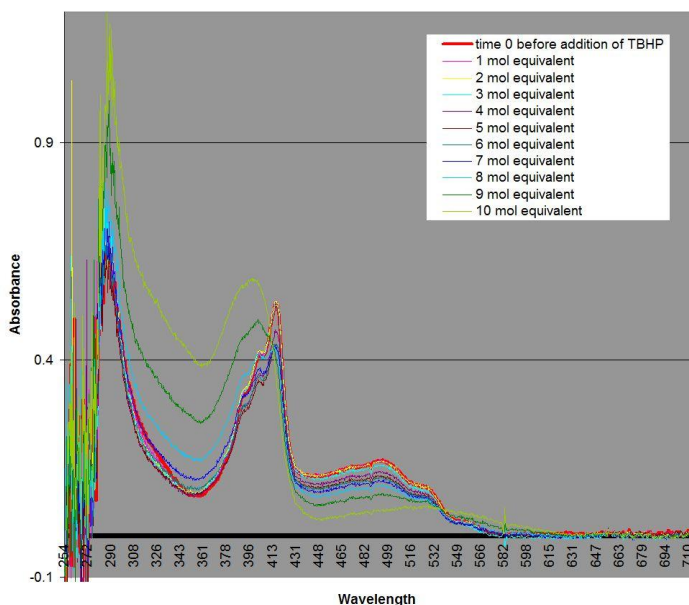


Figure 1. Monitoring the reaction of t-butyl hydroperoxide (TBHP) with 1,5-diisopropyl-3-phenyl-6-oxo-verdazyl in the solvent benzene. TBHP was added in increments of 1mol equivalent up to 10 mol equivalent at intervals of an hour each. We see a shift for spectra 9mol eq. and 10 mol

eq. this suggested an auto-catalysis of the excess peroxide reacting with the product of the first reaction between TBHP and the verdazyl.

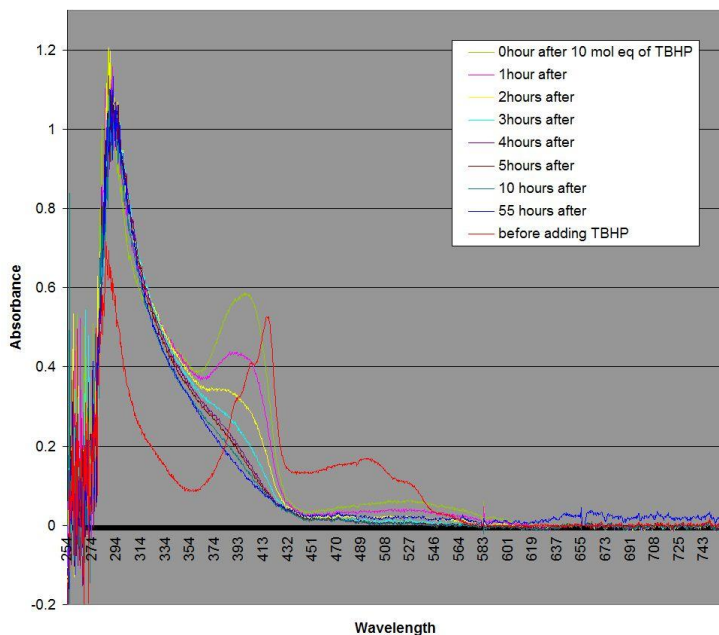


Figure 2. Monitoring the reaction of excess 10mol eq. t-butyl hydroperoxide with 1,5-diisopropyl-3-phenyl-6-oxo-verdazyl in benzene in hours with an overlay of the starting verdazyl spectrum. We can see that after an hour the spectra do not resemble the verdazyl spectrum, which further suggests there is an auto-catalysis reaction of the excess TBHP to the existing product.

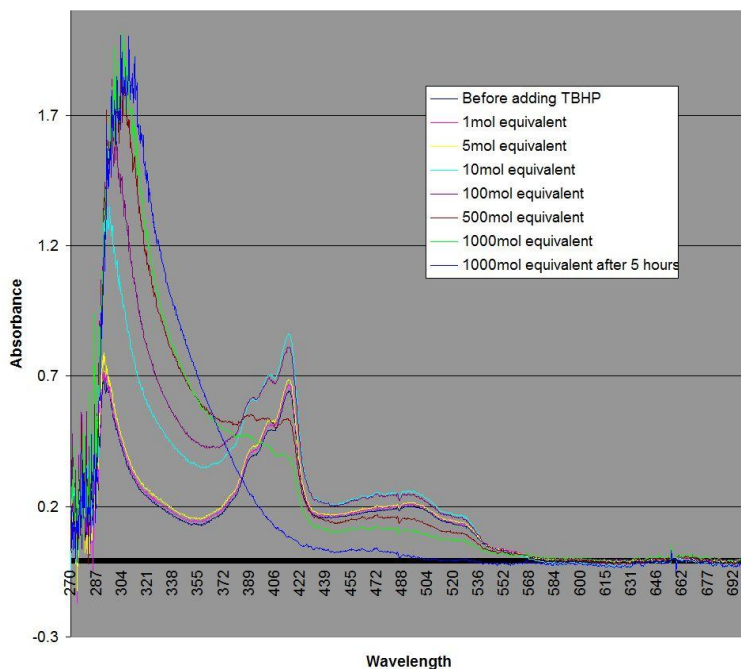


Figure 3. The reaction of t-butyl hydroperoxide (TBHP) with 1,5-diisopropyl-3-phenyl-6-oxo-verdazyl in tetrahydrofuran (THF). The reaction is much slower in THF than in benzene because THF has butylated hydroxytoluene that suppresses the oxidative reaction between TBHP and the verdazyl. Because the reaction is very slow, certain data have been chosen to show the progress of the reaction on this graph and not all of the data were shown. Here we can see that there is a slow trend of the verdazyl losing its characteristics as the concentration of TBHP and the reaction time increased, but there is no evidence for the intermediate observed in the benzene reaction.

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Operator : thanh
Acquired : 15 Jun 2009 15:07 using AcqMethod BROOK.M
Instrument : 5975B GCMS
Sample Name: phenyl verdazyl -- orange
Misc Info : in pentane
Vial Number: 1

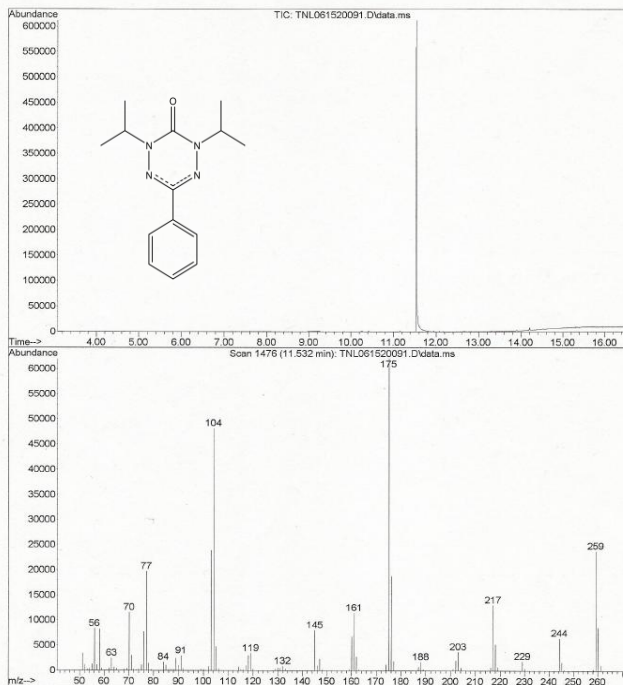


Figure 4. Gas Chromatography Mass Spectrometry (GCMS) spectra of 1,5-diisopropyl-3-phenyl-6-oxo-verdazyl with a mass of 259g/mol. The lines on the spectra represent the fragmentation of the verdazyl molecule after the bombardment of high-energy electron in the mass spectrometer. The rate at which the ions separate according to the mass-to-charge ratio in an electric or magnetic field.

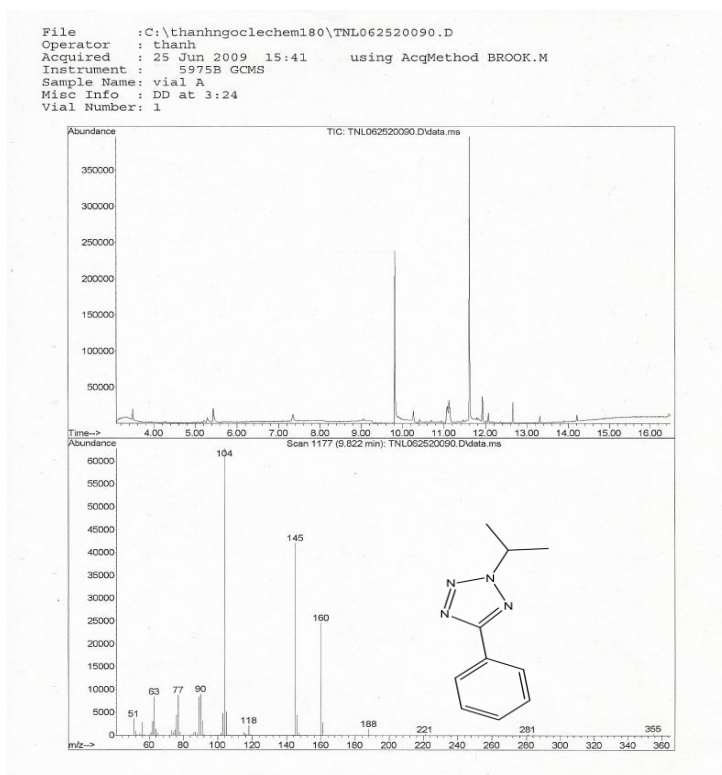


Figure 5. GCMS of the reaction between dimethyl dioxirane and 1,5-diisopropyl-3-phenyl-6-oxo-verdazyl. This reaction gives two major products. One product has a retention time of 9.822 minutes and the other at 11.613 minutes. The product that has a retention time of 11.613 minutes is specific for this reaction. However, the product at 9.822 minutes is shared with the reaction of t-butyl hydroperoxide according to its fragmentation and its migration time. The structure of the product at retention time 9.822 minutes is given.

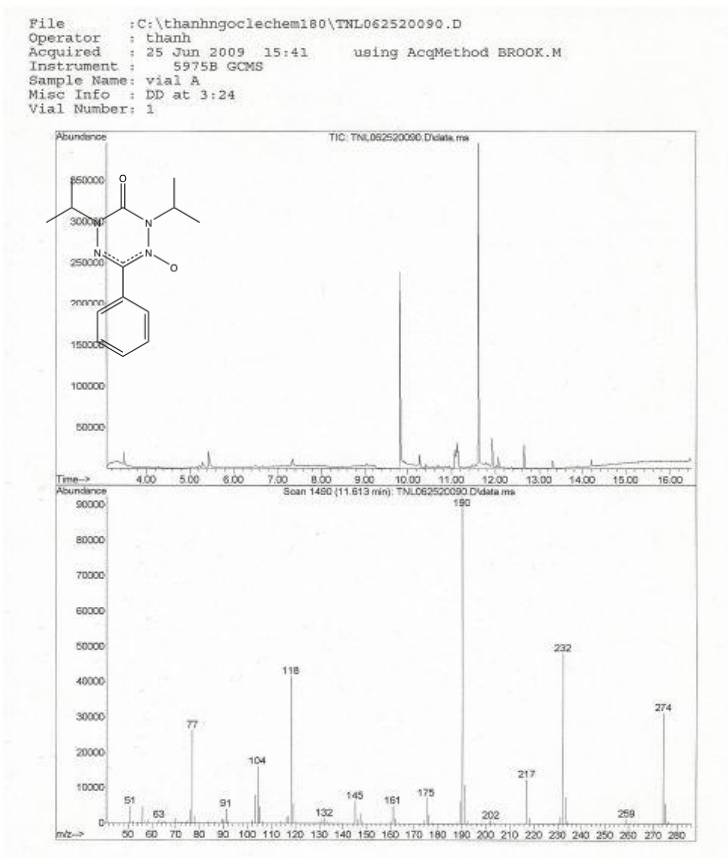


Figure 6. GCMS of the reaction between dimethyl dioxirane and 1,5-diisopropyl-3-phenyl-6-oxo-verdazyl. This reaction gives two products. One at migration time of 9.822 minutes (given above in figure 5) and the other one at 11.613 minutes. The product that has a retention time of 11.613 minutes is specific for this reaction. We believe that the product at migration time 11.613 is oxidized at the second Nitrogen. The fragmentation is similar to that of the original verdazyl before reaction and that the molecular ion peak is not 274 but instead it is next to that peak at 275.

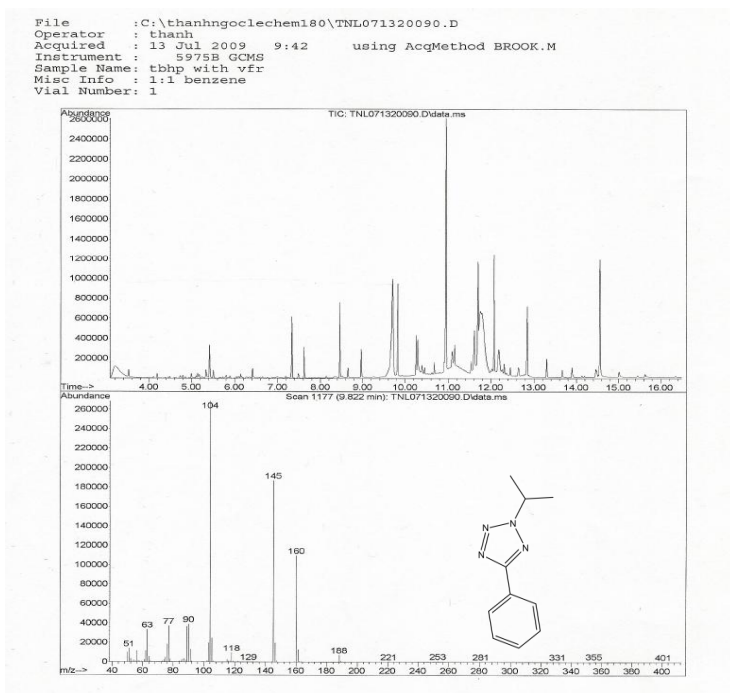


Figure 7. The reaction of t-butyl hydroperoxide with 1,5-diisopropyl-3-phenyl-6-oxo-verdazyl in benzene showed many products to this combination. Without the butylated hydroxytoluene, the radical could react to TBHP freely. Even though there are many products from one reaction, we can still detect a matching peak with the reaction of dimethyl dioxirane. This peak has the migration time of 9.833 minutes with a very similar fragmentation. This suggested that the product is the same or very similar in structure; the purposed structure is shown atop.

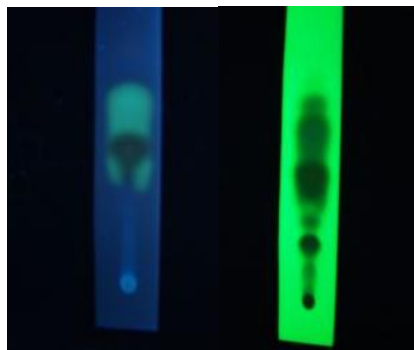


Figure 8. Thin layer chromatography (TLC) plate of the product resulting from the reaction of dimethyl dioxirane and 1,5-diisopropyl-3-phenyl-6-oxo-verdazyl. We can see that there are many different products not just two products as indicated by GCMS on this TLC plate under long and short wave UV light. However, these TLC bands can be the decomposition of the two original products seen on the GCMS when the compounds were not taken out of solution.

Conclusion

The reaction of oxygen species to 1,5-diisopropyl-3-phenyl-6-oxo-verdazyl were discussed above. The reaction of t-butyl hydroperoxide to 1,5-diisopropyl-3-phenyl-6-oxo-verdazyl in both benzene and tetrahydrofuran were described using UV-vis and GCMS spectra. The reaction in benzene was much faster than the reaction in tetrahydrofuran because benzene doesn't have butylated hydroxytoluene to repress the oxidative reaction. UV-vis was used to measure the reactivity of the oxygen species with the verdazyl, and GCMS was used to find products that are common to both reactions. One product, <name>, was identified in both reaction mixtures by GCMS. Future work will include kinetic studies and further attempts to identify the immediate reaction products.

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**Andrew M.
Martínez**

Major:
Journalism

Mentor:
Dr. Ashley Lucas
University of North
Carolina at Chapel Hill

The Levying of Two
Matthews: Discourse and
Symbolism Surrounding
the Murder of Matthew
Shepard and the Production
of Matthew Bourne’s *Swan
Lake*.

Biography

Andrew Martínez is graduating from the School of Journalism at San Jose State University. He is interested in looking at the performance of gender as well as queer issues in performance. His research interests include how dance and musical theatre performance can have an impact on nontraditional and marginalized audiences.

Andrew has the pleasure of using his own training and passion for music and dance to teach diverse students the value of the performing arts. In an industry in which people of color are grossly underrepresented in the main stream, Andrew’s work with the aspiring teenage thespians at Lincoln High School helps to normalize diversity; his artistry, work ethic and mentorship are indeed a great benefit to these students. He hopes that his staff presence as a man of color also affects their perceptions of what is possible. In his spare time, he enjoys dancing ballet, playing jazz piano and singing.

He is pleased to be researching under the guidance of Dr. Ashley Lucas and thanks Rebecca Novotny Bullard and Gia Solari for their support during the brainstorming and writing processes of this paper.

***The Levying of Two Matthews: Discourse and Symbolism
Surrounding the Murder of Matthew Shepard and the
Production of Matthew Bourne's Swan Lake***

ABSTRACT

Choreographer Matthew Bourne's version of the ballet *Swan Lake* made its American debut in 1998, two days after the murder of Matthew Shepard, a gay man from Laramie, Wyoming. At the same time that national news outlets and political protests martyred and vilified Shepard, the media coverage about *Swan Lake* centered around Bourne's nontraditional casting of men in the roles of the swans. The extremely emotional and polarizing public debate about Shepard contrasted with the intellectualized and carefully constructed public conversation about Bourne's ballet. This revised version of *Swan Lake* includes a prince and male swan dancing together and mirroring a traditionally romantic storyline, and as a result the reviews of the production focused on the homoerotic themes and debated whether it ought to be interpreted as a "gay" ballet. At the time of Bourne's *Swan Lake*'s premiere and Shepard's death, mainstream audiences in the U.S. had already been introduced to homosexual themes in the arts. Even though the cultural acceptance of homosexuality had the potential to increase across the country, other anti-gay movements and groups challenged the progress that gay rights was making. This paper examines the reviews of Bourne's *Swan Lake* and the contemporaneous discourse surrounding the brutal crime committed against Shepard. The public dialogue about each of these two events, with themes of homosexuality and personhood, unfolded in very different ways. The artistic medium of ballet allowed a provocative conversation about Bourne's dance which was both related to and distanced from the emotionally charged discourse surrounding Matthew Shepard's murder. This paper contends that the arts' ability to open up nuanced and provocative public conversations about political issues promotes and enables a kind of cultural change that is distinct from that created by debates sparked by current events and the news media.

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At the beginning of Matthew Bourne's *Swan Lake*, the audience is welcomed by a prologue set to the overture of Tchaikovsky's score. The curtain is up, and on stage there is a large, regal bed, in which a small, young prince is sleeping with a stuffed swan under his arm. A signature theme of Tchaikovsky's classic score swells to a heightened volume. The stage lights go down and a solitary overhead beam of light remains concentrated behind the headboard of the prince's bed. At this time, the swan rises from behind the headboard and within the prince's dream ominously soars above him. The male swan is bare-chested. He is wearing knee-length trousers "that look as though they had been dipped in feathers" (Kuchwara 36), and he dons a black facial marking from the top of his forehead to the tip of his nose, representing his beak. His eyes are menacing as his torso dives forward and downward as though he has spotted his prey. The young prince violently awakens from his nightmare. This is the opening image that greets ballet patrons as they settle in to view a landscape about tragedy.

At the same time in a different landscape – a different part of the country and not in a theatre – another image of tragedy was being emblazoned upon a nation's conscience. A young man was found unconscious and barely breathing. He had been robbed, tied to a fence, and brutally beaten. When he was found, his face was described to have been covered in blood except for where the tears had run down his face. These two images would thrive well past their inceptions and provoke conversations that would solicit both sympathy and judgment in popular discourse, but they would also reinforce a larger narrative about gay men who are destroyed by their sexuality and masculinity and the failure to perform the "right kind" of masculinity and sexuality.

In both devastating and significantly positive ways, the 1990's included a number of very large changes for the gay movement. The concept of and conversations about the gay community entered mainstream United States politics, and gay culture made what many perceived as inroads into mainstream media and discourse as well. The 1990s witnessed Tony Kushner's gay drama *Angels in America* win a Pulitzer Prize. Actor Tom Hanks won an Academy Award for his performance as a gay lawyer dying of AIDS in the motion picture *Philadelphia*. In a different genre of the human experience, the 1990s was the decade when AIDS claimed the lives of more than 229,000 Americans

and President Bill Clinton sign “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” into law. In 1998, American audiences were introduced to the idea that classical ballet could be performed without a single female dancing in traditional leading roles. At the same time the mainstream media were seizing upon the story of a hate crime committed against a gay man in a rural Western town.

Choreographer Matthew Bourne’s version of *Swan Lake* made its American debut in New York City at the Neil Simon Theatre on Broadway on October 8, 1998, two days after the murder of Matthew Shepard, a 21-year-old gay man in Laramie, Wyoming. At the same time that national news outlets and political protests martyred and vilified Shepard, the media coverage about *Swan Lake* centered around Bourne’s nontraditional casting of men in the roles of swans. The extremely emotional and polarizing public debate about Shepard contrasted with the intellectualized and carefully constructed public conversation about Bourne’s ballet. This revised version of *Swan Lake* includes a prince and a male swan dancing together and mirroring a traditionally romantic storyline, and as a result the reviews of the production focused on the homoerotic themes and debated whether it ought to be interpreted as a “gay” ballet.

At the time of the 1998 premiere of Matthew Bourne’s *Swan Lake*, U.S. audiences had already been introduced to homosexual themes being produced in the arts culture. Even though the cultural acceptance of homosexuality had the potential to increase across the country, other anti-gay movements and groups challenged the progress that gay rights was making. The reviews of Bourne’s *Swan Lake* and the contemporaneous discourse surrounding the brutal crime committed against Shepard demonstrate that the public dialogue about each of these two events, with themes of homosexuality and personhood, unfolded in very different ways. The artistic medium of ballet sparked a provocative conversation about Bourne’s dance which was both related to and distanced from the emotionally charged discourse surrounding Matthew Shepard’s murder. This research paper examines the arts’ ability to open up nuanced and provocative public conversations about political issues that promote and enable a kind of cultural change that is distinct from that created by debates generated by current events and the news media. It describes and analyzes the socio-political conversation about homosexuality as seen in

the reviews of *Swan Lake* and contemporaneous journalistic coverage of Shepard's murder.

Matthew Bourne's Swan Lake

British choreographer Matthew Bourne created a new dance production based on the classic ballet *Swan Lake*. Instead of following the traditional standards of casting a male dancer to play the prince and a female dancer to play the lead swan, Bourne cast men in both of these roles. The corps de ballet, traditionally made up of women playing the flock of swans, was also cast with men. Notably, the men cast as swans were not costumed in a drag version of the traditional female ballerina archetype. Despite this change in gender, the prince and the swan still shared the traditionally intimate storyline.

Historically, productions of *Swan Lake* remained markedly similar to one another throughout the majority of the ballet's frequent stagings over the last one hundred thirty years. *Swan Lake* was first staged in 1877 in Russia by Wenzel Reisinger to the music of Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky, but the restaged 1895 production, choreographed by Marius Petipa and Lev Ivanovich Ivanov, "became the one that launched the ballet toward lasting fame" (Greskovic 42-45). Matthew Bourne's *Swan Lake* was first staged at the Sadler's Wells Theatre in London in 1995 before it moved to a larger commercial venue in London's West End theatre district. Bourne created original choreography set to the traditional Tchaikovsky score. It is a combination of classical ballet movement, contemporary movement, mime, musical theatre and different forms of social dance.

Bourne rethought the major narrative of the original *Swan Lake* completely. Influenced by the social and political climate of the United Kingdom at that time, Bourne transformed the story both in structure and theme to include an adroit commentary on a modern-day London society and custom. To Bourne, the duty and frustration that the prince bears in *Swan Lake* resonated with the unpopularity of Prince Charles at that time, so alongside the royal family's grief over Princess Diana and her tendencies to defy the conventions of royal behavior, "Bourne decided to show what a repressive royal upbringing might do to a sensitive lad. The first part of the ballet is set in the late 50's to early 60's, when Queen

Elizabeth, like the fictional prince's mother¹, was in her prime" (Parry 29). This ballet premiered to a British audience in 1995, and although superficial references to the royal family, like fashion and mannerisms, were most potent in the United Kingdom, they were not lost on American audiences. If anything, the remoteness of the American audiences from a native understanding of British tabloid-trivia, enabled their attention to be unfettered and focused on the dynamics of a young man experiencing the burdens of a pre-ordained life.

The Coeval Matthews

Bourne's version of the prince can be read as a gay man who fulfills many of the stereotypes of gay masculinity which were popular in the 1990s; he is fragile and incapable of convincingly performing traditionally masculine behavior. This use of sexual stereotype was evident in the reviews of *Swan Lake* as well as the martyring and vilifying rhetoric surrounding the investigation of Shepard's murder. However, both the prince and Shepard's personhood were continually obfuscated by the mainstream connotations of homosexuality and how it might influence the apprehending of the prince and Shepard as complex human beings. The plot of Matthew Bourne's *Swan Lake* revolves around a young, crown prince, his distant mother, and his desire for freedom, represented by a beautiful swan. In the prologue the prince, as a child, is awakened by a nightmare of a swan. The queen experiences a discomfort with the prince's request to be held and comforted. She is almost repulsed by the prince's reaching gestures toward her. The discomfort the audience feels in this scene comes from the way in which Matthew Bourne establishes the prince's royal environment as being the source of his emotional dysfunction. The trauma that the prince experiences as a child, would continue to be reflected in all further handlings of trauma that the prince would encounter in the ballet, even though his physical body was that of a grown man. In fact, there is an element of infantilization in both the prince and Matthew Shepard. The headshot of Shepard that was used in

¹ It has been noted that Bourne's Queen is a combination of the two royal sisters, Elizabeth and Margaret, and "[Bourne] felt that she should be played by a ballerina. 'A royal bearing needs that ballerina air, gracious and haughty'" (Parry 29).

the media depicted a blonde haired, blue-eyed picture of a corn-fed American boy. Although Shepard was twenty-one years old, he was described by people in the community to have “appeared both boyish, pensive, sweet, charmingly vulnerable in oversized wool sweaters – a boy who still wore braces when he died, a boy who looked innocent of sex, a boy who died because he was gay but whose unthreatening image allowed his sexuality to remain an abstraction for many” (Loffreda 26). This image contrasts sharply with the 1990’s rhetoric of dislike and fear of gay men which intimated that they were sexual deviants and predators. Perhaps this description of Shepard as innocent and sweet was an attempt to elicit sympathy and ingratiate a nonthreatening version of gay masculinity to the mainstream public.

The first act of *Swan Lake* introduces a prince who is grudgingly experiencing a life defined by official duties. “As an adult he comports himself with a regal bearing, yet beneath this decorous veneer, his identity crisis rages” (Foster 189). Despite the prince’s disinterest in the life for which he was conditioned, his mother prods him to keep up appearances while giving most of her attention to handsome young soldiers. Later on in Act One, the disgruntled prince is found by his mother drinking in his private chambers, and a very physical, somewhat oedipal, pas de deux² ensues; he pleads for her attention and love, and she staunchly admonishes him. This rebuke from the queen sends the prince into the streets and then to a sleazy, dive bar. At the bar, the inebriated prince seeks attention from anonymous strangers who reject him. He eventually gets into a brawl with other men after falling into one of them. This occurrence parallels a topic of discourse surrounding a possible motive for Shepard’s murder.

