



# McNair Scholars Journal

Volumes 2 & 3

McNair Scholars Journal

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*Nighttime in Times Square* by Esteban del Valle



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Illinois University  
Carbondale

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at Southern Illinois University Carbondale*

## Barriers to Physical Activity and Healthy Eating Habits for Adolescents at Risk for Type 2 Diabetes: A Needs Assessment



TOYA WILSON

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Health Education*

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### ABSTRACT

In the past, type 2 diabetes was known as adult-onset because it occurred mostly in men and women over the age of 50. Over the last decade, type 2 diabetes has become more common among adolescents. Health dietary habits and physical activity can play a key role in preventing or delaying the onset of type 2 diabetes in adolescents. No community based research has been conducted to measure the effect of a program that focuses on physical activity and healthy eating for adolescents who have been identified as “at risk” for type 2 diabetes, which makes this a seminal study. However, designing an intervention program that adolescents can benefit from can be complicated because there are many unique barriers that influence the effectiveness of such a program. The goal of this study was to conduct a needs assessment to identify barriers to physical activity and healthy diet for adolescents at risk for type 2 diabetes in Harrisburg, IL. The most frequently mentioned barrier identified in this study was lack of motivation to eat healthfully and exercise (60%). Other significant barriers to physical activities or healthy diet mentioned were: lack of age appropriate programs in the town (50%), adolescent’s preference for junk food (50%), and mother’s work schedule prevents monitoring of child’s diet and physical activity (50%). The results of this project will be used to create a community-based intervention program that lowers risk factors and has the potential to prevent the onset of type 2 diabetes in at risk adolescents.

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## Does the RNA Chaperone Hfq Protein Play a Role in the Stress Response of *Francisella Tularensis*, a Potential Bioterrorism Agent?



KARIE STEWART

*College of Science*ABSTRACT

The deliberate use of bacteria as a biological weapon has become a growing concern of the United States and many other countries across the world. Many of the bacteria used as biological weapons can cause infectious diseases that can lead to death. *Francisella tularensis*, which causes Tularemia also known as rabbit fever, is one of these potential agents.

In order to be successful in combating the infectious nature of *Francisella tularensis*, which is categorized as a bioterrorism agent, a better understanding of its basic biology is necessary. Many components can affect the virulence gene expression of various bacteria. More recently, the Hfq protein has emerged as a global gene expression regulator in bacteria through its interaction with sncRNAs and messenger RNA (mRNA). In this project, I will analyze the role the Hfq protein plays in the stress response of *F. tularensis* subspecies *novicida*, a strain non-pathogenic to humans. The data obtained will provide critical background information for future studies on *F. tularensis* and possibly lead to a potential target for vaccine development.

*Keywords:* *Francisella tularensis*, *hfq* gene, small non-coding Ribonucleic Acids (sncRNAs)

## Factors Contributing to College Retention



NAKETA ROSS

*College of Liberal Arts  
Psychology*

### ABSTRACT

Retention is a serious concern for colleges and universities. Southern Illinois University Carbondale (SIUC) has a myriad of programs and services in place to provide assistance in the area of retention. Although these programs and services are in place the low persistence rate among college students is still a concern for the university community. Factors that have been attributed to retention are campus involvement and social support.

This research consisted of a survey of 283 undergraduate students (154 males, 129 females). The survey results were placed into two categories: those who have completed 90(+) credit hours, but will not graduate at the end of the fourth year of school (145 respondents), and those students who have completed 120(+) credit hours of undergraduate coursework, but are unable to graduate (78 respondents). The survey was administered through Career Services, SIUC. Results indicated that even though the participants had persisted in their educational endeavors, the sources of concern affecting retention: need for support services (i.e. need for career counseling, conflict resolution, coping with stress, dealing with issues of diversity, and inaccurate advisement); pre-employment/graduate school preparation (i.e. making the transition to the workplace), financing graduate/professional school, preparing for entrance examination, preparing personal statements, fear of failure (not selected for a job or non-selection to graduate school) and employment services (i.e. developing employer contacts, developing job search strategies, exploring job opportunities).

### FROM THE VICE CHANCELLOR FOR RESEARCH AND GRADUATE DEAN

I am extremely pleased to have this opportunity to introduce you to this combined second and third edition of Southern Illinois University Carbondale's *McNair Scholars Journal*. In a sense, this journal is the culmination of a long journey for the students who joined the McNair Scholars Program. This process began in earnest with their selection of faculty mentors and the identification of their research topics. These students subsequently learned how to develop and investigate their research topic, evaluate the results of their research, and arrive at conclusions that contribute new information for the body of knowledge in their respective fields. The works in this journal provide documentation on the results of this effort that spans disciplines from art to zoology.

Important to this process was the guidance of our faculty mentors, for which we are immensely grateful. Arguably, the process of research where a student and faculty member work together to solve a problem and create new knowledge is the highest form of teaching/learning, and an experience that will position these students well for future success.

In another sense, this journal is the continuation of the vision of Drs. Karen Renzaglia and Pru Rice, who developed a proposal that convinced the Department of Education and its reviewers to commit the resources to support a McNair Scholars Program at SIUC. We are grateful to them for their vision and efforts and to the Department of Education for their support. We are proud to be participants in the McNair Scholars Program, and of the efforts of our program staff and faculty to guide these wonderful young people.

The McNair Scholars Program was created to honor the memory of Ronald E. McNair, a physicist and astronaut, and has the goal of preparing undergraduates from underrepresented groups for graduate studies toward the doctorate, and ultimately, for faculty positions in U.S. colleges and universities. I am certain that after reading this journal you will find that our McNair Scholars are well on their way to achieving that vision.

  
John Koropchak

### FROM THE DIRECTOR

I am thrilled to present the second edition of the *McNair Scholars Journal*. These essays and abstracts are a testimony to the hard work and dedication of our Scholars, who diligently embarked on the journey of becoming a researcher.

All of the scholars represented in this volume participated in the SIUC McNair Summer Research Institute. This faculty-mentored, intensive, eight-week institute provided Scholars hands-on experience conducting discipline-specific research. They explored theories and the world around them to make sense of questions and learn more about their fields.

Yet, none of the success of our Scholars would be possible without the support of our faculty. I want to extend a heartfelt thank you to the faculty mentors who guided the Scholars through an experience filled with discovery and responsibility. The Scholars had meaningful and significant experiences that were made possible because of the care, knowledge and teaching you provided. I am deeply grateful to all mentors who shared their love of research and education with our McNair Scholars. The Scholars walked away from this mentoring experience with the confidence and knowledge they indeed can be successful in graduate school.

There are several people who I wish to thank for their involvement in making this journal. First, I want to recognize the contributions of R. Lynn Vaughn, a McNair alumna and graduate student, who read and edited the papers herein. I also wish to thank Rhett Seymour, McNair Assistant Director, and Rose Weisburd at SIUC Printing, for layout and production assistance. The work of dedicated professionals who embrace the McNair mission has helped get this volume to print.

On behalf of the entire McNair staff, I hope that you enjoy reading the second edition of the SIUC *McNair Scholars Journal*.



Dr. Julia Spears

Director

McNair Scholars Program

## A Theoretical Analysis of Crime Rates in Baltimore, Maryland in the Early 1990s



DONALD HUGHES

*College of Liberal Arts  
Sociology*

### ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to examine the effects of social factors in determining community crime. It focuses on the disparity in crime rates within neighborhoods in Baltimore in the early 1990s. The study employs a multivariate analysis of neighborhoods, testing theoretical models of crime. Among the factors considered are ethnic heterogeneity, economic and residential stability, drug arrests, legal cynicism, and the physical condition of the neighborhood. There are several key findings. First, it rejects the legal cynicism explanation. Next, the analysis supports the drug market model. Finally, it finds support for numerous factors of social disorganization and social ecology theory. Most prominent are the absence of traditional mentors and role models, and the concentration of African Americans.

## Serotonin 5-Hydroxytryptamine Transporter (5-HTT) Gene Polymorphisms on Gene-Environment Interactions: Depression and Suicide Linked to Polymorphism?



VANESSA ANN ENRIQUEZ

*College of Science  
Zoology*

### ABSTRACT

Decreased levels of the neurotransmitter, serotonin (5-HT), have been correlated with anxiety-related traits such as depression. Drugs that inhibit the serotonin transporter, 5-HTT, have been successful in the treatment of depression such as selective serotonin reuptake inhibitors (SSRIs). A mutation or polymorphism in the promoter of the 5-HTT gene has been shown to reduce the expression of the transporter protein and alter serotonin neurotransmission by decreasing transcription. We examined the prevalence of these polymorphisms between African American and European American student populations and correlate genotypes with depression symptoms, ethnicity, age, and sex. DNA from biological cheek samples has been isolated to genotype the 5-HTT polymorphism, either as homozygous short (ss), homozygous long (ll), or heterozygous (sl). A computer-based survey obtained the emotionality of an individuals' stress to determine if they possessed depression factors. P-values were obtained by performing an Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) to find relationships between genotype and depression as a function of ethnicity, age, and sex. The (s) allele has been associated with anxiety-related traits; therefore, we hypothesize that individuals with the (s) allele will have an increased genetic predisposition for depression symptoms.

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## Barriers, Beliefs, and Stigmas of Black College Students on HIV Testing



FOLASADE AJAYI

*College of Applied Sciences and Arts  
Health Care Management*

### ABSTRACT

The HIV infection is one of the leading causes of death among young black adults ages 18-28. This study will examine the barriers, beliefs and stigmas that are preventing young people in the black community from getting tested. The Center for Disease Control suggests that using prevention tactics through testing and public awareness can help decrease this devastating epidemic. Studies have shown black college students have greater barriers than their counter- part students. These barriers are key factors that prevent them from getting tested regularly. Surveys will be distributed from the college health center. The survey will be a multiple choice, HIV/AIDS behavioral Surveillance Questionnaire developed. The survey consists of questions that target barrier factors in the young college population. The survey will be used to compare the young Black college population barriers to testing to other ethnic populations. I plan to use SPSS and for data analyzes. The impact of this project will allow health officials such as local health departments to understand some of the attitudes and barriers that prevent black young college students from getting tested.

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# Abstracts

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## The City That Never Sleeps: A Mixed-Media Exploration of the Effects of Artificial Light on the Visual and Psychological Atmosphere of Times Square

ESTEBAN DEL VALLE

*College of Liberal Arts*

### ABSTRACT



Esteban Del Valle, Art.



Najjar Abdul-Musawwir,  
Mentor:  
Asst. Professor  
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and Design

In this study I explore the visual differences of Times Square during the day and at night. Like the Impressionists, I focus on the nature of light in my contemporary social context. Through my research I show how artificial light creates a different type of reflection upon the human form, the city's structural components, and the surrounding landscape. By juxtaposing images of Times Square at various times throughout the day and night, I show how artificial light creates different formal and psychological atmospheres. Through mixed-media, I explore these concepts in a non-representational manner. My observations were recorded in the form of writing, sketches, paintings, and photographs. My reflections on these observations are represented by a final series of mixed-media paintings. I have discovered through this research that the formal and psychological atmosphere in Times Square is drastically different at night than during the day. The strength of the artificial lights is muted by the sun's presence during the day. The intense luminosity of the artificial lights has its fullest impact at night. As exhibited by my final series of paintings, the impact of these artificial lights can be an overwhelming experience filled with visual stimulation and place a conscious observer in a position of self-reflection.

### INTRODUCTION

The development of large cities has become a crucial element in exploration of today's cultural positions. As cities have expanded, they continue to become reference points for cultural development. Large cities, such as New York, have established their own aesthetic qualities through architecture, city planning, tourist attractions, and advertising. New York's Times Square is unique in its development and scale. The abundance of artificial light has been accompanied by human activity late into the night. This glow almost behaves as an artificial sun for those that explore the city after hours. Spectators are awed by the unique environment created from the overwhelming amount of stimuli presented through signs, neon lights, advertisements, and moving images. The surrounding areas are coated in reflective light, creating faces with

red, blue, green, and yellow tints. Within this large production of light, there is a formal and psychological feeling that is established and varies at different times of the day. During the average work day these artificial lights shine but are accompanied by a much stronger natural light. The natural light allows for a moderate experience of Times Square. However, as soon as the sun sets, the atmosphere changes and the brilliance of the surrounding structures take their opportunity to shine with full intensity.

Through observing and documenting visual phenomenon in Times Square at various moments in the day, I have found different effects of artificial light within the immediate surrounding environment. There is a huge difference between the visual phenomenon of artificial colored lights and natural light. Through my research I am showing how artificial light creates a different type of reflection upon the human form, the city's structural components, and the surrounding landscape. This idea is reflected upon through acknowledging myself as the researcher and observer within the actual paintings. The idea of the self-portrait coincides with the idea of reflexivity within research. By juxtaposing images of Times Square during the day and night, I will show how artificial light leads to a different formal and psychological atmosphere during the night than what is present during the daytime, leading me to use art to examine my own social context.

Throughout the evolution of art, artists have consistently responded to their specific time periods. The work of contemporary artists has become more and more socially relevant, making it important to acknowledge the artist as a historian. The development of artistic ideas directly corresponds to the development of the society surrounding the artists. Forms of communication have changed over time and continue to develop. This has caused the role of the artist to increase in importance as a text-based culture has switched to an image-based culture.<sup>1</sup> Because of the impact an image can have as a form of communication, it is important for artists to observe their surroundings and reflect upon them within their artwork.

### THE HISTORY OF TIMES SQUARE

The development of Times Square has experienced many ups and downs throughout New York's history. Macbeth, in his online article about the history of Times Square, "Times Square: Part of New York City History," discusses the entire process of the creation of this famous tourist attraction. Macbeth begins by explaining how Times Square was originally known as Longacre Square, and then renamed after the New York Times building in 1904. It was commemorated that very year in the

1 Nicholas Mirzoeff, *An Introduction to Visual Culture* (London: Routledge, 1999).

experiences with PECS were retained. This study was further limited because some of the participants were not able to meet the criteria for phase 3 in the time allotted.

Due to this limitation an extension of this study will be conducted with the same participants which will investigate the necessity of providing prerequisite discrimination training prior to PECS training with individuals with developmental disabilities.

### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Special thanks are expressed to Specialized Training and Adult Rehabilitation (S.T.A.R.T.) in Murphysboro, IL for their participation in this project. Also, appreciation is expressed to my mentor, Dr. RuthAnne Rehfeldt for her time, support, and expertise and to Rocío Rosales. Finally, appreciation is expressed to the McNair Scholars Program at SIUC for their financial, professional, and personal support for this project.

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on the participants in this study that did not progress through phase 3 to determine if deficits in discrimination skills were present. Tables 2 and 3 show the results of the identity assessments for both Jenny and Ron. The results of the assessment showed both participants displayed deficits in their discrimination skills, which may be provide a hypothesis of why they did not meet the criterion for phase 3. The possible necessity of discrimination skills prior to PECS training conflicts with the developers of PECS assertion that no prerequisite skills are required to utilize this alternative communication system.

(Jenny)	10 Trial	10 Trial	10 Trial
Picture	Training Block 1	Training Block 2	Training Block 3
Matching	(% correct)	(% correct)	(% Correct)
1 picture	80%	n/a	n/a
2 pictures	50%	n/a	n/a
1 object	90%	n/a	n/a
2 objects	40%	n/a	n/a
3 objects	20%	n/a	n/a

(Ron)	10 Trial	10 Trial	10 Trial
Picture	Training Block 1	Training Block 2	Training Block 3
Matching	(% correct)	(% correct)	(% Correct)
1 picture	100%	n/a	n/a
2 pictures	40%	n/a	n/a
3 pictures	40%	n/a	n/a
2 objects	50%	n/a	n/a
3 objects	50%	40%	70%

*Tables 2 and 3.* Tables 2 and 3 shows the results of the identity assessments conducted with Jenny and Ron.

As a final point, the limited training time spent on phase 3 training may not have been long enough for the participants to meet the criteria set for this phase. If more training time was spent with Jenny and Ron, they may have progressed all the way through phase 3 and met the criteria successfully.

#### *Limitations and Discussion of Future Study*

Limitations of this study include lack of control for participants' past experience with PECS and the fact that some of the participants did not meet criteria for phase 3. Evan's past experiences with PECS were not considered during his selection and his prior experience may have influenced his progress. Regardless of this, his participation in this study was valuable as it revealed that the skills he acquired in his past

first annual Times Square New Year's Eve celebration. In 1895, Oscar Hammerstein constructed a massive "entertainment complex" consisting of several theaters in what is now Times Square. "Occupying an entire block on 42nd Street, the Olympia held three theaters and a remarkable roof garden. The Olympia flourished, and within two years Hammerstein had built two more theaters that were linked together."<sup>2</sup> The style of this entertainment complex began the tradition of extravagant lighting and unique architecture that exemplify Times Square today.

During the Great Depression, Times Square was forced to change. "The reality was far different. Businesses needed something to draw people in and Times Square's era of vice was born."<sup>3</sup> But it was several decades later in the 1960's and 1970's when the area became flooded with "live nude shows, erotic bookstores, and X-rated movie houses."<sup>4</sup> This made Times Square a haven for nighttime activities that developed a late night crowd that continued the trend of constant traffic. In the 1980's the city organized with the businesses and began the process of cleaning up Times Square. The area began to flourish once again, covered in neon lights and billboards. It became a symbol for "the vibrancy of Manhattan."<sup>5</sup> As Macbeth states, "it is the only zone in the city where tenants are required to display big, bright signs. The NASDAQ sign is one flashier example, costing over \$37 million to build: at 37 feet high it is the largest LED sign in the world."<sup>6</sup> The combinations of artificial lights create new colors which dominate the night's atmosphere and are projected onto the crowds of people. This provides a different visual and psychological experience at night than during the day.

#### *Impressionism*

The study of light is a major interest for painters throughout art history. However, nowhere is light more of a central theme than in the Impressionist movement. The Impressionists were a group of artists that pioneered a different style and explored a method of observing that strayed far from the dominating work of the time.<sup>7</sup> The term "Impressionism" was applied to the movement by a critic that referred to the pieces in a negative manner, considering them nothing more than "impressions" of paintings.<sup>8</sup> However, the intentions behind these pieces were the study of color and light. John Canaday, author of

2 VR Macbeth, "Times Square: Part of New York City History." 25 May 2006. [http://www.timessquare.com/history/history\\_101.html](http://www.timessquare.com/history/history_101.html).

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid.

7 John Canaday, *Mainstreams of Modern Art* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1959).

8 Ibid.

*Mainstreams of Modern Art*, writes: "Any definition must be based on this idea, the idea that the impressionist does not analyze form but only receives the light from that form onto the retina of his eye and seeks to reproduce the effect of that light, rather than the form of the object reflecting it".<sup>9</sup> The Impressionists began to study the art of painting on-site in order to better observe the natural effects of the surrounding light.

After the industrial revolution there was a rise in the number of middle-class citizens, causing the artistic movement of Impressionism to be flooded with images depicting middle class leisure activities. An example is Pierre-Auguste Renoir's *Ball at the Moulin de la Galette* (1876), which depicts a large social gathering of men in suits dancing with women sporting the latest fashion trends. Renoir painted side by side with Claude Monet and even painted some of the same scenes. In these scenes of social gatherings in traditional middle-class settings, "they capture a casual, seemingly random moment of daily life, created in an atmosphere of freedom, with vivid colors, small intense brush strokes, and a pervasive light. People are strolling, dining, or boating, children swim in the river, and all of this is bathed in the gleaming light reflected by the surface of the rippling water."<sup>10</sup> The focus of these pieces was the fleeting and almost intangible nature of natural light. In the book *Art of the 20th Century Volume I*, Karl Ruhrberg describes Impressionism as "it reflects the colorful surface of life, strives to record the beauty of surface appearances as seen in changing lights and seeks, to capture the charm of the moment."<sup>11</sup> As artists, the Impressionists responded to their social situations through their paintings.

Impressionism, not only a movement in art, also reflects a time in history. It behaves as another form of recorded time and provides a perspective from an analytical mind of that era. In the book *Great Paintings of the Western World*, Gallup, Gruitrooy, and Weisberg write: "All of them repudiated imaginative art, including historical subjects, in favor of the objective recording of contemporary and actual experience."<sup>12</sup> Toulouse-Lautrec, a deformed child of an aristocrat, spent his days in brothels and bars which accepted him as an equal. He passed the hours through producing art reflecting his own experience. "Toulouse-Lautrec's images of bars, dance halls, and bordellos and their inhabitants documented a moment in time that would otherwise be lost to posterity."<sup>13</sup> If he

9 Ibid, 182.

10 Alison Gallup, Gerhard Gruitrooy, and Elizabeth M. Weisberg, *Great Paintings of the Western World* (New York: Hugh Lauter Levin Associates, 1997), 231.

11 Karl Ruhrberg, *Art of the 20th Century Volume I* (Ed. Ingo F. Walther. Los Angeles: Taschen, 1998), 10.

12 Ibid.

13 Ibid, 239.

### *Benefits of PECS training*

PECS training benefited all participants of this study in that it helped to develop their functional communication skills. This training was especially beneficial for Evan who was able to successfully progress through all training phases and who made numerous successful spontaneous communicative messages. The acquisition of this communication system is beneficial to him as it provided him with a means by which to functionally communicate. Training was also beneficial for Ron and Jenny who made significant progress and showed potential to use this system as a communication alternative. The data collected regarding the participants who did not meet criterion for phase 3 provided valuable insights into which skills may need further development in order assure successful acquisition of PECS.

### *Participant's Progress through PECS Training*

There are several factors that may have contributed to the differing progress made by each participant through PECS training. Although Evan progressed through each phase quickly and had a high level of independent, correct exchanges, it is probable that his previous experience with PECS may have affected his progress. Considering his past experience with PECS, the results suggest that PECS skills can be retained for long periods of time, since his previous training with PECS had taken place several years before this study was conducted. IQ levels of the participants must also be taken into consideration when evaluating the progress made for each training phase. While Evan had the highest IQ and made the most progress through Phase 3 of PECS training, Jenny had the lowest IQ and made the least progress through phase 3. Ron had an IQ located in the range in-between Evan and Jenny and made more progress than Jenny, and less progress than Evan in regards to progress in phase 3. Because the participant's IQ levels are very low ranging from 12-19 (70 is considered average) it may have contributed to the participants' progress through the training.

Some of the participants of this study may have deficits in their discrimination skills, thus the progress made in phase 3 of the training protocol was very different for each participant. One factor may have been associated with the differing progress of the participants in phase 3 involves the individuals past experiences with discrimination training. Because the participants of this study are older adults, it is possible that some of them may never have had any prior experience with discrimination training which may have been why two of the participants did not meet criteria for Phase 3 of PECS training. A recent study suggests PECS may require prerequisite discrimination skills and an assessment of such skills may prove valuable prior to PECS training (Gregory, DeLeon, & Richman, in press). Keeping this in mind, assessments were conducted

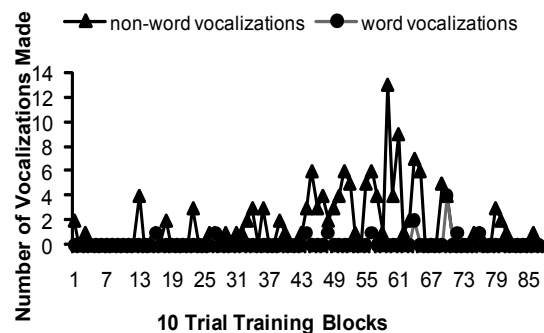


Figure 3. Figure 3 shows the frequency of vocalizations made by Ron, who was the only participant who showed increases in vocalizations as PECS training progressed.

### Training Time

Table 1 displays the time spent with each participant in each training phase. All participants progressed through phases 1 and 2 fairly quickly and at the same rate, while training time spent in phase 3 varied greatly for each participant.

	Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3
Evan	16 min	9 min	49.8 min
Jenny	10 min	7 min	98 0 min/16.3 hours
Ron	9 min	7 min	425.5 min/7.9 hours

Table 1. Table 1 displays the time spent with each participant in each training phase. All participants progressed through phases 1 and 2 fairly quickly and at the same rate, while training time spent in phase 3 varied greatly for each participant.

## DISCUSSION

The results related here suggest older adults with developmental disabilities can benefit from using PECS. While Evan and Jenny did not display any significant increases in amount of eye contact or vocalizations, Ron showed improvement in both word and non word vocalizations. These results relate to those found in Schwartz and Garfinkle's work (1998) with children using PECS in which 44% of the children showed increases in verbal communication. Although Ron did not meet the criterion for phase 3 of training, the increase in vocalizations, though not steady, showed the training was beneficial. Similarly, while Jenny did not meet the criterion for phase 3, her training also proved to be beneficial. Evan's data regarding his accuracy through PECS training reflects successful acquisition of PECS which is beneficial as it provides him with an alternative communication method.

had not chosen to create images of his experience, we would have less information about a part of society that is already overlooked. This idea is seen in such paintings as Renoir's *Les Grands Boulevards*, where a loose representation of a busy street shows pedestrian traffic and the night time glow of lamps in the street and stores. This image provides the viewer with a historical account of a time period as well as an individual's interpretation of that moment. Impressionist painters like Morisot and Cassatt depicted scenes of home life and the social role of women. Whitney Chadwick discusses the work of two artists in her book *Women, Art, and Society*. Chadwick writes, "and there is considerable evidence to suggest that Impressionism was equally an expression of the bourgeois family as a defense against the threat of rapid urbanization and rapid industrialization."<sup>14</sup>

Claude Monet became one of the most important Impressionist painters through his series of paintings studying the effect of light during different times of the day. Monet stayed true to painting out doors and would paint no longer than the light he was observing allowed him. He focused on sites that surrounded his home or places he visited. "Monet was chiefly interested in the shifting play of light over the course of a day or throughout the seasons. Rather than focus on the depiction of physical objects, he attempted to seize the fleeting moments of light as reflected on the surface of an object, the light's effect on the eye of the viewer."<sup>15</sup>

Like Monet, I am investigating one area at various points of the day and I am capturing the way the light changes from sunrise to sunset. However, I am focusing on how this natural occurrence is drastically affected by artificial light. I have chosen to observe this occurrence through reflecting on my self as the observer. Unlike Monet's famous landscapes, I am consciously including myself in the works in order to acknowledge that these ideas are solely my response and perspective. I will be observing the effects of artificial light in Times Square because it is important to be immersed in the actual image that one is studying and planning on painting. There is also a fleeting nature to artificial light that requires an extended period of observation in order to capture its overall behavior.

My work is not classified within the Impressionist's style, but does revolve around the observation of light and its fleeting nature, as well as the aggressive approach to composition and an attempt at capturing a moment as it disappears.

<sup>14</sup> Whitney Chadwick, *Women, Art, and Society* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1990), 232.

<sup>15</sup> Alison Gallup, Gerhard Gruitrooy, and Elizabeth M. Weisberg, *Great Paintings of the Western World* (New York: Hugh Lauter Levin Associates, 1997), 233.

## IMPLICATIONS

### *The Psychological Affects of Urban Landscape*

Large buildings, bright lights, busy traffic, and a large amount of people all add up to create an experience and an atmosphere of a city. Many people come to New York and are amazed at the amount of visual stimuli in Times Square. This feeling of awe, a moment of realization that causes one to reflect on the actual physical presence of oneself, has often been associated with the grandiose elements of nature. For centuries people have creatively expressed the feeling of man being dwarfed by natural beauty like waterfalls, canyons, mountains, and stars. But as mankind progresses, we manage to create our own mountains and our own awe-inspiring phenomenon. Skyscrapers tower over pedestrians like mountains, while flashing lights create effects that inspire people to observe like they would a shooting star. When people visit New York, one of the places they often go to is Times Square. At any point of the day this area has a heavy flow of traffic. There is a constant flow of tourists taking pictures or having their pictures taken in front of the towering billboards and flashing lights.

The act of representing the feeling that comes from being in the presence of larger than life structures has been a theme explored in art for a long time. In my research I explore the idea of recording my own history and my own experiences in order to give insight on my contemporary experiences to future generations. It is the idea of recreating a feeling so that the viewer can experience it through your representation.

My own personal experience in Times Square was overwhelming. It is almost as though nothing is constant and nothing stands still. In fact it all seems to move much faster than you, especially if you try to take it all in. I think that it is every individual's responsibility to create a record of their existence, specifically their feelings and ideas pertaining to their contemporary society.

The emotional response to such stimuli is a very intangible concept which is most effectively represented in a creative manner. It is also important to recognize that this creative approach is severely subjective because it is a direct translation of my experience and only my experience. I am a part of a contemporary culture that is rooted in image-based information. This culture is especially apparent in Times Square, as most information is exchanged through visuals.

### *Visual Culture*

Forms of communication are constantly changing based on technological advancements. Within recent centuries, we as a world have rapidly begun the transition from a text-based culture to an image-based culture.<sup>16</sup> The

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

### *Eye Contact*

Figure 2 shows the amount of eye contact made by each participant throughout PECS training. The results show an increase in eye contact in the beginning of PECS training for Evan and Ron, but then declined as training progressed.

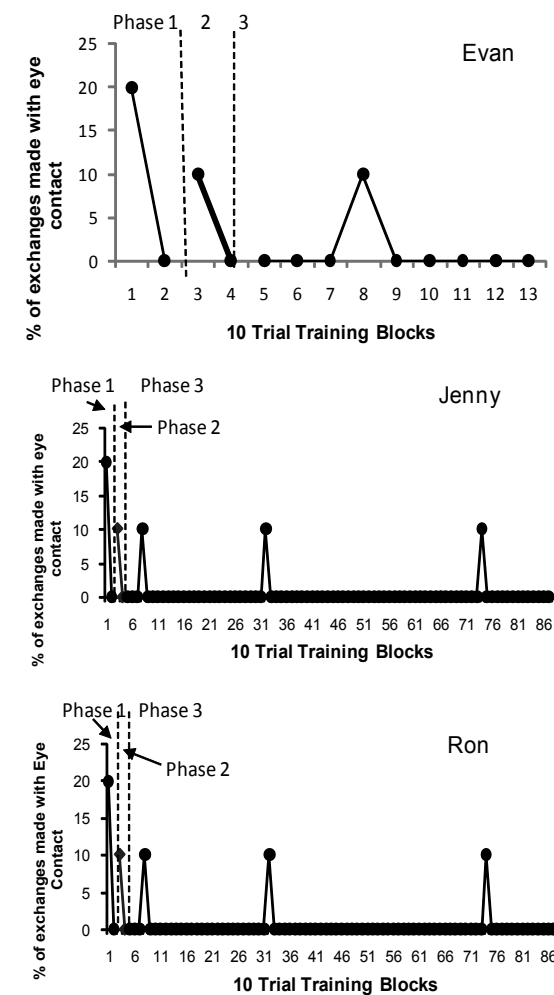


Figure 2. Figure 2 shows the amount of eye contact made by each participant throughout PECS training. The results show an increase in eye contact in the beginning of PECS training for Evan and Ron, but then declined as training progressed.

### *Vocalizations*

Figure 3 shows the frequency of vocalizations made by Ron, who was the only participant who showed increases in vocalizations as PECS training progressed. Increases in non-word vocalizations made by Ron occurred progressively during phase 3, but did not continue to the end of phase 3. The same pattern was seen in the frequency of his word vocalizations which also increased in phase 3, but did not progress at a steady rate.

phases 1-3 in regards to percentage of correct exchanges per 10 trial training block. Evan had high accuracy throughout all three phases and had a high percentage of correct exchanges. Jenny also progressed through phases 1 and 2 quickly, but in phase 3 positional prompts were used often in phase 3 to produce correct picture exchanges. She did not meet the criterion for phase 3, but she did learn to use one out of 4 pictures successfully. Like Evan and Jenny, Ron met the criteria for phase 1 and 2 without difficulty. Also like Jenny, Ron did not meet the criteria for phase 3. Despite, this he did make progress and learned to exchange 2 pictures successfully.

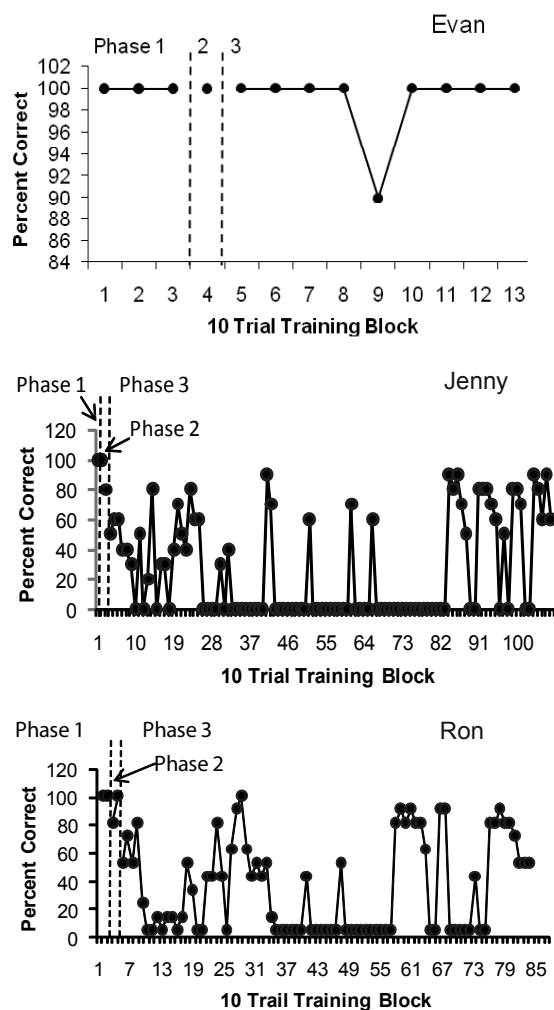


Figure 1. Figure 1 shows Evan's, Jenny's and Ron's progress through PECS phases 1-3. Evan had high accuracy throughout all three phases and had a high percentage of correct exchanges. Jenny progressed through phases 1 and 2 quickly, but in phase 3 positional prompts were used often in phase 3 to produce a correct picture exchanges. Ron met the criteria for phase 1 and 2 without difficulty, but did not meet the criteria for phase 3.

human eye is able to take in a great deal of information and the human brain is able to process a large amount of these visuals. Mirzoeff writes: "The retina contains 100 million nerve cells capable of about 10 billion processing operations per second. The hyper-stimulus of modern visual culture from nineteenth century to the present day has been dedicated to trying to saturate the visual field, a process that continually fails as we learn to see and connect ever faster."<sup>17</sup> This idea corresponds to the very concept of Times Square. Times Square is a place that is rooted in the idea of visual saturation. The advertisements, lights, and structures are all geared toward conveying one message or another. Within this day and age images are used to communicate to the average person. "Most theorists of the postmodern agree that one of its distinctive features is the dominance of the image."<sup>18</sup> Because of this, it only makes sense that the best way to discuss the concept of a visual culture is to visually describe one's experience within it. All visual elements of the world produce a reaction in every person that is capable of seeing them. Whether we are aware of it or not, these visual elements affect our behavior on a basic and sometimes complex level. The best way to convey the large amount of visual information is through a combination of mediums, allowing the artist to create a variety of aesthetic qualities.

### Reflexivity

I have chosen to represent the subject of Times Square in a loosely abstract style. This approach requires me to make compositional and technical decisions that are directly influenced by my own preferences and ideas. I am embracing the idea that my research is a product of my individual observations. The concept of reflexivity allows me to explore the modern world as an observer and as someone currently experiencing it. Breuer, Katja and Roth Mrick, and Wolff-Michael, in their article "Subjectivity and Reflexivity: An Introduction," cite Nightingale and Cromby, 1999, p.228 and define reflexivity as the following: "Reflexivity requires an awareness of the researcher's contribution to the construction of meanings throughout the research process, and an acknowledgment of the impossibility of remaining 'outside of' one's subject matter while conducting research."<sup>19</sup> This idea coincides with the artist's tradition of self-portraits. I am acknowledging that I am fully involved in the research by physically incorporating myself within the actual paintings.