There are many debates about what caused Shepard’s murderers to commit their acts of violence, and one theory is that Shepard had made an unwelcome sexual advance toward one of them and triggered a violent reaction:

When a heterosexual man kills a gay man and is charged with murder, a common defense strategy is to use the concept of “gay panic” to explain the killing ... “homosexual panic” is “the idea that a latent homosexual –

² Pas de deux means “dance for two.” The pas de deux proper ... [involves] extensive partnering” (Greskovic 520).

and manifest ‘homophobe’ – can be so upset by a homosexual’s advances to him that he becomes temporarily insane, in which state he may kill the homosexual.” (Lee 66)

This is the same defense that Shepard’s murderers used in court; however, in a 2004 ABC news special, convicted murderer Aaron McKinney told *20/20*’s news correspondent Elizabeth Vargas that he did not attack Shepard because he was gay: “I would say it wasn’t a hate crime. All I wanted to do was beat him up and rob him” (3). McKinney’s attempt to clarify that Shepard’s murder was not motivated by hate not only attempted to allay his accountability of being homophobic, but it tried to give credence to the larger idea that gays are not a marginalized group deserving of protective legislation. While it may seem disingenuous to compare Shepard’s experience of homosexual panic with that of the prince’s altercation in the bar, homosexual panic is a significant possible threat to the lives of gay men and one that was mirrored in Bourne’s *Swan Lake*.

After the prince is kicked out of the bar, he wanders to a park. He imagines a group of swans flying toward him, but the vision quickly disappears. Disappointed that he will never find affection, the prince contemplates suicide, but he is saved by the sight of beautiful swans on the lake of a public park. This second act is the most direct rendering from the original plot of *Swan Lake*, but it contains the most talked-about dancing of the revised ballet due to stylistic changes. Male dancers portray the swans as aggressive and arrogant animals rather than the delicate, sentimentalized swans traditionally portrayed by ballerinas. There are no tutus and tiaras, but bare chests, feathered legs, and black facial markings. For twenty-six minutes, the prince dances among the corps de ballet of male swans, including a very intimate pas de deux between the lead swan and the prince, where at the end, the swan cradles the prince in the full span of his arms.

One of the high points of the production occurs after the prince’s first encounter with the swans, when he suddenly communicates, without a word spoken, the liberating realization that he may not be so different after all. It is a moment that cannot help to resonate with any class of people trained to isolation. (Dunning 40)

This quote by New York Times writer and theatre critic, Jennifer Dunning, speaks directly to the idea that the gay community at this time was being treated as having second-class status. The alliance with the swans that Dunning describes the prince to have made, represents the significance of a community bond among marginalized people. Matthew Bourne has remained staid in his assertions that this is a universal story (as opposed to a queer one) and that the lead swan “symbolizes freedom and wildness and escape” (Stearns 5D). Bourne sees his ballet as a story of a boy and his swan: “I don’t like it when people say it’s a gay ballet and I don’t like it when they say it’s not! I’m torn because I don’t think it’s as straightforward as that” (Bale 54). Bourne’s abstractness in his explanation challenges the basic ways heterosexism seeks to define other-sexed concepts. “The Swan is free, in my version, and he’s beautiful...everyone wants him. The Prince projects on to him. I found that it could be seen, and interpreted, in different ways; and, when we were making it, I made it a little more open for interpretation” (Bourne and Macauley 195). Had Bourne admitted that this ballet was anything more specific than a “universal story” between a boy and his swan, he risked polarizing his general, less urbane, audiences and thwarting any dialogue addressing homosexual issues.

The reviews were not straightforward either. Some reviews never used the term “gay” but said “there is a strong homoerotic element to the production, which Mr. Bourne doesn’t deny” (Parry 29). Other reviews were more overt: “By the way, they’re guy swans, so if you want to interpret this as a gay *Swan Lake*, then Bourne isn’t going to stop you” (Siegel D1). Both of these reviews do a disservice to their readers as to the inclusion of “homoerotic elements” and “guy swans” do not necessarily equate a “gay” outcome. To the contrary, one South Carolina paper avoided describing any insinuating details of the ballet and offered disclaimers for any essence of queerness that the ballet may demonstrate:

The swans are portrayed spectacularly by men – who could be football players or basketball players – and come across as both fierce and loving. And a troubled young prince looks to them for comfort in a world in which he cannot fit. ... this is not just “a gay *Swan Lake*” as some viewers have called it, rather the theme can apply to anyone who desperately wants to be accepted by society and, upon

realizing this can never be, dies of a broken heart. (Ashley
2)

While this review did not lead readers toward assumptions of homoeroticism, it did not progress the conversation toward examining how this ballet was anything more than a prince dying of a broken heart either. Dance scholar Susan Leigh Foster stated: “For all my assertions as to the gay male meaning of the piece, critical coverage in both Britain and the United States has consistently ignored its brazenly open treatment of this taboo subject” (148). Regardless of how the reviews ignored *Swan Lake*’s subject matter, the scholarship published about Matthew Bourne’s *Swan Lake* strongly addresses the themes of homosexuality that were either vaguely discussed or omitted altogether. Susan Leigh Foster’s essay, “Closets Full of Dances: Modern Dance’s Performance of Masculinity and Sexuality,” contends “the production elicits enormous sympathy for the gay male couple” (147). Foster notes that even among Bourne’s larger repertoire (where gay relationships and themes exist in large numbers), *Swan Lake* is distinct. His ballet addressed themes of love, dedication, and attachment between two men while at the same time receiving acclaim from a mainstream audience, which was something he had not achieved in any other work before.

While critics and audiences grappled with the nomenclature to define this ballet within a heteronormative vocabulary, scholars were formulating their own opinions. Queer theory of the 1990’s appropriated “the derogatory term for the male homosexual ... and [gave] it a new theoretical and political potential” (Foster 195). In “Queer Swans: Those Fabulous Avians in the *Swan Lakes* of Les Ballets Trockadero and Matthew Bourne,” Suzanne Juhasz contends that Bourne’s *Swan Lake* should be interpreted as a “queer” representation and not solely a gay love story. Although Juhasz believes that Bourne’s *Swan Lake* is indeed a gay love story, she argues that “gay” does not necessarily equal queer and that “queer seems to be the best term for [any] challenge to normative gender/sex definitions” (58). This broader definition of the term queer removes the stigma of stereotype from the prince and swan being labeled as gay and allows them to be perceived as simply a challenge to the normative.

Both appropriations of the term queer have their own respective politics. While the broad use of the term queer may “elucidate the queer

status of the swans and help explain the mainstream popularity and charisma of Bourne's *Swan Lake*," queer theory's definition faces speculation that it is not inclusive of minority groups outside of the white, middle-class gay male community:

The swans embody just such an ambiguous agenda. Their courageous habitation of the denigrated female role universalizes their white male bodies and depicts an imagined community without social discord. Yet no African or Asian bodies integrate their swanery, nor do lexicons of movement that signify ethnic identity weave into their (white) modern dance movement. (Foster 196)

Even the dialogue among scholars demonstrates a contentious ambivalence in the commodification of *Swan Lake*'s contribution to the queer canon.

This harkens back to the debate that surrounds Matthew Shepard's murder. Some say that Shepard was murdered because he was gay, others say it was just a robbery of a man who happened to be gay. Regardless of the actual motives for this crime, these opinions were at the center of the discourse regarding the expansion of hate crimes legislation to include acts of violence that were motivated by sexual orientation, thus providing more federal protection of minority groups.

In April 2009, Republican congresswoman Virginia Foxx of North Carolina opposed the proposed expansion of hate crimes legislation. "The hate-crime bill that's called the Matthew Shepard Bill is named after a very unfortunate incident that happened where a young man was killed - but we know that that young man was killed in the commitment of a robbery," she said on the floor of Congress. "It wasn't because he was gay. The bill was named for him - the hate-crimes bill was named for him - but it's really a hoax that continues to be used as an excuse for passing these bills." Foxx later apologized for her "choice of words" upon learning that Matthew Shepard's mother Judy was also in attendance at the congressional session that day. In the eyes of Becky Dansky, federal legislative director for the National Gay & Lesbian Task Force, Foxx's apology was not sufficient to atone for her misleading characterization of the Shepard case: "I think when you get to [the] point where you're spreading misinformation, and in some cases just flat-out lying, it's because you don't have a good argument or because you're not willing to

say what it is you really want to say" (Graff 1). Who was included in hate crime legislation was at stake in the semantic-controversy over the hate crime term. To include gays in the legislation would admit that they face a perpetual threat of violence motivated by hate in this country. In a way, by extending protection to gays, it would also reify the gay community as a community that has some kind of legitimate worth.

Perhaps it was Foxx's political responsibilities that kept her from being any more candid than she was, but the executive director of Colorado for Family Values at that time, Paul Jessen had no such impediments to expressing his opinion. He declaimed that hate crimes legislation that protected gays and lesbians from acts of violence, were "a thought-police tool for affirmation of a homosexual lifestyle. Whether I kill you for racial reasons, phobic reasons, greedy reasons, robbery reasons or because I just don't like the way you look is irrelevant" (Florio 1). While talk of including gays in hate crimes legislation was an encouraging event among the gay community and its allies, the proliferation of discouraging discourse like Jessen's seemed to become more pronounced, and in a way, more threatening.

As despicable as Foxx and Jessen's words are, there were those who were even more opposed to the idea that Matthew Shepard would be martyred. A very loud fundamentalist preacher showed up to protest Shepard's trial and funeral and staged what would become the most famous rallies of anti-gay fervor connected to this incident. Carrying signs that read "No special laws for fags" (C. George 1) and "God Hates Fags," the Reverend Fred Phelps of Westboro Baptist Church was quoted as saying, "These ... creatures are sending this nation to hell in a handbasket" (Black 3). Phelps's dehumanizing analogy of gays being no more than "creatures," attempted to mobilize the rhetoric that gays are deviant, something to be feared, and ultimately something to be hated.

This image of hatred was assuaged by a group of people who knew Shepard and costumed themselves in large angels' wings, surrounding the protesters and blocking them from the view of the media and the bereaved. Phelps was talking about creatures in a derogatory sense, but the angels' wings characterized Shepard in another inhuman form, that of an angelic martyr. It shows that neither side had the language to talk about Matthew Shepard as a person. So it is both genius and ironic that Matthew Bourne's *Swan Lake* would choose to dehumanize a male dancer in casting him as a

swan because the dehumanizing and distancing language being used to talk about gay people in the real world was for some reason easier than dealing with these situations on a human level. Despite the efforts of many to understand what this ballet and this murder signified, both of these men, the prince and Matthew Shepard, met fatal ends.

Le Dénouement

Reinvigorated by his crepuscular exchange with the swans in Act Two, the prince is thrust into the royal world of Act Three at a ball where he will be introduced to prospective brides. The character of the stranger, crashes the ball and scandalizes the entire party. He demonstrates a sexual freedom that evokes the uninhibited behavior demonstrated by the lead swan. The prince becomes confused and “starts to find this guy attractive and it turns into something more real for him. It’s like there are two voices in his head, the good and the bad, fighting each other in the mind of someone who is going a little crazy” (Bale 54). An intimate pas de deux between the prince and the stranger begins as an innocent hallucination and then transitions into a reality that finds the prince violently rejected by the stranger.

Act Four of *Swan Lake* finds an emotionally and physically diminished prince, medicated in his bed at center stage. In his anesthetized delusion, the swans enter the prince’s room from beneath his bed and begin “attacking the Prince – they turn on him because he has turned against nature (going with a Swan – or a man) – and leave him for dead.” Upon seeing that the lead swan chooses to remain with the prince, the flock turns “on the Swan – because he has betrayed them – and attack him” (Bourne and Macaulay 275). The prince dies from his devastation of wanting what he is not allowed and the lead swan is murdered by the flock of swans who regard his affection toward the prince as a deviation from what is acceptable to their swan culture. This final image is where the innovation of Bourne’s ballet ends. The landscape of his *Swan Lake* that challenged conventions for the better part of three hours, surrendered to an outcome that, then and today, seem compulsory in mainstream representations of gay men.

The public conversations about gay people in the 1990’s had largely been about AIDS, death, and policies like “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell.” At that point in time, the narratives of these conversations were about gay

men being either hidden or destroyed. This suggests that perhaps the broader heterosexual public is more comfortable with these types of narratives than with those that show queer people as independent, normative, and thriving. Dominant discourses in popular culture and media rely on gay men being tragic figures who may warrant sympathy but still meet a tragic end because of what they are. The narratives of gay men do not yield profit, rather they levy a stereotype that is rife with judgment.

The two sets of imagery about *Swan Lake* and Shepard also depict gay men as fragile and tragic, but the reactions to these events started to complicate the queer issues of the 1990's and move into more progressive directions. These images did not require one to be annihilated by a "gay" disease in order to be talked about publicly, like the characters in the play *Angels in America* and the movie *Philadelphia*. Despite *Swan Lake*'s tragic ending, a new storyline for gay men began to develop. Heidi Tolles Motzkus's 2006 article, "The Stories We Tell: Matthew Bourne's *Swan Lake*," shares Foster's attitude on the transgression of heteronormative values in *Swan Lake* and offers that the insertion of *Swan Lake*'s same-sex storyline into U.S. cultural consciousness has altered the social norms from which we tell our stories: "Stories shape our cultural expectations and perceptions about ourselves ... As this ballet and other new stories enter the cultural consciousness, we are able to easily imagine a world in which romantic love is not a category exclusively of a man and a woman" (8). As these narratives and images become more visible to the heteronormative culture, the possibility of a more positive and perhaps pansexual-narrative culture becomes tangible.

In all the reviews of Bourne's *Swan Lake*, only one made the connection between the issues being presented in the ballet with the issues that were being presented on a more public stage.

The truth is, of course, Mr. Bourne's *Swan Lake* arrives in a perilous time for classical ballet and for gay men and women. Until recently, it has been possible to tune out the kind of public, government, and church-sanctioned homophobia that fills the American media these days, in a time when homosexuals have begun to claim their place as mainstream citizens. The brutal symbolism of the killing of Matthew Shepard may make it difficult – or even

impossible – to appropriate Mr. Bourne’s icons with anything like the old, comfortably wistful identification. (Dunning 40)

Dunning has captured the exceptionality of both the ballet and the world in which it debuted. In 1998, gay people in New York City were experiencing an “80% rise in attacks” (T. George 12). Dunning describes *Swan Lake*’s male audience members as standing “with their arms casually about one another on the street during intermission, with an openness that [was] dangerous even in the city’s predominantly gay neighborhoods” (40). Even though one of the world’s most performative and demonstrative cities had limitations for its gay community, Bourne created an environment where men felt safe to be expressive with one another. As significant as *Swan Lake*’s contribution is to the canon of dance and gay communities, these narratives of closeting and destruction are still being used today. These stories and stereotypes continue to be invoked in conversations that are happening in both mainstream performance and politics with debates like gay marriage. The public discourses that surround the validity of male homosexual relationships are still leading to tragic ends. Today’s commercial artistic representations of gay men, with films such as *Brokeback Mountain* and *Milk*, still speak of what is happening to gay men who die. Where are the stories of the men who live?

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Joseph Moreno

Major:
Behavioral Science and
Anthropology

Mentor:
Dr. Carlos A. Sanchez

Interrogation of Evil: Human
Fault in Understanding Natural
Forces

Biography

Joseph A. Moreno is a Senior majoring in Behavioral Science and Anthropology. He is also contemplating the idea of minoring in Philosophy. As an advocate for environmentalism and humanitarianism, Joe participates as a member of the SJSU Environmental Club and works for a non-profit facility providing shelter for homeless families. His academic pursuit includes the attainment of a Ph.D. in Cultural Anthropology, striving to uncover objective universals among human culture, and to propagate environmental awareness. His pursuit stems from his interest in shamanism, religion, and the many ways people come to terms with their environment and existence. Aside from academia, Joe enjoys listening to and writing music, being adventurous, learning about the spiritual facets of culture, biking, and new experiences.

***Interrogation of Evil: Human Fault in Understanding
Natural Forces***

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to explore few of the possible ‘solutions’ to the ‘problem of Evil’ and to substitute those views with an original ‘solution’. The paper is separated into four parts. I first provide and question the contemporary foundation and view of Evil and the problems with this interpretation. Next, I claim Evil to be a subjective value determined by human imagination and argue the objectivity of Evil. I then provide two philosophical interrogations on the ontology of Evil and a Hindu mythological account on Evil. Lastly, I will have a discussion on the concept of Evil as a superimposed value to objective realities whereby comparing it to arguments presented by Hegel, Badiou, and Hindu mythology.

I. Contemporary Understanding of Evil

Who could forget, but by the sheer historical will about the calamities, the atrocities, and the degradation inflicted by the evils of the Holocaust? Can one imagine the executioner, so unnerved by the torment and evil wrought by his own hands, fully aware of the anguish and agony of his victims? Alas, I am presupposing something essential with these questions. Is it right for me to perceive the Holocaust to be inherently *evil*? Is it permissible to conclude that the executioner, or, for that matter, whomever commands him, to be evil? Personally, I do see it as a grave misfortune and yes, those responsible for such massacres need to be punished. But that is a position I take based upon what I have been given by my own culture and found within my own experiences. It can be quite the opposite for another person; undoubtedly, it *is* an opposite view held by most people.

Let us take a look at a more contemporary example of so called “evil,” September 11, 2001. To sacrifice lives in the name of terror, in the name of *jihad*, seems outrageous and many Americans believe thousands of people did not have to suffer that extreme oppositional force.

Conversely, the Terrorists of the Middle East, such as members of the Al Qaeda network and their presumed leader, Osama bin Laden, do not deplore the victims like the Americans did, instead, they regard their actions as just and as a statement of truth—for them, their acts are not evil, but righteous. Such blatant hatred and the will to carry out such volitions seem unfathomable but these actions occur each and every day, far and wide. Yet, it is customary to think that such evils could never happen to us personally nor do we like to think of ourselves carrying out those actions. Nevertheless, popular media forces us to think about the possibility and we find ourselves pondering about how such evil is even possible. One only needs to scan through the tome of human history to witness events throughout the past and amongst cultures in which “evil” has “plagued” the human race.

I find that many believe evil is an external force, lurking in the dark depths of a street, of a corridor, in a ditch, even within the sanctity of hallow walls, seeking for the opportune moment to ambush them. It appears evil certainly has a role in the lives of many, whether it affects them or not and whether people believe in its existence or its absence. The perception of evil can be a troublesome thought that brings about an unwelcoming amount of worry, of fear in our volitions; one is afraid of evil because they believe it will either harm them directly or indirectly, be it by their will or by another’s. Particular individuals may be so inclined to perform an action, be it a massive killing of thousands of civilians, or a dark alley raping of a mother while her progeny are forced to reluctantly watch. But what drives them to fear evil in such a manner? Some resolve this question by stating that humans are inherently evil, that we “fell” at some point in our existence (the Biblical conception). Or that some outside, cultural influence, such as an abusive, negligent upbringing, has driven them to commit such an act.

Moreover, something is evil depending on who the agent is and who the victim of the “evil” acts are. It has to do with questions such as “Who would do such a thing? Why am *I* a target for such a heinous action?” The viewpoint of a bystander may be different, then, from those immediately affected by evil. Their understanding of the event is one of an outsider who could only view the occurrence relatively. They do not understand completely the entanglement actors are engaged in nor do they understand the events that led to that situation. They can only have a

vague idea of the evil event. The degree of their empathy is determined by how much knowledge they possess of such an occurrence. And this knowledge will be based on that person's own experience coupled with their own cultural upbringing.

Those on different sides of the evil event have their own views as to what evil is and what it is not. And if such a claim is true, then evil must have several definitions and understandings for each culture and experience. This sounds quite similar to what brought about the destruction of the Twin Towers or for any other act of evil we can imagine. To act in a way according to the beliefs and customs shared by a single group does not necessarily call for conflict but does in fact leave the door open for that possibility. Having many definitions implies that evil is open to many interpretations. Yes, some do not believe in the existence of evil whatsoever. Is that a reasonable position to take? Could it be that culture sets the value for evil? Christians label Satan as inherently evil and anything or anyone in proximity is also evil. That which is considered "sin" is forbidden and labeled as evil. There are countless cultures in the world, some that have come and gone while others have existed for millennia, each with their very own unique perspective. Taoists do not believe in a good or an evil, rather, they believe in two polarities, the Yin and the Yang, and their existence is simultaneous and equal. Now people have placed specific values to each polarity: good and evil, light and dark, good and bad, and so on. But that is not the intention of that symbol. It is there to mark the two dynamic forces in the universe that are inseparable, forever in a constant play with each other. Seeing that evil can be culturally influenced, it exists (or the absence of) in language, in beliefs, in value, and in symbols.

II. Evil Expressed as Subjective Value

Yet what exactly is evil? Where did it originate? Why did it originate and what was/is its purpose? It is a comforting thought to say that we humans have a purpose, a proclamation that is itself not exactly proven. Many have attempted to answer this question, from Nietzsche to St. Thomas Aquinas to the Hindus' of India to the natives that inhabit the world. Each have their own answer formulized from their own experiences and recollections as individuals. My view is that evil is a superimposed value to a necessary external force by the faculty of the

human imagination in a radical attempt to explain and cope with the chaos and misfortunes that appear to threaten our existence individually and as communities.

Evil itself does not exist objectively as a pure entity. I will try to explain this concept of evil and argue that it does not exist objectively. Evil, not as the antithesis to Good, is neither inherently the result nor is it inherently an action or the cause of an action marked with malice--rather, it is a value. A human projection onto events and circumstances that seem to call for its attribution. Let us start with the beginning: "Evil is a superimposed value...by the faculty of the human imagination". Let us take evil as a component of a two-part value system. There are things that are valued as good and things valued as evil or "bad"; good, pertaining to those things beneficial to human existence and evil, to those relating to harm. When a man approaches a woman and forcefully places his desires upon her, then ends her life when he is through, many would consider his action as evil. We could easily fall into labeling his action as immoral but immoral according to what standard? If evil can be considered as an immoral act, what gives man the privilege to determine what is immoral (this paper does not regard to ethics nor morality)? The issue resides in determining the concept of value. To determine something one way or other is to place a value upon the subjects deemed to be determined. Because man values his own life, he places value upon those things that will further his life for he does not want to end his existence (for the most part). And this is natural for any life form to do, for if life desires to exist, it must value life. Man is another form of life seeking to ensure his own existence, and since it is natural to value one's life, it necessarily follows that man must value entities other than himself. Evil is a value determined and directed by man. Man has determined external entities and occurrences as evil in relation to him because he fears the cessation of his life. We could even say humans fear the cessation of humanity.

When one contemplates evil, particular impressions of atrocities immediately arise. One might envision the Spanish Inquisition and the style of torture practiced; or one might remember a broadcast of last night's news speaking on the death of a child who was raped and later on, discarded in a river. Yes, these all seem very inhuman and may be deemed acts of evil but there is something more lying beneath this visage. What we see here in the consequences of the actions described above is a

force of death or destruction. What lies beneath this atrocious mask is nothing more than a natural force—a natural force that is destruction embodied in any form at any time.

When I speak of evil in any form, I refer to the many appearances it manifests itself in at any given time. The destruction in existence depends on an agent and a subject. The agent is the entity in which this natural force “channels” through. This may seem as if the agent has no free will because of this “channeling” effect, but do not be fooled. It must be understood that this force is essential and finds itself manifested in a multitude of ways and can be found within man. Man is a great example of this destructive element, especially nowadays with his “conquest” over nature. Forests are being cleared out. What used to exist there is no more. We cannot help but destroy. But destroy has such a negative connotation in a way. What actually occurs is the transfiguration of form or of essence. This needs to be understood as natural. The complete erosion of a stone may take centuries to occur, but within that period, the stone still remains a stone. Eventually, it will cease to be a stone and its many composites will be released. This entity we call a stone went from this initial form to nothing. Its particles were released and the stone no longer exists. We may call the erosive force destructive or transformable. It is not easily applicable to human existence for we are a very emotional species. Yet, when one passes on, there body merely goes through a transfiguration. This is notable in human growth as well—from infant to old age. But at the end of one’s life, the body decomposes and returns to the earth. The problem, I recognize, resides in the cognitional property inherent in humans. What happens to that essence which I determine as myself, this conscious/unconscious awareness of self? A question difficult to find solutions for and remains for another topic. Nevertheless, the term evil, I insist, has been created by humans in order to get an understanding of the world around us and the perils we face. It is a concept, a word used as a tool to characterize misfortune and dissolution, destruction, and demise...even death.

This, I think, shows that evil is not essential to events. It is parasitic on what happens in the world around us. What dies, what is destroyed, what makes us cringe and panic, are objective facts, but evil is a value— a value whose existence is primordial, an existence that coincided with the birth of all existence, i.e., the human imagination.

Whatever that force may be, the one which induces suffering, harm, destruction, and misery, humans have dubbed it evil. It does not necessarily follow that that force is inherently evil. It is likewise up to the power of the human imagination or reason to make the attempt to distinguish between evil as an objective property and evil as a subjective value.

Literature Review

As I have mentioned before, evil seems to take different forms in different cultures. It is important to note that we are part of an ever growing global culture, a fully connected global culture where “values” easily migrate from place to place. Today we have the ability to communicate with a farmer from Laos or Ecuador through the use of a phone or a computer. The point here is that we must now be considerate of other peoples and their belief systems. In other words, we must take into account their systems derived and edited throughout the ages. I say *must* because they, like you and I, are part of this human race. If we follow the evolutionary paradigm and state as a premise that all human development had its origins within Africa, then we must conclude that each and every conception of evil found within every tribe, every civilization, and every culture that has inhabited the planet at some point in time has a plausible account of what evil may be. An arduous task it is indeed and may take one’s entire lifetime to accomplish but that task with this type of approach, I believe, will surrender a collection of accounts that may hold the key to the origin of evil within human existence. This belief has led me to not only look at evil with the aid of European intellectuals, but to encompass the ideologies of Hindu mythology and their interpretation of evil.

Evil in Hindu Mythology

Like many religions, Hinduism also supports the idea of theodicy: What is the problem of evil and how can it be reconciled? Myth, in many cases, is an attempt to bring abstract concepts down to a mundane level. Although mythology inherently pertains to deities, it was not written by gods but rather, written by humans, for humans in order to cope with phenomena.

¹ Hinduism is uniquely different from Western interpretation on the problem of evil because for the majority of Indians, there *is no* problem of evil.² There are no attempts in Hindu mythology to discredit evil because they recognize its necessary existence; it is as natural as breathing. The problem resides in the fact of the many interpretations of mythology, and of where should have evil been placed under when it was created: man, fate, gods, or demons.³

To understand evil in Hindu mythology, one must recognize the Sanskrit term *pāpa*, which denotes physical and moral nongoodness.⁴ This concept is the equivalent to sin, but it implies the natural and moral evil of the universe. It is necessary to note that physical evil begets moral evil, a causation common in many Hindu mythologies.⁵ I will get back to this concept further on.

According to Hindu mythology, there are two main reasons as to *why* God created evil— something quite contrary to the European denial of evil created by God. There are two provisions that primarily relate to God and the reasoning behind evil’s creation. Under the precondition of evil as necessary, there are two answers provided by Hindu mythology: either God creates Evil willingly, or God creates it against his will. There is a Hindu view that, “[God] chooses to place evil and suffering in the universe, not because he is forced to do so by karma, not because he is so evil that he enjoys seeing others suffer, but because if he wishes to create universe at all, it is by definition necessary for that universe to contain evil as well as good”.⁶ This quote demonstrates for if the universe is to be created, it must contain good and evil. God then creates the universe willingly, not that it is necessary for the universe to exist, but because he is powerful and good, he creates it with good and evil. O’Flaherty goes on to explain that once evil is created it must reside somewhere, so God

¹ Wendy Doniger O’Flaherty, The Origins of Evil in Hindu Mythology, (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1976), pg. 9

² Ibid, pg. 4

³ Ibid, pg. 13

⁴ Ibid, pg. 6

⁵ Ibid, pg. 29

⁶ Ibid, pg. 49

distributes it, “away from the gods...among men or demons or both”.⁷ The gods are revealed to be the epitome of good so it seems customary to place it among demons or a fallacious entity such as man. If the distribution of evil were to be otherwise, the universe would be unbalanced for the gods would be weak the existing of contrasting pairs would be no more.⁸ This view is contrasted with the view of evil created unintended by God.

Like the first view, this second interpretation recognizes the inevitable existence of evil but the, “gods...would rather have it survive among mankind than among themselves; and men would rather have it here than among the gods”.⁹ It appears the creation of evil is unavoidable but there has to be a place for it to exist and it cannot be there with the gods for the gods are good. A creation myth implies that Prajāpati created the universe with the gods as daylight. In concluding his process, he exhales and from that comes demons which represented darkness. Prajāpati, “knew that he had created evil for himself; he struck the demons with evil and they were overcome”.¹⁰ In the process of creation, God unintentionally creates the demons and views them negatively, therefore, allows evil to reside in them. Aside from the creation of gods and demons, God also created specific powers or creatures (according to myth) such as destruction, death, hunger, and thirst. These are what we consider natural evils, but nevertheless, they are evils and they precede man, and since they cannot thrive in heaven, they are placed either within demons or man. This in turn, provokes man into conducting moral evils.¹¹ The existence of evil is thus found to be essential for God creates it one way or another. Dharma, on the other hand, is a guideline as to what a person should do and describes the order of existence.

Defined by Hindu mythology, dharma “is the fact that there are rules that must be obeyed; it is the principle of order, regardless of what that order actually is”.¹² The dharma principle is the concept referring to

⁷ Ibid, pg. 49

⁸ Ibid, pg. 50

⁹ Ibid, pg. 50

¹⁰ Ibid, pg. 50

¹¹ Ibid, pg. 51-55

¹² Ibid, pg. 94

order but it does not establish what that order is, rendering it ambiguous but objective. Evil undoubtedly is inherent in this order already expressed by its necessary existence. Dharma recognizes what should and what is. The nature of a person is ambiguous to others but that individual has understanding as to what they perceive needs to be done. Their dharma calls for an essential spot in existence, like a piece of a puzzle. It is also essential to state that people (as well as demons and gods) have evil dharmas and should follow them. The only evil, then, is to stray away from one's own dharma, or nature.¹³ There are people who are naturally athletic, others are natural leaders. To stray away from their nature leads one to evil according to dharma. Evil is then found to be determined by the individual themselves for they alone understand what their nature might be.

Hegel and the Sublation of Evil

According to Hegel, to understand evil one must understand the relationship between finitude and infinitude. Before we could understand this simple conclusion, we must understand the basic premises of finitude. Finitude, according to Hegel, is reflected within the senses, in reflection, and in and for the spirit.¹⁴ Each is within the capacities of the human being and each reflects our definite existence. Finitude of the senses describes the relationship of the individual to external objects. All things existing perceived by the senses, are interpreted by humans as finite and are external from us. The human is dependent on things external, excluded from sharing in what others specifically experience¹⁵. The individual cannot fully indulge in the experience of a jellyfish nor can they see quite like a hawk does. This is finitude of the senses. But the realization of being just a finite being leads the individual to understand that he is more than just a finite being—he is a reflective being. Reflecting upon the extent to which we exist, we come across the second form of finitude, reflection. One can only come to the conclusion of being

¹³ Ibid, pg. 94

¹⁴ Richard J. Bernstein, "Hegel: The Healing of the Spirit?," Radical Evil: A Philosophical Interrogation (Malden, Blackwell Publishers Inc., 2002),pg. 50

¹⁵ Ibid, pg. 51

finite in form through the capacity of reflection by juxtaposing the finite with the infinite.¹⁶ As Bernstein quotes Hegel, “The standpoint of reflection...is the level at which the finite maintains itself, the level at which the antithesis of finitude and infinity is perennial; the very connecting of the two is the standpoint of reflection, and the two together make up the antithesis”.¹⁷ By reflecting, we poise ourselves between the finite, the limited extent to which we can experience, and the infinite, “that which is beyond and necessarily transcends the finite”.¹⁸ This can only determine finite knowledge. Through human experience and memory we are able to increase the amount of knowledge and understanding of existence, but we can never incorporate infinite knowledge at any point in time. From this understanding, the human being recognizes he/she is just one individual among many and their cognitive ability is finite. Yet, Hegel expands on this notion asserting that finitude in spirit is the renouncement of personal singularity and subjectivity as a particular finite being in order to grasp the infinite. He posits that the realization of not being exclusively natural and not reflective in being, but of being capable of “universal thought”, of Geist (spirit), is finitude of spirit for spirit.¹⁹ Knowing oneself as finite leaves an unsatisfactory feeling and the individual will desire more than finitude. To insist on the fact of being finite in every dimension propels the individual to want to be a part of something larger than their singularity. What is larger than finitude—infinitude. Infinity, according to Hegel, “Is nothing other than the total manifestation of its finite moment, which are always superseding themselves”²⁰. Otherwise abstract, this notion simply states that infinity is the totality of all finite instances superseding their determinations.

How does evil tie into the distinction between finitude and infinitude? After Hegel’s distinction, it is quite simple. Evil is the point when the singular, individual cleaves themselves from the totality, from the infinite. Evil begins when “the consciousness of being-for-myself [is] in opposition to external nature, but also in opposition to the objective

¹⁶ Ibid, pg. 51

¹⁷ Ibid, pg. 51

¹⁸ Ibid, pg. 51

¹⁹ Ibid, pgs. 54-55, 57

²⁰ Ibid, pg. 57

[reality] that is inwardly universal in the sense of the concept or of the rational will”.²¹ Simply put, to remain in a state of complete natural tendencies, not affirming the ability of reasoning and infinite knowledge, this is evil. On the contrary, this separation from the infinite is completely natural and necessary. The refusal to sublimate oneself to the infinite, this self-diremption or *evil*, as Hegel would call it, is necessary in the development of the *I*, “its development from its natural state to becoming truly human”.²² It appears that evil is more like a pathway to the realization of becoming truly human and understanding the true infinite, and is not to be regarded wholly as “bad”. Only when man insists upon staying distinct, separate does it become “bad”. In his natural state, man is void of evil, just like any other animal. With the development of cognition comes the development of a will and it is his will to remain external to the universal that is evil, “the willful reification of the abstract distinction between the finite and the spurious infinite”.²³

Alain Badiou: Evil as Disruption to Truth

The beauty of Alain Badiou and his approach to “the problem of Evil” lies within his atheistic approach. He does not include doctrines of Christianity nor does he include God as a standard of measurement. His assessment of Evil begins with the problem of a self-evident conception of Evil. In Western thought, politics, and society, under the category of liberal capitalism and its complimentary political system, parliamentarianism, Badiou states it is here that the self-evident conception of Evil becomes problematic, when liberal capitalism prizes itself to be a truly humane establishment.²⁴ Consequently, anything in opposition of liberal, democratic ideals is deemed evil; it becomes the “dreaded other”.²⁵ Of course, one can see where the problem lies within this framework and Badiou easily points it out by holding the position

²¹ Ibid, pg. 62

²² Ibid, pg. 63

²³ Ibid, Pg. 65, 68

²⁴ Christoph Cox, Molly Whalen, Alain Badiou, “On Evil: An Interview with Alain Badiou,” *Cabinet*, Evil Winter 2001/2002, Issue 5, <http://www.cabinetmagazine.org/issues/5/alainbadiou.php>

²⁵ Ibid

that, “it is necessary to reconstruct rights, in everyday life as in politics, of Truth and of the Good”.²⁶ From this judgment, we should constantly be criticizing our governments in the attempt to proclaim Truth and Good and so that it may be recognized.

Since Evil is not the opposition to liberal capitalism, it is not Communist and Fascist ideals, then what is it? Well, we must begin with what is Good. To Badiou, the Good is synonymous with “Truths”. Truths (and he says truths in the plural because there is no truth in the singular):

“[I]s a concrete process that starts by an upheaval and develops as fidelity to the novelty thus experimented. It is the subjective development of that which is at once both new and universal. New: that which is unforeseen by the order of creation. Universal: That which can interest, rightly, every human individual, according to his pure humanity”.²⁷

So Truths are something that is a new, universal novelty. To be Good is to express that inner desire to produce *a* Truth. It is the undertaking of a project that will be universally beneficial for humanity. Evil, as a natural opposition to Good, is “the interruption of a truth by the pressure of particular or individual interests”.²⁸ To embark on beneficial expedition for humanity by committing oneself to the exploration of a novel fact—that is Good, that is Truth. Once initiated, Evil is the simultaneous objection to that expedition in the name of self-interest. This battle appears to take place within the self for Good and Evil presupposes a subject in order to exist—that subject is the self, the individual. Evil, in any particular situation, always has a tendency to “weaken or destroy a subject”.²⁹ That is the opposition to the construction of a Truth. It is held within the subject to make the ultimate distinction between what is Good and what is Evil. The subject will have a desire to proclaim Truth in which the inhibiting factor would then be Evil. The nature of Evil is to disrupt any one particular subject, but is the subject to make that distinction; others cannot prescribe to that subject what is and is not Evil. Badiou has positioned Evil to be subjective and relative simultaneously—

²⁶ Ibid

²⁷ Ibid

²⁸ Ibid

²⁹ Ibid

Evil is present within all individuals and the difference between Good and Evil depends on what the subject determines to be Truth. An action can be Evil to one and Good to another.

Discussion

After reviewing Hegel's argument for Evil, I discovered what seems to null the so called "problem of evil". As we have gone over before, the refusal to sublimate oneself to the infinite, the *evil*, as Hegel would say, is necessary for the individual to recognize their relation to the infinite and except the fact that the infinite presides over its finite moments.³⁰ This concludes that evil is *necessary* for the advancement of sublation to the infinite, to achieve oneness with the infinite. It follows that it is congruent with the Indian disclosure on the necessity of evil in the universe— Evil, as God finds it, is necessary to the existence of the universe. Badiou's argument found to be supportive as well when he states, "Evil...is the interruption of a truth by the pressure of particular or individual interest" that tends to "weaken or destroy a subject".³¹ I agree and assert the validity of these claims in support for my theory—the destructive force in the universe is necessary, coeternal with existence and what we tend to describe as Evil and thereupon, place a negative value to it. That force we could characterize with the attributes of destruction is undoubtedly objective. Can you not make a wooden table without destroying the essence of a tree? The best representation of a destructive physical force is a black hole. It devours all things within range and leaves no traces of them, until science can find an answer (if possible). The force which brings about the action of destruction, annihilation, eradication—that force, when brought to a mundane level, becomes difficult for man to accept when it is he who faces it. And I would have to

³⁰ Richard J. Bernstein, "Hegel: The Healing of the Spirit?", Radical Evil: A Philosophical Interrogation (Malden, Blackwell Publishers Inc., 2002), pgs. 57, 63

³¹ Christoph Cox, Molly Whalen, Alain Badiou, "On Evil: An Interview with Alain Badiou," *Cabinet*, Evil Winter 2001/2002, Issue 5, <http://www.cabinetmagazine.org/issues/5/alainbadiou.php>

agree, when man places himself above all else,³² he can and possibly will experience anguish in the face of his own destruction, thus, rendering Evil as a value to this force in relation to him. From these claims, the problem of evil no longer exists and we find that it *is* necessary, either to discover the good or for physical existence. It seems Hegel himself, through his dialectic, has eradicated the so called ‘problem of evil’, claiming it to be, “*necessary* for the concrete realization of an infinite *Geist* in which evil is sublated”.³³

In order to be one with the infinite, to propound the Truth, one must encounter evil and be a subject of it. This is what we call the *necessity* of evil, and this is why the Indian interpretation of evil leads them to realize that there is no problem of evil. But if evil is necessary for the full coming to terms of the Good, of Truth, of the infinite, is it really evil? It appears that everything in existence would then be meant to instigate us towards the acceptance of the true and infinite good. We are then left with one, not two entities: the infinite, the All that is All. I believe from this conclusion, the problem now lies in determining for oneself *what* is evil as a value and along with it, does one want to remain in that state he determines evil. Nonetheless, evil is still conditioned to be subject to value interpretation. To reject the existence of evil is to reject the existence of good. To reject both can lead to the rejection of value, but this cannot be possible if man surely values his own life, if not, something higher. The Hindus, in one statement, do recognize the value of good when juxtaposed with evil in an individual, “The contrast...that goodness within an individual becomes valuable only when it is pitted against evil—is recognized by the Hindus in cosmological terms: That the Good in the universe is valuable only because it exists together with evil”.³⁴ The admittance of valuing Good and Evil is predetermined by the equiprimordial existence of good and evil. The truth which this mythological statement proves is that to value one, there must be

³² Richard J. Bernstein, “Hegel: The Healing of the Spirit?,” Radical Evil: A Philosophical Interrogation (Malden, Blackwell Publishers Inc., 2002),pg. 62

³³ Ibid, pg. 68

³⁴ Wendy Doniger O’Flaherty, The Origins of Evil in Hindu Mythology, (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1976),pg. 47

something to compare the value to, so if there is no Good or Evil, then the other is determined to not exist. You then have one. This theme, one, must become subject to evil in order to recognize the good, is reoccurring as we now saw in Hindu mythology and in Hegel. Badiou on the other hand, does not quite include evil as a way to understand the Truth. The Truth and the struggle to advocate Truth is an individual's primary concern, according to Badiou, and evil simultaneously occurs because it is that force's nature to weaken the subject.³⁵ Once again, when juxtaposed, the tendency for an individual to render value upon good and evil occurs. It is our faulty nature and our desire to live do we impose a 'negative' connotative value to some external force which is entirely neutral. This force may be interpreted as destructive, harmful, or illusionary, a force meant to divert an original intention. Nonetheless, it is we who determine what is to be evil for we see the universe as revolving around us, a fault in our thinking. As one becomes the center of all law, evil itself is outside of him, so he must determine what evil is. Once the individual understands that she is to share and be a part of the universal law, that she is a subject of it, the valuing of good and evil ceases for the individual will recognize the natural flow of existence.

Conclusion

History shows that each culture has its own interpretation on the 'problem of evil', and answers to this human production proves to be a dilemma for there is a low degree of consensus. Hindus have their own interpretation of it described within the framework of their mythological teachings. According to Hindu interpretation, the "problem" of evil seems nonexistent because they have derived a way to include evil in everyday life. Conversely, Westerners have met the problem of evil by questioning why such a benevolent God would allow for evil to exist. Just recently, within the past one hundred years or so, philosophers have begun tackling this issue without God, such as Alain Badiou.

³⁵ Christoph Cox, Molly Whalen, Alain Badiou, "On Evil: An Interview with Alain Badiou," *Cabinet*, Evil Winter 2001/2002, Issue 5, <http://www.cabinetmagazine.org/issues/5/alainbadiou.php>

Evil, as I have described it, exists as a value superimposed to the destruction of things and when I say things, I refer to physical objects already in existence. But I must present forth that destruction itself is not evil for it is a neutral force, an occurrence rendered to be accounted as essential to all existence. Destruction is merely a transfiguration of form. By this I mean there are a variety of forms, such as a tree or a human, and when their vitality ceases, their form will soon be transfigured. Evil is the value placed upon the so-called 'negative' result of an interplay between destroyer and destroyed. The possibility of relativism allows for evil to be considered a value, and it is natural for humans to value objects and occurrences. We are beings of existence and find ourselves observing the cessation of existence constantly, but when we place the utmost value upon a subject that soon expires, such expiration is Evil. I have prescribed that evil can be related to the natural occurrence of destruction, a physical manifestation. I do not deny the objectivity of Evil but that objectivity only survives as long as humans exist, or at least their cognitive abilities, such as reasoning. The problem of evil, on the other hand, finds itself corrupted by human subjection. Humans are a value oriented species, and as long as humans sustain their view as being the zenith to universal law, the subjectivity of evil will persist. Thus, I leave you with a proposition: What do you value most and with that, what are you willing to sacrifice in order to maintain it?

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**Jasalynne
Northcross**

Major:
Psychology

Mentor:
**Dr. Glenn M.
Callaghan**

Body Image Disturbance,
Disorders, and Cosmetic
Surgery

Biography

Jasalynne Northcross is a Senior majoring in Psychology. Her research interests are grounded in body image with an emphasis on cosmetic surgery. Currently, she is the Activities Coordinator for the Nigerian Student Association at SJSU and her past leadership experience includes acting as an Orientation Leader for the office of Student Involvement at SJSU. Her main interests include spending time with her family and friends; she always enjoys relaxing whenever she does not have to work. Currently, she is applying to General Psychology master's programs. In the future she would like to pursue a Ph.D. in Clinical Psychology so that she can pursue her goal of being a college professor.

Body Image Disturbance, Disorders, and the Motivation to Seek Cosmetic Surgery

ABSTRACT

Elective cosmetic procedures are becoming increasingly more popular in the United States, increasing by more than 162 percent in the past decade. This increase in procedures may be the result of media influences, safer techniques, or more acceptable attitudes towards people who have these treatments. One concern around elective cosmetic surgical procedures and its increase lies with individuals using surgery as a means to cope with a deeper dissatisfaction with one's self. While this is clearly not an issue for all who have cosmetic surgery, there may be a number of people who choose to have these more invasive procedures done as a means to cope with seemingly intolerable self evaluation and an experience of feeling less than acceptable because of how one looks. This study evaluated participants at a California university to measure body image disturbance and the coping strategies used to handle discomfort caused by this dissatisfaction. Data were examined to evaluate the hypothesis that people who have higher levels of body image dissatisfaction would also have a desire to undergo a cosmetic procedure or surgery. Implications of these data are discussed in the context of a complete lack of regulation requiring screening for body image disorders for cosmetic surgery applicants.

Keywords: cosmetic surgery, body image, body dysmorphic disorder

Introduction

Body image is a multidimensional construct that should be understood on a continuum (Cash, Phillips, Santos, & Hrabosky, 2004; Cash & Grasso, 2001). Body image dissatisfaction and Body Dysmorphic Disorder are at opposite ends of the body image continuum. It is important to understand the difference between body image dissatisfaction and body image disturbance. People who dislike a part of their body may be dissatisfied, but when they find it difficult to perform normal daily activities their problem becomes a disturbance (Cash et al., 2004). Body image disturbance consists of body image dissatisfaction, distress, and dysfunction (Cash et al., 2004).

Body Dysmorphic Disorder (BDD) is at the extreme end of the continuum. BDD is dissatisfaction of an imagined or exaggerated defect of the body that causes distress and impairment in functioning (APA, 2000). Reported rates of BDD range from 2% to 5.3% in non-clinical settings (Cansever, Uzun, Dönmez, & Ozşahin, 2003; Bohne et al., 2002), and 4.8% - 39% in clinical settings (Dyl, Kittler, Phillips, & Hunt, 2006; Grant, Kim, & Eckert, 2002). People who suffer from BDD may seek cosmetic surgery to treat the problems they perceive. In fact, true prevalence rates of BDD are difficult to measure because many people with BDD seek non-psychiatric treatments such as cosmetic surgery, dermatology treatments, or dental treatments (Cansever et al., 2003).

Cosmetic surgery has become more popular, increasing by 162% in the United States over the past decade, according to the American Society for Aesthetic Plastic Surgery (ASAPS). This rise in popularity could be a result of media emphasis on aesthetics and safer methods, which only make the temptation to modify one's body more appealing. In fact, a study commissioned by ASAPS showed that young adults (ages 18-24) have become more accepting of cosmetic surgery. This study was conducted in 2008, and there was a 2% increase in positive attitudes towards cosmetic surgery compared to a similar study done in 2006. Many non-invasive treatments, like Botox injections, are offered without the inconvenience of going to a medical facility. According to ASAPS, the most popular cosmetic surgeries are breast augmentation, liposuction, blepharoplasty (cosmetic eyelid surgery), rhinoplasty, and abdominoplasty ("tummy tuck"). The most common non-surgical procedures are Botox injections, laser hair removal, hyaluronic acid (a filler that can be injected around the eyes), chemical peels, and laser skin resurfacing. Also, the majority of cosmetic procedures (44.6%) in 2008 were done on people between the ages of 35-50.

Elective cosmetic surgery should not be equated to reconstructive surgery; the difference between the two is that cosmetic surgery is completely elective, like many of the surgeries shown on popular reality television shows. Reconstructive surgery, on the other hand, is often necessary to restore people's bodies. For example, burn victims or people who experienced severe physical trauma often have reconstructive procedures done so they can live a normal life. Everyone who has cosmetic surgery does not have BDD. It is important to understand the

difference between going forth with these procedures to enhance the body and going forward with cosmetic surgery to treat a larger problem, like BDD. Some people generally want to fix something about their appearance but can still function at a normal level. This goes back to basic body image dissatisfaction, which is far different from BDD. Previous researchers have found that a significant number of cosmetic surgery applicants have BDD (Aouizerate et al., 2003; Bellino et al., 2006). In cosmetic surgery settings, researchers have found BDD rates up to 40% (Aouizerate et al., 2003). These results have not been replicated in similar studies that used clinical scales to screen for BDD. Other studies have found rates that range from 3% - 16% (Castle, Moltone, Hoffman, Preston, & Phillips, 2004; Bellino et al., 2006).

Regardless of the amount of people with BDD who seek cosmetic surgery, researchers have been able to agree on one thing: cosmetic surgery is rarely effective in treating BDD. A common outcome of cosmetic surgery as treatment for BDD is that the patient has no change in their symptoms (Phillips, Grant, Siniscalchi, & Albertini, 2001; Veal, 2000; Tignol, Biraben-Gotzamanis, Martin-Guehl, Grabot, Aouizerate, 2007). Sometimes people will continue to seek cosmetic surgery after their first surgery. Tignol et al. (2007) found that some participants with BDD who had surgery still had a BDD diagnosis after surgery, and some of those participants became preoccupied with another part of their body. This is consistent with Ercolani, Baldaro, Rossi, and Trombini's (1999) study where participants were interviewed five years after they had rhinoplasty (surgery on the nose) surgery to see how they felt about the results of the surgery. They found that 9 of the 12 participants who were unsatisfied with the surgery also had "minimal defects" prior to the surgery. This is also similar to another five year follow-up surgery done by Aouizerate et al. (2007). The researchers found out that out of the 6 participants who had BDD before surgery, 5 of them became preoccupied with another body part after the initial surgery. Also, 3 people who did not have BDD before surgery became preoccupied with parts of their body after the surgery.

This research investigates the relationship between the prevalence of BDD participants with a self-reported likelihood of considering cosmetic surgery, currently seeking cosmetic surgery, and having a history of cosmetic surgery. The study also examined the self-reported likelihood

of seeking cosmetic surgery and body image dissatisfaction that is subsyndromal to a diagnosis of BDD. The goal of this research is to show that people who have higher levels of body image dissatisfaction are more likely to seek cosmetic surgery.

Method

Participants

A convenience sample consisting 544 undergraduate students at a diverse university participated in this study. The sample included 373 women and 171 men aged 18 to 52 years ($M = 19.32$, $SD = 3.1$ years). The participants identified themselves as White/Caucasian ($n = 132$; 24.3%); Asian ($n = 186$; 34.2%); Black/African-American ($n = 29$; 5.3%); Hispanic/Latino/ Spanish ($n = 105$; 19.3%); American Indian ($n = 1$; .2%); Pacific Islander ($n = 8$; 1.5%); biracial or multi-racial ($n = 72$; 13.2%); or “Other” or left the item blank ($n = 11$; 2%). All participants gave their informed consent before completing the questionnaire. Before data collection, this study received approval by a university Human Subjects Institutional Review Board. Some students received extra credit toward course grades, while others received no compensation for their participation.

Materials and Devices

Participants completed a questionnaire packet containing: (a) a brief demographic questionnaire; (b) the Functional Idiographic Assessment Template Questionnaire-E (FIATQ-E; Callaghan, 2006); (c) the Acceptance and Action Questionnaire-2 (AAQ-2; Hayes et al., 2004); (d) the Automatic Thoughts Questionnaire (ATQ; Hollon & Kendall, 1980); (e) the Body Image Disturbance Questionnaire (BIDQ; Cash & Phillips, 2004); (f) the Body Image Coping Strategies (BICSI; Cash, 2005) 3; and (g) the Body Dysmorphic Disorder Questionnaire (BDDQ; Phillips, 1996). Participants who met criteria for and participated in the interview portion of the study were interviewed using the Body Dysmorphic Disorder Module for Adults (Phillips, 1996) and the Yale-Brown Obsessive Compulsive Scale Modified for Body Dysmorphic Disorder (BDD-YBOCS; Phillips, Hollander, Rasmussen, & Aronowitz, 1997).

Brief Demographic Questionnaire

A demographic questionnaire constructed by the researchers consisted of questions about the participants' age, height, weight, gender, ethnicity, and past or current diagnosed eating disorders. Additionally, participants indicated whether they had any past, present, or future plans to undergo cosmetic surgeries or procedures.

Body Image Disturbance Questionnaire (BIDQ)

The Body Image Disturbance Questionnaire (BIDQ) is a 7-item assessment. Participants answer each question on a 5-point Likert scale. Items 1, 2, and 5-7 also have free response portions. The BIDQ was derived from Katherine Phillips' Body Dysmorphic Disorder Questionnaire (BDDQ). The BIDQ assesses body image disturbance as a multidimensional construct where there are three factors of body image disturbance: body image dissatisfaction, distress, and dysfunction. The BIDQ is different from other measures on body image, such as the BDDQ, because it assesses body image disturbance on a continuum where respondents do not have to select between dichotomous answers. The goal of this measure is identify disturbance instead of dissatisfaction (Cash et. al, 2004).

The BIDQ is scored by averaging the responses for the seven questions. Cronbach's alpha is .89 for both men and women, indicating strong internal consistency. The BIDQ correlates with multiple facets of the body image construct including, body image dissatisfaction, body dysmorphobia, body image investment, and body image quality of life (Cash et. al, 2004). Research has shown a modest correlation of .23 ($p < .001$) between the Body Mass Index and scores on the BIDQ for women (Cash et. al, 2004). This correlation was not significant for men.

Body Image Coping Strategies Inventory (BICSI)

The Body Image Coping Strategies Inventory (BICSI; Cash, 2002) is an empirically validated assessment of cognitive and behavioral activities used to manage challenges to body image. It comprises three individually scored subscales: avoidance, appearance fixing, and positive rational acceptance. The 8-item avoidance scale measures the extent to which an individual will avoid potential psychological discomfort through self-imposed ignorance of one's undesirable thoughts or feelings (Cash,

Santos, and Williams, 2005). The 10-item appearance fixing scale assesses how much energy the individual exerts trying to mediate poor body image with efforts to disguise, hide, camouflage, or alter the body area the individual deems undesirable. The 11-item positive rational acceptance scale measures the individual's more healthful approaches to divert attention from the perceived flaw(s), which may include behavioral or mental strategies to pacify distress through endeavoring to perceive the situation rationally as opposed to emotionally. Each scale is calculated by obtaining the mean of the combined items; scores are evaluated based on the respondent's gender. On the avoidance scale, a score exceeding 0.90 for women or 0.79 for men is considered an abnormal level of avoidance. For appearance fixing, a score in excess of 1.60 for women and 1.27 for men implies a greater-than-average dependency on appearance alteration to alleviate distress. A score of 1.68 for women or 1.59 for men on the positive rational acceptance scale is indicative of more attempts to cope using positive rational acceptance (Cash et al., 2005).

Body Dysmorphic Disorder Questionnaire (BDDQ)

The Body Dysmorphic Disorder Questionnaire (BDDQ) is a self-report screening measure developed to determine whether someone meets DSM-IV criteria for BDD. The BDDQ uses a yes/no format to establish whether the respondent experiences a preoccupation with a perceived physical defect and whether the preoccupation causes distress or impairment in functioning. However, even if a respondent meets the criteria on the BDDQ, a face-to-face interview is necessary to confirm the diagnosis and to determine if the defect exists. Additionally, the interviewer uses the clinical interview to determine whether the distress or impairment is significant and to rule out the presence of an eating disorder.

Published psychometric data on the BDDQ is limited. Phillips and her colleagues have found the BDDQ has high sensitivity and specificity for the diagnosis of BDD. In a sample of 66 psychiatric outpatients, the BDDQ accurately suggested BDD in 100% of the patients that clinicians determined met diagnostic criteria. Additionally, when clinicians determined a patient did not have BDD, the BDDQ was accurate in 89% of the cases. A slightly modified version of the BDDQ used in dermatology settings (BDDQ-Dermatology Version; Dufresne, Phillips,

Vittorio, & Wilkel, 2001) yielded similar sensitivity and specificity percentages. Overall, the BDDQ appears to be an acceptable screening measure for BDD.

Procedures

At least two experimenters were present at each session. Upon arrival at the session, the experimenters greeted participants and asked them to take a seat. Each experimenter acted according to a protocol that was devised prior to the running of participants. The experimenters informed participants that the study was investigating people's emotions related to body image issues. Participants received a consent form signed by the primary researcher and were asked to follow along as an experimenter read it aloud. In order to ensure the complete anonymity of participants' answers to survey questions (and subsequent interview for some participants), the experimenters did not request written consent. Along with a consent form, each participant received a sheet of paper with information regarding free counseling services. The experimenters explained that this information was provided because some of the questions they would be asked involved sensitive information. The experimenters provided an opportunity for participants to ask any questions, and all questions were answered.