My own existence is a reflection of the time period I exist in. By placing

17 Nicholas Mirzoeff, *An Introduction to Visual Culture* (London: Routledge, 1999), 5.

18 Ibid, 9.

19 Franz Breuer, Katja & Roth Mrick, Wolff-Michael. "Subjectivity and Reflexivity: An Introduction." *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 3, (2002) [http://www.psy.dmu.ac.uk/michael/qual\\_reflexivity.htm](http://www.psy.dmu.ac.uk/michael/qual_reflexivity.htm)



myself in my paintings I become an observer of myself within my social context. I have, in a way, objectified my own being. This reflection process allows for me to explain my own experience in terms of artistic expression. In Matthew Adams article "The Reflexive Self and Culture: a Critique," Adams writes: "For the individual to be self-aware, to have any sense of self, a process of objectification must occur. In a sense the self has to divide, in order to be able to view itself from a distinct position."<sup>20</sup> I am doing this through the process of incorporating myself and reflecting on my personal experience surrounding Times Square as well as being in Times Square itself. Adams cites G. H. Mead and writes, "according to Mead, the individual needs somewhere to look from, an 'outside' position from which it can perceive of itself, in order to create the self as and object."<sup>21</sup> This concept is required if one wants to explore not only the self, but one's current contemporary position. In order for me to explore the experience of Times Square I have to acknowledge that it was an experience within my life. My observations are subjective because I have chosen to observe them. "It is impossible to conceive of a self arising outside of social experience."<sup>22</sup> If this is true than it also applies to the idea that one cannot conceive of a social experience, without the idea of the self arising. This is why I have chosen to approach this research with my own preferences of medium, style, size, and I have made them self-portraits.

### HYPOTHESIS

Through observing and documenting visual phenomenon in Times Square at various moments in the day, I plan on finding different effects of artificial light within the surrounding environment. Like the Impressionists, I am observing the effects of light within my own social context. In Times Square the glowing billboards create light that behaves like an artificial sun. However, there is a huge difference between the visual phenomenon of artificial colored lights and natural sunlight. Through my research I plan on showing how artificial light creates a different type of reflection upon the human form, the city's structural components, and the surrounding landscape. By exploring mixed media self-portraiture, I will observe and analyze my own personal experience in Times Square. By juxtaposing images of Times Square during the day and night, I will show how the artificial light leads to a different formal and psychological atmosphere than what is present during the daytime.

20 Matthew Adams, "The Reflexive Self and Culture: a Critique." *British Journal of Sociology*, 54 (2003): 221-238.

21 Ibid.

22 Ibid.

### *Dependent Measures*

There were four dependent measures or variables assessed throughout this study. They included eye contact, spontaneous non-word vocalizations, spontaneous word vocalizations, and percentage of correct exchanges per trial block. Operational definitions were determined prior to observation and are described as follows; eye contact was defined as when the participant looks into communicative partner's eyes for a period of 1 second during the picture exchange. A frequency measurement system was used to record this behavior. Spontaneous non-word vocalizations were defined as a sound/vocalization made by the participant that did not form a word or word approximations. A frequency measurement system was also used to record this behavior. Word vocalizations were defined as intelligible speech or verbal approximations of a word made by a participant. A frequency measurement system was used to record this behavior. Finally, percentage of correct picture exchanges was defined as number of recorded correct exchanges in a 10 opportunity trial block. A correct response was recorded if the participant made the appropriate picture exchange without being prompted to do so while an incorrect response was recorded if the participant did not make the appropriate picture exchange and a gestural or positional prompt was needed. This was then calculated by dividing the number of correct responses by 10. This was recorded as a percentage correct for each trial block.

### *Interobserver Agreement*

Interobserver agreement/reliability was determined with the help of two other experimenters with previous experience in PECS training and research. One of these experimenters was the research advisor for the primary investigator of this study. The two experimenters came in randomly and periodically during each phase and observed and recorded for each dependent measure and scored for incorrect/correct exchanges between the participants and the primary experimenter. Interobserver agreement was calculated by dividing the number of agreements by number of disagreements plus agreements multiplied by 100%. Five out of 7 trial blocks in Phase 1 were scored for interobserver agreement; results indicated that Phase 1 had 100% interobserver reliability. Two out of 4 trial blocks in Phase 2 were scored for interobserver agreement; results indicated the Phase 2 also had 100% interobserver agreement. Finally, 10 trial blocks in Phase 3 were scored for interobserver agreement; results indicated Phase 3 had 92% interobserver agreement.

### RESULTS

The progress made in PECS training varied greatly from participant to participant. Figure 1 shows The participants progress through PECS

having the experimenter move from sitting next to the participant to across the table in order to promote spontaneous communication. This training procedure was repeated in this manner until correct responding and exchanging was established for 80% of the communicative opportunities.

### *Phase 3*

Finally, in Phase 3 of PECS training, the objective was to teach the participants to exchange the appropriate corresponding picture for the item presented by the experimenter. This is done through discrimination training which involved presenting an item and giving the participant the opportunity to respond with the correct PECS card. Initially, the participant had a choice between the picture of the actual item presented and a “distracter” card. Approximately 5 different distracter pictures were used throughout this training phase in order to develop the ability to discriminate between different pictures and respond appropriately. The participants were allowed a 5 second time period to respond appropriately and if the correct response was not produced, a positional prompt was used to promote the correct response. This was done by placing the correct picture card on a Velcro strip just below the main strip. There were 2 Velcro strips under the main strip that were used for positional prompting. Initially, the correct picture was placed on the Velcro strip closest to the participant (the third one down) and training was conducted using this positional prompt until the participant scored 80% correct per 10 trial block for three consecutive training blocks in a row. Once the participant met this criterion, the correct picture was then moved up to the Velcro strip located just below the main strip (the second one down). The participant was then required to meet the same criteria (80% correct for three consecutive trial blocks). Once the participant met this criteria, the correct picture and the distracter picture were placed side-by side on the main Velcro strip (the first strip) until the participant scored 80% correct for 3 consecutive trial blocks without using any positional prompting. However, if at any point the participant did not meet the criteria required for each Velcro strip, the correct picture was placed back down to previous level in which they met the criteria successfully. Also, if an incorrect exchange was made, the experimenter would visually present the item requested by the communicator, but would not allow the participant to interact with the tangible item or consume the item if it was edible. This procedure was repeated until the participant responded with at least 80% correct for three consecutive trial blocks without any prompting for each picture. These procedures were repeated until criterion for Phase 3 was met which required the participant to distinguish between approximately five different pictures and use them with their communication board correctly and independently for 80% of communicative opportunities for 3 consecutive trial blocks.

## MATERIALS AND METHODS

My materials and methods are broken up into two different areas: data gathering and studio work. The process of data gathering required different tools and different techniques. Once my data was gathered I returned to my studio to produce the final paintings based off of the information gathered. The tools I used at this point were much more artistically rooted in my current style and body of work.

### *Gathering Data through Photography, Sketches, and Written Reflections*

The constant changes that occurred in Times Square were very important to my project because the ephemeral quality was one of the things I was trying to capture. Observing the fleeting nature of light is similar to the approach used by the Impressionists painters. Analyzing the visual effects of changing light became a central theme in my work and because I had to quickly capture these moments, a digital camera became my most important and useful tool.

Although I had originally planned on creating a series of on-site drawings and painting studies which would be accompanied by written reflections, as a result of the short amount of time I had, I had to place more importance on photography. I found that as I was observing, everything was moving at a rapid rate and presented different visual information that would quickly disappear. This meant that I had to use the photographic method of collecting data in order to avoid missing any important information. I found that as I traveled through Times Square, the abundance of visual information was overwhelming. The constant traffic and flashing lights that completely surrounded me provided many split second moments that embodied the ideas within my research.

Throughout a nine day stay in New York, I went to Times Square for at least two to three hours everyday. Most days I tried to return twice, but due to weather, camera complications, and other problems, I had a few days when this was not possible. However, I found that the amount of information I recorded was more than sufficient. Each trip to Times Square produced at least two hundred photos, except on the day that I faced technical difficulties. These photos were accompanied by quick drawing studies and written reflections. I originally planned a schedule for when I would explore each one of these mediums, but when I arrived in Times Square, it was impossible to focus on one over the other.

Within my photos I explored the composition of Times Square, I observed the people and their behavior, and I placed all of these observation in the context of the effects of artificial light. I looked for reflective surfaces like building windows, taxi cabs, puddles, and much more. I tried to find areas where the light directly affected the tones in the bystander's skin and clothing. I walked up and down the main strip of Times Square three times, exploring each side of the street and as many angles as I could think of.

My sketches took place in-between sessions of walking up and down the main strip. I choose locations where I could sit down out of the way of the pedestrian traffic. This allowed me to slow down and observe my surroundings. These drawings explored composition and movement and did not explore the realm of color. These sketches were mainly concerned with how I would approach the line work in my studio pieces.

My written reflections took place right before or right after my drawings. These reflections became journal entries about my personal experience in Times Square and my research. I was trying to develop an approach to the concept that made the most sense for what I wanted to say. After a series of ideas and drawings, I decided to further explore the idea of the self-portrait.

### *Collecting Data to Explore Self-Portraiture*

During my photo expeditions in Times Square I did not have the full assistance I had planned on, so I had a limited amount of photos capturing the ideas regarding self-portraiture. I only had a chance to explore this idea during three of seven sessions. Fortunately, it was more than enough for me to work from. I discussed with my assistant what I was looking for, which was reflective light, large elements of Times Square structural components, and the activity of surrounding people. We explored Times Square as I posed in front of different areas. Every session, which took place at different times of the day, we returned to the same sites to take pictures exploring the difference in lighting. Within the research, I focused on day versus night, and I concentrated on areas with crowds of people during times like rush hour or lunchtime.

The idea of incorporating me became important as I reviewed the images I captured of others. I found that the people and events I was choosing to focus on directly reflected my personal beliefs and experience in Times Square. Every picture I took was a direct result of my choice and my ideas. I started to see a theme and I decided to not ignore it but instead embrace the concept of reflexivity.

Every visit to Times Square resulted in my returning to my home base and immediately reviewing every drawing, written reflection, and photo of the day. I was searching for a common theme in it all.

### *Materials and Methods for Studio Work for Day Time Paintings*

Once I returned to my studio in Carbondale, Illinois, I explored mixed-media, using collage, drawing tools, and painting tools. My materials consisted of pen and paper, water colors, found objects, canvas, gel medium, charcoal, shoe polish, spray paint, acrylics, and oils. The found objects consisted of paper, advertisements, pamphlets, and other things collected throughout my New York experience. Some examples would be a church news letter, a museum map, and ticket stubs to a comedy show.

recorded in order until no items remained in front of the participant. This process was then repeated two more times to determine which items were the most highly desirable to the participants.

### *Phase 1*

Training procedures used to teach Phase 1 of PECS (and Phases 2 and 3) were developed by Bondy and Frost (1994) as described in *The Picture Exchange Communication System Training Manual* (Bondy & Frost, 1994). The objective of Phase 1 is to teach the communicator to exchange a corresponding picture with the communicative partner upon the presentation of a desired item. The training procedure was implemented in the following way:

The experimenter, who was seated next to the participant at a small table, presented one highly desired item to the participant, but was placed out of their reach. After the reinforcing item was presented, a gestural prompt was used to evoke the participant to pick up and place the corresponding PECS card into the experimenter's open hand (according to the PECS manual, physical prompting was suggested to get the participant to exchange the picture into the trainers hand, but in this study gestural prompting worked right away and there was no need for physical prompting). Immediately following, the experimenter provided verbal praise and provided the participant access to the desired item for 10-15 seconds or allowed them to consume the edible item. This procedure was done repeatedly until verbal praise was delayed until the participant exchanged the picture without any gestural prompting. Finally, the open hand prompt was faded until the participant exchanged the pictures into the hand of the experimenter independently. This procedure was repeated until picture exchanges were made independently and correctly for 80% of the communicative opportunities in a 10 trial block. After the participant had successfully met this criterion, Phase 2 of PECS training was initiated.

### *Phase 2*

The main objective of teaching Phase 2 of PECS was to increase the spontaneity of the communication of the participant by teaching how to use the communicative binders to independently make a picture exchange. This was done by increasing the distance between the participant and the experimenter during the training session and the following:

In this Phase the participants were taught how to remove the corresponding picture of the desired reinforcing item from their PECS binders and to reach out and place it into the hand of the experimenter without prompting. Gestural prompting was provided if determined necessary until the participant was able to complete this step correctly for 80% of communicative opportunities. Also in Phase 2, the distance between the participant and experimenter was gradually increased by

### *Design*

A changing criterion design was used to evaluate the effectiveness of PECS in this study. The first three training phases of PECS were taught to all three participants and each phase had a predetermined criterion level which each participant had to meet in order to proceed to the next training phase. All three phases had a set 80% correct criterion level in addition to their individual criterion requirements.

Training was conducted 4 days per week and the sessions lasted from about 20-40 minutes. The training was conducted in the morning between 8:30 and 11am each day, before lunch was provided to the participants. Training was conducted in 10 trial block sessions and averaged about 6-10 trial blocks per day. The session began with the presentation of a desired item and each participant was allowed 5 seconds before any prompting was given to evoke the correct picture exchange. Gestural and positional prompts were used when the desired response was not produced by the participant. After the correct picture had been exchanged by the participant they were reinforced with access to the desired item for approximately 15-20 seconds or were allowed to eat the edible reinforcers.

There were 3 experimenters involved in this study; however the main experimenter was the communicative partner all of the time and the two other experimenters served to collect data for interobserver agreement.

### PROCEDURES

#### *Stimulus Preference Assessment*

Stimulus preference assessments were conducted previous to training to determine which items were the most highly desirable/preferred to each participant and could be used as reinforcers during PECS training. Additionally, staff members at the developmental program were interviewed prior to conducting preference assessments in order to identify the participant's preferences regarding tangible and edible items/activities. After receiving this information from the staff members, a multiple stimulus preference assessments without replacement was conducted with each participant individually using the identified items (DeLeon & Iwata, 1996). This was done by lining up 8-10 identified preferred items in a horizontal line in front of each participant and then recording which items were chosen by the participant from first to last. Verbal prompting was used if the participant did not make a choice within 5 seconds after the presentation of the items. After an item was chosen, the participant was allowed access to the item for approximately 30 seconds or was allowed to consume the item if edible. After an item was selected and the participant had time to briefly interact with it, the item was placed out of their view. After the first selection had been made, the preceding selections were

After collecting my data I had to reflect on the best way to convey my ideas regarding the effects of artificial light. Once I had chosen a few day time photos to work from, I decided that the best way to express the Times Square's day time experience was to approach it like a compositional study. I realized that I had done all of my sketches during my day time visits. This was because during the day Times Square felt like it moved at a much slower pace and was less intimidating. This was my personal experience that I wanted to further explore within my work. I also recognized that the brilliance of the artificial lights were dimmed during the day. The bright billboards were dwarfed by the suns luminosity. I felt that the best way to capture the beauty of the light, but humble it at the same time, was to explore the subtleness of watercolors. I used the same pen from my Times Square experience to complete four drawings. I used the transparency of the watercolors to explore reflective light and the creation of the image itself. I left areas blank and allowed the white of the paper to come into the piece. This is to convey the idea that this image is coming together but not yet resolved. I used this tactic because as I reflected upon my experience, I found that my memories held vivid details of certain moments, but could not recall the less important information. Within my own perception, I chose to focus on one area as everything else seemed to be of less importance. This is why I have chosen to focus on central figures, placing the human form in the midst of gigantic structures that are less important than the people that surround them. The day time images I explored dealt with my own experience but I had not yet decided to fully incorporate myself at this point. These pieces became a reflection of what I had seen rather than a reflection of myself in the Times Square context.

#### *Materials and Methods for Studio Work for Nighttime Paintings*

In approaching the night time images, I decided that the importance was in capturing the overwhelming feeling of Times Square. I felt that the artificial lights provided a very strange and almost surreal environment during the night. I approached this idea with more than one medium to try to create the idea of over stimulus. I began with five canvases that I collaged images into. These images were pieces of paper I had collected throughout Times Square and my experience in New York. They consisted of church pamphlets, ticket stubs to exhibits, a museum map, newspapers, and other odds and ends. I also decided to incorporate personal photos of me and my family. The purpose of this was to reflect on how my experiences had caused me to think about my life and the path I was taking. These images were accompanied by pictures from anatomy books. I cut out organs that I felt pertained to Times Square's very visceral experience. The overwhelming nature of the buildings and lights directly effected me psychologically and also caused reactions like a change in heart beat and breathing. I chose to include images of the

heart, brain, lungs, and images of developing fetuses. The images of the fetuses are a reflection on the feeling of being overwhelmed but feeling safe at the same time. I do not feel like these images were as successful as I would have liked, but I did not edit them out because they were part of my thought process.

These images were then worked over with a gestural sketch of the composition with charcoal. I tried to loosely render the figures to capture the movement more than the likeness. After I used spray fixative to keep these drawings in tact, I then covered this with a revaluation of the forms with a marker which was filled with shoe polish. I used the shoe polish as an ink because it creates a slightly flat sheen and reacts chemically with the paints.

The first piece I produced did not include me directly but was a direct product of my style, opinions, and ideas. This first image was an attempt to capture the overall effect of motion and lighting in Times Square at night. I chose to represent a crowd that walked away from me. The painting is worked aggressively and attempts to capture the rapid changes that occur in Times Square. In this piece as well as my second night-scape, I approached the pieces as drawings and developed them into a painting that still held true to the lines in the composition. I wanted line to remain prevalent as I feel that it provides the movement and draws attention to the important aspects of the piece.

These two paintings, the second of which became the first semi-traditional self portrait, used the collage images to represent reflections in surfaces as well as reflective light on surrounding areas like the pavement. After the drawing portion was done, I began to work in acrylics to lay down a basic color scheme and movement of paint. I used acrylic because it dried faster than oils, allowing me to work at a rapid rate. After the acrylic portion I glazed over key elements with oils to provide those components with a gloss and more vibrant quality.

These pieces explored color and line more than anything else. I was interested in capturing the light and its surreal qualities within its vibrancy. My first self portrait became more about my own thoughts and reflexivity. This paved the way for me to further develop these ideas. I chose to loosely render myself and not be too concerned with realism. I felt that it was more important to capture a feeling than the actual image itself. This painting presented me as small element of a large building covered in neon lights.

### *Rethinking My Approach to the Nighttime Paintings*

At this point I decided to have my mentor and a few other artists critique the state of my work. We discussed what I was trying to convey and how effective the work was at conveying these ideas. I walked away with a lot of feedback that led me to the decision that I had to move in

disabilities. All participants lacked functional communication skills and could benefit from being taught how to use an alternative communication system, such as PECS. Participant 1 was a 44 year old man (Evan) who was diagnosed with severe mental retardation and intermittent explosive disorder. His IQ was 19 according to the Stanford Binet Intelligence Test and was taking the medication Risperdal for behavioral support. He was non-verbal, but could use a few manual signs and often used gestures (particularly pointing) as a means of communication. He often physically initiated communication with others by grabbing their hands in an attempt to lead them to a destination he desired and also by patting them on the back. He was stimulated by the notion of helping the staff perform small tasks such as holding the door open for them and others.

Participant 2 was a 77 year old woman (Jenny) who was diagnosed with profound mental retardation, unspecified psychosis and epilepsy. Her IQ was 12 according to the Stanford Binet Intelligence Test and was taking the medications Seroquel three times daily for behavioral support and Dapakote in the morning and at night to treat epilepsy. She was reported to have a very limited vocabulary and was mostly non verbal.

Participant 3 was a 67 year old man (Ron) who was diagnosed with profound mental retardation and stereotypic movement disorder. According to the Slossen Intelligence Test his IQ was 15 and he had currently been taking the drug Seroquel 3x daily for behavioral support. He lacked most functional communication skills but was able to point and utilize a few gesticulations. Moreover, he periodically made non-word vocalizations and very rarely made word vocalizations during interactions with others.

### *Settings and Materials*

The training setting was in a facility in which the participants attended a developmental day program for older adults with developmental disabilities. The training was conducted in an empty room normally used as a cafeteria at the day program and included 4 tables, a sink, refrigerator, and several chairs.

Materials provided to each participant consisted of communication binders which were made from a three ring binder with Velcro strips on the front and on the inside as suggested by Bondy and Frost (1994). Each binder had picture cards (digital) of desired items unique to each participant which were approximately 2x3 inches in size. The actual desired items or reinforcing items used in this study included numerous tangible items such as cards, markers, puzzles, and balls. Edible items were also used as reinforcing items in this study and included diet soda and diet cookies. Finally, distracter items and their corresponding picture cards were used in Phase 3 of training in order to develop discrimination skills within the participants of this study.

preschoolers with developmental disabilities and had no method in which to functionally communicate. In fact, results concluded that 44% of the participants had been observed to use verbal communication at a steadily increasing rate. In another study, Ganz and Simpson (2004) were specifically interested in the effects of PECS in regards to verbal communication. Results indicated that all 3 participants made an increased number of vocalizations on average and phrases spoken by the participants became more complex after the implementation of PECS (Ganz & Simpson, 2004). Finally, another study was done to determine the effectiveness of PECS on a 6 year old girl with autism across three different settings in her home and school. The results indicated that vocalizations increased in two of three settings, which included comprehensible requests and comments (Kravits, Kamps, Kemmerer, & Potucek, 2002). Although the purpose of PECS is to function as an augmentative alternative communication system, there have been many validated instances in which it has inadvertently prompted spontaneous vocalizations and language development in individuals who learn to use this system.

Despite the substantial amount of research done in regards to the efficacy of PECS within specific disability categories and age groups, there remains a need to investigate the efficacy of PECS when applied to other age groups of individuals with disabilities. According to a study previously mentioned, "PECS has been applied with success to people with other developmental disabilities and across the age range, up to age 26" (Chambers & Rehfeldt, 2003). With this age range taken into consideration, there is still a need to examine the effectiveness of this system within a population consisting of older adults with developmental disabilities. Often, this population of people is prone to ageism which can include ignoring an older person's ability to learn new skills or information (Chaffin & Harlow, 2005).

The intention of this study was to evaluate the application of The Picture Exchange Communication System and to examine its efficacy in developing the functional communication skills of older individuals with severe developmental disabilities. Specifically, social communicative behavior and vocalizations made were examined in relation to PECS along with training time, and percentage correct during training trial blocks. By including this specific population and age group of people, this study adds to the research involving the efficacy of PECS and will help develop the scope of populations in which this system can be implemented successfully.

## METHOD

### *Participants*

The participants in this study included three older adults whom attended an older adult day program for individuals with developmental

a different direction. I decided that the self-portrait idea was the best way to approach the Times Square experience and that I had to push everything more into the realm of abstraction. This led me to create the next three pieces in a very similar style and process.

These three paintings emphasize my face, making it the central point of each piece. The use of lines became more and more important as I thought about reconstruction of a moment and the construction of myself as well as my research. I followed a similar process as the first to night-scapes, but at the point where the drawing aspect was completed, I decided to take a different approach. I began to fill in the negative spaces of my self portrait with white acrylic. I did not fill the entire space with the white but instead just small sections that fit together and created a compositional movement. This effect creates a sense of fragmentation referencing things like my wood block prints and color by numbers. The purpose of this was to create a dynamic form that became a blank surface for reflective light.

I chose to eliminate the acrylics and go straight into the oils because the prolonged drying time became useful for certain effects. I worked the background very aggressively, using a lot of paint and very vibrant colors. I was concerned with capturing intensity and the glow of the artificial lights. As I worked the background I would use a paint rag to smudge. This would blend the colors and cause thin layers of oils to cover some of those white spaces in my portrait. I continued to do this until I felt like I had developed a sense of reflective light. By this time, the white space were covered in various tones that came directly from the background, similar to real life where surrounding light projects onto the bystanders. I also filled in other segments with straight oils in various colors that referenced the surrounding lights.

## DISCUSSION

This research is very important in terms of historical record. Like the Impressionists pieces, I provided a visual record of my existence in Times Square which is a direct result of my social context. In the article "The reflexive self and culture: a critique," Adams cites G. H. Mead and writes, "it is impossible to conceive of a self arising outside of social experience."<sup>23</sup> I believe that it is impossible to conceive of a social experience without the self arising, which is why I have chosen to incorporate myself into the paintings. This whole project is a self reflection which has produced a reflection on society. It is important for everyone to create a record of their existence as a regular person, because these are the records that

23 Matthew Adams, "The reflexive Self and Culture: a Critique." *British Journal of Sociology*, 54 (2003): 221-238.

speak honestly about history. They tend to avoid or at least acknowledge the political persuasions of the time. This is seen in Impressionism but I have chosen to take a different approach to the concept of observing my social context.

The end result of my research is very different from the work that inspired the idea of studying the effects of light. The Impressionist's movement observed the effects of natural light and this provided a very different aesthetic. Within artificial light there are many variations of colors and intensities that all come together to create a very unique visual effect. I have also chosen to use an abundance of line and black. I choose to incorporate myself in a manner that reflected drawing more than painting. I used black ink to draw a loose, yet defined, representation of my face. The Impressionists often strayed away from defining forms and stuck to more of a muted palette. In contrast I chose to stress the intensity of color and the intensity of line. I felt that this added to the experience and was more accurate to the stimulus of Times Square. The use of the self-portrait was something that was not uncommon in Impressionism but the idea of reflexivity and its translation into abstraction is very different than Impressionists paintings.

The Impressionists observed the landscape and the leisure activities of the middle class. I have also chosen to observe a similar genre. Times Square is a tourist attraction, and although it has a wide range of visitors, the majority of the people are tourists participating in leisure activities. I believe that it is in these leisure activities that we can get a better understanding of the social behavior of our time. In the case of Times Square it is a place of consumption, filled with stores and advertisements.

The idea of reflexivity has helped me develop my pieces into a more effective form of communication. I did not try to hide my input because regardless of what I did it would shine through. I have chosen to observe something and that has already changed the nature of what I am observing. It is important in some cases to embrace research as a product of one's personal interest. I feel that within the arts and other forms of creative expression it is imperative that the artist acknowledge his or her own hand as the creator. I feel that through this acknowledgment and self-reflection, art can be a better representation of our social context. An individual's presence in research allows for more insight into why it is important to study that idea in the first place. Why are the effects of artificial light important to this contemporary era? They are important because artificial light has altered human behavior in a way that is specific to our own historical context. I can choose to discuss the effects of artificial light in an objective way or I can present my own experience as an observer. I feel that expressing my own experience is more relevant than assuming others will view the issue in a similar way, which is what would happen if I presented this idea in a subjective manner.

There have been several studies reported that provide evidence for the general effectiveness of PECS as an alternative method of communication. A study conducted by Bondy and Frost (1994) indicated PECS training was successful in promoting functional communication skills within 85 children with autism, all who lacked functional communication skills. Specifically, results indicated 95% of the children were able to use at least two pictures successfully as a spontaneous communicative message. Moreover, Chambers and Rehfeldt (2003) found PECS to be generally more effective for developing communication skills than other alternative communication methods, such as manual sign. Results determined that PECS skills generalized across settings more easily than manual sign and was used more frequently to request for items not available than manual sign (Chambers & Rehfeldt, 2003). A follow-up study was done by Simon et al (1996) to assess the effectiveness of PECS in comparison to using facilitated communication. This study concluded that PECS was the preferred alternative communication system and the participant involved was very successful in using this system (Simon, Patricia, Whitehair, & Toll, 1996). Additionally, a study was done by Malandraki and Okalidou (2007) to evaluate the effectiveness of PECS within a 10 year old boy who was diagnosed with deafness and autism. The study consisted of an assessment, a main intervention, and a follow-up period. The results concluded not only that PECS was effective in developing the boy's functional communication skills, but that increases in verbal language were observed, which is very rare for a child who has profound hearing loss and autism (Maladroit & Okalidou, 2007). This study provides support for the efficacy of the Picture Exchange Communication System and provides very promising evidence of the efficacy of this system by demonstrating the positive effects in a student with multiple disabilities.

Interestingly, PECS training has also been associated with promoting spontaneous communication in the form of non-word and word vocalizations. Also found in the Bondy and Frost (1994) study, 59% of the participants ended up using speech as their only way to communicate. This is a significant finding because PECS training may help develop an individual's spontaneous vocalization skills and eventually may lead to speech development. Another study was done by Charlop-Christy et al. (2002) which provide support for increases in verbal communication within all 3 participants of their study after PECS training was complete. Through the use of a multiple baseline design, they found that all of their participants (3 children with autism) were able to progress through PECS training successfully, and increases in vocalizations and verbal speech were reported (Charlop-Christy et al., 2002). Another study which supports PECS's role in increasing vocalizations was conducted by Schwartz, Garfinkle, and Bauer (1998), who implemented PECS training on 18

for the disability of people with severe expressive communication disorders. Taking this into consideration, many older individuals with developmental disabilities who lack functional communication skills may benefit from an alternative communication system such as the Picture Exchange Communication System (PECS).

The Picture Exchange Communications System is a way of teaching individuals with disabilities to develop functional communication skills through the exchange of pictures for desired items or activities (Stoner, Beck, Bock, Hickey, Kowsuwan, & Thompson, 2006). PECS training consists of six phases which all help develop functional communication skills, first by teaching the communicator how to request desired items and later by teaching how to communicate in full sentences (Stoner et al., 2006, Bondy & Frost, 1994). The objective of the first three phases of PECS training is to teach more basic communication skills, such as initiating communication and discriminating between objects, while phases four through six are more advanced and are intended to teach more complex communication skills, such as forming complete sentences and responding to questions. Moreover, rooted in the PECS training protocol, is the requirement of initiated communication, an essential functional communication skill, which often makes this alternative communication system an ideal communication intervention (Schwartz & Garfinkle, 1998). Using PECS requires the communicator to initiate communication because the individual using PECS must learn to locate their communication binder, approach a communicative partner, and independently exchange the picture for the desired item or activity during PECS training.

While many alternative and augmentative communication systems often require the communicator to have prerequisites such as discrimination skills and eye contact, PECS is often an ideal approach to developing functional communication skills in adults with developmental disabilities (Stoner et al., 2006, Charlop-Christy, Carpenter, Le, LeBlanc, & Kellet, 2002). According to the developers of PECS, it is not necessary for an individual to have prerequisite skills in order to use this alternative communication system effectively (Frost & Bondy, 1994). Fortunately, PECS is a promising option to consider when an individual is in need of a functional communication system, but lack some pre-requisite skills necessary to begin utilizing one (Stoner et al., 2006). Furthermore, PECS is often preferred because it is inexpensive compared to many other forms of alternative communication systems and it typically does not take a significant amount of time for an individual to master in comparison to other forms of alternative communication methods (Charlop-Christly et al., 2002). Because older adults with severe developmental disabilities often have trouble with making specific motor movements and often lack rudimentary social communicative skills, the implementation of PECS is an ideal system to use when the goal is to provide a means to functionally communicate.

The pursuit of mixed media exploration is absolutely imperative to the progression of art. If we desire to express contemporary issues, we must move beyond traditional tools. Mixed media provides an unlimited amount of aesthetic qualities and visual effects. Which means it provides a new area of discovery. If we wish to expand upon artistic knowledge, then we must explore new realms and explore new information. This can result in a new school of thought that could become the historical record of our contemporary age.

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## Examining Cross-Cultural Patterns in the Relationship Between Body Preference and Psychological Well-Being Among College Women: A Pilot Study

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### ABSTRACT



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Research has shown that there is a direct relationship between body type preference and emotional well-being (Richins, 1991). This two-part study examines body type preference across cultures and body type preference's relationship to psychological well-being among a sample of 34 college women. In Study I, thirteen African American and 18 Caucasian women completed a brief survey that examined various aspects of psychological functioning including: anxiety, self-esteem, and life and body satisfaction. Results indicate that women from both cultures preferred a thinner body type. Based on body mass index (BMI) measures, African American women classified as overweight/obese, reported experiencing higher levels of body esteem ( $p = .016$ ), than Caucasian women in the same category. No significant differences were found on measures of self-esteem and life satisfaction between overweight/obese African American and Caucasian women. Group comparisons of African Americans indicate that those with a BMI in the overweight/obese range were significantly more anxious than those with a BMI in the normal range. No significant differences were found between these two weight categories among Caucasians. In Study II, participants were asked to complete a Lexical Decision Making Task (LDT) designed to measure implicit attitudes about body types. The results indicate that women concerned about their weight had faster reaction times on the LDT than women who reported no weight concerns. Overall, women not meeting their ideal body type were more anxious and had lower levels of body esteem compared to those who achieved their ideal body type.

### INTRODUCTION

Various cultures have different standards of beauty, but the mainstream media projects one standard of beauty based on Caucasian culture which may not apply to others. In western society, the standard of beauty for women of European American descent is that of a thin, well toned, and big-breasted body type (Sarwer et al., 2004). However, the standard of beauty for African American women depicts a body type that is more moderate with a higher tolerance for fat and less focus on extreme thinness (Rucker III & Cash, 1992). This is consistent with research conducted with African American women examining body images and body type preference, which consistently shows that African American

## Investigating the Efficacy of the Picture Exchange Communication System in Older Adults with Developmental Disabilities

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### ABSTRACT



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The intention of this study was to evaluate the application of the Picture Exchange Communication System and to examine its efficacy in developing the functional communication skills in three elderly individuals with developmental disabilities. Specifically, changes in eye contact and vocalizations made were examined over the course of PECS training, along with training time and percentage correct during training trial blocks. Results indicated that two of the three participants were not able to meet criteria for Phase 3 (discrimination training) of PECS successfully. Identity matching assessments were then conducted and the results indicated that both participants lacked basic discrimination skills, which provided a hypothesis of why these two participants experienced difficulty in meeting the criteria for Phase 3 of PECS training. Moreover, this study provided a basis for further examination of the relationship between the necessity of prerequisite discrimination skills and successful PECS acquisition.

### INTRODUCTION

In every person's life functional communication skills are essential in order to fulfill primary needs. Unfortunately, many older individuals with severe developmental disabilities do not have the necessary skills to communicate effectively. Older adults with developmental disabilities often cannot perform the essential functions of communication such as requesting, commenting, or alerting which can result in the inability to act with self-determination and prevent the ability to make choices of daily living (Olney, 2001). Fortunately, there are several alternative communication systems available to help individuals with disabilities meet their communication needs (Bondy & Frost, 2001). According to The American Speech-Language-Hearing Association (1989), the definition of alternative augmentative communication is an area of clinical practice that attempts to compensate (temporarily or permanently)

## ENDNOTES

Re/presentation, according to Hall, refers to the process of standing in for a particular depicted person or situation. Representation, conversely, refers to the process of assigning a meaning or value to a depicted person or situation ("Representation and the Media"). Hall defines essentialism as the assumptions that individuals possess certain characteristics based upon their membership to a specific group ("Race the Floating Signifier").

women are less concerned about dieting and body fatness compared to Caucasian women (Patel & Gray, 2001; Rucker III & Cash, 1992; Schooler et al., 2004). For instance, in a survey of 45 African American women and 69 Caucasian women that examined differences in their perceptions of body image, Molloy and Herzberger (1998) found that standards of beauty among African American women are more flexible than that of Caucasian women. Specifically, it was found that, "... sixty four percent [of African American women] stated that they would rather be 'a little overweight' than 'a little underweight'." (p. 631). This finding suggests that being a "little overweight" in African American culture may not be as stigmatizing for women as it is in Caucasian culture (Rucker III & Cash 1992).

However, the data examining standards of beauty and body type preferences in African American culture are not conclusive, as more recent research indicates that African American women may prefer a slimmer body type similar to that of Caucasian women. For example, Patel and Gray (2001) conducted a study in which women were asked to indicate their current body figure, their ideal body figure, and their attractive body figure (i.e., the type of figure participants believed to be attractive to men) using a contour drawing rating scale. Results indicated that African American women identified an ideal body figure that was smaller than their current figure, suggesting that, African American women, like Caucasian women, preferred to be thinner than their current body size. One potential problem with this study is that Patel and Gray did not control for their participants' weights. African American participants could have been heavy and wanted to be smaller, but their ideal body type was still that of a larger type than the ideal body type selected by Caucasian women. In sum, studies on African American culture's standards of beauty are contradicting each other.