Experimenters distributed questionnaire packets and instructed participants to submit the completed forms to an experimenter when finished. An experimenter checked the packet for completeness and quickly scored the BDDQ of each finished questionnaire. Participants who answered "yes" to both parts of question 1 and "yes" to any part(s) of question 3 met criteria for the interview portion (Phillips, 1996). Those who did not meet criteria received proof of participation and were free to leave. Of those who met criteria according to the BDDQ, if a participant listed weight as his/her main concern, and he/she was overweight according to a Body Mass Index (BMI) scale, he/she was ineligible for the interview portion. If a participant listed weight as his/her main concern but was not overweight according to the BMI scale, he/she was eligible.

Upon inviting the participant to the interview portion, the experimenter reiterated that participation was voluntary. If a participant agreed to continue to the second portion, an experimenter led the participant to another room for the interview procedure. The other

experimenter(s) remained with any further participants who had met criteria for and agreed to an interview. Before beginning the interview, the experimenter reminded the participant that his/her answers were confidential and that he/she was free to withdraw from the interview at any time. Interviews were conducted using the BDD Module for Adults and the BDD-YBOCS. Interviewers received training to conduct the structured interview without providing feedback or intervention of any kind to the participant. At the end of the interview, the interviewer gave each participant the opportunity to ask questions, answered the questions, and debriefed participants. Eligible participants received proof of participation if applicable.

Eighty participants met screening criteria and participated in the interview. Only 55 of these participants (42 females and 13 males), met diagnostic criteria for a formal diagnosis of BDD. The remaining interviewees were excluded on the basis of not meeting diagnostic criteria of BDD ($n = 14$), meeting criteria for or reporting a current eating disorder ($n = 3$), concerns of physical defects that could not be verified ($n = 2$), and presenting real (not imagined) defects (e.g. scarring; $n = 6$).

Results

We based our analysis on three questions from the participants self-reported data on the demographic questionnaire: (a) “Have you *ever considered* cosmetic surgery?”; (b) “Have you *ever had* cosmetic surgery?”; and (c) “Are you *currently thinking* about getting cosmetic surgery?” One hundred – nine (20%) of the participants reported they had considered cosmetic surgery. Seven of the participants (1.3%) had already had cosmetic surgery, while 36 (6.6%) of the participants were currently thinking of having a procedure done.

We used three logistic regressions based on the questions from the demographic questionnaire to determine if we could predict the probability that participants with higher levels of body image dissatisfaction would be more likely to seek cosmetic surgery. We also used a backward elimination procedure to determine if the BICSI and BIDQ predicted participants who had shown interest in cosmetic surgery. Lastly, we did a final logistic regression to see how well we would be able to predict a BDD case based on a person’s desire to have cosmetic surgery.

The first logistic regression tested the predictive capability of having considered cosmetic surgery on body image disturbance (measured by BIDQ) and body image coping strategies (measured by BICSI). Table 1 presents the results of this analysis. The final model reached statistical significance, $X^2(2) = 70.051$, $p < .001$, with a Nagelkerke $R^2 = .192$. In the final model, the BICSI avoidance subscale and appearance fixing subscale were eliminated, and the BIDQ ($p = .003$) and BICSI positive rational acceptance subscale ($p < .001$) remained. Overall prediction success was 79.9%.

A second logistic regression tested the predictive capability of the question, “Have you *ever had* cosmetic surgery?” on body image disturbance (BIDQ) and body image coping strategies (BICSI). Table 2 presents the results of this analysis. The final model reached statistical significance, $X^2(2) = 12.634$, $p = .002$, with a Nagelkerke $R^2 = .179$. In the final model, the BICSI avoidance and appearance fixing subscales were eliminated and the BIDQ ($p = .009$) and BICSI positive rational acceptance subscale ($p = .010$) remained. Overall prediction success was 98.7%.

The third logistic regression tested the predictive capability of the question, “Are you *currently thinking* about getting cosmetic surgery?” on body image disturbance (BIDQ) and body image coping strategies (BICSI). Table 3 presents the results of this analysis. The final model reached statistical significance, $X^2(2) = 31.109$, $p < .001$, with a Nagelkerke $R^2 = .145$. In the final model, the BICSI avoidance and positive rational acceptance subscales were eliminated and the BIDQ and BICSI appearance fixing subscale remained. Overall prediction success was 93.3%.

Lastly, we did a logistic regression to predict if a participant was a BDD case or not based on whether they have considered getting cosmetic surgery. Table 4 presents the results of this analysis. The final model reached statistical significance, $X^2(1) = 17.877$, $p < .001$, with a Nagelkerke $R^2 = .67$. The overall prediction success was 89.9%.

Discussion

The first three logistic regressions based on questions from the demographic questionnaire all have strong predictive capabilities that showed the likelihood of body image disturbance and coping strategies.

With regard to the first question on participant's consideration of getting cosmetic surgery, we found that the BIDQ and the BICSI appearance fixing subscale were the most capable measures used to predict body image disturbance. In the second logistic regression, having undergone cosmetic surgery predicted body image disturbance and positive rational acceptance. In the third logistic regression, currently thinking about cosmetic surgery predicted body image disturbance and appearance fixing coping skills. The BIDQ was the only measure that remained in every analysis. Lastly, we were able to predict a BDD case by 89.9% by knowing if a person had considered cosmetic surgery. This gives strong support for the hypothesis that people with higher levels of body image disturbance will be more likely to desire cosmetic surgery.

A major limitation we faced was the age of the participants. The outcome may have been different had we used older participants or had a wider range of ages. Also, a larger sample size would have altered the results. We only used one variable for the final logistic regression (past thoughts about cosmetic surgery); there were few participants who had a history of cosmetic surgery or who were currently planning cosmetic surgery. Another limitation was that we used college students. We may have had a higher percentage of participants with BDD had we used a sample from cosmetic surgery offices or clinical settings. Also, if we used people with a known history of cosmetic surgery it would have allowed us to further investigate the theory that body image dissatisfaction would lead to the pursuit of cosmetic surgeries.

Future research could build upon this study and similar studies by using more in depth questions regarding history, interest, and other experiences with cosmetic surgery (e.g. media influences and peer pressure) to see how these variables relate to body image dissatisfaction, disorders and the desire to undergo cosmetic surgery. Also, it would be interesting to do a follow up study with the 55 BDD cases we discovered to see if these participants ever pursued any form of cosmetic surgeries or procedures.

Table 1

Summary of the Logistic Regression Analysis on Consideration of Cosmetic Surgery

Variables	B	S.E.	Wald	Odds ratio	<i>p</i>
Constant	4.010	.396	102.742	55.157	< .0001
BIDQ	-5.66	.191	8.744	.568	= .003
BICSI appearance fixing	-.956	.207	21.327	.385	< .001

Note. BIDQ = Body Image Disturbance Questionnaire; BICSI = Body Image Coping Strategies Inventory

Table 2

Summary of the Logistic Regression Analysis on History with Cosmetic Surgery

Variables	B	S.E.	Wald	Odds ratio	<i>p</i>
Constant	10.932	2.355	21.556	55945.763	<.001
BIDQ	-1.293	.494	6.842	.275	=.009
BICSI positive rational acceptance	-2.207	.860	6.584	.110	=.010

Note. BIDQ = Body Image Disturbance Questionnaire; BICSI = Body Image Coping Strategies Inventory

Table 3

Summary of the Logistic Regression Analysis on Current Thoughts to Have Cosmetic Surgery

Variables	B	S.E.	Wald	Odds ratio	<i>p</i>
Constant	5.552	.657	71.334	257.846	< .001
BIDQ	-.672	.266	6.380	.511	= .012
BICSI appearance fixing	-.901	.319	7.974	.406	= .005

Note. BIDQ = Body Image Disturbance Questionnaire; BICSI = Body Image Coping Strategies Inventory

Table 4

Summary of the Logistic Regression Analysis on Prediction of BDD

Variables	B	S.E.	Wald	Odds ratio	<i>p</i>
Constant	.036	.498	.005	1.036	= .943
Ever Considered Surgery	-1.30	.297	19.178	.272	< .001

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Brenda Ochoa

Major:
Psychology

Mentor:
Dr. Elena L Klaw

Understanding and
Addressing Factors That
Contribute to Intimate
Partner Violence
Experienced By Latinas

Biography

Brenda Ochoa is a Junior majoring in Psychology. Her research investigates intimate partner violence among Latinas' and socioeconomic factors associated with the Hispanic culture. She has always been passionate about doing research that works to promote the importance of healthy relationships. Her passion has developed throughout her undergraduate career and she sees herself pursuing a PhD. Her ultimate goals are to teach, write, and implement a successful program in our childrens' school system that will educate boys and girls alike on what a healthy relationship consists of. Hopefully it will reduce the risk of being a victim of dating violence, divorce, and ultimately impact society on a greater level.

My gratitude goes to all the individuals in my life who continue to amaze, inspire, and most of all, believe in who I am and all I aspire to become.

Understanding and Addressing Factors That Contribute to Intimate Partner Violence as Experienced by Latinas

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this project is to understand factors that contribute to Latinas' risk of abuse by intimate partners. A literature review reveals that stressors related to immigration and acculturation, elevated rates of poverty, and distinct cultural beliefs about gender roles serve as significant risk factors. Preliminary findings based on a workshop conducted with preteen Latina girls suggest educational interventions about respect in relationships may play a key role in reducing Latinas' risk of victimization.

Introduction

Entering the world of dating is an inevitable and fundamental part of social development for most adolescents. Most adolescents never receive education as to what constitutes a healthy versus unhealthy relationship, placing them at risk for experiencing abuse with dating partners. Thus, family is the primary socialization unit (Mattson, Susan, Ruiz, and Ester 2005). Studies suggest that youth who are exposed to intimate partner violence (IPV) are at particular risk for experiencing dating abuse. Many studies demonstrate that children exposed to violence in the household are at greater risk of perpetrating violence in their own dating experiences (O'Leary, 1989).

According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention one in four adolescents report verbal, physical, emotional, or sexual abuse from a dating partner each year (CDC, 2008). Girls who witnessed domestic abuse in the home are at particular risk and more likely to choose abusive partners themselves, and to experience violence in their relationships (Carr & VanDeusen, 2002; Frias-Armenta, 2002; Widom & Maxfield, 2001). Children exposed to parental violence are vulnerable to psychological and social consequences with life-long impacts, such as stress disorders, traumatic avoidance arousal, depression and attention hyperactive disorder (Mattson, Susan, Ruiz, and Ester 2005).

In the United States, Latinos are at elevated risk for IPV. Nearly

30% of Mexican American women experience IPV, compared to 20% of women of Mexican origin, and 21.6% of non-Latina white women respectively (Garcia, Hurwitz, and Kraus, 2005). The U.S. Hispanic population has grown by 50% since 1990, with 35.6 million Hispanics living in the United States according to the 2000 census report. The Census Bureau projects that there will be 132.8 million Hispanics in the United States by the year 2050. This means that one in every three people in the United States will be of Hispanic origin (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 2001). With this ethnic group growing rapidly, it is essential to identify distinct IPV risk factors for this community. Latinos in the United States are at increased risk for experiencing intimate partner violence as a result of stressors related to immigration and acculturation, elevated rates of poverty, and distinct cultural beliefs about gender roles.

Poverty and SES

Lack of job opportunities and poverty are persistent problems affecting many Hispanics in the United States. More than 50% Hispanic families live below the \$40,000 income bracket (U.S. Census Bureau Current Population Survey, 2003; Lui, 2007). Many recently immigrated Latino men hold unstable jobs such as migrant worker, day laborer and seasonal workers (Glenda Kaufman Kantor Jana L. Jasinski, Etiony Aldarondo, 1994). Research suggests that immigrant families relying on inconsistent income tend to pool resources to purchase assets (Lui, 2007). Thus, family members are deeply interdependent. Hispanics are more likely to work blue-collar jobs versus white-collar jobs. According to research, assaults on wives are significantly higher in blue-collar workers than in white-collar workers (Kaufman Kantor et al., 1994). Financial stress increases alcohol abuse and aggression in the household, and disrupts healthy coping mechanisms. The stress and consequences of poverty lead Hispanics to experience higher rates of childhood violence, depression, alcohol-related problems, and ultimately, physical aggression in marital disagreements (Kaufman Kantor et al., 1994). Studies suggest that IPV incidents are often precipitated by financial difficulties and the stress associated with them (Mattson et al., 2005).

Social Class

The social structural theory may provide us with insight to better understand why couples from lower socio-economic standards (SES) are at a higher risk of engaging in IPV when compared to those with higher SES (Gelles & Straus, 1979). This theory states that violence is due to institutionalized inequalities between people along the lines of race, gender, age and social class. In other words, stress caused by unemployment and income differences between husbands and wives leads to an increase in intimate partner violence (Smith, 1988; Straus et al., 1980). Therefore, the lack of labor force participation, and limited employment opportunities available offered to the Hispanic population places that ethnic group at particular risk for IPV.

Culture and Gender Roles

Results from The National Institute of Justice and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention approximate that 4.8 million intimate partner rapes and physical assaults are perpetrated against U.S. women annually (CDC, 2009). Of these cases of domestic violence, women are victims of abuse and the perpetrators are their male partners (Bachman & Saltzman, 1995; Walker, 1999). Cultural beliefs may also aggravate the effects of IPV for Latina women, because of an emphasis on nurturing and acceptance as part of the female gender role. The growing body of research regarding IPV suggests that we must take into account socio-economic variables, cultural and familial values, and demographic variables as significant contributors (Hazen and Soriano, 2004). For example, family is a central focus for Hispanics, and for many, strong feelings of loyalty, support, and cooperation are shared among family members (Perilla, Bakeman, Norris 1994). Concepts such as, “Respeto,” Spanish for “respect,” are passed down to Hispanic children, that elevate the father is an unchallenged power within the household. This becomes a gender script that ultimately is learned by both males and females alike (Perilla, 1994). Hispanic children often come to see the father as the ultimate authority in the family. This hierarchical system of male dominance within the family may contribute to Latinas’ acceptance of their inferior standing within the family. Researchers have found that male batterers tend to endorse the masculine gender role to a greater degree of significance than non-batterers (Schmidt, 2003). Research

shows that Latina women play down domestic violence and, may not consider it an issue for which to seek help (Saltijeral et al., 1999).

Latino men are at particular risk for perpetrating IPV as a result of cultural values. "Machismo" is a set of cultural expectations for men that include both positive and negative elements. For example, machismo can be interpreted as dominance as well as "pride, courage, responsibility, and obligation to family." Latina women are taught that "males are entitled to dominance and control within the family" (Perilla, Bakeman, & Norris, 1994). Adherence to machismo as a sense of entitlement may play a role in increasing IPV. Beliefs about machismo may play a role in increasing IPV, elevated consumption of alcohol, sexual prowess, and aggressive behaviors. Conversely, Latina women who live up to their traditional roles tend to show traits of submissiveness, obedience to others, and self-sacrificing behaviors, consistent with Marianismo (Perilla et al., 1994). Therefore, the combination of Machismo and Marianismo may place the Hispanic population at greater risk for intimate partner violence.

Current research reports that Latino males are likely to hold non-egalitarian views and beliefs about gender roles (Perilla et al. 1994). Traditional gender roles in Latino culture involve double standards in that the behaviors of girls and women, but not that of men and boys, are restricted (Denner & Guzman, 2006). An example of this would be valuing freedom for boys to explore outside the house, while teaching women to remain indoors, and remain a "senorita," meaning a woman who values herself and is saving her virginity until marriage. In this view, dating for girls is restricted to the person with whom she intends to marry (Alaya, 2006). Girls prepare to become wives by assuming "familia" tasks such as cooking, cleaning, and care giving, along with contributing to the household income through part time work (Alaya, 2006).

To understand how intimate partner violence affects adolescent Latinas we must identify the ecology of the Latina girl and woman—the roles within the family, workplace, religious beliefs and socially constructed patterns of the culture (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Rigid gender roles and gender-based hierarchies within the family emerge as factors that increase Latina women's risk for experiencing IPV. Latina women who adhere to traditional roles are less likely to participate in job training and further their education, increasing their dependence on men as breadwinners. This financial dependence places them at risk for IPV

victimization and for staying in abusive relationships. (Goldberg, Edelson, Hokoda, Ramos-Lira 2007).

The family provides beliefs, traditions, and value systems to each family member (Angela Gallegos-Castillo, 2006). Traditional mothers tend to pass down wisdom through stories or “cuentos”; it is through these stories that past and present struggles are expressed, lessons and messages surrounding sexuality and gender roles are learned, and connections of oppression then and now are talked about (Ayala, 2006). While mothers pass down wisdom of how to navigate within systems through “cuentos,” these messages can also be limiting in that they still hold true to traditional gender roles emphasizing separation of power (Ayala, 2006). Research shows Latina women, are less likely to reveal dating or domestic violence to their own fathers when compared to African American and South Asian women (Yoshioka, Gilbert, El-Bassel, & Baig-Amin, 2003) This may in part reflect the cultural view that husbands are the ultimate authority; thus, fathers may support the rights of husbands to hold power in the family, even at the expense of their own daughters, in order to protect culture and tradition (Goldberg Edelson, Hokoda & Ramos-Lira 2007.)

Although leaving an abuser is difficult for almost for all victimized women, it is especially unlikely that Latina women will exit an abusive relationship. Cultural beliefs may intensify the issue of intimate partner violence on Latina women, in order to maintain the family’s privacy women remain in these abusive relationships (Torres, 1991). These beliefs, *familismo* and *marianismo* provide pressures for a Latina woman to remain in the family. The fear of what others might say given the cultural pressures to stay married may also make it difficult for Latina women to leave an abusive relationship” (Kasturirangan & Nutt Williams, 2003).

Latina women often experience repercussions and guilt associated with challenging the beliefs that have been bestowed upon them through traditions associated within Hispanic culture. Religion, particularly Catholicism, is often considered an important influence in Hispanic culture. Holding religious beliefs that consider divorce to be a sin increase the likelihood that a woman would remain in an abusive relationship. Latina women often experience a sense of shame associated with divorce, making it difficult for them to leave an abuser (Kasturirangan & Williams,

2003). In summary, certain characteristics of Latin cultures may encourage women to accept victimization in intimate relationships (Flores-Ortiz, 1983).

Acculturation

Varying studies have examined the relationship between acculturation and the prevalence and effects of domestic violence in Latino families (Caetano, Schafer, Clark, Cunradi, & Raspberry, 2000; Caetano, Ramisetty-Mikler, & McGrath, 2004; Jasinski, 1998; Delson, Hokoda, Ramos-Lira 2007). Acculturation is the assimilation and process of taking on the cultural traits or social patterns of another group. According to research, acculturation has been linked to risk of partner violence for Hispanics (Firestone, J. M., Lambert, L. C., & Vega, W. A. (1999). In addition, understanding English is an indicator of low acculturation, which has been associated with higher rates of intimate partner abuse (Menjivar & Salcido, 2002). Immigrants experience distinct stressors such as such as limited employment opportunities and overrepresentation in low-paying jobs. Victimized women in families lacking legal documentation of immigration or citizenship may be less likely to report abuse due to a fear of deportation and the potential negative repercussions (Crenshaw, 1994; Hass et al., 2000; Menjivar & Salcido; Perilla et al.). According to research of 304 migrant women, 25% reported physical abuse and 16% reported sexual abuse the year before (Garcia, Hurwitz and Kraus 2005). According to Denner & Guzman, Mexican American youth have to navigate divergent cultural systems, finding their identity both within their own culture and the European American set of beliefs and traditions (Boykin 1996; Keefe and Padilla 1987; Stanton-Salazar 1997, 2000).

Conclusion

In summary, Hispanics in the US are at increased risk for experiencing IPV as a result of stressors related to immigration, high rates of poverty, and distinct cultural beliefs about gender roles. To better understand this problem we must understand risk factors that relate to social class and poverty (Frias & Angel, 2005). If we understand why intimate partner violence is prevalent in the Latina/o population, we may learn how to reduce young people's risk for perpetuating the same cycle of

violence. Clearly it is important to understand the beliefs, values, culture, and tradition of a group to better understand why they are at particular risk. With the rapid growth of the Hispanic population and increased recognition of pressures faced by Latina girls, there is a need for more research to be done on Latina girls' strengths, and sources of empowerment. In order to address Latina girls' risk of intimate partner violence, more research needs to be done to evaluate interventions and enrichment programs that increase life options for Latina girls. To reduce Latina's risk for experiencing IPV, more programs are needed that support girls in resisting rigid and limiting gender roles and enable them to understand hierarchical systems of oppression. In addition, service programs and protocols that serve ethnic minority groups with limited English proficiency may prove to be effective. In summation, a growing body of research suggests that comprehensive programs that focus on the relationship between cultural beliefs and intimate partner violence may be instrumental in eradicating the epidemic of IPV in the Hispanic community. To develop a framework for understanding and addressing the risk factors IPV in Latina youth, I conducted a workshop discussion with 30 6th grade girls at an urban elementary school with a predominantly Hispanic population.

Method

Participants

Intervention group participants included 30 6th grade girls, aged 10-12, participating in a "girls group" held during school time at an urban elementary school with a predominantly Latino/a population.

Procedure

A 60 minute workshop discussion session pertaining to girl's understanding of "respect in relationships" was conducted by the first author and an open ended questionnaire was administered at the conclusion of the session. Workshop questions posed by the facilitator were "What is a healthy relationship? How do you know when someone really cares for you? What does listening to your gut mean? What does setting boundaries mean?" Following the 60 minute workshop discussion, an anonymous questionnaire was administered to participants asking: "Did

this workshop increase your understanding of respect? Would you recommend the workshop to a friend? Would you recommend this workshop to a female family member? What can girls do to get treated with respect? What is the most important thing you learned today?" Following the workshop, a resource sheet regarding youth services was provided.

Results

Preliminary Results

Questionnaire responses suggest that the participants found the workshop to be helpful to them in learning about respect. 100% of participants agreed that the workshop "increased their understanding of respect." When asked, "Would you recommend the workshop to female friend?" 86% said they would recommend the workshop. When asked, "Would they recommend the workshop to a female family member?" 16% said they would.

Qualitative Findings

In response to one or both of the questions, "What can girls do to get treated with respect?" And "what is the most important thing you learned today?" three distinct themes emerged. 40% of the girls used the words, "*make others aware of my boundaries.*" 40% of girls' mentioned, "*speak up about my needs, including how I want to be treated and what happens if I get disrespected.*" 20% of girls reported, "*Listen and trust my gut, my instinct.*"

In summary, preliminary findings revealed that Latina preteens experienced a workshop on "respect in relationships" as helpful and informative. Participants reported that they gained skills and insights related to personal boundaries, trusting themselves, and speaking up for their rights. These findings suggest that workshops about respect may help Latina girls to avoid and protect themselves from experiencing abuse in intimate relationships.

Conclusion

In summary, the cultural values of the Latina/o population are important to understand through the eyes of Latina girls themselves. It is important to consider that Latina girls may face stereotypes that enforce

their dependence and place them at risk for abuse. In addition, it is essential to help disenfranchised youth to understand what a healthy and respect based relationship looks like. Education that challenges traditional gender roles may play an important role in reducing Latina girls' likelihood of being victims of involved in IPV. The preliminary exploratory findings from workshops on respect shed light on urban Latina girls' understanding of healthy versus unhealthy relationships. Educational interventions for children pertaining to healthy relationships may play a key role in preventing them from becoming batterers or victims in the future.

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Social support and disclosure of abuse: Comparing South Asian, African American, and Hispanic battered women. *Journal of Family Violence*, 18, 171–180.



Frank J. Ortega

Major:
History

Minor:
Mexican American Studies

Mentor:
Dr. Ana E. Rosas
The University of
California, Irvine

Scholar Athletes:
Education, Sports, and
Coming of Age in Los
Angeles, 1940-Present.

Biography

Frank Ortega is a Senior majoring in History and minoring in Mexican American Studies. This past summer he had the opportunity to participate in the University of California, Irvine's Summer Undergraduate Research Fellowship (SURF) program. Under the mentorship of Professor Ana E. Rosas of the Chicano/Latino Studies and History departments at UCI, Frank conducted a literature review that focused on ethnic sports history. In particular the role sports participation plays in the development of identity among Chicanas/os-Latinas/os in the Los Angeles area, post 1940. Frank is also the recipient of the 2009-2010 Dr. Ernesto Galarza Scholarship, sponsored by the Chicano/Latino Faculty and Staff Association (CLFSA) of SJSU. In his free time, he enjoys watching or playing the game of basketball. Moreover, Frank has ambitions of pursuing a Ph.D. degree and hopes one day to become a university professor. He would like to acknowledge and thank Jeannine Slater and Nisha Gurbuxani for all their hard work and effort. Frank would also like to thank Dr. Stanley Underdal and Dr. Mary Pickering of the History department, as well as mentor Dr. Julia Curry of the Mexican American Studies department, and of course his mother, Roberta Ortega and girlfriend, Cindy Ramos. Thanks for all the support

***Scholar Athletes: Education, Sports, and
Coming of Age in Los Angeles, 1940-Present***

ABSTRACT

The Chicana/o-Latina/o population in the United States has actively engaged in athletic activities in pursuit of a diversity of goals. For countless Chicanas/os and Latinas/os, athletic activities have provided an opportunity to develop ethnic and family pride, as well as to establish an individual identity and career, by weaving dynamic pathways to advancement through sports participation. Their undertaking of this endeavor is classed, gendered, and racialized, producing equally empowering and charged circumstances and opportunities stemming from the pressure of the power dynamics framing athletic activities. Nonetheless, among Chicanas/os-Latinas/os nationwide, these activities have created an outlet that has allowed this population to envision and pursue their goals in innovative ways. This literature review will focus on the relevance and power of athletic activities in the Chicana/o-Latina/o community of Los Angeles from the 1940s to the present. I will explore the scholarship on the trajectory of the relationship between athletic activities and Chicana/o-Latina/o pursuit of empowerment and success across race, class, gender and ethnicity.

Academic scholarship in the field of sports history has failed to fully investigate the role athletic participation plays in the Chicana/o-Latina/o community. This area of ethnic sports history is greatly under-researched, specifically from the 1940s until now.¹ Athletic activities have been a vital component in the development of the Chicana/o-Latina/o experience in the United States; therefore it is essential to investigate this area of study.² The objective of this literature review is to gain a better understanding of how the Chicana/o-Latina/o community in the Los Angeles area has used sports to pursue empowerment in society. The components of race, class, gender, and ethnicity will be explored within the framework of Chicana/o studies. Moreover, this literature review will

¹ Jorge Iber, "Introduction: Athletics and Chicano/a Life, 1930-2005," in *Mexican Americans and Sports: A Reader on Athletics and Barrio Life*, edited by Jorge Iber and Samuel O. Regalado (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2007), 4.

² *Ibid.*, 15.

analyze four themes encompassed in ethnic sports literature: ethnic and family pride, identity formation, social mobility, and path breaking trajectories. This paper will focus on the literature that corresponds to the power dynamics and relevance of athletic activities in the Chicana/o-Latina/o community of Los Angeles from the 1940s to the present.

The existing Chicana/o-Latina/o sports scholarship focuses primarily on succinct specific topics by providing details and analysis on a particular team or player shaped by an exact time and place. There are several readers and anthologies that may emphasize sports, but may only dedicate one chapter or section to either Chicana/o or Latina/o sports history.³ Although these pieces add to the overall knowledge of the field, there are few books which are explicitly dedicated to a monolithic Chicana/o-Latina/o sports history. As for the existing collection, Chicana/o academia are gradually carving their niche, conducting additional research and producing new academic work in order to advance the scholarship.⁴ The small amount of academic materials on the matter does not mean substantial insight cannot be gained; on the contrary, the limited research offers an opportunity for interdisciplinary research, which can often lead to a wider understanding of the subject. For example, sociologists Eitzen and Sage assert the importance of studying athletics since, “sport is a microcosm of society” it is, “worthy of serious sociological analysis.”⁵ In order to understand the importance of sports in the Chicana/o-Latina/o community, the article will start by laying out a basic understanding of athletic history. This explanation will be followed by a review of the literature, which is categorized into four different topics: ethnic and family pride, identity formation, social mobility, and path breaking trajectories. Lastly, the article will end with future recommendations on how to approach the field of ethnic sports history.