Several factors have been proposed to explain body preferences in Caucasian and African American cultures (Meshreki & Hansen 2004; Milkie 1999). For instance, one study found that Caucasian women generally have a lower tolerance for body fat than African American women, which may explain their desire for thinness (Rucker & Cash, 1992). In addition, racial identity has been found to influence body type preferences among women. Specifically, studies have shown that African American women who reject the values and traditions of their own culture, and instead, adopt the ways of mainstream European American culture, are at risk for developing poor self-body images and eating disorders. (Molloy & Herzberger, 1998; Meshreki & Hansen, 2004).

## FACTORS INFLUENCING BODY DISSATISFACTION

One major source of information that contributes to body dissatisfaction among women is the influence of the media (e.g., print advertisements and

television commercials). The majority of women portrayed in the media include those who have body types that are often unrealistic for most women to achieve. However, these body types are viewed as attractive by the general public (Cook-Cottone & Phelps 2003). Consequently, women who are continuously exposed to these advertisements either “consciously or subconsciously” engage in self-evaluation. This often leads to lower body satisfaction as they are comparing their current body type to the “ideal” body type as represented in mainstream media and may notice a large discrepancy (Richins, 1991, p.71). Thus, it is likely that the greater the discrepancy between an individual’s current and ideal body type, the greater the risk of psychological distress.

Another factor found to contribute to body dissatisfaction among women is related to the preferences men have about women’s body types (Molloy & Herzberger 1998). For instance, in African American culture, women believe that men prefer women who have a thicker body type. Therefore, women may adopt a thicker body type as a standard of beauty in an effort to increase their attractiveness to the opposite sex. On the other hand, in Caucasian culture, women believe that men prefer women who are extremely thin. Therefore, Caucasian women may strive to achieve a thin body type in an effort to be more attractive to the opposite sex (Molloy & Herzberger 1998). Indeed, the research supports the idea that men’s preferences for certain female body types are an important factor that influences the attitudes and behavior of women. For example, Milkie (1999) found that girls believe body image is important to boys. Girls also reported believing that they are evaluated based on their body figures. Thus, evidence suggests that, beginning at a very early age, women believe it necessary to meet men’s female body preference in order to be found attractive.

### PSYCHOLOGICAL CONSEQUENCES OF BODY DISSATISFACTION

Research indicates that women who are dissatisfied with their body type may experience psychological distress (Forbes, Doroszewicz, Card, & Adams-Curtis 2004; Molloy & Herzberger 1998). Studies conducted with Caucasian women show that there is a direct relationship between body satisfaction and emotional well-being. For example, Parker et al. (1995) found that Caucasian women who did not have a body type consistent with the standard of beauty depicted in mainstream media were at risk for developing eating disorders, low self-esteem, and depression. Other researchers have found that women with distorted perceptions of their bodies (i.e., thinking they are larger than their actual body size) are prone to engaging in harmful behaviors such as compulsive dieting (Ackard, Croll, & Kearney-Cooke 2002; Brewis 1999). In examining the psychological consequences of body dissatisfaction, Rucker and Cash (1992) found a direct correlation between women’s perception of body fat

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representations, oblivious of the possibility that they could perpetuate rather than remedy the problem of essentialism.

More frustrating yet was the absence of characters and situations in the film that could speak to my experience. I could not understand how *Crash*, rife with images of interracial relationships, could not contain at least *something* or *someone* who could speak to me. Aggravated, I turned to Hall, who taught me that I could not expect *Crash* to speak to my individual experience of race. He stresses that because race is a fluid social construct that is unique to everyone, one cannot expect film or any other media outlet to offer representations identical to his or her experiences of race ("Representation and the Media"). I began to understand that while *Crash* claimed to speak to experiences of race, it did not necessarily claim to speak to *my* experience of race. This revelation encouraged me to examine how critics' debates over how realistic the film's representations were relied more upon subjectivity than upon any sort of social standard. While its representations may have seemed realistic to some, the fluid nature of race may have prevented them from speaking for others.

As an individual whom these representations have directly affected, I feel an overwhelming urgency to exercise my voice against the advancement of such images. Following Hall's argument that power and ideology work together to influence the ways in which its media systems operate, I hope to have explicated how media functions in service of dominant power discourses; in this case the hegemony of whiteness. My analysis of such politics of representation opens up possibilities of resistance and challenges notions of the essentialism of race. Interrogation of the image hence calls for critical work and systemic analysis of media representations. Like Hall, I do not aspire to identify the truth or reality of race beyond its discursive representations. I do, however, want to advance a critical position that embraces never-ending skepticism and methodological reflexivity in our interrogations of images and the politics of representation.

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and weight anxiety. In other words, women who perceived they had more body fat reported more anxiety about their weight. Consistent with these findings, other researchers have found evidence indicating that women are prone to developing low self-esteem when using media portrayals of beauty as a standard of comparison (e.g., Molloy & Herzberger, 1998).

To date, much of the research that has been conducted on body satisfaction has focused on body preference among Caucasian individuals. Relatively little research has examined whether African American women experience similar effects. This is an important area to address as standards of beauty in African American culture differ from that of Caucasian culture (Frisby, 2004).

## CURRENT STUDY

Study 1 will examine and compare the overall well-being of African American and Caucasian women who have achieved and not achieved their ideal body types. Specifically, it is hypothesized that: (1) Women who do not meet their ideal body type will experience psychological distress (2) Regardless of body type, black women will experience less overall psychological distress than white women (3) Black women prefer thicker body types compared to white women.

Given that body image and weight issues are often a sensitive topic in western society, many people may not be willing to admit dissatisfaction with their bodies. Moreover, much of the research in this area relies on self-report as the primary method of obtaining information about body attitudes. This may be problematic because responding in socially desirable ways is an inherent problem when using self-report measures. Therefore, it is useful to find alternative methods of measuring attitudes on body-related issues.

The purpose of Study 2 is to use an implicit measure to assess attitudes regarding body type preferences. Rather than relying solely on self-report measures, this study will use a Lexical Decision Making Task (LDMT) to increase the accuracy of measurements by providing another source of data. It is hypothesized that: (1) Women concerned about their weight will have faster reaction times on body-related words than women with no weight concerns (2) There will be no difference in reaction times for non-body related words between women with high and low weight concern.

## METHODS

### I. Study 1

#### Participants

The total sample consisted of 35 undergraduate college women who

completed a questionnaire examining attitudes toward body type preferences and psychological functioning. Thirteen participants reported being African American, 18 participants reported being Caucasian, 3 participants reported being Multi-ethnic, and 1 participant reported being Asian. The mean age was 22.60 years ( $SD = 5.65$ ). Participants were recruited from psychology courses at a large university in the Midwest. Those who completed the study received extra course credit.

### *Materials*

The questionnaire consisted of several measures related to body preference and emotional functioning. Body preference measures included: (1) the Nine-Figure Silhouette Scale, which identifies an individual's current body type versus her ideal body type range test retest correlation coefficient of ranged from .55 to .89, and (2) the Body Esteem Scale, which measures an individual's satisfaction with her current body type; (alphas range from .78-.87) and moderately correlates with overall self esteem ( $rs = .19-.51$ ). Psychological measures included: (1) the Rosenberg self-esteem scale, which assesses general self-esteem alpha = .87 (2) the Beck Anxiety Inventory (BAI) (3) and the Satisfaction with Life Scale test retest correlation coefficient of .82 and alpha coefficient of .87.

### *Procedure*

Participants were given a consent form concerning the study. Upon agreeing to participate in the study they were asked to complete the survey package.

## *II. Study 2*

### *Participants*

The same participants for the first study also participated in the second part of the study.

### *Material*

A computer experiment was developed using Super Lab software. A Lexical Decision Making Task (LDMT) was used, in which participants were presented with stimuli on the computer screen and asked to indicate whether the stimulus was a word or non-word. The LDMT is a measure of reaction time to responding either "yes" or "not" to stimulus on the computer screen. The LDMT is a procedure that is often used in studies of anxiety (Vorauer, Hunter, Main, Scott, 2000; Lant & Lee 1998). The idea is that people with high anxiety would respond faster to these different stimulus compared to those who were not. In this study the different stimulus were body related words, non-body related words, and non-words. For example a body related word (e. g., thick, thin), a non-body related word (e.g. table, dresser), and a non-word (e. g., thni, tible) would flash on the computer screen and the participant would be asked

### THE CRITIC AND HER TEXT

When *Crash* emerged as a mainstream film, I was both confused and delighted to learn that a film dealing with the controversial issues of race and interracial relationships had managed to appeal to such a large number of critics and audiences. I had searched my entire life for a film that spoke to my everyday experiences with race and interracial relationships. Based upon the massive amount of hype surrounding the film, I truly believed *Crash* just might be that film. However, as I watched, I could find nothing in the film's exaggerated experiences that spoke to my experience. I had never been involved in a racially fueled shooting, nor had I ever nonchalantly exchanged racial slurs on the side of the road following a collision with a far racial other. In my romantic interracial relationships, I had never engaged in intense arguments about race with a partner on a routine basis. Furthermore, I had never allowed my attitudes of race to serve as the entire basis of my life from which each interaction originated. My experiences with race and racism consisted mostly of subtle, everyday connotations that composed only a small portion of my personal identity.

As a biracial individual, every relationship in which I have been involved, whether romantic or platonic, has been interracial. Race has never been the central focus in any of these relationships. While I have always *acknowledged* the racial differences between myself and my friends and partners, those differences have never served as the foundation upon which I have built my relationships. *Crash* taught me that race exists at the center of all interracial relationships and that in some cases, individuals can never surpass the implications of race that complicate their relationships with racial others. Its characters constantly struggle to suppress their racial attitudes in an effort to make those relationships work, although they are often unsuccessful. We quickly grow to understand that Graham and Ria's relationship is a constant struggle against race. Their conversations ooze racial misconceptions and slurs, as though race is an irremovable third party in their relationship. And Farhad often irrationally identifies his race as a factor that elicits discrimination from others.

When I chose to forfeit my admiration of *Crash* in exchange for the opportunity to analyze it, I was shocked to discover that the film's characters embodied many of the same stereotypes I once believed it did a commendable job of resisting. Hall encourages *interrogation of the image* in order to reveal how power structures have influenced the construction of images. A society can never separate its systems of communication from the way its systems of power operate. Hall argues that often we immerse ourselves so entirely in social contexts that we lose our ability to be critical of our environments. The idea of a film that spoke to the experiences of race and interracial relationships intrigued me so much that I had forgotten to be critical of it. As a result, I approached its

and attitudes as a form of protection when they feel threatened. The ways in which they have been socialized to that racism, however, are quite different.

Jean, an affluent white woman, belongs to (and has likely always belonged to) a privileged social group, which has not been subjugated throughout history. Her racist behaviors exist throughout the film, but emerge especially after the traumatic carjacking. She routinely neglects her El Salvadorian housekeeper, Maria, and uses racism as a protective shield when she feels threatened, either by approaching black men or by a “gang banger” locksmith. Her privileged position has made racism an easy coping mechanism for her. Jean embodies the subtle, everyday racism that her social position has taught her to possess. Christine Thayer, an affluent *black* woman, exercises racism only in a situation of self-defense. Although she is more of a victim of racially motivated violence than Jean, she exercises racist behaviors with much less frequency. An intimate scene between Christine and her husband, Cameron following their traffic stop offers a glimpse of the couple’s constant struggle to reconcile their privileged financial situation with their subjugated racial position as black Americans:

CAMERON: Maybe I shoulda let them arrest your ass up. I guess sooner or later you should learn what it’s like to be black.

CHRISTINE: Fuck you, like you know. Closest you ever came to being black, Cameron, was watching the Cosby Show.

CAMERON: At least I wasn’t watching it with the rest of the equestrian team.

CHRISTINE: You know, you’re right, Cam, I got a lot to learn. ‘Cause I haven’t quite learned how to shuck and jive. Let me hear it again: “Thank you, Mr. Poh-liceman. You sho is kind to us po’ black folk. You be sure to let me know next time you want to finger-fuck my wife.”

Although I do not believe the film could ever deliver an *actual* representation of race, I feel its failure to address socio-historical factors further distances it from becoming an effective commentary on race relations. I do not negate the film’s claim that everyone is susceptible to racism and racist attitudes. However, I challenge its failure to address the causes of such thinking and the ways in which some individuals’ situations make them more susceptible to becoming either perpetrators or victims of racism. With this claim, I do not *justify* racism on the behalf of any individual, regardless of the role of socio-historical factors. However, I do question why *Crash* has omitted the influence of historical context upon that racism.

if the string of letters was a word. Each participant had 5 milliseconds to respond to each word. After the participant responded or after 5 milliseconds had passed, the next stimulus would appear on the screen until the task is completed. A record of participants’ reaction times to each stimulus was stored in the program.

In determining the body-related and non-body related words to use for the LDMT, 20 undergraduate and graduate student volunteers in the Psychology Department completed ratings of a list of words. A scale ranging from 1 (not at all related to body image) to 7 (very related to body image) was used. A descriptive analysis was used to norm these words. If the mean was 1, those words were used for non-body related words; if the mean was 7, those words were used for body related words. Finally, the chosen body related words and non-body words letters were rearranged to make non-words.

### *Procedure*

All participants signed up for a specific day and time to complete the experiment. The participants came to room 205f located in the psychology department in Life Science II for the experiment and I read a script and gave them the consent form. If participants wished to continue, I then began the experiment with the Lexical Decision Making Task. After completing the computer task, the participants were asked to complete the survey packet. After completing both the computer task and the survey packet, I took their weight with a scale and their height with a tape measure for accuracy. Finally, the participants were given a debriefing form and extra credit for their participation.

## RESULTS

### *Study 1*

#### *Data Analyses*

A series of independent sample t-tests were conducted to examine differences between women who achieved their ideal body type and those who did not. A bonferroni correction was used to control for multiple tests. Results showed that women who did not achieve their body type preference were significantly more anxious than women who achieved their ideal body type,  $t(19) = -4.494, p < .001$ . On a measure of body esteem, women who did not achieve their body preference had significantly lower body esteem scores than those who achieved their ideal body type,  $t(18) = 3.192, p < .05$ . No significant differences were found between the two groups on measures of life satisfaction  $t(19) = -.396, p > .05$  or general self esteem  $t(18) = .178, p = .05$  (see Table 1 for descriptive data).

Differences on measures of psychological functioning between African

American and Caucasian women were examined using an Analysis of Covariance (ANCOVA). To control for baseline differences in body weight, participants' body mass index scores were held as a covariate. Results indicated that African American women reported significantly fewer symptoms of anxiety compared to Caucasian women,  $F(1,28) = 9.91, p < .05$ . African Americans also reported higher levels of body esteem than Caucasian women,  $F(1,27) = 19.5, p < .05$ . No significant differences were found between African American and Caucasian women on measures of life satisfaction  $F(1,27) = 7.90, p < .05$ , or self esteem  $F(1,28) = 3.12, p < .05$  (see Table 2 for means).

In determining participants' current and ideal body figures they were asked to rate their preferences using the Nine Figure Silhouette Scale, which ranges from a rating of 1 (thin figure) to 9 (thick figure). On average, African American women rated their current body type at a 3.7 and their ideal body type at a 3.2. Caucasian women rated their current body type at a 4.9 and their ideal body type at a 3.5. These findings indicate that African American women preferred a slightly thinner body type than Caucasian women.

### Study 2

Analyses for the Lexical Decision Making Task were conducted based on women's responses on a subscale of the Body Esteem Inventory in which they reported concern about their weight. Using a statistical cutoff, women who reported having little or no concern about their weight were assigned to the "low weight concern" group. Those who reported a great degree of concern about their weight were assigned to the "high weight concern group." Independent sample t-tests were used to compare reaction times for these two groups. Results indicated that women in the high weight concern group ( $M = 1217.36, SD = 243.72$ ) responded significantly faster than the low weight concern group ( $M = 1543.18, SD = 408.05$ ) to body-related words,  $t(18) = -2.25, p < .05$ . There were no significant differences in reaction times between the high weight concern ( $M = 1141.72, SD = 233.72$ ) and low weight concern ( $M = 1380.91, SD = 308.78$ ) groups when responding to non-body related words  $t(18) = -1.97, p > .05$ .

## DISCUSSION

Based on the results, the findings supported the predictions that women who were dissatisfied with their body experience psychological distress, and African American women experience less psychological distress compared to Caucasian women. The hypothesis that African American women would prefer a thicker body type was not supported. The findings were consistent with previous literature (e.g., Forbes, Doroszewicz, Card, & Adams-Curtis 2004; Molloy & Herzberger 1998), indicating

and baggy clothing. Although other characters constantly attempt to stereotype him, Daniel does not advance any stereotypes on his own.

*Crash* relies upon common stereotypes so frequently that it often fails to advance its characters beyond those stereotypes. Most audiences likely approach the film having already become familiar with stereotypes of Middle Eastern men as violent terrorists, young black men as criminals, and Asian immigrants as facilitators of the illegal immigration system. If *Crash* assumes that each individual in society possesses his or her own wealth of racism, why does it opt to perpetuate common stereotypes rather than to seek out racist tendencies in less likely individuals? Although *Crash* claims to identify a common thread of racism within all individuals, it does so at the expense of further instilling stereotypes associated with certain groups, which mainstream film has continually marginalized.

Hall argues that in order to resist common stereotypes, audiences must learn to contest the images the media offers them. In order to do this, viewers must understand how images have been produced and how they reflect power structures inherent in society. Hall asserts that limited representations of members of marginalized groups often contribute to the stereotyping of those individuals because those limited images become widely circulated and serve as the only representations against which individuals can compare members of marginalized groups ("Representation and the Media"). *Crash* does little or nothing to provide diverse images of members of marginalized groups. Because it offers the same stereotypical images, it perpetuates rather than challenges essentialist dialogues. The film does not offer healthy or new representations of Middle Eastern men or black women; it instead joins the dialogue of essentialism and reinforces preexisting social structures, which subordinate members of non-dominant groups.