Pride: Ethnic, Family, and Community

Beginning in the early twentieth century athletic activities in the Los Angeles area have allowed Chicanas/os and Latinas/os to express and

³ (Eisen & Wiggins, 1994, Gasper de Alba, 2003, Lomax, 2008, Bloom, John and Michael Nevin Willard, 2003).

⁴ Iber, “Introduction: Athletics and Chicano/a Life, 1930-2005,” 15.

⁵ D. Stanley Eitzen and George H. Sage, *Sociology of North American Sport*, 8th edition. (Boulder, Colo.: Paradigm, 2009), Xi & 2.

form ethnic, family, and community pride. For men and women of color, sports have been a gateway into developing social space outside institutional structures. Athletic ethnic scholarship emphasizes the uniting role sports activities have had on fostering individual and communal pride. This point is illustrated through such examples as former Major League Baseball player Bobby Castillo, independent Mexican American baseball leagues, and boxing star Oscar De La Hoya. All three examples represent several forms of ethnic, family, and community pride and illustrate the development of pride in the Chicana/o-Latina/o community in Los Angeles throughout the twentieth century.

After reviewing the works of scholars Alamillo, Avila, Regalado, and Rodriguez, it is clear that the role of baseball and boxing in the formation of pride is essential to the overall experience of the Chicana/o-Latina/o community in Los Angeles. Baseball and boxing are two essential sports with long historical legacies in the community. According to the four authors, baseball and boxing in Los Angeles are vital because they have served as an outlet for the expression of ethnic and community pride. Alamillo and Avila state the formation of baseball leagues in the 1930s–1950s as one way in which Mexican immigrants preserved a sense of ethnic pride. The baseball diamond was an arena in which men of color were able to socialize, develop a sense of worth, and maintain their own social space outside of work. The game of baseball was not a sport that many newly arrived immigrants discovered in Los Angeles, Mexicans and Latinos brought with them an appreciation of the game from their home countries.⁶ Baseball helped minorities adapt to their new surroundings by bringing the community closer together. Sunday games were representative of communal and family pride, “On this day they could reclaim their dignity and pride by playing ball/Sunday baseball games also offered families an opportunity to reunite with family relatives and friends.”⁷ Likewise, Regalado emphasizes the importance of the gathering

⁶ Eric Avila, “Revisiting the Chavez Ravine: Baseball, Urban Renewal, and the Gendered Civic Culture of Postwar Los Angeles,” in *Velvet Barrios: Popular Culture & Chicana/o Sexualities*, ed. by Alicia Gaspar de Alba (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 131.

⁷ Jose M. Alamillo, “Mexican American Baseball: Masculinity, Racial Struggle, and Labor Politics in Southern California, 1930-1950,” in *Sports Matters: Race, Recreation, and Culture*, ed. by John Bloom and Michael Nevin Willard (New York: New York University Press, 2002), 97.

as opposed to the actual games played on Sunday, “No one really cared who won.” The games were simply a rationale for the purpose of solidifying kinship and community. Veteran player Richard Moreno recalled, “If it hadn’t been for baseball, many of our families would have never met their relatives in Mexico or elsewhere.”⁸ Baseball games became an opportunity for the Chicana/o families to come together and yield a sense of ethnic and community pride.

Mexican Americans in Southern California during the 1930s-1950s developed cultural pride through baseball, by challenging racial discrimination and segregation in employment and other public spaces.⁹ One of the local baseball teams, the Corona Athletics was an example of local players representing themselves and their community by wearing “the best-looking uniforms” which gave them confidence to “show off and wear their pride on their sleeves.”¹⁰ The Athletics held a deep bond with the Mexican working-class community, baseball on Sundays was a time and place where people connected. According to Avila the postwar period saw a growth in Chicano baseball leagues, Sunday games at the park provided a space where family and friends were able to catch up, enjoy food and listen to music, “Mariachis would often entertain the crowd with Mexican ranchera music.”¹¹ Alamillo writes about the Athletics understanding of this close association with the local community. The Athletics decided not to charge admission to the ball games, the Athletics took great pride in providing an accessible environment to all members of the working-class community.¹² Wearing nice uniforms and offering free admission were several ways Chicanas/os-Latinas/os developed local and community pride. Ethnic and community pride helped form individual identity which provided players with a platform to achieve success outside of the diamond.

For many successful Chicana/o-Latina/o athletes accomplishments on the field have translated into a sense of accomplishment within the

⁸ Samuel Regalado, “Baseball in the Barrios: The Scene in East Los Angeles Since World War II,” in *Baseball History I* (Summer 1986): 57.

⁹ Alamillo, “Mexican American Baseball: Masculinity,” 94.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 97.

¹¹ Avila, “Revisiting the Chavez Ravine: Baseball, Urban Renewal, and the Gendered Civic Culture of Postwar Los Angeles,” 131.

¹² Alamillo, “Mexican American Baseball: Masculinity,” 100.

family. Achieving athletic success can bring honor and praise to one's family. In a *Los Angeles Times* newspaper article, Becerra highlights the legacy of baseball within the community of East Los Angeles. The importance of community and family connection is expressed through an interview of former major league player Bobby Castillo, who signed with the Los Angeles Dodgers in 1977.¹³ Growing up in East Los Angeles Castillo's describes his experience when he was selected to play for his hometown Dodgers, "It was a huge deal. Everybody in the neighborhood bought T-shirts with Castillo in the back/my mom and dad became celebrities."¹⁴ Nellie Castillo speaks about her son Bobby's aspirations of playing professional baseball, in the audio project *Growing Old in East L.A.*:

My son was nine years old, and he told me, "Mom, I'm gonna play for the Dodgers. I'm gonna pitch at Dodger's Stadium" I said, "You are?" He says, "Yes." I could have told my son, "Forget it kid, it's not gonna happen." But you know what? I didn't want to break his dream, I wanted to encourage him to go forward, and I didn't want to burst his bubble. I said to him, "Why not? If that's what you want to do, go for it, sure." And then he would tell me, "You know, I'm want to play for the Dodgers mom, but I want to play even if I have to play for the Mets!"¹⁵

It would be far-fetched to believe Castillo's mother knew Bobby was going to be a professional athlete at such an early age. But the fact that Castillo's mother offered support and encouragement to her son, and did not outright reject his claim, instilled an underlining confidence and belief that her son could attain his dream. What makes Castillo's thoughts

¹³ "Sport's Reach Helped Unite a Community," *Los Angeles Times*, 10 April 2005.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ David Greenberger. Nellie Castillo, Speaking about Her Son, Retired LA Dodger's Pitcher, Bobby Castillo. *Growing Old in East L.A.* <http://www.duplexplanet.com/GOELA/stories-castillo.html> (accessed July 22, 2009).

even more compelling was the fact that he was nine years old, therefore the year was 1964, in the midst of the civil rights era and the Chicano movement of the 1960s. During this time frame it does not seem realistic that a young Mexican American boy could dream of playing in the big leagues. His athletic abilities, tremendous love for the game, and pride in his community and family gave Castillo the confidence and reassurance that he could accomplish his goal. At the time of the conversation with his mother, Castillo's proclamation was less of a dream and more of a pronouncement. Castillo's story showcases Chicanas/os-Latinas/os long historic legacy with baseballs impact on the formation and development of family and community pride.

Similar to baseball, boxing has had a long tradition of ethnic pride in the Los Angeles area, the success of one local boxer shows the complexities in the development of ethnic pride within the Chicana/o-Latina/o population. After winning the gold medal in the 1992 Olympics Oscar De La Hoya became one of the brightest stars in boxing. According to Rodriguez, De La Hoya's ethnic pride has been ignored and manipulated by the national media to fit the dominant cultures ideal success story. By examining the boxing career of De La Hoya, Rodriguez discovers that boxing established itself as a sport where ethnic pride was constantly displayed.¹⁶ In contrast, Torrico counters the notion that athletic activities provide a means to ethnic pride by arguing that sports create an avenue for exclusion into broader society, "Sports participation by minorities may be an obstacle to assimilation. This is the reality because they are forced to create their own separate ethnic league which leads them to retreat further into their own communities instead of becoming a part of the larger Anglo-American one."¹⁷ However, De La Hoya's boxing success, his ability to cross over into the corporate world, and his image in the media was largely accepted by the dominant culture. Although Oscar was accepted by the mainstream culture, Rodriguez explains that Oscar's ethnic pride created many complexities in his own community. Even

¹⁶ Gregory S. Rodriguez, "Saving Face, Place, and Race: Oscar De La Hoya and the "All American" Dreams of U.S. Boxing," in *Sports Matters: Race, Recreation, and Culture*, ed. by John Bloom and Michael Nevin Willard, (New York: New York University Press, 2002), 287.

¹⁷ Cesar Torrico, "The Effects of Sports Participation on the Chicano Athlete," (Master's thesis, San Jose State University, 1999), 50.

though Oscar expressed “explicit pride in being Mexican” his status as a national hero and champion boxer “transcended his ethnic and racial status.”¹⁸ De La Hoya’s athletic success meant he would be viewed in American society as an “American” and not as a “hyphenated American.”¹⁹ As Oscar’s socio-economic status changed, so did the community’s ownership of him, some boxing fans in Oscar’s hometown of East Los Angeles, discredit him as either not “Mexican” enough or as too “American.” Rodriguez argues that athletic success varies among communities and athletes, therefore countering Torrico’s claim that athletic activities limit minority inclusion into society. Although Torrico makes a valid point he fails to lend credence to success stories like De La Hoya’s and ignores unquantifiable aspects like athletic contribution to the formation of ethnic and community pride. Rodriguez recognizes this dichotomy within the realm of sports and pride, but authors like Torrico are set on demonstrating how sports are detrimental to ethnic communities by arguing how the “sports dream” keeps minorities pinned down in the same social economic background.

Sports have had a fundamental effect in the formation of ethnic, family, and community pride in the Chicana/o-Latina/o enclaves in Los Angeles. Scholars Alamillo, Avila, Regalado, and Rodriguez emphasize former Major League Baseball player Bobby Castillo, independent Mexican American baseball leagues, and boxing star Oscar De La Hoya are indicative of people of color’s experiences in the development of pride through sports participation. For the non-athlete and casual fan, the agency of professional athletes has allowed the community to take pride in their ethnicity while simultaneously cheering on their favorite athlete or team. As we will explore in the next section, the sports literature points to how family, community, and ethnic pride can help create local and national ethnic identity.

¹⁸ Rodriguez, “Saving Face, Place, and Race: Oscar De La Hoya and the “All American” Dreams of U.S. Boxing,” 287.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 287.

Identity: Racial and Ethnic

In the course of the literature review several inquiries arose when examining racial and ethnic identity in sports: What avenues did Chicanas/os-Latinas/os take when barred from athletic participation due to their race? How has Chicana/o-Latina/o athletic identities merged into the greater community in Los Angeles? And how did the Chicana/o-Latina/o community preserve and create their identity through sports? These are a few questions that are prevalent in the experiences of people of color and their interactions within the realm of sports. If sports are indicative of greater society then academic scholarship should take a critical look into the racial complexities in sports. Ethnic sports scholars Alamillo, Braysmith, Burgos, Rodriguez, and Torrico explore the different ways in which racial and ethnic identities relate to sports in a historical and sociological perspective. In order to gain insight into the questions that were previously mentioned, a closer look at superstars Oscar De La Hoya and Roberto Clemente is needed to reveal the complex history and issues surrounding ethnic and racial identity. Furthermore, a closer look at the work of Chicana/o muralists, the formation of local baseball leagues, and the media's perception of Chicanas/os-Latinas/os will help understand the challenges facing the Chicana/o-Latina/o community.

One example of how identity is transcended into the neighborhoods and culture of the Chicana/o-Latina/o community is through the display of barrio art. Murals represent the struggles that people of color experience in the United States, in particular murals represent a wider message of self-empowerment.²⁰ Throughout the Los Angeles area murals can be seen on the walls of shopping centers, corner stores, parks, schools, and other sanctioned spaces approved by the city, therefore people living in the communities are forced to decipher the images for themselves. Murals allow artists to create their own ethnic identity by depicting a favorable historic legacy, like the popular icon Virgen de Guadalupe, and community activities such as sports. Chicana/o muralists have used their medium to define their own ethnic identity while challenging social inequalities in mainstream Anglo culture.²¹ In essence

²⁰ Hilary A. Braysmith, "Constructing Athletic Agents in the Chicano/a Culture of Los Angeles," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 22, no. 2 (2005): 190 .

²¹ Braysmith, "Constructing Athletic Agents in the Chicano/a Culture of Los Angeles," 191.

when Chicana/o muralists depict athletic activities in their art, they are preserving and creating their own identity as it pertains to the wider ethnic community through their interpretation of athletes. Athletic activities have been an integral part of the Chicana/o-Latina/o community in Los Angeles. During the 1960-1970s, Chicano muralists painted many images of the “ideal male warrior-athlete” emphasizing patriarchy and masculinity, at the same time reducing women to sexual objects and/or child bearers. In a direct challenge to the old model, Chicana muralists Judy Baca and Yreina Cervantez decided to create their own identities by including images of athletic Chicanas in their art work. Braysmith states that earlier Chicana/o muralists, “Do not see sport as a part of Chicano/a ethnicity.”²² However, Cervantez and Baca considered athletic activities as part of the Chicana identity.²³ Baca and Cervantez’s images formed a new identity for Chicanas/os, one defined through the participation of sports.

Moreover, until Jackie Robinson broke Major League Baseball’s color line in 1947, African Americans and dark-skinned Mexicans and Latinos were prohibited from playing professional baseball due to the racist’s attitudes that permeated team owners and management. Although some Chicano/Latinos were admitted into the big leagues prior to WWII, the majority of these players were forced to establish their own local leagues. In the 1930s – 1950s, the Athletic Baseball Club in Corona, California strengthened “social networks” and was a vehicle for “cultural expression” in the local Mexican communities, resulting in a new cultural identity for Mexican Americans.²⁴ This newfound identity was a product of the Sunday baseball games played after church. According to Alamillo, “This weekend ritual fostered a community spirit in the Mexican community that blurred differences according to class, generation, place of residence, and citizenship status.”²⁵ Another interesting point Alamillo mentions is baseball’s role in reinforcing masculinity by allowing players to “construct their own version of machismo” whether it meant becoming close friends with other male teammates or exerting dominance over

²² *Ibid.*, 191.

²³ *Ibid.*, 191.

²⁴ Alamillo, “Mexican American Baseball: Masculinity” 95.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 97.

women in the crowd.²⁶ Alamillo emphasizes his conclusion that, “Although baseball players contributed to labor struggle, given their previous leadership experience as captains, managers, and coaches, they unintentionally reproduced male domination within the union.”²⁷ An example of a professional Latino player who carved his own niche within the game of baseball was Roberto Clemente.

Roberto Clemente is regarded as one of the greatest players to play the game of baseball, he used his success on the field to challenge and create his own identity within the racial climate of the 1950s-1970s. Born in Puerto Rico, Clemente transcended baseball by winning two Major League world championships with the Pittsburgh Pirates. In addition to winning on the field, according to Regalado, Clemente’s true contribution came in his desire to challenge the, “Aged old poor perception of Latinos, particularly during an era in which the American mainstream struggled with the issue of race. And, as he realized, his outspoken approach, combined with his skills as a ballplayer, was needed to alter those unfounded images.”²⁸ After his untimely death in 1972, Clemente became the first Latino player to be inducted into the hall of fame (1973). He won several Most Valuable Player (MVP) awards and appeared in numerous all-star games. But it was Clemente’s intense desire to help others that marked his legacy as a true humanitarian, “My greatest satisfaction comes from helping to erase the old opinion about Latin American and black ballplayers.”²⁹ He used his athletic accomplishments as a platform to shed light on the injustices in America, helped foster a pan-Latino identity, and became a symbol that all Puerto Ricans identified with. Burgos explores baseball’s color line beyond black and white, by focusing on the agents involved in the transnational circuit of baseball and how Latino ballplayers are viewed continually as a perpetual foreigner. The racial identity of players like Clemente who stemmed from the Spanish-speaking Americas is often viewed through a binary lens, not one that takes into account the

²⁶ Ibid., 104.

²⁷ Ibid., 108.

²⁸ Samuel O. Regalado, “Roberto Clemente: Images, Identity, and Legacy,” in *Racial Divide: African American and Latino Experience in an Era of Change*, ed. Michael E. Lomax (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2008), 176.

²⁹ Regalado, “Roberto Clemente: Images, Identity, and Legacy,” 176.

complexities surrounding a person of dark complexion with a Spanish tongue. Burgos writes, "Understanding of the history of Latino participation (in baseball) remains limited, too often suffering from a myopic view of the Latino past in America's game."³⁰ Although ballplayers like Clemente are recognized as great players, Burgos points out that Latinos are still limited in their incorporation into the game due to historical issues centered on race, gender politics and labor.

Moreover, Rodriguez examines how Oscar De La Hoya's racial and national identity has changed as he has gained success inside and outside the boxing ring. Public perception often changes according to one's socio-economic background, De La Hoya's own public image was viewed, "Differently by different groups, according to their social locations."³¹ Born and raised in a predominantly ethnic Mexican community, De La Hoya rose to national prominence by winning the U.S. boxing team's only gold medal in the 1992 Olympic Games. As a national hero, De La Hoya's boxing abilities and appeal transcended the, "stereotypical ethnic Mexican male" therefore, his representation in the media tended to ignore all traces of his ethnic culture and history."³² Although proclaiming his pride in being Mexican American, De La Hoya's representation has suppressed his Mexican identity, "Revealing a hegemonic order in which American national identity reinforced white racial and cultural dominance of others."³³ Torrico also reinforces this point that, "A Chicano athlete cannot achieve upward mobility until he is willing to shed his Chicano identity, and trade it in for an innocuous Anglo-American accepted one."³⁴ As a result, Delgado explains De La Hoya's attempt to straddle, mainstream U.S. culture and his own ethnic community ultimately creates problems concerning his image. Regalado goes on to say, "Despite all his roots and all his talent, (he) will never be Mexican enough nor man enough to command the respect and affection of

³⁰ Adrian Burgos, *Playing America's Game: Baseball, Latinos, and the Color Line* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 245.

³¹ Rodriguez, "Saving Face, Place, and Race: Oscar De La Hoya and the "All American" Dreams of U.S. Boxing," 296.

³² *Ibid.*, 291-293.

³³ *Ibid.*, 291.

³⁴ Cesar Torrico, "The Effects of Sports Participation on the Chicano Athlete," 46.

his community.”³⁵ De La Hoya is a victim of his own success. In his attempt to gain social acceptance within the mainstream culture, he is viewed as a sellout. As a result De La Hoya’s perceived image has alienated himself from members of his own community.

Rodriguez also points out how the mainstream media uses “Oscar... as a symbol of achievement not only authorized U.S. narratives of melting-pot assimilation but also managed the contradictory relations between white middle-class identities and the lived conditions of aggrieved communities of color.”³⁶ Similarly tennis champion Richard ‘Poncho’ Gonzalez was depicted in the media as someone who symbolized American integration and democracy during the 1950s-1960s. Alamillo shows how, “Gonzalez’s image shifted from the ‘bad boy’ of tennis to an ‘all-American’ athlete who demonstrated the material benefits of American democracy.”³⁷ Likewise, Burgos expresses how “In baseball, portrayals of Latino ballplayers as part of a recent wave divorce them from the history of Latino participation. This portrayal, moreover, facilitates the discounting of problems that affect Latinos as the grievances of the recently arrived rather than as parts of systemic issues with longer histories.”³⁸ The importance of perception is necessary to consider when dealing with the formation of ethnic and racial identity.

These scholarly works look at society through the lens of sports and it is clear that racial and ethnic identities are complex social constructs that have changed over time. The literature examining Oscar De La Hoya, Roberto Clemente, Chicana/o muralists, and local baseball leagues indicates the complexities involved with ethnic and racial identity. Their identities in mainstream culture differed from how they each self identified, as the above examples illustrate their perseverance by challenging preconceived notions of ethnicity and race.

³⁵ Delgado, “Golden but Not Brown: Oscar De La Hoya and the Complications of Culture, Manhood, and Boxing,” 70.

³⁶ Rodriguez, “Saving Face, Place, and Race: Oscar De La Hoya and the “All American” Dreams of U.S. Boxing,” 289.

³⁷ Alamillo, “Richard ‘Pancho’ Gonzalez, Race and the Print Media in Postwar Tennis,” 956.

³⁸ Burgos, “*Playing America’s Game: Baseball, Latinos, and the Color Line*,” 244-245.

Utility Toward Achieving Varying Levels of Success Beyond Sports-Related Fields

The rags to riches story of an athlete who came from a low socioeconomic background to achieve fame and success is emblematic of the perceived social mobility of racial minority athletes. In reality becoming a professional athlete is a very unlikely scenario and the, “Potential of a sports-related career after one’s playing days are over are severely limited/ especially if the athlete is a minority group member or a woman.”³⁹ Although sport provides limited potential for social advancement, “There is evidence that being a successful athlete enhances self-confidence and the probability of attending college.”⁴⁰ The relevant literature reveals this relationship between sports and education, and the potential connection to class, rights, and identity interests for Chicana/o-Latina/o scholar athletes. In the twentieth century Chicanas/os-Latinas/os often engaged in sports to create social spaces for themselves in the community, and in the process found success and accomplishments beyond the sports field. Authors, Alamillo, Rodriguez, and Braysmith recognize inequalities in society and sports, but also acknowledge the complexities of sports participation by describing the varying levels of social achievement. Moreover, Eitzen & Sage, Melnick, Torrico, and Cummings emphasize the problems associated with athletic activities and the dilemma of young people’s desire to advance socially by engaging in sports.

Independent baseball leagues and Oscar De La Hoya are prime examples of the wider discussion concerning advancement and social mobility. Alamillo contends that local baseball leagues not only helped players develop skills but also created avenues that players could use in order to strive for a better social situation outside the diamond. Playing for the Athletics in the 1940s, Mejia explained his desire to play baseball and his ability to apply the skills he developed from playing baseball, “Since I knew I did not want to pick lemons like my father I needed an incentive to stay in school, so I started playing sports, especially baseball... It taught me something about myself. I hated to lose then and still hate to lose now

³⁹ Eitzen and Sage, *Sociology of North American Sport*, 286.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 286-287.

(as a businessman). I never took things lightly.”⁴¹ Ball players like Mejia used the skills they learned on the field to propel themselves into different arenas off the field. In addition, finding success outside of the boxing ring Oscar De La Hoya exemplifies mainstream cultures view of someone making something out of nothing through hard work and perseverance. Rodriguez contends that Oscar De La Hoya’s portrayal in the media as the “all-American” success story juxtaposed against the stereotypical criminalized Mexican.⁴² An admired sports figure in the national media, De La Hoya’s rise from a poor working class neighborhood (East Los Angeles) resulted in other community members being labeled as criminals and deviants, “perceived as lack of personal resolution, will, and enterprise as being the reason for the lack of achievement.”⁴³ The historic review of independent baseball leagues and the assessment of Oscar De La Hoya’s career reveal the multifaceted aspect of social mobility and success beyond the arena of sports. Another element that demonstrates social advancement involves murals and the images manifested by athletic achievement.

In addition, Braysmith explores how sports images are used in Chicana/o murals. “They often apply sporting images as metaphors for the social advancement of marginalized groups or interpret sport as an activity uniting different ethnicities,”⁴⁴ states Braysmith. For example, artist Judy Baca’s *Olympic Champions 1948-64: Breaking Barriers* (1983) African American and Asian American women are shown running towards the finishing line with the Olympic torch lighting the way forward. This image represents the struggles women face when breaking through physical, racial, and other social barriers. Braysmith deciphers the messages displayed in the murals located throughout the Chicana/o-Latina/o community in Los Angeles. She argues that sports in Chicano murals do not represent ethnic identity but rather sports is presented as a metaphor for advancement or as an activity that unifies the community.⁴⁵ However,

⁴¹ Alamillo, “Mexican American Baseball: Masculinity,” 96.

⁴² Rodriguez, “Saving Face, Place, and Race: Oscar De La Hoya and the “All American” Dreams of U.S. Boxing,” 287.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 289.

⁴⁴ Braysmith, “Constructing Athletic Agents in the Chicano/a Culture of Los Angeles,” 178.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 184.

other scholars caution that messages of social advancement through sports can also have a damaging effect on students of color.

Authors Melnick and Sabo address the issue of social mobility through athletic participation for African Americans and Latinos. Stressing a need for additional research, Melnick and Sabo contend that some racial and ethnic groups do gain social mobility through sports, but they also recognize the disparities that continue to plague people of color in the United States. Melnick and Sabo contend that sports may be a catalyst for upward mobility, but, “For many socially and economically disadvantaged minority athletes, sport, have had little or no impact on their life chances” and in some cases may be detrimental to their future success.⁴⁶ The article concludes by accentuating the need to correct social injustices beyond the field of sports, otherwise social mobility and sports will not be relevant, if society itself is subject to inequalities.

Furthermore, Torrico agrees with Melnick and Sabo in the assertion that Chicana/o athletes cannot gain social mobility through athletic participation. He argues that sports itself will not help Chicana/o athletes but educational achievement presents an avenue for social enrichment, in fact Torrico states that sports will actually lead to a downward mobility as opposed to an upward.⁴⁷ Torrico finishes his study by recommending, “That Chicanos and other minorities seek avenues other than sports in trying to achieve upward mobility.”⁴⁸ In terms of social advancement for Torrico athletic activities are not the route to take, rather ‘other’ avenues would be more feasible, with the ultimate advancer being that of education. Despite Torrico’s affirmation that athletic activities are disadvantageous to Chicanas/os-Latinas/os his study much like Cummings fails to recognize additional factors that may hamper a student athlete’s success.

Moreover, Cummings’ study in the mid-1980s focused on the role sports participation played in the academic achievement of Mexican American high school students in central Washington State. Cummings found that interscholastic sports did not have a statistically significant

⁴⁶ Merrill J. Melnick and Donald Sabo, “Sport and Social Mobility among African-American and Hispanic Athletes,” in *Ethnicity and Sport in North American History and Culture*, ed. George Eisen and David K. Wiggins (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1994), 236.

⁴⁷ Cesar Torrico, “The Effects of Sports Participation on the Chicano Athlete,” 53.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 55.

difference in student's grade point average (G.P.A) when compared to their counterparts who did not participate in school sports.⁴⁹ Cummings overlooked several factors that would have enhanced his study and perhaps changed the outcome, for example the small sample size (only 190 students were tracked), academic success is measured strictly by grade point average, and he did not take into account outside school sports focusing strictly on interscholastic high school sports. Sociologists, Eitzen and Sage warn that, "We should be wary of research comparing athletes with non-athletes."⁵⁰ They also cite three problems associated with high school athletic participation. First, sports participation may have nothing do with a student who is willing to work hard and is goal orientated, second, ignoring the differences between student's family background and social class, third, maintaining a grade point average and subsequently being kicked off the team for low grades, skews the data.⁵¹ Eitzen and Sage also warn against the belief that sports can promote social advancement. Moreover, they say that, "The myth that sport is a mobility escalator is especially dangerous for minority youth. Ghetto youngsters who devote their lives to the pursuit of athletic stardom are, except for the fortunate few, doomed to failure in sport and in the real world, where sports skills are essentially irrelevant to occupational placement and advancement,"⁵² contend Eitzen and Sage. The overarching point the literature makes is that the athletic success stories depicted in the media are not indicative of the overall experience that the majority of athletes of color endure and experience.

The literature suggests that making sports a career is not a likely scenario for minority athletes. Nonetheless, scholars Alamillo, Rodriguez, and Braysmith recognize the different levels of social achievement gained through sports, by examining the topics and issues centered on Oscar De La Hoya, Chicana/o muralists, and local baseball leagues. In comparison, Eitzen & Sage, Melnick, Torrico, and Cummings examine the lack of social mobility for scholar athletes especially at the high school and

⁴⁹ Van V.E. Cummings, "The Effect of Interscholastic participation on the academic achievement (G.P.A.) of Mexican-American High School Students," (Master's thesis, Central Washington University, 1987), 46.

⁵⁰ Eitzen and Sage, *Sociology of North American Sport*, 280.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 280.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 287.

collegiate level. Although these readings give vital insight into Chicana/o-Latina/o scholar athletes and their ability to achieve or not achieve social advancement, the findings spark a need to understand the obstacles they confront, their potential and talent, as well as their interactions with fellow athletes of similar or different ethnic, racial, and class backgrounds. Therefore, the next section explores individuals and other sports activities in the community that formulate new pathways to success.