### *Absence of Socio-Historical Background*

While *Crash* is quick to identify racism as a characteristic common to individuals from all racial, ethnic, and social groups, it fails to identify the socio-historical factors that have advanced such racism. It does not attend to the ways in which social power structures have influenced individuals' perceptions of and attitudes toward their racial others. The film assumes that racism more or less materializes out of thin air, placing characters of varying races and ethnicities on a level playing field in the game of racism. It ignores how history has carved racists of otherwise rational individuals, as well as the ways in which racism has victimized others. The film attends *exclusively* to the stereotypes its characters hold of one another, and not to the ways in which those stereotypes have become part of individuals' racial vocabulary. For example, Jean Cabot and Christine Thayer are two affluent women who use racist comments

restaurant. As they stroll down the sidewalk, they debate the possible reasons for receiving such poor service from their waiter. Meanwhile, Richard and Jean Cabot (Brendan Fraser and Sandra Bullock) walk toward them on the sidewalk, headed for their posh SUV. Jean clutches her husband's arm as the young men come closer to her, signifying her racially driven fear. In a surprising twist, Peter and Anthony pull handguns from their coats and rob the Cabots of their automobile. *Crash* transforms two young black men who lead seemingly commonplace lives into common criminals. One moment, Anthony and Peter engage in an intellectual discussion about urban race relations. The next moment, they embody a common stereotype of young black men as criminals. The film gives us only a slight opportunity to form healthy opinions of these characters before transforming those thoughts into stereotypes.

Critics have questioned the absence of Asian American protagonists in *Crash* ("Asians, Another *Crash* Casualty"). Kim Lee and Choi, a middle-aged Korean immigrant couple, are the only Asian American characters present in the film. In an extremely small amount of screen time, *Crash* manages to portray them in a way that further stereotypes Asian Americans. Early in the film, we find Choi in a diner accepting a check from another man of Asian descent. The next time we meet Choi, he is about to step into a white van when Anthony and Peter run over him in the SUV they have stolen from the Cabots. They drag him beneath the car for a short distance until they realize there is a "Chinaman" stuck beneath the automobile. Reluctantly, they transport him to the nearest hospital and throw him onto the asphalt in front of the emergency room entrance. A significant amount of time lapses until we learn that in his white van, Choi had been transporting a dozen or so illegal Asians. *Crash* both fails to endow its central Asian characters with voices and labels them criminals helping to advance the system of illegal immigration. The film offers Asian American characters no opportunity to defy the stereotypes that consistently surround them in mainstream film.

The only character who is an exception to the reinforcement of stereotypes is Daniel, the young Hispanic locksmith who the New York Times marks "an island of quiet decency in a sea of howling prejudice and hypocrisy" ("Bigotry"). He embodies none of the stereotypical characteristics commonly associated with young Hispanic males. He is a family man with a well-paying job, a good conscience, and an ability to resist engaging in racist dialogues with others even when they provoke him. When Farhad accuses Daniel of cheating him out of proper service, Daniel replies only with a reserved "I'd appreciate if you'd stop calling me names." Stereotypes associated with his demographic only emerge from the mouths of others; he never embodies them. As he replaces the locks on the Cabots' home following their carjacking, Jean blindly accuses him of being a "gang banger" by merit of his numerous tattoos

that body dissatisfaction can lead to psychological distress. Women who did not meet their body type preference were more anxious and had lower levels of body esteem. Similar to previous findings for women (Rucker III & Cash 1992; Patel & Gray 2001), in general African American women experience less psychological distress compared to Caucasian women. Caucasian women reported anxiety symptoms that were in the moderate range and African American women reported anxiety symptoms that were below the mild range when compared to clinical samples. Thus, overall, the findings indicate that there were cultural differences between African American and Caucasian women on specific areas of psychological functioning.

The hypothesis that African American women would prefer thicker body types than Caucasian women was not supported in the current study. This is consistent with the findings of other studies (e.g., Patel & Gray, 2001). An interesting finding is that there was a greater difference between Caucasian women's current body type and their ideal body type compared to the smaller difference for African American women's body type preference; this indicates that African American women were closer to their ideal body type than Caucasian women.

Instead of relying on self reported measures, part two of the study used an indirect way to measure internal attitudes about body types. The hypothesis was supported; women who were concerned with their body weight reported faster reaction times for body-related words compared to women who were not concerned with their body weight. The second hypothesis was also supported; there were no significant differences between reaction times on non-body related words.

The theoretical implications are that African American women may have a more accepting attitude towards their body figure as there were no significant psychological effects of not meeting their body preference. This is important to know because in this study African American women and Caucasian women had similar Body Mass Index, but Caucasian women reported more psychological distress than African American women. Another way to understand these findings is to take into account that African American women may have protective factors that keep them from experiencing the psychological effects of body dissatisfaction. There is a need to further examine what these protective factors are and use them to help other women.

Another implication is directed towards clinicians working with women who are dissatisfied with their body. Clinicians should be aware of the associated psychological consequences (e.g., anxiety and lower body esteem), because treatment should not only address body dissatisfaction, it should also address the psychological factors that may accompany feelings of body dissatisfaction. A final implication based on the results



of this study is that women concerned with their body weight are more vigilant about body weight issues. This means that women who are concerned with their weight may be hyperaware of cues in their environment that are related to body image and weight issues. This is a concern because our society is overwhelmed with messages regarding body image issues. Thus, individuals who are concerned about their weight are susceptible to experiencing increased psychological distress.

There were a few limitations within this study. The first limitation was that the sample size was too small to generalize the findings and the analysis was underpowered. Thus, if there were any effects, it would be difficult to detect because there was not enough people. The second limitation was that there was not a huge variation in the women's body sizes. According to the BMI chart, most of the women were either normal or slightly overweight; if any of the women had been overweight the results may have been different. In addition, the study did not account for the women's levels of acculturation. Studies have found that self identity is a valid factor in body preference; therefore, it is important to know what culture they feel most assimilated to (Molloy & Herzberger, 1998; Meshreki & Hansen, 2004).

Futures studies should control for the level of acculturation because it can influence participants results. Future studies should also use depression as a variable and examine its relationship with body dissatisfaction as depression and anxiety are related and this study showed anxiety may be a psychological factor of body dissatisfaction. In sum, futures studies should have more of a variety of body type figures to have a larger range of responses.

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and overtly racist Dirk becomes frustrated, accusing Farhad of being a terrorist. "Yo, Osama," he says, "plan the Jihad on your own time." Farhad responds angrily, prompting the shop's security guard to escort him from the premises. Dorri stays behind and orders the merchant to return her money or provide her with proper ammunition for the handgun. The merchant snidely describes different types of ammunition, his speech crowded with sexual innuendos aimed at Dorri. "Oh, we got lots of kinds. We got long colts, short colts, ball heads, flat-nose, hollow points, wad cutters, and a dozen more that'll fit any size hole. It just depends upon how much 'bang' you can handle."

This short scene reiterates essentialized representations of two groups: Southern white men and Middle Eastern men. Although he appears in just one scene, Dirk represents what has become a stereotypical representation of Southern white men following terrorist attacks on the United States. He is intolerant of Farhad, whom he deems a "terrorist" based upon the foreign language he speaks. Dirk insults Farhad and refuses to sell him a handgun based upon his perception. Furthermore, his inappropriate sexual comments to Dorri further essentialize him as a white man who views a Middle Eastern woman as a sexual object. bell hooks argues that in addition to subordinating women, *Crash* continually insinuates sexual relationships between men and women of different races, if only in subtle ways ("Talking Trash").

*Crash* paints Farhad as the stereotypical Middle Eastern man who is eager to enact violence at all times, his language harsh, his character one-dimensional. From the first time we meet him, Farhad is violent and irrational, and (conveniently) purchasing a handgun for an unknown reason. (Not until later does the film explain that he has purchased it to protect his family.) Farhad carries these stereotypical connotations with him throughout the film. Late one night, after he discovers the door to his convenience store will not close, he calls upon Daniel (Michael Pena), a young Hispanic locksmith, to repair the lock. When Daniel discovers the lock is not faulty, but the door, Farhad angrily and hastily accuses Daniel of attempting to cheat him out of his money. He raises his voice at seemingly unwarranted times, taking Daniel aback and reinforcing his status as violent and irrational. The following morning, Farhad returns to his shop to find it vandalized, his financial investments lost. In what is perhaps the film's most climactic scene, Farhad approaches the home of Daniel, who he blames for the vandalism of his convenience store. With gun in hand, Farhad aims for Daniel, at which moment Daniel's young daughter Lara leaps into the path of the bullet. Farhad lowers his gun in denial of what has just occurred.

Similarly, I want to direct our attention to another two characters in the movie, Anthony (Chris "Ludacris" Bridges) and Peter (Larenz Tate), two young black men who have just finished dining at an upscale Los Angeles

racist actions. This speech, in particular, attempts to portray him as a selfless individual speaking on behalf of someone who is good-willed and deserving of mercy. It transforms him from racist monster to spokesperson for the disadvantaged. Madison identifies this phenomenon as a tool used by media sources to position its white characters as the vantage points of films, to force audiences to view racial experiences through the eyes of white characters (407).

Ryan undergoes what is perhaps the most notable personal transformation throughout the course of the film. At the start of the film, he is an overt racist who stops an automobile and performs an invasive body search on Christine; at the end of the film, he is a character whose brushes with racism and confrontation of his own racist attitudes have rendered him a different person. As a bewildered Christine stumbles away from Ryan following her rescue from her overturned car, the camera pans to Ryan's exasperated face – his mouth agape, his overall outlook changed by one chance encounter. We see in his tear-filled eyes a transformation of his soul. The accident has prompted him to examine himself and the ways in which his attitudes have affected the people he has encountered. He is a changed man.

The phenomenon of the anti-racist white hero explicates Hall's theory that power and ideology give shape to media representations ("Representation and the Media"). The dominant white male, embodied in *Crash* by Officer Ryan, exercises his power to influence the ways in which members of marginalized groups think and behave. His actions of dominance reinforce the hegemony of whiteness through both his personal methods of discrimination and his corrupt legal authority.

#### *Advancement of Common Stereotypes*

*Crash* relies upon *common* stereotypes in an effort to draw connections between its characters. It claims that racism exists within all individuals regardless of their race, ethnicity, or social position. However, instead of drawing uncommon instances of racial conflict from a world it portrays as laden with racism, *Crash* resorts to furthering common racial stereotypes to illustrate its point. It boasts two young black men as carjackers, a Middle Eastern man as a terrorist, an overtly racist Southern white man who is also a sexual predator, and a Korean man smuggling in illegal immigrants. The film's decision to represent those racial groups in a stereotypical manner does little to advance them beyond their position as stereotypes.

At the start of the film, Farhad (Shaun Toub), a Persian immigrant and his American-born daughter, Dorri (Bahar Soomekh) enter a gun shop where they encounter Dirk, the middle-aged white man working behind the counter. In order to help him select proper ammunition, Dorri translates bits of English into Farsi for her father. The impatient

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Table 1

Psychological Measures	Ideal Figure Achieved (n=12)	Ideal Figure Not Achieved (n=17)
Beck Anxiety Inventory	4.92 (3.45)	17.56 (10.92)*
Life Satisfaction Scale	24.00 (7.24)	26.47 (4.68)
Self Esteem Scale	23.75 (4.16)	22.44 (5.34)
Body Esteem Inventory	136.50 (21.99)	109.81 (15.21)*

Table 1. Independent Samples T-Tests with Bonferroni Correction \*  $p \leq .001$ 

Table 2

Psychological Measures	Black Women (n=12)	White Women (n=17)
Beck Anxiety Inventory	7.08 (7.11)*	18.00 (10.74)
Life Satisfaction Scale	22.77 (6.13)	23.71 (7.44)
Self Esteem Scale	23.38 (4.35)	19.67 (6.46)
Body Esteem Inventory	137.15 (19.71)*	105.00 (20.48)

Table 2. Analysis of Covariance (Body Mass Index held as a covariate)\*  $p < .003$ 

Throughout *Crash*, Officer Ryan embodies the stereotype of a white supremacist male, pulverizing any minority individual he encounters with his white power. He constantly exercises his status as both white man and law enforcement official to victimize and subordinate the minority characters with whom he comes in contact. By allowing the character a significant amount of screen time in comparison to other characters, *Crash* advances Ryan as one of its central protagonists. The film devotes an extensive amount of time to the development of Ryan's character compared to the development of other characters. A considerable amount of *Crash*, therefore, comes from Ryan's perspective and his ongoing struggle with his own racism and the racism of others. The film follows Ryan from his occupation to his personal affairs, attending to the ways in which his ongoing struggles with racism have affected his relationships with himself and with others. *Crash* reinforces the white patriarchal construction of society, positioning its white male character as the dominant representation around which the rest of the film's representations center.

In the film's poetic asides, we find Ryan caring for his ailing father as he hovers over a toilet seat in pain. Ryan steps out of the bathroom and stands in the dark of the hallway, hopeless and drained of enthusiasm for life. We quickly come to understand that the suggested reason for Ryan's overt racist attitude is his frustration with not being able to alleviate his father's chronic suffering. He uses his privileged social position to control the lives of others because he cannot control his own ("Talking Trash"). Despite the fact that we have grown to dislike this character on behalf of his racist bigotry, we empathize with him because we find him in an extremely vulnerable position. One scene features Ryan's visit to a black HMO officer named Shaniqua, whom he racially stereotypes and insults over the telephone the evening before. As he urges Shaniqua to grant his request for his father to see a better qualified doctor outside of the network, Ryan drifts into a frustrated monologue about how his father, a retired janitor, helped to advance minority workers:

RYAN: [My father] was a janitor, struggled his whole life, saved enough to start his own company. Twenty-three employees, all black. Paid them equal wages when no one else was doing that. Forty years he worked side by side with those men, sweeping, carrying garbage. Then the city council decides to give minority companies preference in city contracts. And overnight, my father loses everything. His business, his home, his wife, everything; and not once did he blame you people.

This speech elicits an emotional reaction within audiences that places a human face on a character we have grown to regard as a monster. His struggle to assist his ailing father serves to somewhat *redeem* him of his

following day, in a chance meeting with her sexual oppressor, Christine is forced to submit once again to the hands of white privilege and power. As Ryan attempts to rescue her from her overturned car, she is forced to re-subordinate herself for the purpose of survival. She must place her life in the hands of this man who has stripped her of her pride and of her voice. There is no alternative. The film does not provide a space in which she can resist the white patriarchal construction of race and its attachment to sexuality. *Crash* thus teaches us that white man is always dominant and always controls his racialized, sexualized minority conquests ("Talking Trash"). Some of the most publicized images from *Crash* feature Christine clinging to Ryan following her rescue, their lips just centimeters from touching (Hsu 133). In one scene, Christine is Ryan's sexual victim; in another, she possesses a palpable (if erratic) sexual chemistry with him, as though her sexual violation had never occurred.

*Crash* sexualizes race in ways that reinforce historical constructions. Characters in *Crash*, whether or not involved in voluntary intimate interracial relationships, adhere to rather than defy the stereotypical intersections of race and sex.

#### *Crash and the "Anti-Racist White Hero"*

Another factor in *Crash* that reinforces rather than challenges racial stereotypes is its tendency to advance white protagonists as heroes, regardless of their overt racism. According to Kelly J. Madison, the past few decades have marked a trend of "anti-racist white hero films" (404). These films, which address issues of African Americans' struggles against racism, often feature European American characters as protagonists and heroes, focusing on their experiences with racism and tendencies toward antiracist thinking (Madison 405). These films attend predominantly to struggles for racial equality through the eyes of white protagonists, privileging white characters' experiences over minority characters' experiences (Madison 407). White characters become the main subjects, leaving audiences to experience the "reality" of race relations and the experiences of minority characters through white characters' perspectives (Madison 407). Madison claims that anti-racist white hero films paint white supremacy as extremely violent and abrasive, allowing more subtle implications of white supremacy to go unnoticed (406). She argues that often these films fully develop only white characters, leaving minority characters to fill the stereotypical role of victim (Madison 407). White characters often undergo personal transformations because of the racial tensions they encounter. Audiences then examine these characters' personal lives and relationships through the lens of these transformations, which prompts them to empathize with white characters (Madison 407).

## The Use of Enrichment of Captive Callitrichid Primates, Cotton-top Tamarin (*Saguinus oedipus*) and Callimico (*Callimico goeldii*)

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### ABSTRACT



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Zoos play an increasingly important role in the management, breeding, and survival of endangered species, including many primates. The goal of enrichment is to promote the physical and psychological well-being of captive animals. Increasing the complexity of a captive environment, such as providing structural, food, social, and object enrichment, has been shown to elicit more markers of increased well-being. For this study, enrichment usage and preferences were observed in two species of callitrichid primates (n=13): cotton-top tamarins (*Saguinus oedipus*) and callimicos (*Callimico goeldii*), at Lincoln Park Zoo and Brookfield Zoo, using 2-minute scan sampling. The hypothesis that animals show preferences for some types of enrichment over others was supported, as was the hypothesis that the two species would differ in their preferences. The results show that horizontal, stable supports (platforms and a nest box) were highly used to conduct social behaviors and are an important component of the structural enrichment provided. Preference in structure height was very apparent, with callimicos favoring heights at an intermediate level (1.5-3.0 m), while cotton-tops preferred higher supports (4.6m+). Object enrichment seems to promote more exploratory behaviors in juvenile callitrichids and can be used to enrich the lives of younger individuals in captivity. The groups spend between 21.4-22.7% of the time in physical contact with each other. Overall, behaviors such as feeding/foraging (7-7.6%) and locomotor (8.3-11.7%) were substantially less frequent in comparison to data from populations in the wild, although some of the results were similar to those seen in other groups of captive callitrichids. No stereotypic (repetitive, abnormal) behaviors were observed during the length of the study. Since little is known about both "natural" and stereotypic behaviors in callitrichids, further exploration in this area is needed to better understand animal behavior and ensure their well-being in captivity.