Path-Breaking Trajectories

Sports participation in the Chicana/o-Latina/o community has opened up opportunities to engage in path breaking activities. Sports have given athletes the confidence, social space, and platform to engage in civic affairs and challenge unequal treatment in the greater society. Some of the many topics discussed in the literature include strikes and unionism against unfair labor practices, and the depiction of athletic activities in murals. Other topics that are discussed in terms of individual trajectory are the underrepresentation of minorities in administrative positions and the characterization of tennis star Richard “Pancho” Gonzalez in the media.

Alamillo and Rodriguez discuss how sports have helped Chicanas/os–Latinas/os workers challenge inequalities in society, by engaging in social activism, staging boycotts, and participating in union strikes. An example of unionism spurred by sports is highlighted by the Corona Agricultural Citrus Workers Unions strike on February 27, 1941 against the Citrus agricultural industry in Southern California. The baseball field was transcended into a meeting place for the striking workers, “800 workers gathered at the ballpark to coordinate plans for the picket lines and plan their next moves,”⁵³ states Alamillo. The site was chosen because, “It was a popular gathering place for Mexican baseball players, making it appear to police authorities and company officials that baseball was the only topic of conversation, not political discussions.”⁵⁴ Many of the baseball players on the Corona Athletics became involved in the union and as Alamillo demonstrates, “Learned their first lessons about fundraising, organizational work, and collective action.”⁵⁵ In comparison,

⁵³ Alamillo, “Mexican American Baseball: Masculinity,” 105-106.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 105.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 105.

boxing was also an arena for progressive action against the dominant majority's control of social politics. During the 1980s and 1990s, boxing in Southern California provided a common language for a diverse ethnic Mexican community.⁵⁶ This relationship was exemplified in the 1994 World Boxing Council's (WBC) call for opposition to proposition 187. Based in Mexico City, the WBC is intricately connected to ethnic Mexicans in the United States as well as the rest of the Latin nations. The WBC proposed a boycott of all California boxing arenas, in an effort to show disapproval of Proposition 187 which was an anti-Mexican immigrant initiative.⁵⁷ Alamillo and Rodriguez's account of the unionization effort and the call for boycott links the historical role athletic activities continues to play in the wider realm of Chicana/o-Latina/o politics by showing how athletes were active agents against social injustices.

Braysmith examines how Chicana muralists work from the margins of society and challenged the early hyper-masculine images that reduced the role of the women in the formation of Chicano identity. Judy Baca and Yreina Cervantez are two pioneers in the world of muralism whose work during the 1980s introduced a new concept of collaboration, by implementing the help of juvenile delinquents, youth, and other members within the community.⁵⁸ Braysmith also emphasizes the importance of Baca and Cervantez work, "The only other example in greater Los Angeles in which sports and Chicano/a identity are related." In Cervantez's mural *La Ofrenda* (1988-1989) and Baca's mural *Division of the Barrios* (1983) in the *Great Wall of Los Angeles* these women created the "athletic Chicana" which fused together cultural, social, and ethnic agency.⁵⁹ By directly challenging the old model, these women were able to lay down important groundwork for future Chicana/o artists to follow. Sports have been instrumental in the Chicana/o-Latina/o community's development of a broader social inclusion, in addition the call for wider minority representation in administrative positions.

⁵⁶ Rodriguez, "Saving Face, Place, and Race: Oscar De La Hoya and the "All American" Dreams of U.S. Boxing," 280.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 286.

⁵⁸ Braysmith, "Constructing Athletic Agents in the Chicano/a Culture of Los Angeles," 182-183.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 52.

Furthermore, Melnick and Sabo underline the need for African American and Latino men, as well as women's inclusion into coaching and athletic administrative positions.⁶⁰ As minority athletes continue to participate in high school and college sports, there must be an increase in minority hiring in leadership positions at educational institutions across the country. Currently people of color are severely underrepresented in administrative positions which often reflect that of the white male student athlete. Torrico contends that sports are not a pathway that transcends the status quo, instead Torrico points out, "Chicanos face a difficult struggle to achieve upward mobility regardless of sports participation/Factors include: Lower socioeconomic status, Cultural identity, Mechanized adaptation, Minority reform status."⁶¹ Sports have opened a variety of career positions such as athletic director, coaching position, media personnel, referee, player, and/or management, however people of color are severely marginalized in administrative positions.

Contrary to Torrico's view, the former MLB player Castillo, expresses how sports can give an athlete life skills and to succeed in the future. In Becerra's interview of the old Dodger, Castillo reveals his experience with baseball as a young kid, "I was a little hoodlum growing up, you know, but my passion for baseball was too great,"⁶² said Castillo. "Baseball makes you a better person overall. You learn how to deal with other people, you learn how to deal with other races. You become companions. You learn to rely on other people, because you're a team."⁶³ Castillo said playing baseball since he was a child taught him to make the right choices. "While some of the neighborhood teenagers partied late, he would go to bed early to rest for a game the next day." As the first Mexican American to play for the Dodgers Castillo is indicative of a player that set a pathway into the professional baseball.

Likewise, Alamillo examines the effects of racial ideologies formed in the media and how this depiction played an important role in the representation of Richard 'Pancho' Gonzalez. Raised in South Central Los Angeles, Gonzalez became a successful professional tennis player in the

⁶⁰ Melnick and Sabo, "Sport and Social Mobility among African-American and Hispanic Athletes," 228-229.

⁶¹ Cesar Torrico, "The Effects of Sports Participation on the Chicano Athlete," 55.

⁶² "Sport's Reach Helped Unite a Community," Los Angeles Times, 10 April 2005.

⁶³ Ibid.

1950s – 1960s. He challenged the media's image of him at a time when tennis was dominated by Caucasian players and officials. According to Alamillo, early on in his career Gonzalez was depicted as a 'bad boy' but this image changed as American democracy was being challenged during the Cold War, Gonzalez became a symbol for integration and democratic capitalism. "His athletic achievements in a predominantly white sport were used by the sports and mainstream media to dispel the notion that the US was undemocratic for racial minorities,"⁶⁴ states Alamillo. Gonzalez's decent into professional tennis started early in his career, learning to play at local parks, people of color were barred from playing at exclusive tennis clubs, however due to Gonzalez's exceptional play he was invited to the Los Angeles Tennis Club (LATC) which was, "The exclusive domain of the wealthy white tennis establishment, which consciously barred African-Americans and Mexican-Americans from club membership. After winning several public courts tournaments, Gonzalez was invited to play at the LATC by tennis promoter Perry Jones, who allowed him to borrow a locker."⁶⁵ Although insignificant in nature, this gesture signified Gonzalez's inclusion into a world controlled and maintained by privileged Caucasians, this move alone represented the transcending of racial, class, and ethnic lines.

Athletic activities in the Chicana/o-Latina/o community have been a means to greater empowerment in society. Strikes and unionism against unfair labor practices, murals, administrative positions, and individual trajectory reveals ways in which Chicanas/os-Latinas/os have challenge inequalities in society. Bobby Castillo and Poncho Gonzalez are examples of athletes who transcended racial barriers and achieved success in their chosen sport. Therefore it is relevant in the confines of ethnic sports history to pursue avenues and opportunities to further develop ideas concerning path breaking trajectories. As we continue to examine forgotten athletes and their journey in creating new trajectories, another important discussion arises, that of the socially mobile athlete.

⁶⁴ Jose M. Alamillo, "Richard 'Pancho' Gonzalez, Race and the Print Media in Postwar Tennis," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 26, no. 7 (2009): 956.

⁶⁵ Alamillo, "Richard 'Pancho' Gonzalez, Race and the Print Media in Postwar Tennis," 949.

Future Work

This literature review has led to many questions regarding athletic activities in the Chicana/o-Latina/o community. Additional questions that require future research include but are not limited to: 'extreme' sports, athletic activities outside the classroom, and the advancement of modern technological as it pertains to the discourse of sport. One area of particular interest includes a closer look into the dynamics behind extreme sports, made recognizable through ESPN's annual X-Games challenge, extreme sports has arrived as part of a wider mainstream sports culture. Extreme sports have been traditionally viewed as an outsider when compared to conventional sports, under the exposure of ESPN the X-Games have established itself as a growing niche in the sporting world. The X-Games consist of six sports: skateboarding, bmx, moto x, inline skating, wakeboarding, and speed climbing. Two possible research questions surface when addressing extreme sports within the Chicana/o-Latina/o community: How do issues of pride and identity coincide with extreme sports? And what role do people of color play in this realm?

Moreover, another area that requires additional study and insight are sports outside the school setting and sports that require higher funds such as one-on-one training based sports like tennis, gymnastics, and golf. Likewise athletic activities away from the classroom like karate and highly competitive traveling teams also need to be evaluated from an academic viewpoint. Expensive and time consuming sports such as competitions that require equestrian skills reflect the growing field of skill specific sports, activities that entail intense effort and commitment. Several questions arise when analyzing the complexities surrounding this specific section of sports activities. How do people of color cross into and succeed in a sport that is dominated and maintained by the majority class? Do their experiences change depending on their socio-economic status and are there universal trends and experiences? How has Mexican American's social status changed over time when participating in path breaking trajectories like Pancho Gonzalez in tennis? And what implications will this have on future athletes?

Future work may also explore the advent of technology in sports, in particular young people's usage of the internet and especially time spent engaging in video games. Technological game and internet development leads to four fundamental questions: What sports related websites do

young Chicanas/os-Latinas/os visit? And what type of information and experience do these young people acquire from surfing the web? How are Chicanas/os-Latinas/os portrayed in video games? And how game playing activities (whether playing another gamer online or physically being in the same room) create an environment which renders complex relationships among players of color? If sports are a reflection of society, then as society changes so must our processes for examining sports within ethnic communities. As ethnic sports literature continues to evolve additional research and prevalent questions must reflect the changing inquiries and power dynamics within the field of Chicana/o-Latina/o sports history.

Conclusion

The literature reviewed in this article begins to acknowledge the increased contribution of ethnic minorities in the field of sports history. This paper has explored the dynamics of Chicana/o-Latina/o athletic activities in the Los Angeles from the 1940s until the present within the framework of Chicana/o scholarship. The literature also highlights the need for further research and academic sanctioned work in order to better understand the complexities surrounding the Chicana/o-Latina/o experience in the United States. As the field continues to be recognized as a relevant discourse, perhaps questions like the ones posed in the future works section can be taken into account when evaluating potential research topics. The increased knowledge in this area requires wider attention to address athletic social components of the Chicana/o-Latina/o community (i.e. ethnic and family pride, identity, social mobility, and path breaking trajectories). Another point of interest examines how sport acts as a catalyst for academic achievement among Chicana/o-Latina/o youth. Additional analysis into ethnic sports history will serve to further recognize athletic activities in the Chicana/o-Latina/o communities across race, class, gender, and ethnicity.

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Monique Posadas

Major:
Anthropology and
Nutrition and Food Science

Mentor:
**Dr. Guadalupe
Salazar**

This is Rasta Music! An
Investigation into the
Interconnectedness of
Rastafari and Reggae
Music.

Biography

Monique Posadas is a Senior majoring in Anthropology and Nutrition/Food Science, with a minor in Complementary and Alternative Health Care Practices. Currently, she is working as a Nutrition and Body Care Specialist at a community market. She is a member of the Society for Advancement of Chicanos and Native Americans in Science at SJSU and appears periodically as a guest DJ on Radio Bilingue, 90.3 FM. Her main interests include music, traveling, food, learning about other cultures, community activism and urban art forms. Taking part in study abroad and conference opportunities in Italy, Argentina, Mexico and the U.S. have been some of the best experiences of her college career. Her passion for ethnographic research has developed throughout her undergraduate career and she hopes to research identity construction in Reggae/Rastafari culture in Latin America, namely Mexico City. Her ultimate career goal is to become a professor of Cultural Anthropology, focusing on issues of Mexican-American culture. She will be attending summer research programs at either New York University or the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill for further inquiry on her topic of interest.

***This Is Rasta Music! An Investigation into the
Interconnectedness of Rastafari and Reggae Music***

ABSTRACT

Reggae music is a multi-million dollar industry, Jamaica's largest cultural export and the most successful evangelical music in the world. Rastafari is a 70 year old belief-system and worldview. Given the tendency to conflate them, it is important to examine their histories to understand the symbiotic nature of their relationship. The purpose of this study is to uncover the interconnectedness between Rastafari and Reggae music, utilizing various literary sources. To do so, this article assumes four objectives; first to review what Rastafari is, some central figures within the movement, and the more salient tenets and rituals within the belief-system; second, to link Rastafarian musical rituals to the development of Reggae music; third, to chronicle the history of Jamaican popular music to arrive at the genesis of Reggae. The last objective is to explore the influences Rastafari and Reggae music have had on one another. According to the literature review, Reggae music evolved via the intermingling of cultures during the 1930's and more specifically from Rastafarian drumming, worldviews and lyrical themes. Today, Reggae music and Rastafari continue to thrive utilizing the formula employed during the genesis of these movements, all the while inspiring and inviting new generations to “*Listen and Overstand*” that is to say, listen to the message and understand its meaning.

Introduction

Exodus!
Movement of Jah people...
We're leaving Babylon
We're going to our father land
- Bob Marley

Bob Marley is the most famous Reggae artist in the world. His song *Exodus* was re-released on the *Legend* album in 1984, a few years after his untimely death (Farley 2006: 203). *Legend* was named one of the

twenty-five most significant albums of the twentieth century by the *New York Times* (Pareles, Strauss, Ratliff and Powers 2000). Marley's music is characterized by melodic and intoxicating dance rhythms; however, the lyrics and music are much more meaningful, given the context of the Rastafarian ethos to which he subscribed. Since then, Marley's music has introduced multiple generations of music consumers to Rastafari¹. By understanding the history of Rastafari and Reggae music, it becomes increasingly apparent how *Exodus* is just one example of the interconnectedness between the musical genre and the belief-system.

There is much discourse about Rastafarianism and Reggae music; as they exist independently from one another, but the distinction between the two is often blurred, allowing misconceptions of both to proliferate. Given the tendency to conflate them, it is important to examine their histories in order to illuminate the symbiotic nature of their relationship. For example, many Reggae classics have lyrics that are Rastafarian based. Likewise, the musical style in Reggae is an amalgamation of different musical influences that evolved, in part, out of Rastafarian music. In order to underscore this connection, it is helpful to understand this highly complex belief-system and worldview first. Then, the trajectory of the development of Rastafarian and Reggae music can help identify the Rastafarian influences in Reggae. The literature shows that they evolved with the aid of one another; it was the Rastafarian ethos that Marley spread around the world through Reggae and the world embraced Reggae thereby proliferating Rastafari.

The purpose of this study is to uncover the interconnectedness between Rastafari and Reggae music, utilizing various literary texts. This paper has four objectives; first to review what Rastafari is, some central figures within the movement, and the more salient tenets and rituals within the belief-system; second, to link the importance of the Rastafarian musical rituals to the development of Reggae music; third, to chronicle the history of Jamaican popular music to arrive at the genesis of Reggae. Last, to explore the influences Rastafari and Reggae music have had on one

1 Various scholars have defined Rastafari as a youth/religious movement, political organization, millenarian cult and/or religion (Chevannes 1995: xvii-xviii). For the purposes of this paper and in the interest of brevity, I describe Rastafari as a belief-system and worldview.

another. The relevance of this study lies in that it clarifies misconceptions surrounding Reggae and Rastafari, which fueled unfounded negative stereotypes of both.

What Is Rastafari?

Native to Jamaica, Rastafari is eclectic, pluralistic and full of contradictions (Johnson-Hill 1995: 5). It is regarded as a youth/religious movement, political organization, millenarian cult and/or religion (Chevannes 1995: xvii-xviii). In his book, *I-Sight: The World of Rastafari: An Interpretive Sociological Account of Rastafarian Ethics*, Johnson-Hill (1995) characterizes Rastafari as a “religious phenomena” which transcends race, gender, nationality, locality, generations, and educational levels. Moreover, he explains the nature of Rastafari to be “a form of consciousness with respect to notions of the self, lifestyle, and the good” (1995: 7). He asserts that Rastafari is a grassroots “Jamaican” movement of religious consciousness (Johnson-Hill 1995: 22). Pioneer researcher of Rastafari in Jamaica, George Simpson, combined the political and spiritual nature of Rastafari by defining it as a “religio-political cult” (Johnson-Hill 1995: 42-43). Rastafari is not a Christian or African religion, it is idiosyncratically Caribbean. Foehr states in *Jamaican Warriors: Reggae, Roots & Culture* that Rastafari is a modern Afro-Caribbean cultural phenomenon combining “African culture and social, historical, religious, and economic Caribbean realities” (2000: 141). Barry Chevannes, a leading authority on Rastafari, describes it as a “sixty year old creation of Black nationalists, rejecting polytheism” (1995: xvii). Additionally, Chevannes asserts that Rastafarian ideology embodies, in essence, ethical values of radical Christianity; he believes Rastafari is a rejection of oppressive symbols and beliefs about God and the world.

At present, Rastafari is segmented into three main groups, collectively known as The Mansions of Rastafari: The Bobo Shanti, The Twelve Tribes of Israel and The House of Nyabinghi (Foehr 2000:164). The Bobo are the most puritanically extreme; the Twelve Tribes are moderate and urban based, while the House of Nyabinghi spreads their message through drumming exhibitions (Foehr 2000: 164). King (2002) explains the evolution of the Rastafarian movement in his book, *Reggae, Rastafari, and the Rhetoric of Social Control*, claiming it can be broken down into three stages, the first influential marker being Marcus Garvey

and Ethiopianism from 1870 to 1930; the second being the coronation of Haile Selassie and the formation of the early Rastafarian “churches” from 1930-1949; and the third stage was the formation of militant factions from 1949-1958. I would add that the trajectory of Rastafari does not end with the formations of the militant factions, but rather it is expanding in global reach and entering a new stage of regionally specific adaptations, while continuously evolving. Though there are distinguishable differences between the factions of Rastafari, they share common threads throughout, including the inability to generalize the groups' or individual Rasta's conceptualization of the belief-system and worldview.

The highly individualized interpretation and adaptation of Rastafarian mores, along with the absence of a church-like hierarchical system are some of the more salient characteristics that make the movement “ungeneralizable.” In his book, *Black Paradise: the Rastafarian Movement*, Clarke (1988) maintains that there is no highly developed institution, systemic theology priesthood, clergy or consensus of belief. Consequently, there is no institution that teaches religious methods, creeds, values, or doctrines (Johnson-Hill 1995). Rastafarians adamantly reject “typification” as an institution due to the belief that “there is a poverty² which is associated with structural subordination in an oppressive system” (Johnson-Hill 1995: 97). In *Rastafari: Roots and Ideology*, Chevannes explains that the absence of a religious institution and the like, stems from the logic that White philosophies and religions are oppressive, therefore there is no need for Blacks, and others, to follow these systems (1994: 180). In the Rastafarian belief-system, the individual is the temple of religious experience. Clarke explains that “it is the *personal experience*... which determines the validity or otherwise of a statement, truth or belief” (1988: 49). Since every individual is different, there is no continuity as a group, making Rastafari difficult to define. According to Johnson-Hill, it is unsound to pin doctrines and ritual practices to all Rastas due to the dynamic, evolutionary nature of the movement (1995: 4). To take into account the manifold facets of Rastafari, Johnson-Hill thinks it appropriate to keep the definition wide in scope,

2 In this case, poverty refers not only to the monetary devaluation, but also the devaluation of morals and ethics.

“Rastafari must therefore be broad enough to do justice to the radically pluralistic nature of the movement” (1995: 4). Though seemingly obscure, the vague definition allows for flexibility and change within the movement / religion. It also allows for a wide range of “beliefs regarding prominent figures, events, objects, actions and contexts in the movement” (Johnson-Hill 1995). Rastafarians are free to ascribe to the beliefs they hold to be true. In an attempt to describe those things that are common among Rastafarians, a few of the central canons will be delineated. It must be clarified, however, that not all Rastafarians ascribe to these canons. Clarke notes that the systems of belief are often true, but as explained previously, no two Rastas can be typified (1988: 63). Because the belief-system of individual, intuitive truths is adaptive, beliefs can be revised and developed. Incongruent behavior and thought are viewed as the prelude into the understanding of the divine, rather than fractionism within the syndicate ethos. Or as Johnson-Hill describes it, heterogeneity in opinion appropriates focal points into a deeper understanding of themselves as religious agents (1995: 134). Hebdige explains in *Cut 'N' Mix: Culture, identity, and Caribbean music*, that through this flexibility and tolerance of individualism, the group obtains its strength (2000: 54). The strength of the movement is not in the number of affiliates or the consensus of ethos; instead it is in the collective discontent with the state of the world. As explained in his book, *The Rastafarians: Sound of cultural dissonance*, Barrett thinks it impossible to know exactly how many people make up the Rasta population because its numbers wax and wane (1988: 257). Even if it were possible to gather these figures, such statistical accounts would most likely be inaccurate and ineffective due to the extreme self-identification and aversion to labels exhibited by Rastas.

The Rastafarian Ethos

The Rastafarian concept of individuality is closely linked to the belief and understanding of God. Clarke describes the Rastafarian conceptualization of the relationship between God and the self as an interpersonal one, where God, or “*Jah*”, resides within the individual, such that, each individual is a divine being (1988: 66). Moreover, the self-consciousness and manifestation of all beings are one with *Jah*, therefore all are one with one another. This concept is useful when demystifying the well recognized aphorism “One Love”, meaning love for all God’s

creations. It is also applicable to the common Rasta proverb: “One God! One Aim! One Destiny!” which, as Barrett explains, was derived from the works of Marcus Mozhiah Garvey (1988: 113-114). “One Aim, One God, One Destiny” was the slogan for *The Negro World*, a Garvey sponsored paper (Foehr 2000: 128). “Next to Haile Selassie, Garvey is the most important figure in Rastafarian cosmology” (Foehr 2000: 128). He had a great and irrefutable impact on the first stage of Rastafarian development (Johnson-Hill 1995: 16).

Native to Jamaica, Marcus Garvey was a political activist and renowned Black Nationalist. Garvey's teachings made their way into religious ideologies within the Black religious movements of the 1930's, namely the Black Muslim Movement and the Rastafarian Movement (Barrett 1988: 113-114). Marcus Garvey combined political objectives with religious expression. He was one of the first and few to encourage Blacks to be proud of their race and culture. He stressed the achievements of ancient African civilizations and rejected the negative stereotypes of Africa as “primitive”. Garvey strived to create kinship and unity amongst Africans via bonds to Africa, i.e. the Motherland, regardless of their settlement abroad. His vision was to bring all Blacks, from around the world, together in solidarity. However, it was the prognostication of a king to come out of Africa that affected the Rastafarian movement the most. Garvey said “look to Africa for the crowning of a Black king for *He* shall be the Redeemer” (Hebdige 2000). Indeed, soon after Garvey made this statement, a king was crowned in Ethiopia, Haile Selassie. Rastas took many of these philosophies and made them gospel, elevating Garvey's status to prophet. This set the stage for the second evolutionary stage of Rastafari.

According to the Rastafarians, God is Ras Tafari and Ras Tafari is Haile Selassie. Clarke argues that the divinity attributed to Haile Selassie (Ras Tafari Makonnen), by Rastafarian members marks the inception of the Rastafarian movement, which was prompted by Selassie's coronation to the throne of Ethiopia in 1930 (1988: 45-46). Rastafarians interpreted revelations 5 and 19 from the *King James Bible* to prophesize and corroborate the coming of a Black messiah, who would lead the Black people out of “Babylon” and into a land without evil (Clarke 1988: 46). The first Rastafarians appeared in Jamaica during the early 1930's, after Haile Selassie became emperor (Clarke 1988: 45). Three preachers,

Leonard Howell, Joseph Hibbert and Archibald Dunkley, were followers of Selassie and proclaimed him to be the Living God (Hebdige 2000: 51). Howell is considered the founder of Rastafari (Foehr 2000: 31). Although Selassie rejected the divinity imputed upon him, his repudiation was all the more affirming for the Rastas. Although it is customary for Rastafarians to ascribe to the sanctity of Haile Selassie, some insist that Haile Selassie is merely a representative of God (Johnson-Hill 1995: 44-45). Messiah or not, “Haile Selassie is by far the most prominent name in Reggae” (Foehr 2000: 146). It is *HIM* (His Imperial Majesty) who will guide the people back to Africa or Zion in the process of Repatriation.

Repatriation is a must for the Rasta. According to Johnson-Hill (1995: 30), repatriation is the Rastafarian belief that it is from Africa that they, and their African counterparts, were exiled into “Babylon” during the era of trans-Atlantic slave trade. He explains that Babylon has come to signify a man-made, materialistic society and the antithesis of self-transcendence. Chevannes describes Rastafari as characteristically millennial in nature, predicting the fall of Babylon, which is to be preceded by a new world order (1994: xi-xii). This reformulated society is known as Zion, which has its location in Ethiopia. Likewise, “Ethiopia pertains to a transformative vision of dignity, religious communion, equal rights, and justice” (Johnson-Hill 1995: 30). O'Brien, Chang and Chen note in *Reggae Routes: The Story of Jamaican Music*, that Babylon embodies imperialism, colonialism and oppression (1998: 157). It is in Babylon that preoccupied beings worship false idols at the expense of the oppressed. Theoretically, every activity should be for the purpose of repatriating to Ethiopia, for it is in repatriation that Rastafarians avoid damnation and find salvation (Barrett 1988: 117-118). To some, repatriation can be taken literally, whilst others feel repatriation is a state of mind (Chevannes 1995: 30-31). Babylon can figuratively be “burned down” through the power of rhythm and chanting (Johnson-Hill 1995: 150-151). Johnson-Hill explained that repatriation to Ethiopia is expressed as a collective consciousness for going forward to a new social order (1995: 150-151). Simultaneously, this serves to disenfranchise Rastafarians from the Western worldview and ultimately de-colonialize them from Babylon. There are other canons that work synergistically with this idea.

Clarke listed six central canons consistent among many Rastafarians (1988: 65).

1. Black people are descendants and/or reincarnations of the early Israelites and were exiled for their transgressions.
2. Haile Selassie, Ras Tafari, is the living God; thus, according to Barrett, *God is Black* (1988: viii).
3. Home is paradise and/or the promise land is located in Ethiopia and/or Africa, whilst Babylon is hell.
4. Black people are superior to Whites; White man personifies evil.
5. Black people will soon take their revenge on Whites and compel the latter to serve them.
6. Their God (*Jah*) and Emperor will arrange for their repatriation to Ethiopia. Redemption will soon occur via repatriation.

In the efforts to attain and live according to these canons, Rastafarians exercise certain rituals and practices in the spirit of piety.

Rastafarian Rituals and Practices

Clarke asserts that Rasta rituals, lifestyles, and beliefs fulfill the need for a rich African identity, not to mention they offer protection from adverse emotional and psychological effects resulting from persistent discrimination (1988: 77). As part of achieving that identity, members engage in rituals that include daily prayer, meditation, and meetings, or *Reasoning Sessions* (Clarke 1988: 88). Meditating deeply and discovering the intuitive knowledge of *Jah* is a quotidian task and goal. Little of these rituals are publicized due to the public's negative stereotypes surrounding the ritual smoking of marijuana and the practice of wearing their hair in dreadlocks, which often trumps the understanding or exploration of all else. In these rituals however, Rastafarians practice a deep connection with the *King James Bible*, which cannot be overlooked when discussing the Rasta.

Clarke states in his book *Jah Music: The Evolution of the Popular Jamaican Song*, that historically "The Bible was the only reading material available to the slaves, thus any textual confirmation of any oral or spiritual transition of their civilization came from it" (1980: 37). It is no surprise then, that the Rastafarians developed such an intimate connection with Scripture. The Bible is so central to Rastafari that it serves as the final reference point, that is, it is believed to be the written word of God, thereby making it the "final arbiter" (Chevannes 1994: 116). Clarke noted that the Rastas spend a great deal of time reflecting on the Bible, grappling

with ideas such as universal nature, the nature of God, of man, of the world, and the relationship between them, the meaning of life, providence and destiny (1988: 63). In his book *Reggae, Rasta, Revolution*, Potash explained that Father Joseph Owens, one of the few early researchers of Rastafari, described a true Rasta as he who “knows the Bible like the back alleys of his shantytown... He sleeps, eats and does everything by it and never stops reading it and meditating on it” (1997: xvii). The Rastafarian *raison d'etre* is to repatriate to Africa and live by the teachings of Bible. Additionally, the ritual practice of smoking marijuana is thought to be in accordance with and corroborated by this holy book.

Rastafarians are typically recognized for their polemic and longstanding relationship with marijuana. In her article, *The Material Roots of Rastafarian Marijuana Symbolism*, Benard insists that there was a cause and affect relationship between Rastafarian society and their historic and social conditions (2007: 91). With little material wealth, but with great cultural and religious pride, Rastafarians utilized marijuana as an outward expression of their ability to reject the prevailing post-colonial culture in Jamaica. The sanctification of marijuana in the Jamaican Rastafarian ethos was, according to Benard, “a result of history, social environment and material symbolism” (source: 94). To the Rasta, marijuana, or *Ganja*, became the “holy herb” after Jamaica reinstated a capitalist social order during the 1930's. Rastas justify marijuana use, citing biblical revelations that advocate the use of the herb as a way to reach enlightenment (Hebdige 2000: 52). Smoking *Ganja* is one of the stereotypical practices that represent an outward manifestation of resistance, wearing dreadlocks is another.

Dreadlocks are usually what one thinks of when envisioning a Rastafarian. They are the stylistic outward expression of group affiliation. Dreadlocks are laboriously maintained for spiritual and social purposes. Much like smoking *Ganja*, Rastas interpret biblical Scripture to discourage the cutting of hair and advocate the cultivation of natural tendencies; the scripture reads: “They [themselves as Nazarites] shall not make baldness upon their head, neither shall they shave off the corner of their beard...” (Barrett 1988: 137). For men, an unshaven face commonly accompanies the dreaded style of presentation (Chevannes 1994: 248-49) Dreadlocks represent nature and the self, not to mention a blessed expression of African heritage (Potash 1997: xvii). Not only are

dreadlocks sacred, they also send a message of resistance to the outside world, proclaiming the dissatisfaction with conventional social norms. Dreadlocks are the most visible badge of Rasta pride, though as the popular Rasta saying goes, “Not every dread is a Rasta and not every Rasta is a dread”. The group that commonly wears dreadlocks has been known to be the most militant and socially shunned group among the Rastafarians, but they have equally been the most influential on Reggae music (Foehr 2000: 174). Dreadlocks are Rastafarian symbols that have flourished and are worn by many Reggae artists and fans. The transition from hairstyle as spiritual practice to music culture fanaticism is evident in the history of the music itself.

Music as ritual is central to Rastafari. Through ritual dance and song, the Rastafarians exercise spiritual empowerment from their colonial and enslaved past (Chevannes 2006: 1). Moreover, one way to approach inner enlightenment is through chanting, singing, dancing and other rituals and spiritual activities. Small ritual gatherings are religious atmospheres where “*Reasoning*” takes place and are called *Reasoning Sessions* (Clarke 1988: 88). Larger gatherings are called *Foundations* or *Nyabinghis*. The sacred ceremony, *Nyabinghi*, originates from Uganda but in Rastafarian practice, incorporates debating of the scripture, smoking *Ganja*, singing, dancing, chanting, poem recitals, drumming and speech giving. Bob Marley's thrashing of dreadlocks and signature dance is said to be associated with the *Nyabinghi* dance (Foehr 2000: 157). According to Hausman (1997), editor of *Kebrá Nagast, The Long Lost Bible of the Rastafarians*, life energy can be felt in the heartbeat rhythms that are conducted at these events, which can last for days. “Music is always intended to serve a religious purpose, to generate religious feeling and “upliftment” in individuals, to foster a spiritual bond among the brethren, to facilitate by 'natural ridim'³ natural living, to praise and worship Jah, to commune with HIM [His Imperial Majesty, God] and spread His word” (Clarke 1988: 94). Music also serves to protect consciousness and heighten introspective abilities. It is from these gatherings that Reggae music is said to have developed. The chronology of Reggae music

3 Ridim is a Rasta-created word that refers to the polyrhythmic drum and percussion patterns and tempo in [Rasta and] Reggae music” (Foehr 2000: 88).

development starts with the inception of slavery and the intermingling of cultures in Jamaica, which acts as the bridge to connect Reggae music to Rastafari (Potash 1997: xv-xvi).

The Music

Potash summarized the sequence of events eloquently, “Downtown in the crucible of economic poverty known as the ghetto, a cultural alchemy took place in the 1960's and 1970's whereby the Rastafarians brought their beliefs to bear on Jamaican music. The effects of that revolution can still be felt today, in the beat on the street and in the attitudes of the people” (1997: xvi). The origins of Jamaican popular music, in this case Reggae music in particular, cannot be separated from the history of the people, and their origins. Politics, music and culture became inextricably intertwined in the development of modern day Jamaican society and have a particular influence on the Rastafarians and ultimately on Reggae music. Jamaica has a long history of resistance and rebellion against authority. As an island where sugar cane was the primary export, African slave groups throughout Jamaican history, incited rebellions for freedom. Music was a covert tactic utilized by the slaves who resisted, as it was one of the only ways to express resentment, anger and frustration (Hebdige 2000: 26). It was also one of the few forms of expression during this period that kept the slaves connected with one another and their African heritage. “Engagement with music becomes a way of knowing reality and of knowing that a certain rhythm is at the center of what it means to exercise ones full humanity in the underside” (Johnson-Hill 1995: 235). Music, namely drumming, was an expression of collective orientation, emphasizing a collective conscious in contrast to European individualism.

According to Clarke (1980), African harmony differs from European harmony. Natural systems of tuned harmony are parallel and guided by melodic scales. Larger 5th and 4th intervals predominate in African areas and are common in Jamaican music (Clark 1980: 23). Eighty percent of the Jamaican population is of African descent, which explains the antecedent African patterns found in Jamaican music (these are Mento, Ska, Rudie, Rock Steady, and Reggae). Clarke adds that African songs were in the call-and-respond or call-and-refrain pattern, and were used often as work-songs, also known as *jamma* songs. This style still rings true

today in contemporary Reggae music, though in today's context, call-and-respond patterns are used to connect with the lower class (Clarke 1980: 23, 67). Song topics and lyrics were succinct and fit into 2 to 4 lines, making it an art form (Clarke 1980: 23). The song themes kept to the issues surrounding the community, though it was the drum that did the talking. "For Africans, the drum talks. For Jamaicans, the 'ridim' talks. The African drum beat is the thread which connects the history of Jamaican popular music with its rhythms.

The Maroons, a group of African slaves who rebelled against their slave masters and retreated into the hills of Jamaica, took their music with them. Via isolation, the *Burru* drumming practice was one of the few African-derived musical forms that remained intact in the 20th century; *Burru* songs also resembled original songs of African tradition (Foehr 2000: 44). *Burru* is a generic term to describe the Gold Coast West African slaves who forcibly resettled on the island, namely the Ashanti. According to Foehr (2000), The Ashanti used the *Burru* drum in groups of three. The high-pitched *atumpan* acted as the free-form lead and was accompanied by the alto *apentemma* and the bass *petia* (Foehr 2000: 44). The *Burru* instruments are more commonly known as the bass drum, the *fundeh* and the repeater (Clarke 1980: 52) "The *fundeh*, carries the steady rhythm or lifeline and is tuned to an alto pitch between the bass and the repeater" (Foehr 2000: 95). The *fundeh* is regarded as the "peace and love" drum.

The *Burru* eventually were pulled out of their sanctuaries and relocated into the slums of Jamaica, where the most radical developments in Jamaican popular music were to follow.

In the early '50s, severely depressed areas of Back-O-Wall and West Kingston were a melting pot of indigenous African and Afro-European music, religion, mysticism and cultures. Into this social blender went *Burru*, *Kumina*, *Myal*, *Revivalism*, *Pocomania*, and the aspirations of the still-emerging Rastafari. Common threads tied all these groups together: frustration with being social outcasts; a smoldering rage against the establishment that squeezes them to the fringe; limited economic, educational, and political opportunities; and an alive connection to their African heritages through music and beliefs. [Foehr 2000: 43]

Rastafarians and the *Burru* came into contact and commiserated with one another. Both the *Burru* and the Rastafarians were anti-establishment and together, they engaged in *Reasoning Sessions*. Rastas would attend *Burru* celebratory dances and meetings where discharged prisoners were welcomed back into their communities with drumming and dance (Clarke 1980: 52). Intermingling between them yielded an exchange of music and faith. The Rastafarians had no endemic musical heritage and the *Burru* people had no theological African philosophy, so they related cultures with each other (Clarke 1980: 52). By the late 1930's, most of the *Burru* had integrated with the Rastafarians. The Rasta's communal lifestyle appealed to the *Burru* and likewise the Rastas replaced the *Burru* dance with the *Nyabingi*, which was previously discussed (Foehr 2000: 44; Hebdige 2000). It is believed that true Rasta music was created during these *Reasoning Sessions*.

True Rastafarian music is not Reggae; there are no electric instruments or guitar. It consists primarily of stylized singing and drumming, a format common to the roots of African and Reggae music. Rasta themes deal with sin, but never in reference to the individual (Foehr 2000: 140). Much like the African tradition of eliciting social commentary in song, Rasta music speaks to the issues of the day, but chiefly addresses their spiritual affiliation. Clarke elaborated on the adaptation of spiritual lyrics to fit the Rastafarian ethos, "if Afrika [author's preferred spelling] were being projected [in Rastafari], it would have been contradictory to project the music of the (White) Christian church... The words to church songs were altered to project Rastafari" (1980: 52). Rastas adapted Christian hymns but wanted to stay connected to their African roots, they did so via slave *Burru* drumming.

In the 1930's the only form of African musical expression in Jamaica was that of the *Burru* people. According to Hebdige (2000), the Rasta drummers adapted their own style, keeping the three *Burru* drums (the bass, *fundeh* and the repeater) now known as the *akete* drums.

In early *Burru* music, the bass drum plays the rhythm, the repeater plays the melody and the *fundeh* syncopates. In Rasta music, however, the *fundeh* plays the rhythm, the bass drum holds a similar pattern, but varies in pitch and tone, and the repeater leads or improvises. The time signature of Rasta music is quite straightforward, with the notable exception of the repeater. The

rhythm increases or a decrease in pace, the metre remains consistent, but it is the improvisatory rhythms, speaking the ancestral language, through which the repeater manifests its difficulty. [Clarke 1980: 53]

Rasta drumming developed two styles, religious and non-religious. Rastafarians described “churchical” drumming as that which serves a religious purpose, while non-religious drumming, or “earthical” drumming is performed for pleasure; both are reminiscent of West Africa music (Clarke 1988: 94). As noted by Foehr (2000), in Rasta music (chanting and “churchical” songs), the accent of the lifeline *ridim* is on the first and third beat, while the “earthical” songs have the accent on the second and fourth beat. The bass downbeat in Rasta music represents death to the oppressive society. The repeaters high notes symbolize resurrection of the new world order (Foehr 2000: 95-96). The drumming was developed such that even the rests between drum beats became significant. “*Nyabinghi* drumming has a low, steady pulse, with space to allow for the preacher to call out the next line in the song or to insert a line from The Bible. It provides a rock-bottom bass line to any song” (Foehr 2000: 159). Rastafarian music became replete with symbolism to fulfill spiritual needs and identity. Rastas adapted this West African tradition of music and expression to alleviate suffering. In the absence of a theological institution, music became central to the collective thought of Rastafari, taking the place of organized teachings. It allowed wide communication and reinforced moral, ethical, doctrinal and social values (Clarke 1988: 94). At present, Rastafarian music can be expanded to incorporate new musical art forms including Reggae, but first it is prudent to examine the chronology of popular Jamaican musical forms.

The first music produced locally, for local consumption, was that of Calypso/Mento styles. Mento, being a combination of Calypso and Latin-American music, is based on the African “call and respond” format (Clarke 1980: 57; Hebdige 2000: 39). This format also made its way into newly adapted religious services (Hebdige 2000: 47). Calypso in the 1930's and 1940's, often used biblical language, referencing the Lion of Judah and the Day of Judgment. Calypso singers would likewise intertwine lyrics attacking colonial authority. During this time, there were only two other musical outlets: religious Rastafarian music (confined to the slums of Jamaica) and short-wave radio music, which mostly received

programming from the Florida belt which transmitted American Rhythm and Blues (R&B) music. R&B became very popular in Jamaica during the mid to late 1950's. Its performances on the island set the standard, style and musical model for Jamaican R&B and subsequent musical forms (Clarke 1980: 59). Because R&B was followed by Rock and Roll in the U.S., the previous was rendered out of vogue and less marketable. The inaccessibility and demand for R&B in the 1960's led Jamaicans to produce their own interpretation of it locally, utilizing Calypso/Mento and Jazz to supplement the musical base. This in turn created novel Jamaican musical identities (Clarke 1980: 60, 69). "What was changing in the music was the drumming accompaniment. Though both illustrations expressed the same 4/4 timing, the drumming emphasis was beginning to alter the character of the music. This subtle aberration in the music was responsible for the birth of Ska" (Clarke 1980: 70). Universally, Ska is considered the antecedent to Rock Steady which subsequently leading to development Reggae.

Ska in its simplest form is horns on top of a Mento rhythm (Foehr 2000: 90). Early Ska, like R&B, had the accent placed on the first and third beats (Clarke 1980: 69). According to Foehr, Ska's treble turns up on the eclectic guitar and has "punchy" bass accents; the emphasis falls on the upbeat rather than the offbeat (2000: 91). Many Rastafarians made up the nucleus of all the early recording sessions done in Jamaica before and during the Ska era. Rasta themes emerged throughout early Jamaican Ska lyrics and some parts of Ska can be traced back to Rastafarian and *Burru* drumming (Hebdige 2000: 60). By the time Ska was being played on the radio, the music had already been in existence for some time (Clarke 1980: 75). The musical creativity during this era was such that Ska shortly gave way to a new musical form, Rock Steady.

In the summer of 1966, Ska evolved into Rock Steady but it maintained the Rasta influence. The horn section was minimized and the Rasta rhythms were creatively incorporated via the guitar, piano, and vocals. "The piano rhythm and repetitive two- or three- chord progression from Ska were maintained in Rock Steady as Jamaica's own musical phenomenon, but slower" (Clarke 1980: 80). The connection to the Afro-American model came though via the slow and intense tempo. The song *Get Ready, Rock Steady*, marked the inception of the Rock Steady era. The musical genre was popularly accepted in 1966 through the end of 1967,

but was being played by musicians as early as 1964. By 1968, Rock Steady had been adapted and taken over by a novel sound, Reggae.

The transition from Rock Steady to Reggae went unnoticed, much like the transition from Ska to Rock Steady. One of the profound differences in the change was that the music became more ethical and thoughtful with Rastafarian political and spiritual metaphors (Foehr 2000: 93-94). Rock Steady was mostly confined to themes of romance while Reggae was a combination of Rock Steady and Ska, only faster and heavier on the bass (Clarke 1980: 96). Jamaican musicians were still covering Soul songs during the 1960's, but Rastafari marked the turning point in the evolution of Reggae. Ska, Rock Steady and Reggae are all second and fourth beats, only at different paces. From Ska, the beat is slowed down by half to produce Rock Steady; if slowed down by half again, it produces the Reggae beat (Foehr 2000: 90). Ska's tempo is distinctively faster than Reggae's. Given the continuum of music play, Reggae was influenced by and an amalgamation of West Indian, Kumina, Pocomania, Maroon, Mento, Calypso, Soca, Ska, Rocksteady, Gospel, African, Jazz, R&B and Rastafarian music, but the latter contributed most significantly, giving its characteristic sound.

According to Hebdige, there is a direct link between Reggae and Rastafarian music (2000: 58). Some Reggae rhythms were taken directly from the *Foundations* and *Reasoning Sessions*. Rastafarian drum sessions were a common gathering place for Reggae musicians. Unique sounds were adapted and created which made their way into the recording studio. As mentioned previously, many Rastafarians served as musicians for early Ska and subsequent Reggae recordings. One Rastafarian drummer in particular made the decisive link between the musical and spiritual cultures that would shift the movement all together. In the late 1950's, Count Ossie made recording history by providing the rhythm section for the Folkes Brothers' big hit, *Oh Carolina*. His Rastafarian rhythms would influence Ska and other musicians alike (Clarke 1980: 54). *Nyabinghi* drumming became part of Reggae when Count Ossie blurred the lines between the sacred and secular. Rastafarian drumming had a mainstay in Reggae music, and can be heard in the "churchical" rhythms today. The bass guitar and traps imitated the patterns of the Rasta bass drum, while the lead guitar, keyboard, horns and singer took over the repeater drum

patterns (Foehr 2000: 96). The Reggae sound became distinctive and extraordinary.

Hebdige describes Reggae as four beats to a bar of 4/4, with the strongest downbeats on the 2 and 4, with interwoven patterns of call and respond; he thinks it is largely a matter of rhythm (2000: 75). Reggae's chord progressions are G, C, D, A minor, and E minor (Foehr 2000: 197). "The combination of drum and bass in contemporary Reggae is equal to the interplay of rhythmic response in ensemble drumming except that the time-signature is different. The rhythmic response between drum and bass are open to long and exciting conversations" (Clarke 1980: 133). Bob Marley and other Reggae artists utilized African traditional music constructions to produce "the slur, slide or glissando common in spoken words, and melodic structure in which the highest point commences at the beginning of the song" (Clarke 1980: 113). The common instruments involved in making Reggae music are, in no particular order, keyboard, guitar, trumpet, trombone, vocals, drums, melodica, and bass guitar. Arguably the bass is the most important instrument in Reggae music. There are many musical styles within the Reggae music umbrella including Nyahbingi, Ska, Rock Steady, Roots Reggae, Toasting, Dub, Version, Talk-Over, Lovers' Rock, Cultural Reggae, Gospel Reggae, Rock Reggae, Raggamuffin, and Dancehall. Today, Reggae has been redefined to encompass virtually all forms of Jamaican popular music and can be defined as Jamaican folklore. The historical figure, Count Ossie, was just the beginning of the pivotal contributions Rastafari would have on developing this clearly Jamaican synthesized music, most of which are still applicable and prevalent today.

The Influence of Rastafari on Reggae Music and Vice Versa

Reggae became filled with themes and rhythms of the Rastafarian movement. By the 1970's, many of the significant Reggae musicians had converted to Rastafarianism and sang the praises of Rastafari. By taking up the social and religious ideals of Rastafari, the music became heavier, slower and more austere. The Bible was an inspirational source for all Rastas or Rasta-influenced recording artists. Psalms were employed by a great number of popular artists who used them in songs to couple the vocal ideals with Rasta rhythms (Clarke 1980: 54-55). Some artists went as far as to incorporate aspects of Rastafarian ritual into their

performances. Furthermore, Rastafarians became more involved in the music, participating in the popular sound systems, or dance parties, where they would drum and play righteous, evangelical music. The militant Rastafarians who wore dreadlocks had the most impact on the nascent music genre, contributing their “style”. Trademark symbols of dreadlocks, the Rasta image and the Ethiopian colors (red, gold, green and black) became, and continue to be, synonymous with Reggae (Hebdige 2000: 78).

Rasta music dominated the Reggae sound with lyrics reflecting the philosophy. Most Reggae musicians stayed true to the Rasta faith and created music to uphold the Rasta doctrine and spread the Rastafarian message, the King's message. Reggae themes consisted primarily of *Jah*, Rastafari (Haile Selassie) and Marcus Garvey. In this way, the revolutionary words of Marcus Garvey and Haile Selassie were introduced into public discourse and people's consciousness (Potash 1997: xix). “Many reggae songs pay homage to Marcus Garvey and proclaim the ideas of the Back to Africa movement” (Hebdige 2000: 52). Reggae aided Black Jamaicans, Rasta or otherwise, in awakening an African identity and consciousness; it helped to create a new sense of identity through racial and cultural pride within a colonial mindset, shifting the values within the cultural framework (Foehr 2000: 107). The Rasta worldview: self-determination, rebellion on the part of the oppressed lower class whilst simultaneously preaching love, unity and oneness, were a constant chorus in the music (Foehr 2000: 31, 38). Armed with a voice, the Rastafarians strategically transformed the music into a tool.

Much like smoking *Ganja* and wearing dreadlocks, the music became a vehicle to express dissatisfaction with Babylon. Reggae became another tool for Rastafarians to counter the social norms of the day. Rastafarianism offered dissent from the cultural norm and spiritual and ideological alternatives from the larger society and music is just one way to achieve this (Barrett 1988: x). Reggae served as a call to Ethiopia and acted as the vehicle to arrive at introspective “*Jah* knowing” journeys (Hebdige 2000: 55). Reggae music “acted as a philosophical guiding force in the lives of the music's creators and as a reclamer of those who otherwise would have been confused about their position in Jamaican society...” (Clarke 1980: 36). “I-n-I (Musicians) liberate the people through music” (Johnson-Hill 1995: 289). Because Rastafarians were

concentrated in the ghettos, the music reflected its environment, giving voice to the urban poor. The message was such that it galvanized people to stray from the capitalistic stronghold and live a righteous life, where *Jah*, peace and justice are supreme. Though the music was originally intended to speak for those without a voice and not for recruitment purposes, it did just that.

A period of growth in Rastafari was to follow and was fueled by the success of Reggae music (Foehr 2000: 165). Once heard internationally, the Rastafarian doctrine and *ridim* appealed to people all over the world. Reggae music was a powerful medium by which the message and spirit of Rastafari was spread to North America (Chevannes 1994: 272). “In response to the growing popularity of Reggae, Rastafarian symbols increasingly became integrated into the mainstream” (King 2002: 79). The music served to weave Rastafarians into the social fabric of Jamaica. Though the Rastafarians themselves were never truly accepted into the mainstream, Reggae exposed and desensitized the population to Rastafari to the extent that it allowed non-Rastafarian Jamaicans to become sympathizers of the movement. Because they were so instrumental in creating Reggae, the Rastas earned a legitimate position in the history of the evolution of this endemic musical form.

Reggae eventually became the national emotional outlet that gave voice and life to Jamaican cultural aspirations, lifestyles, mindsets, and philosophies. It became an avenue where real concerns like poverty, inequality, Jamaican history under slavery and colonialism, political protest and Black power were expressed (Hebdige 2000: 22). Chant and drum patterns served as a bridge, linking and arousing visceral memories of the ancestral cultural past and heritage to the heirs of that legacy (Foehr 2000: 46). Reggae created a communal history grounded in the Africa tradition, restoring historical narrative through the oppressed collective memory. At present *Nyabinghi* beats are resurfacing in popular Jamaican music, and are utilized to fashion new sounds in Reggae/Hip-Hop music. The music remains relevant still because oppression has not ceased to exist, making the message needed for those who live in oppression (Foehr 2000: 101). The folk musician that was most recognized for relaying this Rastafarian message was the musical prodigy, Bob Marley.

Though Rasta themes gradually began to appear in Reggae music as a consequence of the success of the evangelical themes within Jamaican

popular music, it was Bob Marley that brought Rastafari to the world. Reggae was unknown until he made his debut in New York. Born in Jamaica on February, 6th 1945, Marley contributed greatly to the development and internationalization of Reggae. It goes without saying that he was indispensable in the Reggae music equation; he is *the* cultural icon. Marley stamped Rastafari on Reggae until the sound became synonymous with the movement (Barrett 1988: preface-xx). Marley expressed and popularized the core values of Rastafari in his lyrics (Johnson-Hill 1995: 22). Together, his music and the Bible worked in tandem as education in Rastafarian thinking and it was the Rastafarian movement that propelled the “Bob Marley Phenomena”⁴. His contagious energy for the Rastafarian message did more for the movement in terms of recruiting members than any other organized Rastafarian system. (Clarke 1988: 60-61). A Rastafarian himself, Marley joined the Twelve Tribes of Israel, which was founded in 1968, after he formed the group *The Wailing Rude Boys* in 1964. *The Wailers* may be the most important vocal group Jamaica has ever seen. First of all, because of their musical talent, second, because they held a unique position within society as Rastafarian dissenters and lastly because of the collective experiential expression of the rebel poor oppressed Black man in their songs (Clarke 1980: 116). Marley's children picked up the torch he left behind, carrying on the legacy of Rastafari within Reggae music.

Conclusion

Today growth and development in Reggae music and Rastafari continue because the formula that emerged during their inceptions remains

4 The “Bob Marley Phenomena” refers to the superstar fame surrounding Marley's persona. According to O'Brian Chang and Chen, Marley is one of the 20th century's outstanding cultural icons and Jamaica's most famous figure. He is the face of Reggae and Rastafari; millions of people around the globe know of Reggae and Rasta thanks to Marley's interpretations. His worldly status was elevated to prophet within the Rastafarian movement given the evangelical nature of his lyrics. *Legend* alone has sold 20 million copies to date (O'Brian Chang and Chen 1998: 52, 140-141).

the same. Reggae and Rastafari give voice to the oppressed and speak to the need to stomp out inequalities, both continue to propagate. Bob Marley's son, Damian Marley, is set to release his collaborative album *Distant Relatives* in 2010. In his song *Only the Strong*, he sings:

When the Armageddon's dark and dreaded...

Only the strong will continue

Do you have it in you?

Now we have a journey to go

- Damian "Junior Gong" Marley

The journey Marley is referring to is the same one as his father implied in the song *Exodus*, some 30 years earlier: repatriation to Africa. The legacy of the sustained connection between Rastafari and Reggae music is evident in the lyrics of this and other newly released Reggae hits. Today, Reggae is a multi-million dollar industry and enthusiasm for the Reggae and Rastafarian movements are stronger than ever. Reggae can be heard in every country on earth and is by far the most far reaching native musical form of Jamaica; it has become Jamaica's largest cultural export and is the most successful evangelic music in the world (Foehr 2000: 26; Reckord 1997: 3).

Arguably, there are numerous facets to be explored within Rastafari and Reggae music, but the scope of this paper encompassed the interconnectedness of the two and their developments. "The values and symbols of Rastafari and Reggae have become so intertwined that they are widely regarded as parts of the same whole" (Foehr 2000: 168). It is important that it be understood that Reggae is a Jamaican musical art form whilst Rastafari is a Jamaican belief-system and worldview. Therefore, it is useful to understand their histories and characteristics to aid in the understanding of their idiosyncrasies. Though they can be considered mutually exclusive, their development and histories are not. Reggae music was created via interface with Rastafarians, who fused the spiritual and secular to produce a Jamaican musical art form. The music aided in spreading the Rastafarian doctrine around the world, while the Rastafarian message within the lyrical content and musical rhythms made the music wildly successful. Reggae and Rastafari are intertwined and essential to one another; arguably neither could have flourished to the extent they have without the other.

To summarize, this investigation offered insight into Reggae music and Rastafari. Firstly, it covered the working definition of Rastafari, the central figures, and the more salient tenets and rituals. Secondly, it linked the importance of Rastafarian musical rituals to the development of Reggae music. Thirdly, it chronicled the historical developments of Jamaican popular music to arrive at the genesis of Reggae. Lastly, it expanded upon some of the more impressive contributions Rastafari and Reggae music have had and continue to have on one another. It is the author's hope that the inner workings of the Reggae and Rastafarian cultures be appreciated for their remarkable developments; the sentiment can be captured by the Rastafarian euphuism, "*Listen and Overstand*", that is to say, listen to the message and understand its meaning.

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Lily Wong

Major:
Psychology

Mentor:
Dr. Glenn Callaghan

The Impact of Cultural
Identity and Coping
Strategies on Body Image
Issues and Body
Dysmorphic Disorder

Biography

Lily Wong is a senior majoring in Psychology. Her research investigates the relationship between cultural identity and coping strategies on body image issues and Body Dysmorphic Disorder. Outside of her interest in research, Lily is passionate about art, dance, and food. She hopes to travel the world one day and eat new foods from exotic lands. On campus, Lily holds a leadership role as the membership coordinator of Psi Chi. Off campus, she tutors middle school and high school students in various academic subjects. Additionally, she is currently working as a research assistant at NASA Ames. Upon graduating, Lily plans to pursue her Ph.D. in Clinical Psychology.