### INTRODUCTION

Recently, there has been an influx of studies on enriching the lives of captive primates; however, few studies have investigated the usage and preferences of structural, object, and social enrichment between callitrichid primates, including cotton-top tamarins and callimicos. Understanding interspecific and intraspecific variation in behavior of similar species can provide important insights to aid in the development of strategies to maintain these highly active and intelligent animals' stimulation in a captive setting. Maintaining healthy and enriched

populations of endangered primates that are able to adapt, locomote, and feed like populations in the wild can make reintroductions of some captive species back into a protected natural habitat possible. These efforts, coupled with educational programs both abroad and domestic regarding loss of habitat and biodiversity in our rainforests, leave a promising yet uncertain future for neotropical primates. Zoos' captive breeding programs are essential for this conservation effort and the survival of some species (Shepherdson, 1998). In zoos, enrichment programs serve to maintain the psychological and physical well-being of animals by allowing for choice and control (Markowitz, 1979; Snowdon and Savage, 1989) over a responsive environment and by eliciting behavioral opportunity (Shepherdson, 1998). Lincoln Park Zoo (LP) and Brookfield Zoo (BZ), the data collection locations, are part of a Species Survival Plan to ensure the survival of healthy populations of captive cotton-top tamarins and callimicos.

#### *Markers of Well-being*

Unfortunately, with vague and non-operational definitions of enrichment and what constitutes an animal's well-being, many zoos are left trying to implement a program that is difficult to measure and evaluate. Some suggest that good indicators of well-being are the reduction of stereotypical behaviors (Swaigood and Shepherdson, 2005), and an increase or presence of species-typical behaviors (Bayne, 1989; Maki and Bloomsmith, 1989). Stereotypical behaviors, or stereotypies, are those behaviors that are repetitive, invariant, and serve no purpose (Mason, 1991). Examples of stereotypies include pacing around a same area for long periods of time, self-clasping, self biting, regurgitation, repetitive rocking, floating limb, and many others (Mellen and Sevenich MacPhee, 2001; Mallapur and Choudhury, 2003; Swaigood and Shepherdson, 2005). Stereotypical behavior may develop as a result of not providing animals with enough sensory input (Mason, 1991), rearing experiences (Mootnick and Baker, 1994), and can be the outcome of negative animals/keeper interactions (Mellen et al, 1998). Mallapur and Choudhury (2003) further suggest that omnivorous species that feed on insects in the wild, that do not have similar foraging opportunities in captivity, may develop stereotypic behaviors. Anything in excess should be an undesired behavior in captivity, such as oversleeping, overeating, or excessive grooming.

Others propose that an increase in species-typical behaviors will in turn reduce stereotypic behaviors in captive animals (Bayne, 1989). Species-typical behaviors are those behaviors that have been observed in wild populations. Unfortunately, much of the present enrichment literature is focused on the great apes, mainly chimpanzees. While general enrichment recommendations have been made to enhance the physical

RIA: I know if I was your father, I'd kick your fucking ass.

GRAHAM: Okay, I was raised badly. Why don't you take your clothes off and get back into bed and teach me a lesson?

Graham overtly ignores Ria's attempts to connect beyond a physical level. He appears to be genuinely disinterested in his partner's attempts to connect with him, therefore painting himself into the corner of the stereotype as black man as sexual pursuer of light-skinned women. Although Graham redeems the quality of his character in following scenes, his interactions with Ria remain on a surface level, failing to remove him from this common stereotype.

Other romantic interracial relationships are only *insinuated*, though unmistakably present. Brendan Frasier's character, Richard exchanges several intimate gazes with his assistant, Karen (Nona Gaye). Audiences quickly become privy to the fact that he is most likely having an affair with Karen, though the film never explicitly states this. Karen, a black woman, conveniently fades into the background to avoid any public recognition of their relationship, acknowledging her position as a subordinate female character. "Haggis gives us a glimpse of this pseudo secret sexualized relationship between the two. But of course, the Nona Gaye character never gets to live this out on camera; she stays in the background with little to offer in scripted lines or close ups... the lights go down on her and she disappears" ("Talking Trash"). In one of the film's concluding scenes, Karen and Rick stand in the deserted rotunda of a governmental building. Rick receives a phone call from his distressed wife, Jean (Sandra Bullock) and strains to return an "I love you" in the presence of his mistress. Karen humbly acknowledges the fact that he must return home to his wife, who assumes a dominant position in his list of priorities. Not only does Karen become the mistress of an affair – she becomes one of the most subordinated female characters in the film. "Women in this film are all falling down-subjugated-re-subordinated" ("Talking Trash").

In what is perhaps the film's most shocking instance of the sexualization of race, racist white cop Ryan (Matt Dillon) sexually assaults the defiant and affluent black Christine (Thandie Newton) on the side of the road following a traffic stop. Unwarranted and driven by his racism, Ryan performs an invasive body search on Christine, molesting her in front of her emasculated husband. In this instance, the white man uses his institutional and social power against a woman of color to subordinate her. Christine, doubly silenced by Ryan's status as both white man and law enforcement official, can do nothing but allow him to use her as a sexual object. With his hands and his privileged social position, he strips her of her voice and her sense of security ("Talking Trash"). The

film's status as a revolutionary commentary on race. Finally, the failure of *Crash* to address the socio-historical factors influencing contemporary race relations calls for a careful consideration of the ways in which its representations reinforce the hegemony of whiteness.

#### *Romantic Interracial Relationships and the Sexualization of Race*

Joane Nagel conceptualizes *ethnosexual frontiers* as "borderlands on either side of ethnic divides... where sexual imaginings and sexual contact occur between members of different racial, ethnic, and national groups" (Nagel 14). In *Race, Ethnicity, and Sexuality*, Nagel explores the social and historical constructions and crossings of ethnosexual boundaries. She identifies historical power structures and points of struggle as sites that have constituted such boundaries. More specifically, she attends to the manner by which the American institution of slavery has both emasculated black men and painted them as sexual predators (Nagel 22). Nagel argues that sexuality and race very often intertwine, a phenomenon both Nagel and bell hooks term the *sexualization of race*.

Most interracial relationships portrayed in *Crash* are not of a romantic or sexual nature. When romantic interracial relationships *do* occur in the film, they enact the sexualization of race as defined by hooks. An openly romantic interracial relationship occurs between only Graham and Ria. *Crash* portrays Graham (Don Cheadle), as a self-involved black detective who resists forming emotional ties with his partner, Ria (Jennifer Esposito). An opening scene features the two characters engaged in a sexual act, Graham in a dominant sexual position and Ria beneath him, submissive. During this act, Graham answers a phone call from his mother, which angers Ria. He abruptly ends the conversation by telling his mother that he cannot talk because he is *having sex with a white woman*. Ria, who is of El Salvadorian and Puerto Rican descent, shoves his naked body to the floor and begins putting on her clothes. The dialogue that ensues paints Graham in an extremely unbecoming light.

GRAHAM: C'mon. I would have said you were Mexican but I don't think it would have pissed her off as much.

RIA: Why do you keep everybody at a certain distance, huh? What, do you start to feel something and panic?

GRAHAM: C'mon, Ria... you're just pissed because I answered the phone!

RIA: That's just where I begin to get pissed. I mean, really, what kind of man speaks to his mother that way?

GRAHAM: Oh, this is about my mother? What do you know about my mother?

and psychological well-being of callitrichids, little has been done to begin to tailor enrichment to specific species of New World monkeys. Similarly, little research has been conducted on the wild counterparts of most callitrichids. Nevertheless, incorporating an animal's natural history in the development and maintenance of a captive zoo exhibit is a good way to begin to understand animal behavior and ensure their wellbeing in captivity.

#### *Callitrichids*

Taxonomically, cotton-tops (*Saguinus oedipus*) and callimicos (*Callimico goeldii*) are placed within the family callitrichidae (Fleagle, 1988). Callitrichids are arboreal, diurnal, squirrel-size New World monkeys. This family shares unusual and distinguishing characteristics from other non-human primates, such as cooperative breeding, twinning (except for callimicos), their small body size, and claw-like nails except on the big toe (Porter and Garber, 2004). Their claw-like nails allow these animals to vertically cling and leap onto substrates as part of their locomotor repertoire (Garber and Leigh, 2001; Porter 2007). Wild callitrichids feed on fruits, insects, nectar, fungi, flowers, plants, and exudates (Kinzey, 1997; Porter, 2004; Raboy and Dietz, 2004). This suggests that enrichment for callitrichids should promote arboreal behaviors and provide for normal postures and locomotion, such as vertical clinging, leaping, and highly active behaviors including those that are related to food foraging (Kinzey, 1997; Moynihan, 1976; Rosenberger and Stafford, 1994; Snowdon and Savage, 1989; Yoneda, 1984).

This research addressed questions regarding the usage of enrichment and the presence of 2 markers of wellbeing (species-typical and stereotypical behaviors) in cotton-top tamarins and callimicos. It also provides recommendations beneficial to the scientific community to enrich the lives of captive callitrichids and offers the institutions of the study with data to revise and evaluate their enrichment program. The following research questions were addressed:

- 1) Do captive animals show preferences for some types of structural, object, and social enrichment over others?
- 2) Do two similar, yet different species differ in their preferences of enrichment?
- 3) Does the presence of "positive" enrichment elicit more markers of increasing well-being, such as a high frequency of species-typical behaviors (e.g., foraging, feeding, clinging, and leaping) and a low frequency of abnormal behaviors (e.g., self-mutilation, repetitive behaviors, and others)?

## MATERIALS AND METHODS

### *Subjects*

Seven cotton-top tamarins and 6 callimicos ( $n=13$ ) were observed at Lincoln Park Zoo and Brookfield Zoo in Chicago, Illinois during the summer and winter of 2006. Group composition of the four groups included 11 adults, 1 juvenile, and 1 infant. The cotton-top group at Lincoln Park Zoo consisted of 3 adult individuals: the breeding pair (Ma and Pop) and their offspring (Brewser). The cotton-top group at Brookfield Zoo consisted of 4 adult individuals: the breeding pair (Xena and Stubby) and their offspring (Yari and Turbo). The callimico group at Brookfield Zoo consisted of 2 non-breeding adult individuals: Nick and Noodle. The callimico group at Lincoln Park Zoo consisted of 4 individuals: the breeding pair (Elsi and Gusto) and their offspring (Apaya – 6 month old male and JJ – 3 week old unsexed infant). Although data was collected on all four members of this group, JJ was excluded from all of the data analysis, and only the behaviors of the remaining 3 callimicos were analyzed.

### *Site and Housing*

The enrichment protocols and housing differed for the 4 groups observed. The LP cotton-tops rarely received any food or object enrichment on-exhibit and had a more naturalistic enclosure compared to the more traditional callimico exhibit. Off-exhibit they were given training, scents, food, and objects as forms of enrichment. The LP callimicos on-exhibit enrichment schedule included a variety of scents, browse, objects, exhibit modifications, and food related enrichment. The cotton-top and callimico exhibits at Brookfield Zoo followed similar enrichment protocols. Both groups received a wide array of structural, object, food, and sensory enrichment (such as a running waterfall, thunder, and rain throughout the day). Both of the exhibits at Brookfield Zoo are considered naturalistic.

### *Data Collection*

Visits to the zoo and data collection occurred between June 5 – June 23, 2006 and December 11 – December 22, 2006. One hundred and eleven hours of data were collected using 2-minute instantaneous scan samples (Altmann, 1974). Data collected included the usage of structures, objects, substrate height, substrate angle, general behaviors, and social spacing (see Table 1). For structure availability for each group refer to Table 2. Heights recorded were classified as ground, low (0-1.5 m), intermediate (1.5-3 m), high (3-4.5 m), very high (4.5-6.0 m), and extremely high ( $> 6.0$  m). Angles recorded were either horizontal (0-15° from horizontal), oblique (16-75°), or vertical (76-90° from vertical). Other behaviors were also recorded to compare time budgets of species-typical behavior reported in the wild and stereotypic behaviors in captivity. Behaviors were recorded with the use of a previously created ethogram, based on ethograms accumulated by the Behavior Advisory Group (New World and Old World Primates

and of reiterating too frequently its central theme of racism (Edelstein). Other critics have denounced the film's characters as one-dimensional, accusing the film of *reinforcing* common racial stereotypes. Yet more critics have considered the film an outdated glimpse at race relations, which relies upon the interracial dynamics of yesteryear in order to hyperbolize race's modern reality (Atkinson). Joan Kaufman of the Wall Street Journal states that although *Crash* succeeds in making audiences *uncomfortable*, it contributes nothing new to the social discourse of race (*Weekend Edition Saturday*).

Critics who more strongly oppose the film have accused it of appealing to "white liberal guilt" through its glorified representations of white men and women. The Black Commentator labels *Crash* a "white supremacist movie" and a "setback in the crucial project of forcing white America to come to terms with the reality of race and racism, white supremacy, and white privilege" (Jensen). bell hooks corroborates this argument, accusing *Crash* of advancing white characters as heroes despite their overt racist tendencies. hooks challenges the film's position as an initiator of modern conversations involving race, holding that its characters reinforce the same racial stereotypes that have always been present in film ("Talking Trash").

While few critics have claimed identical positions on the film, their reviews possess a common trait: an assertion of whether or not they believe the film upholds the *reality* or *actuality* of real-life race relations. Hall identifies the *reality* of race as the everyday, tangible experiences of race that all individuals share, such as the undeniable physical variations between members of differing racial groups. All individuals engage in this reality of race by accepting the fact that race exists as a social construct and is experienced by all individuals involved in a society. Finally, he argues that while all individuals share in the *reality* of race, no two individuals possess the same personal experience of race ("Race the Floating Signifier"). After Hall, I assert that critics can neither denounce nor advance *Crash* as an accurate commentary on race.

## ANALYSIS

After selecting what I believed to be the most exaggerated characters and racial situations in *Crash*, I developed a series of four assertions of how I believe the film works to reinforce rather than challenge the essentialism of race. First, essentialized representations of romantic and intimate interracial relationships led me to identify *Crash* as a film that advances the *sexualization of race*. Second, the film's tendency to advance its white characters as heroes despite their overt racist tendencies, allows me to position it as an installment in the mainstream trend of the "anti-racist white hero" film. Third, the film's reliance upon common stereotypes to develop its characters and their relationships begs the critique of the

less about themselves than they believed prior to becoming involved in racially charged incidents. The interconnectivity of racial stereotypes and the ways in which those stereotypes build walls between individuals provide the backdrop against which the characters in *Crash* examine themselves and one another.

*Crash* emerged in 2005 as the unlikely brainchild of writer-director Paul Haggis. The previous year, Haggis earned an Academy Award as screenwriter for the film *Million Dollar Baby* (2004). Haggis, a middle-aged white man from Canada, confused many critics with his decision to undertake a film dealing with racial relations in an American city. Despite its surprising origins, *Crash* quickly gained popular status as one of the decade's most talked-about racial dramas, eventually earning Haggis a second Academy Award for Best Picture in 2006.

The unexpected success of the low-budget *Crash* has initiated widespread dialogues between some of America's most prominent film critics and public figures. Those who have given positive reviews to the film celebrate its honesty and its attempt to convey the existence of racism in all individuals' lives. Roger Ebert describes *Crash* as "a film of intense fascination" ("When Racial Worlds Collide"). He applauds its attempt to involve audiences in the everyday reality of race, allowing them to peer, if only for a moment, into the lives of those different from them. Ebert credits the film's all-star cast with delivering performances he believes defy racial stereotypes, allowing audiences to become acquainted with individuals beyond their racial backgrounds. He labels *Crash* a "film about progress" which exposes the stark reality of race relations and calls for improvement ("When Racial Worlds Collide"). Similarly, Tom Meek of the Boston Phoenix celebrates *Crash* as a film whose actors deliver deep and vulnerable performances that leave audiences painfully aware of their racial attitudes and affiliations. He credits the film for doing more than attempting to teach audiences a lesson about race; he believes the film encourages audiences to interrogate themselves ("Road Kill"). Media mogul Oprah Winfrey hosted the all-star cast of *Crash* on an October 2005 episode of her popular talk show. Winfrey, who has publicly endorsed the film, provided a space for the cast to share their real-life "crashes" and the challenges of being involved in such a controversial film. Winfrey promoted the film as one of the top of 2005, noting it as one of her all time favorite films ("A Crash Cast Moment").

Critics who have given the film poor reviews accuse it of representing race in unbelievable and unrealistic ways. A.O. Scott of the New York Times believes the film fails to evoke within audiences any type of social consciousness. He feels that while the cast delivers shining performances, the film's tendency to exaggerate racially motivated incidents decreases its credibility ("Bigotry"). Similar critics have accused the film's exaggerated representations of condescending and alienating its audiences

Ethograms, available online) as well as behaviors described by Sussman et al. (2005). Social spacing (contact and proximity) was not mutually exclusive from stationary, locomotor, and feed/forage behaviors. For example, if an animal was observed feeding in contact with another animal, feeding would be scored under general behaviors and contact would be scored under the separate category of social spacing. All general behaviors, however, were mutually exclusive of each other and were scored in the following order: Locomotor → Feed/Forage → Grooming → Other Social → Stationary. For example, in a case where an animal was locomoting with food in its mouth, this behavior was scored as locomotor.

**TABLE 1.** Behaviors recorded for both cotton-top tamarins and callimicos.

Behaviors	Definitions
Locomotor	Any position where active movement is involved (climb, leap, run, or walk) and whose immediate purpose is not to obtain food.
Stationary	Any position where no locomotion is taking place (cling, grasp, hang, lay, rest, sit, stand/sit upright, stretch); a period of inactivity.
Feed/Forage	Any action displayed in the search for or acquisition of food (Molzen and French, 1989), including locomotion. Taking food items into the mouth, chewing, swallowing, and drinking water.
Grooming	Includes allogrooming (combs or picks hair of another individual) and autogrooming (animal combs or picks through own hair or skin, with teeth, hands or mouth, or scratching).
Other Social	This category included both affiliative and agonistic social behaviors other than grooming. Affiliative behaviors included mounting, copulating, vocalizing, scent-marking, social play, food-sharing, investigate, alliance formation of two or more individuals, and nursing. Agonistic behaviors included fighting, visual or vocal threats, submissive gestures, and evidence of displacement.
Stereotypy	Repetitive, invariant behaviors not seen in wild populations, such as excessive grooming, or repetitive pacing.
Social Spacing* Contact/ Huddling Proximity	Physical contact between two or more individuals. Individuals who are the distance of one body length apart.

\* This category was not mutually exclusive from stationary, locomotor, and feed/forage behaviors.