***The Impact of Cultural Identity and Coping Strategies on
Body Image Issues and Body Dysmorphic Disorder***

ABSTRACT

With technological advancements in recent decades, society has relied more on the culture’s broad definition of beauty and has placed a stronger emphasis on what the media portrays as the ideal body. Media portrayals

of this ideal have become increasingly distorted and unrealistic as a goal for the majority of Americans. This contrast between the media's standard of beauty and the reality of how the majority of Americans look like has produced a corresponding increase in feelings of dissatisfaction with one's own body. To offset these feelings, different coping strategies are utilized that may in part depend on the individual's cultural identity. This culturally formed identity will also impact how a person deals with daily stressors including coping with problems through avoidance or with acceptance. Past studies show acceptance-based coping strategies with a primary focus on embracing maladaptive thoughts and feelings are more effective than avoidance-based coping strategies which focus on challenging maladaptive thoughts. The purpose of this study is to evaluate the relationship between cultural identity (as represented by self-identified ethnicity), coping, body image issues, and Body Dysmorphic Disorder (BDD). 544 university participants were asked to complete questionnaires related to body dissatisfaction, coping with body image issues, and the frequency and acceptability of different thoughts they may have related to body image issues. Results showed ethnic differences in body image disturbance. Caucasians reported higher levels of body image disturbance than their Hispanic and Asian counterparts. In addition, ethnic differences were found for diagnosis of BDD with more Caucasians meeting criteria for BDD than any other ethnicity. Differences for the avoidance and appearance fixing subscales in relation to BDD were also found. Limitations of this study are discussed.

Introduction

In recent decades, the culture's definition of beauty has become increasingly influenced by what the media portrays as the ideal body image (Ballentine & Ogle, 2005; Dohnt & Tiggemann, 2006; Groesz, Levine, & Murnen, 2001; Tiggemann, 2002). Because of the media's influence, society has placed a stronger emphasis on the media's portrayal of the ideal body image as the standard of beauty, which is often distorted and an unattainable goal for the average American (Fallon, 1990; Heinberg, 1996). The contrast between the media's portrayal of the ideal body and the reality of how the average American looks contributes to feelings of dissatisfaction related to their own bodies (Monro & Huon,

2005; Thompson & Heinberg, 1999; Groesz et al., 2001). To counter these feelings, different coping strategies are employed, which may depend on the individual's cultural identity (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Chang 1996; Brantley, O'Hea, Jones, & Mehan, 2002). Although studies investigating body image issues have increased recently (Thompson, Coovert, & Stormer, 1998; Thompson & Heinberg, 1999; Cash, Morrow, Hrabosky, & Perry, 2004; Cash & Pruzinsky, 2002), little research has focused on the relationship between cultural identity (as represented by self-identified ethnicity) and body dissatisfaction. Even less research has focused on coping strategies related to body dissatisfaction and how coping differs between cultures.

The current research will investigate the relationship between cultural identity, coping, body image issues, and Body Dysmorphic Disorder (BDD). We will define body image, body dissatisfaction, and BDD, provide definitions of the different types of coping, include a brief review of the usage of these strategies in different cultures, and present a summary of body image issues and BDD among the different cultural groups.

Literature Review

Body Image, Body Dissatisfaction, and Body Dysmorphic Disorder

Research in the area of body image shows that it is a complex construct due to its numerous components (Thompson & van den Berg, 2002; Cash et al., 2004; Grabe & Hyde, 2006). Thompson and van den Berg (2002) proposed that attitudinal body image is comprised of four elements which include general image dissatisfaction, emotional distress, cognitive aspects of body image, and avoidance of behaviors that bring out body image disturbances. To form an attitude towards one's body image, two elements are required: investment and evaluation (Cash, 2002). Body image investment refers to the cognitive-behavioral importance a person places on his/her physical appearance (Cash, 2002). Body image evaluation refers to satisfaction or dissatisfaction with one's own body (Cash, 2002). A negative attitude towards one's body image leads to body dissatisfaction, which arises when one places great importance on one's appearance and is displeased about one or more aspects of one's body or feels that one's overall appearance is unattractive.

The most severe and serious form of body dissatisfaction is diagnosed as Body Dysmorphic Disorder (BDD) (APA, 2000). According to the DSM-IV, BDD has three diagnostic criteria: (a) an excessive preoccupation with an imagined physical defect; (b) the preoccupation significantly causes distress or affects functioning; (c) the preoccupation is not a result of another disorder such as Anorexia Nervosa or Bulimia (APA, 2000). Individuals diagnosed with BDD obsess over their perceived defect and experience high levels of perceived stress and a lower quality of life (Phillips, 1991; DeMarco, Li, Phillips, & McElroy, 1998; Phillips, 2000).

Coping Strategies

When faced with stress, there are multiple types of coping strategies people utilize (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Folkman et al., 1986). This paper will focus on two main coping strategies: avoidance-based coping and acceptance-based coping. Avoidance-based coping refers to the unwillingness to engage with maladaptive experiences, related to thoughts, feelings, beliefs, or memories, by using escape and avoidance strategies to alter the form and frequency of these experiences (Hayes et al., 1996). Folkman et al. (1986) categorize experiential avoidance as a form of emotion-focused coping in which some of the behaviors include disengagement, escape, detachment, blame to self or others, projection, and repression.

Avoidance-based coping can be found in a variety of forms including, but not limited to, dealing with stress by abusing alcohol and managing stress through thought suppression (Cooper et al, 1992; Wegner & Zanakos, 1994). Cooper et al. (1992) found that men who abused alcohol used avoidant forms of coping to deal with stress. Wegner and Zanakos (1994) found that thought suppression was correlated with obsessive and depressive behaviors. These examples show that avoidance based coping is counterproductive and have detrimental effects on physical health and mental well-being.

In contrast, acceptance refers to the willingness to actively embrace maladaptive experiences, related to thoughts, feelings, beliefs, or memories, without attempting to change their frequency or form (Hayes et al., 1999; Hayes, Luoma, Bond, Masuda, Lillis, 2006). According to acceptance theory, psychological distress is a result of maladaptive

experiential avoidance (Wilson, Hayes, & Gifford, 1997). In other words, an individual experiences psychological distress when he/she is trying to reduce, avoid, or escape thinking about his/her maladaptive thoughts. Acceptance is related to problem-focused coping in which the individual tries to alter the problem situation by finding out information about the problem, getting help, and taking direct action (Folkman & Lazarus, 1980).

Examples of acceptance-based coping include mindfulness and acceptance, which focus on changing the function of maladaptive thoughts and the individual's relationship to them (Hayes, Luoma, Bond, Masuda, & Lillis, 2006). Acceptance-based therapies such as Acceptance and Commitment Therapy (ACT) change the goal from getting rid of emotions evoked by maladaptive thoughts to fully experiencing these emotions and involves the individual to be active and aware (Blackledge & Hayes, 2001; Hayes et al., 2006). Blackledge and Hayes (2001) state that ACT clients are taught to accept negative internal experiences as they are in order to live toward their valued life goals.

Coping Within Cultures

The implementation of either an avoidance-based coping strategy or acceptance-based coping strategy to deal with stress may be influenced by one's cultural identity (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Chang, 1996; Brantley et al., 2002). Research supports that different cultures uses different coping strategies (Cross, 1995; Yeh & Wang, 2000). Individualistic cultures, such as American and Western European cultures, emphasize the importance of the self where expressing one's self and validating internal attributes are encouraged (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Collectivist cultures, such as Asian, African, and Latin American cultures, emphasize interdependence with others and restraining one's self, and maintaining harmony within the group is encouraged (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). In contrast with individualistic cultures, collectivist cultures place strong emphasis on what others think of them and how others view them (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Yeh & Huang, 1996).

Although little is known about which cultures use acceptance-based coping strategies, some studies have found that those from collectivist cultures use more avoidance-based coping strategies than those from individualistic cultures and that the use of these strategies are often

reinforced in the culture (Chang, 1996; Kung, 2003; Yeh & Inose, 2002; Brantley et al., 2002; Narikiyo & Kameoka, 1992). For example, many Asians view emotional problems as unimportant and discussing these problems with others is often seen as bringing shame to the family because it implies that the family is unable to care for one of their own (Kung, 2003; Sue, 1993). Because Asians value how others view them, avoidance-based coping strategies, such as self-control, repression of feelings, and solving one's own problems, are often endorsed because it inhibits sharing emotional problems with others (Kung, 2003).

Other studies support the finding that those from a collectivist culture endorse the use of avoidance-based coping strategies. Brantley et al. (2002) found that African-Americans used significantly more emotion-focused strategies (distancing and positive reappraisal) than Caucasians. Chang (1996) found that Asian American used more problem avoidance and social withdrawal coping strategies than Caucasian Americans. Narikiyo and Kameoka (1992) found that Japanese Americans were more likely to solve problems on their own than White Americans. Kung (2003) found that 75% of Chinese Americans had never sought any kind of help for emotional problems. Lastly, Siu, Spector, and Cooper (2006) found that Chinese were more likely to use emotion-focused coping to deal with daily stressors.

Body Dissatisfaction and Body Dismorphic Disorder Across Cultures

In relation to culture, studies done in the area of body dissatisfaction has mainly focused on the differences between White and non-White populations. Based on the current literature, many studies show that White women reported more body dissatisfaction than their non-White counterparts (Altabe, 1996; Grabe & Hyde, 2006; Cash, Morrow, Hrabosky, & Perry, 2004; Wardle, Bindra, Fairclough, & Westcombe, 1993; Demarest & Allen, 2000). Cash, Morrow, Hrabosky, and Perry (2004) found that White women revealed more body image disturbances than African American women. Additionally, Demarest and Allen (2000) found that African American women were diagnosed with Anorexia Nervosa and Bulimia significantly less than Caucasian women, which the researchers concluded to be due to a more positive body image related to the acceptance of larger body sizes among African American women.

Although there are studies comparing body dissatisfaction between White and non-White populations, little research has separated the “non-White population” category into distinct cultural groups, such as Asian and Hispanic, and conducted analyses based on these distinctions. In studies separating the different cultural groups, results analyzing the differences between the cultural groups and body dissatisfaction are unclear. Altabe (1996) found that Caucasian and Hispanic Americans had more weight-related body image disturbances than African Americans and Asian Americans. Altabe (1996) also found that African Americans had the highest self-ratings of attractiveness, followed by Hispanic Americans, and lastly Caucasians. Asian Americans had the lowest self-ratings because they had the lowest regard for physical attractiveness. In contrast, a meta-analysis done by Grabe and Hyde (2006) revealed that although White women reported higher levels of body dissatisfaction than Black women, the differences were small. Analyses that compared White women to Asian women, White women to Hispanic women, Black women to Asian women, and Asian women to Hispanic women were also conducted and revealed that these groups did not differ significantly in their level of body dissatisfaction. More research focusing on the body dissatisfaction of different cultural groups needs to be conducted in order to make a conclusion.

Few studies have been conducted on Body Dysmorphic Disorder because of its recent entry into the DSM-III-R as a psychiatric disorder (APA, 1987). Therefore, prevalence rates for BDD across cultures are currently unknown and present a gap in the empirical literature on BDD. This study attempts to clarify the relationship between cultural identity and coping (acceptance and avoidance), cultural identity and body dissatisfaction, cultural identity and diagnosis of BDD, and the impact of the use of acceptance and avoidance coping strategies on the diagnosis of BDD.

Method

Participants

A sample of convenience consisting of 544 undergraduate students at a diverse university participated in this study. The sample included 373 women (68.6%) and 171 men (31.4%) aged 18 to 52 years ($M = 19.32$, $SD = 3.102$ years). The participants identified themselves as

White/Caucasian ($n = 132$; 24.3%); Asian ($n = 186$; 34.2%); Black/African-American ($n = 29$; 5.3%); Hispanic/Latino/Spanish ($n = 105$; 19.3%); Other (which include American Indian, Pacific Islander, or those who identify as “Other”) ($n = 20$; 3.7%); or Multiple (which include participants who identified with more than one ethnicity) ($n = 72$; 13.2%). All participants gave their informed consent before completing the questionnaire. Before data collection, this study received approval by a university Human Subjects Institutional Review Board. Participants received university course credit without any other compensation.

Materials and Devices

Participants completed a questionnaire packet containing: (a) a brief demographic questionnaire; (b) the Acceptance and Action Questionnaire-2 (AAQ-2; Hayes et al., 2004); (c) the Body Image Disturbance Questionnaire (BIDQ; Cash, Phillips, Santos, & Hrabosky, 2004); (d) the Body Image Coping Strategies Inventory (BICSI; Cash, 2005); and (e) the Body Dysmorphic Disorder Questionnaire (BDDQ; Phillips, 2005). Participants who met criteria for and participated in the interview portion of the study were interviewed using the Body Dysmorphic Disorder Module for Adults (Phillips, 2005).

Brief Demographic Questionnaire.

A demographic questionnaire constructed by the researchers consisted of questions about the participants' age, height, weight (used to calculate body mass index (BMI)), gender, ethnicity, and past or current diagnosed eating disorders. Additionally, participants indicated whether they had any past, present, or future plans to undergo cosmetic surgeries or procedures.

Acceptance and Action Questionnaire (AAQ-II).

The Acceptance and Action Questionnaire II (AAQ-II) is a 10-item measure that assesses people's experiential avoidance. Participants rate each item on a 7-point scale from 1 (never true) to 7 (always true). Items 1, 6, and 10 require reverse scoring. Higher scores indicate greater experiential avoidance and less psychological flexibility. The AAQ-II used in this study is under development and evaluates the same construct as the AAQ-I. There is little research on the properties of the AAQ-II; however, there is a correlation of .82 between the two measures (Bond,

F.W., Hayes, S.C., Baer, R.A., Carpenter, K.M., Orcutt, H.K., Waltz, T. & Zettle, R.D., submitted).

There are several versions of the AAQ-I including the 9-item and 16-item versions (Hayes et al., 2004; Bond & Bunce, 2003), with a correlation of .89 between the two versions (Hayes et al., 2004). The AAQ-I mean scores in clinical populations differed by gender, with females scoring higher ($M = 37.3$, $SD = 7.9$) than males ($M = 34.7$, $SD = 7.8$) while the mean scores in nonclinical populations differed by ethnicity, with non-Caucasians scoring higher ($M = 34.5$, $SD = 6.8$) than Caucasians ($M = 32.9$, $SD = 6.9$).

The 9-item AAQ-I has adequate internal consistency with Cronbach's alpha of .70 and a test-retest reliability of .64 for the 16-item AAQ-I (Hayes et al., 2004). The AAQ-I correlates with measures of general psychopathology including the Global Severity Index of the SCL-90-R (SCL-90-R GSI; $r = .49$ to $.53$) the Brief Symptom Inventory (BSI GSI; $r = .56$ to $.70$), and the Quality of Life Inventory (QOLI; $r = -.40$) at the .01 level or below. The AAQ-I also correlates with measures of depression (Beck Depression Inventory, Beck Depression Inventory-II; $r = .36$ to $.72$), anxiety (Beck Anxiety Inventory; $r = .35$ to $.58$), and is related to a measure of thought suppression (White Bear Suppression Inventory; $r = .44$ to $.50$) at the .01 level or below.

Body Image Disturbance Questionnaire (BIDQ).

The Body Image Disturbance Questionnaire (BIDQ) is a 7-item measure that assesses the three factors of body image disturbance: body image dissatisfaction, distress, and dysfunction (Phillips, 2005). Participants rate each question on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (not at all concerned) to 5 (extremely concerned). Items 1, 2, and 5-7 have free response portions. The BIDQ is scored by averaging the responses for the seven questions with higher scores indicating greater body image disturbance. The BIDQ is different from other measures on body image, such as the Body Dysmorphic Disorder Questionnaire (BDDQ; Phillips, 2005), because it assesses body image disturbance on a continuum where respondents do not have to select between dichotomous answers. The goal of this measure is to identify disturbance instead of dissatisfaction (Cash et. al, 2004).

The BIDQ has a Cronbach's alpha of .89 for both men and women, indicating strong internal consistency. The BIDQ correlates with multiple facets of the body image construct including, body image dissatisfaction, body dysmorphobia, body image investment, and body image quality of life (Cash et. al, 2004). Research has shown a modest correlation of .23 ($p < .001$) between the Body Mass Index and scores on the BIDQ for women (Cash et. al, 2004). This correlation was not significant for men.

Body Image Coping Strategies Inventory (BICSI).

The Body Image Coping Strategies Inventory (BICSI; Cash, 2002) is an empirically validated assessment of cognitive and behavioral activities used to manage challenges to body image. It comprises three individually scored subscales: avoidance, appearance fixing and positive rational acceptance. The 8-item avoidance scale measures the extent to which an individual will avoid potential psychological discomfort through self-imposed ignorance of one's undesirable thoughts or feelings (Cash, Santos, and Williams, 2005). The 10-item appearance fixing scale assesses how much energy the individual exerts trying to mediate poor body image with efforts to disguise, hide, camouflage, or alter the body area the individual perceives as undesirable. The 11-item positive rational acceptance scale measures the individual's more healthful approaches to divert attention from the perceived flaw(s), which may include behavioral or mental strategies to pacify distress through endeavoring to perceive the situation rationally as opposed to emotionally. Each scale is calculated by obtaining the mean of the combined items; scores are evaluated based on the respondent's gender. On the avoidance scale, a score exceeding 0.90 for women or 0.79 for men is considered an abnormal level of avoidance. For appearance fixing, a score in excess of 1.60 for women and 1.27 for men implies a greater-than-average dependency on appearance alteration to alleviate distress. A score greater than 1.68 for women or 1.59 for men on the positive rational acceptance scale is indicative of more attempts to cope using positive rational acceptance (Cash et al., 2005).

The BICSI has good internal consistency reliability (Cash, Santos, & Williams, 2005). Cronbach's alpha for avoidance was .74 for men and .74 for women. For appearance-fixing, Cronbach's alpha was .91 for men and .90 for women. For positive rational acceptance, Cronbach's alpha was .85 for men and .80 for women. As for the validity, the BICSI

correlates well with other measures of coping with body image difficulties (Cash et al., 2005).

Body Dysmorphic Disorder Questionnaire (BDDQ).

The Body Dysmorphic Disorder Questionnaire (BDDQ) is a self-report screening measure developed to determine whether someone meets DSM-IV criteria for BDD. The BDDQ uses a yes/no format to establish whether the respondent experiences a preoccupation with a perceived physical defect and whether the preoccupation causes distress or impairment in functioning. However, even if a respondent meets the criteria on the BDDQ, a face-to-face interview is necessary to confirm the diagnosis and to determine if the defect exists. Additionally, the interviewer uses the clinical interview to determine whether the distress or impairment is significant and to rule out the presence of an eating disorder.

Published psychometric data on the BDDQ is limited. Phillips and her colleagues have found the BDDQ has high sensitivity and specificity for the diagnosis of BDD (Phillips, 2005). In a sample of 66 psychiatric outpatients, the BDDQ accurately suggested BDD in 100% of the patients that clinicians determined met diagnostic criteria (Phillips, 2005). Additionally, when clinicians determined a patient did not have BDD, the BDDQ was accurate in 89% of the cases (Phillips, 2005). A slightly modified version of the BDDQ used in dermatology settings (BDDQ-Dermatology Version; Defense, Phillips, Vitoria, & Wilkes, 2001) yielded similar sensitivity and specificity percentages. Overall, the BDDQ appears to be an acceptable screening measure for BDD.

Body Dysmorphic Disorder Diagnostic Module.

The Body Dysmorphic Disorder Diagnostic Module is a clinician-administered interview developed to confirm the diagnosis of BDD in individuals whose self-report responses on the BDDQ indicate possible presence of BDD (Phillips, 2005). The BDD Diagnostic Module is based on the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual* (DSM-IV) criteria for BDD and was developed in a format similar to that of the Structured Clinical Interview for DSM (SCID). The DSM-IV criteria are listed next to each question to determine if a criterion is met before continuing with the subsequent questions. Criterion A is met through a preoccupation with an imagined physical defect; criterion B is met through significant distress or

impairment. Criterion C is met if the preoccupation is not attributed to an eating disorder. Clinical judgment is necessary for this assessment, particularly when determining whether the distress or impairment reported for criterion B is significant enough to meet diagnosis (Phillips, 2005). The BDD Module shows high inter-rater reliability ($\kappa = .96$) (Phillips, 2005).

Procedures

At least two experimenters were present at each session. Upon arrival at the session, the experimenters greeted participants and asked them to take a seat within a university classroom. Each experimenter followed protocol devised prior to the running of participants. The experimenters informed participants that the study was investigating people's emotions related to body image issues. Participants received a consent form and were asked to follow along as an experimenter read it aloud. Participants provided consent prior to initiating the study. Along with a consent form, each participant received a sheet of paper with information regarding free counseling services, which participants were encouraged to use in the event that the experiment elicited concerns or distress. The experimenters provided an opportunity for participants to ask any questions, and all questions were answered.

Experimenters distributed questionnaire packets and instructed participants to submit the completed forms to an experimenter when finished. An experimenter checked the packet for completeness and quickly scored the BDDQ of each finished questionnaire. Participants who answered "yes" to select questions met threshold criteria, and were invited to the subsequent interview portion (Phillips, 1996). Those who did not meet criteria and completed their portion of the experiment received proof of participation. Of those who met criteria using the BDDQ, participants who were overweight (using BMI) and whose primary concern was weight, were excluded from the interview portion. Participants who listed weight as the main concern but who were not overweight according to the BMI scale, were eligible.

Upon inviting the participant to the interview portion, the experimenter reiterated that participation was voluntary. If a participant agreed to continue to the second portion, an experimenter led the participant to a private room for the interview procedure. The other

experimenter(s) remained with any further participants who had met criteria for and agreed to an interview. Before beginning the interview, the experimenter reminded the participant that his/her answers were confidential and that he/she was free to withdraw from the interview at any time. Interviews were conducted using the BDD Module for Adults. In the interview, an evaluation was made to determine whether the areas of concern were obsessive or disproportionate (e.g. concern of acne with no visible blemishes). Interviewers received training from a professional clinician as how to conduct the structured interview with empathy, but without providing feedback or intervention of any kind to the participant. At the end of the interview, the interviewer gave each participant the opportunity to ask questions, answered the questions, and debriefed participants. Eligible participants received proof of participation if applicable.

Eighty participants met screening criteria and participated in the interview. Only 55 of these participants (42 females and 13 males), met diagnostic criteria for a formal diagnosis of BDD. The remaining interviewees were excluded on the basis of not meeting diagnostic criteria of BDD ($n = 14$), meeting criteria for or reporting a current eating disorder ($n = 3$), concerns of physical defects that could not be verified ($n = 2$), and presenting real (not imagined) defects (e.g. scarring; $n = 6$).

Results

Analysis of variance (ANOVA), Chi-square, and logistic regression were used to analyze the data at the .05 alpha level.

A one-way ANOVA was used to determine whether the avoidance scores from the AAQ measure differed among ethnicities. The analysis indicated that AAQ avoidance scores from Caucasian ($M = 29.74$, $SD = 10.85$), Asian ($M = 30.54$, $SD = 10.64$), African-American ($M = 30.00$, $SD = 12.76$), Hispanic ($M = 27.90$, $SD = 10.30$), "Other" ($M = 29.30$, $SD = 10.14$), and "Multiple" ($M = 29.17$, $SD = 9.24$) ethnicity groups did not differ significantly, $F(5, 538) = .881$, $p = .494$. This indicates that ethnicity did not significantly affect AAQ avoidance scores.

A one-way ANOVA was also used to examine the effect of ethnicity on BIDQ scores. The scores were obtained by adding and averaging the scores of the different ethnicities: Caucasian ($M = 1.99$, $SD = .80$), Asian ($M = 1.74$, $SD = .61$), African-American ($M = 1.84$, $SD =$

.77), Hispanic ($M = 1.73$, $SD = .57$), “Other” ($M = 1.66$, $SD = .58$), and “Multiple” ($M = 1.79$, $SD = .61$). The analysis indicated that BIDQ scores were significantly different between at least two ethnicities, $F(5, 536) = 2.909$, $p = .013$. Sidak pairwise comparisons were used to determine which groups differed. Caucasians had a significantly higher BIDQ score than Hispanics, $p = .041$ and Asians, $p = .014$, indicating that Caucasians had significantly higher body image disturbance than their Hispanic and Asian counterparts. There were no significant differences between the other ethnicities.

To examine whether ethnicity had an effect on BICSI avoidance scores, ANOVA was used to analyze the data. The analysis indicated that Caucasian ($M = .78$, $SD = .58$), Asian ($M = .72$, $SD = .48$), African-American ($M = .65$, $SD = .62$), Hispanic ($M = .66$, $SD = .53$), “Other” ($M = .64$, $SD = .46$), and “Multiple” ($M = .78$, $SD = .49$) BICSI avoidance scores did not differ significantly, $F(5, 538) = .971$, $p = .435$, suggesting that BICSI avoidance scores did not differ by ethnicity.

Chi-square was used to determine whether ethnicity would predict the diagnosis of BDD. Of the 55 participants, 15.9% ($n = 21$) of Caucasians were diagnosable with BDD, followed by “Multiple” with 13.9% ($n = 10$), “Other” with 10% ($n = 2$), Hispanics with 9.5% ($n = 10$), Asians with 5.9% ($n = 11$), and African-Americans with 3.4% ($n = 1$). These differences were statistically significant, $\chi^2(5) = 11.08$, $p \leq .05$, indicating that a significantly larger amount of Caucasians met criteria for BDD than the other ethnicities.

Logistic regression analysis was used to examine whether coping (acceptance or avoidance) would predict meeting criteria for BDD. The diagnosis criteria for BDD (case or non-case) served as the outcome variable. A backward elimination procedure was used to investigate whether the three BICSI coping subscales (avoidance, appearance fixing, and positive rational acceptance) predicted BDD case. Table 1 shows the results from the analysis. In the final model, the positive rational acceptance subscale was eliminated while the avoidance subscale and appearance fixing subscale remained, indicating that these two subscales significantly predicted meeting criteria for BDD, $\chi^2(2) = 73.295$, $p < .001$, with a Nagelkerke $R^2 = .262$. Overall prediction success was 89%.

Discussion

Ethnic differences were found for measures of body image disturbance and diagnosis of BDD. For body image disturbance, Caucasians scored significantly higher on the BIDQ than Hispanics. Caucasians also scored significantly higher on the BIDQ than Asians, indicating that Caucasians reported higher body image disturbance than their Hispanic and Asian counterparts. These results support the findings of similar studies related to body image disturbance (Wardle et al., 1993; Altabe, 1996). For diagnosis of BDD, more Caucasians met criteria for BDD than the other ethnicities. From this, we can speculate that ethnicity was a predictor of both body image disturbance and diagnosis of BDD. In contrast, no ethnic differences were found for the AAQ avoidance measure and the BICSI avoidance measure suggesting that the use of avoidance-type coping does not differ by ethnicity.

In addition to the ethnic differences, significant differences were found in two of the BICSI subscales for BDD diagnosis. Across ethnicities, the avoidance subscale and appearance fixing subscale were able to predict the diagnosis of BDD. This suggests that avoidance is related to BDD and possibly body image disturbance.

Limitations of the Present Study

Because our sample consisted of only college students, we cannot broaden our results to the general population. Future research should expand on and include a more randomized sample to see if the results from this study can be confirmed and generalized. Moreover, it would be interesting to see whether body image disturbance and the prevalence rate of BDD differ in a non-college population.

In relation to ethnicity, we have to take into account that all of our participants currently reside in the US and are influenced by American culture. Therefore, the ethnic differences found in this study may not be relevant because it is unclear whether the participants identify themselves as Americans or another ethnic group. Furthermore, the ethnicity question included in the questionnaire was very vague as it did not include follow-up questions regarding the person's country of origin, current citizenship status, whether the participant was a foreign exchange student, nor whether the participant was first, second, or third generation American, all of which may have influenced the results of this study. A more reliable

measure of ethnicity is needed in order to better interpret the relationship between the impact of culture on body image disturbance, and BDD.

Future research should note the differences between participants' cultural background and their self-identified ethnicity, acculturation level, and generational level. These differences may impact how body image issues are perceived in the culture and which coping strategies are used when dealing with stress associated with body image issues. Only when we note these differences can we start to identify and alleviate body image issues within that culture.

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Table 1. Summary of the Logistic Regression Analysis on Body Image Coping Strategies.

Variables	B	S.E.	Wald
Odds ratio	<i>p</i>		
BICSI Appearance Fixing	1.683	.282	35.58
5.383	<.001		
BICSI Avoidance	.814	.618	91.37
2.258	<.001		

Note. BICSI = Body Image Coping Strategies Inventory

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