### Data Analysis

Frequencies, percentages, and chi squares were used to analyze the interspecific and intraspecific differences in the usage and preference of the different enrichment options. Individual chi-squares were used when comparing structures used by each group, since they did not have access to the same structures. Only the results of adults and juveniles were reported since the newborn, JJ, spend all of its time clinging to the mother's back. JMP statistical software was used to run statistical analyses. The significance level used was  $\alpha = .05$ .

### RESULTS

Initially, the purpose of the research was to focus on similarities and differences between species. However, due to the different availability each group had to different structures, heights, and angle substrates at different sites, intraspecific variation became an important component of the data analysis.

#### Structural Enrichment

Chi-squares were analyzed separately for each of the four groups, taking into account the availability each group had to different structures (see Table 2). Each chi-square was significantly different from the expectation of no preference (BZ Cotton-top:  $\chi^2 = 4533.411$ ;  $df = 7$ ,  $P < 0.001$ ; LP Cotton-top:  $\chi^2 = 1192.089$ ;  $df = 6$ ,  $P < 0.001$ ; BZ Callimico:  $\chi^2 = 1708.958$ ;  $df = 7$ ,  $P < 0.001$ ; LP Callimico:  $\chi^2 = 4081.048$ ;  $df = 5$ ,  $P < 0.001$ ). The BZ cotton-top group used their nest boxes 32.5% of the

**TABLE 2.** Percentage of structure usage and availability of the different groups.

	BZ CT (2702)		LP CT (2250)		BZ CM (2127)		LP CM (2570)	
	Usage	Avail	Usage	Avail	Usage	Avail	Usage	Avail
Artificial Structures	0.1	3	4.5	3	0.6	3	1.2	18
Branch	28.8	40	34.7	30	72.2	45	60.9	60
Food Area	4.1	4	2.6	3	2.1	3	1	3
Ground	0.8	3	-	3	1.4	3	0.1	3
Nest Box	32.3	5	-	-	0.9	3	-	-
Platform	3.2	5	21.2	10	8.7	3	34.3	6
Art. Tree	14.7	30	-	-	11.1	30	-	-
Vine/Rope	16	10	8.8	6	3	10	2.5	10
Rock Platform	-	-	15.6	20	-	-	-	-
Wire Net	-	-	12.6	25	-	-	-	-

time although the nest boxes accounted for only 5% of the structures in the exhibit. In the absence of a nest box, the LP cotton-top group used horizontal platforms (36.8%) to rest and conduct their social behaviors.

the term 'autoethnography' as hopefully as have many of my disciplinary colleagues... Hence, we might configure my standpoint this way: I write as an autoethnographic outsider" (Gingrich-Philbrook 301/2). Other scholars have chosen to *highlight* the role of personal narrative, celebrating it as a factor that distinguishes autoethnography from other methods of inquiry. Carolyn Ellis and Arthur Bochner explain, "Our enthusiasm for autoethnography was instigated by a desire to move ethnography away from the gaze of the distanced and detached observer and toward the embrace of intimate involvement, engagement, and embodied participation" ("Analyzing Analytic Autoethnography" 433/4). Autoethnographic perspective provides an ideal framework within which I can examine my personal relationship to the film as an individual involved in interracial relationships. It allows me to incorporate self-reflexivity into my research and to be aware of my positionality as a researcher. Much like Gingrich-Philbrook, I deploy autoethnographic perspective to position myself as a member of a historically subjugated group, and to voice my experience through a careful and thoughtful consideration of my relationship to the film and my analysis.

### DESCRIPTION OF *CRASH* AND CRITICAL RECEPTION

*Crash* examines everyday race relations among a fictional group of individuals living in modern day Los Angeles. Black, White, Asian, Middle Eastern and Hispanic American characters' lives intersect or "crash" into one another through a series of interwoven, racially motivated events spanning a two-day period. Each storyline segues into the next, stringing together the experiences of strangers whose racial stereotypes and intolerances result in both figurative and physical crashes. Although some characters never meet, the film connects them by identifying a common thread: racism. Some scenes represent interracial relationships and interactions in a subtle manner, while others present them in exaggerated ways that I believe reinforce rather than challenge common racial stereotypes.

*Crash* features an all-star cast, featuring Sandra Bullock, Don Cheadle, Brendan Fraser, Thandie Newton, and Chris "Ludacris" Bridges. Bullock and Fraser are an unhappy suburban housewife and her arrogant District Attorney husband; Cheadle is a dedicated Los Angeles detective; Thandie Newton is the affluent wife of a black film producer; and Bridges is a constantly evolving urban youth. As the film unfolds, the connections between each of these characters become more clearly defined. Confronted in many instances by their own racist attitudes, these strangers force one another to interrogate their core beliefs and the ways in which those beliefs have affected their encounters with racial and cultural others. As the film's popular tagline, "*You think you know who you are; you have no idea,*" suggests, many characters discover they know

stories in which humans engage. He argues that social perceptions of race depend entirely upon the meanings humans have attached to it. Hall argues that representations of race always relate to the structures of power inherent in society. Power and ideology work together to “fix” meanings of race and establish dominant ideologies of race as social standards, thereby maintaining the hegemony of whiteness. The connotations of race in any given society depend upon changing power structures and are therefore always subject to redefinition (“Race the Floating Signifier”).

Hall identifies the media as the most common outlet through which dominant social forces attempt to fix meanings of race. Understanding the workings of power and ideology in shaping representations of race, Hall stresses the importance of *interrogating the image* or dissecting representations in order to illuminate the power dynamics that order them. Only then, Hall believes, can individuals identify biases and determine how power structures influence what they see in the media. While Hall notes that representations in the media can never be separated from systems of power, he also submits that diversification of those images provides underrepresented groups with more opportunities for representation. Satirizing stereotypes, according to Hall, invalidates the perceived naturalness of those images and allows individuals to identify the hidden roots of images (“Representation and the Media”).

This “perceived naturalness” can be challenged through Michel Foucault’s concept of *subjugated knowledges*, voices that have been historically silenced through social hierarchies in service of hegemonic politics of representation (202). Like Hall, Foucault identifies social power structures as culprits of subjugation. Access to resources allows society’s dominant groups to record history, often misrepresenting or altogether excluding lower-ranking groups in the social hierarchy (Foucault 203). Foucault conceptualizes an “insurrection of subjugated knowledges” as an opportunity to examine these social hierarchies, to rediscover silenced groups, and bring them to voice (202). He identifies scholarship as the most effective avenue through which individuals can uncover and analyze the systems of power responsible for subjugation. Foucault approaches the process through a metaphor of *archaeology of knowledge*; systematically dissecting the technologies of power that have enabled subjugation (Foucault 205).

One way in which subjugated groups have been able to challenge these technologies of power is by embracing an autoethnographic perspective. Autoethnography, and specifically its appropriateness as a method, remains highly debated among scholars whose research incorporates autoethnographic accounts. Craig Gingrich-Philbrook supports this approach but is reluctant to label himself as an *autoethnographer*, he notes (301). “Although I have approached much of my own writing autobiographically,” submits Gingrich-Philbrook, “I have not embraced

Both groups of callimicos highly preferred to use the more readily available branches over other structures (Brookfield: 72.2%; Lincoln Park: 60.9%). The LP callimicos also used the few platforms available in the exhibit with a high frequency (34.3%).

### *Height and Angle Substrates*

Overall, significant interspecific differences in height preference were observed between the cotton-tops and callimicos in all of the height categories except for the use of the ground (Ground:  $\chi^2 = 1.9231$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $P = 0.1655$ ; Low:  $\chi^2 = 37.2097$ , Intermediate:  $\chi^2 = 1922.267$ , High  $\chi^2 = 389.4436$ , Very High:  $\chi^2 = 1946.669$ , Extremely High:  $\chi^2 = 194.0792$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $P < 0.001$ ). Table 3 shows that the cotton-tops had a preference for higher supports ( $> 3.0m$ ), while Callimicos favored lower ones, specifically the intermediate level (1.5-3m).

**TABLE 3.** Height preferences represented in the number of records observed for each height category and overall percentages.

	Ground		Low		Intermediate		High		Very High		Extremely High	
	No.	&	No.	&	No.	&	No.	&	No.	&	No.	&
ALL CT	21	0.4	613	12.5	530	10.8	1437	29.4	2092	42.8	200	4.1
BZ CT	21	0.8	578	21.4	243	9	354	13.1	1472	54.5	34	1.3
LP CT	-	-	35	1.6	287	13.1	1083	49.4	620	28.3	166	7.6
ALL CM	31	0.7	846	18	3212	68.4	556	11.8	50	1.1	2	0.04
BZ CM	29	1.4	644	30.3	1114	52.4	288	13.5	50	2.4	2	0.1
LP CM	2	0.1	202	7.9	2098	81.6	268	10.4	-	-	-	-

Although horizontal substrates were used the most, interspecific variation in angle substrate use was observed (see Table 4). The cotton-tops preferred to use horizontal and vertical supports more often than callimicos (Horizontal:  $\chi^2 = 53.7003$ , Vertical:  $\chi^2 = 45.5402$ ;  $df = 1$ ,  $P < 0.001$ ), while callimicos used significantly more oblique supports than the cotton-tops ( $\chi^2 = 90.6947$ ;  $df = 1$ ,  $P < 0.001$ ).

**TABLE 4.** Angle substrate preferences represented in the number of records for each angle category and overall percentages.

	Horizontal		Oblique		Vertical	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
ALL Cotton-top	2979	60.9	1365	27.9	549	11.2
BZ Cotton-top	1996	73.9	505	18.7	201	7.4
LP Cotton-top	983	44.9	860	39.3	348	15.9
ALL Callimico	2440	52	1910	40.7	347	7.4
BZ Callimico	1385	65.1	486	22.9	256	12
LP Callimico	1055	41.1	1424	55.4	91	3.5

### Object Enrichment

Since object enrichment was not used very often, the average use of adults from each group was compared to the only juvenile in the study. The average object use of adults ranged from 2.3-8 occurrences, while the juvenile used/manipulated objects 63 times.

### Social Enrichment and Social Spacing

Callimicos spent slightly more time grooming, food sharing, social playing, investigating, and engaging in agonistic social interactions than the cotton-tops (see Table 5). The cotton-tops spent more time engaging in passive social behaviors, such as sitting in contact or proximity to other individuals in the group.

**TABLE 5.** Number of records and percentage of overall time cotton-tops and callimicos spent engaging in social interactions or in proximity to another individual.

Affiliative Social Interactions	Cotton-tops		Callimicos	
	No.	%	No.	%
Groom	312	6.3	438	9.3
Food Share	-	-	20	0.4
Social Play	2	0.04	101	2.2
Scent-mark	48	1.0	15	0.3
Vocalize	26	0.5	35	0.7
Mate	-	-	2	0.04
Investigate	3	0.06	15	0.3
Other	3	0.06	12	0.3
<b>Agonistic Social Interactions</b>	6	0.1	57	1.2
<b>Social Spacing</b>				
Contact/ Huddle	1126	22.7	1005	21.4
Proximity	361	7.3	203	4.3

### Activity Budget and Position Behavior

Significant interspecific differences in activity budget were observed in the animals' engagement in allogrooming, locomotor, and other social and stationary behaviors (see Table 6). Cotton-tops spent more time locomoting and in stationary positions, while callimicos spent more time allogrooming and conducting other social behaviors (Allogrooming:  $\chi^2 = 21.1680$ , Locomotor:  $\chi^2 = 41.2676$ , Other Social:  $\chi^2 = 64.6465$  and Stationary  $\chi^2 = 15.8729$ ;  $df = 1$ ,  $P < 0.001$ ). No significant interspecific

## Beyond Essentialism: Re/presentations of Interracial Relationships in Paul Haggis' *Crash*

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### ABSTRACT



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In this project, I examine the 2005 film *Crash* in an effort to identify racial discourses, which work to advance essentialized representations of marginalized racial groups. I challenge the film's status as a social commentary on race, focusing on the ways in which its mediated re/presentations of race further perpetuate hegemonic discourses on race that the film sets out to challenge. Additionally, I deploy an autoethnographic perspective in order to address my relationship to the film as an individual involved in real-life interracial relationships. In doing so I hope to explicate the ways in which representations of race in *Crash* work to fix social perceptions of race and interracial relationships. I garner my theoretical insights from Stuart Hall's theories of race, media, and representation, focusing on their relationship to power and ideology. Finally, Michel Foucault's notion of *subjugated knowledges* offers a theoretical framework within which I will analyze my positionality and the ways in which it has influenced my relationship to the film.

### INTRODUCTION

In recent years, mainstream films have tackled the controversial issues of race and interracial relationships, inciting mixed responses from filmgoers and critics. In this project, I examine the 2005 film *Crash* as one such film. I analyze the discourse of race surrounding the film, to argue that its manifestations work to advance essentialized representations of marginalized racial groups. To this end, I review prominent critics' responses to *Crash* in an effort to identify how their attempts to classify the film as *accurate* or *inaccurate* further essentialize<sup>1</sup> the film's representations of race. I challenge the film's status as a social commentary on race, focusing on the ways in which its images further marginalize members of the groups its characters represent. Additionally, I briefly take an autoethnographic turn to examine my relationship to the film as an individual involved in real-life interracial relationships. It is my hope to understand the ways in which stereotypical images in *Crash* work to fix social perceptions of race and interracial relationships. I garner my theoretical insights from Stuart Hall, Michel Foucault, and bell hooks, all of whom interrogate the workings of the media, power, and representation in securing hegemonic representations of race.

Stuart Hall conceptualizes race as one of the main factors around which human societies organize their systems of classification. He identifies race as a *discursive construct*, created and implemented through the cultural

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differences were observed in autogrooming or feeding/foraging ( $\chi^2 = 1.2934$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $P = .2554$ ;  $\chi^2 = 2.7518$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $P = .0973$ ).

**TABLE 6.** Activity budget and the number of records for each behavioral category for cotton-tops and callimicos.

Behavior	Cotton-tops		Callimicos	
	No. %	No.	%	
Allogroom	312	6.3	438	9.3
Autogroom	193	3.9	216	4.6
Feed/Forage	374	7.6	330	7
Locomotor	590	11.9	389	8.3
Other Social	118	2.4	278	5.9
Stationary	3365	68	3046	64.9

Locomotor positional behavior greatly differed between the two species. The Callimicos' locomotor behavior was dominated by leaping (78.9%), while the cotton-tops were observed walking and using climbing/scansorial locomotion more often (40% walking and 19.8% climbing/scansorial versus 6.7% walking and 4.4% climbing/scansorial in callimicos), although stationary positional behaviors were similar between the two species (see Table 6). Both species spent most of their stationary time sitting (cotton-tops: 56.6% and callimicos: 64.8%) or laying (cotton-tops: 27.6% and callimicos: 19.4%).

**TABLE 7.** Positional behaviors and the number of records for each behavioral category for cotton-tops and callimicos.

	Cotton-tops		Callimicos	
	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Locomotor</b>				
Climb/Scansorial	117	19.8	17	4.4
Leap	208	35.3	307	78.9
Run	29	4.9	39	10
Walk	236	40	26	6.7
<b>Stationary/Positional</b>				
Cling/Grasp	394	11.7	389	12.8
Lay	930	27.6	590	19.4
Sit	1903	56.6	1973	64.8
Stand/Sit Upright	126	3.7	85	2.8
Other	12	0.4	9	0.3

## DISCUSSION

The aim of this study was to examine how two similar, yet different, species of New World monkeys would use different forms of enrichment and to examine the presence of species typical and stereotypical behaviors. Although the settings of these groups were not identical, it provides important insights into the effects of environmental enrichment on behavior.

### *Usage of Positive Enrichment*

All four of the study sites offered the animals a variety of structural enrichment, and preferences for particular types of structures were observed. The BZ cotton-tops that had access to a closed nest box used it more than any other structure (32.5%), including the more readily available branches. The nest boxes are a great source of enrichment for these animals as it gives them an opportunity to have some control over their environment and go out of sight of visitors. The other three groups that did not have access to a closed nest box used horizontal platforms with high frequency. These horizontal platforms (in the form of wire mesh cages and long rock platforms) were especially important for the LP cotton-tops because it provided them with a place for hiding (by foliage from a nearby tree) and socializing. These results are similar to a study conducted on five captive born cotton-top tamarins released into a semi-free environment. Price (1992) found that the group used stable, horizontal supports soon after they were released. Weeks later, the group was observed using more unstable oblique supports. Wild tamarins are also observed using more oblique supports than the groups in this study (Crandlermire-Sacco, 1988; Garber and Pruett, 1995). These results suggest that while zoos should provide captive callitrichids with their preferred stable supports, they also need to be offered and encouraged to use less stable supports that somewhat mimic their very diverse and complex environment in the wild. Another great form of structural enrichment for these animals was the presence of a wire mesh that surrounded the LP cotton-top exhibit. This structure gave the animals an opportunity to conduct vertical clinging and scansorial locomotion typically observed in callitrichids (Porter, 2004), and could account for the interspecific differences in scansorial locomotion observed (callimico: 4.4%, cotton-top: 19.8%).

Although object enrichment has been shown to increase exploratory behaviors (Harris and Edwards, 2004), the individuals in this study rarely used the objects provided. Unlike adult captive gorillas that use object enrichment regularly (Zambetta, 2005), adult cotton-tops and callimicos do not seem to use object enrichment as much as juveniles. Since the sample only included one juvenile, further exploration is needed to identify significant age based differences in object use. While captive

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children, and even serve as counselors to its congregation (Taylor, 1988). African Americans are likely to seek counseling from pastors as oppose to professional counseling (Sullivan et al., 2006).

The present study had several limitations. Due to the small sample size results can not be generalized to all African American college students. These African American college students attended a predominantly European American educational institution; therefore, these results can not be generalized to African Americans attending predominantly African American universities. There is definitely a shortage of research on acculturation strategies.

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animals should be introduced to novel stimuli on a regular basis, special attention and long periods of observations are needed to assure that the newly introduced objects do not negatively affect the group's behavior.

## *Species-typical Behaviors – Marker of Well-being*

Interspecific height preferences were comparable to wild populations of cotton-top tamarins and callimicos. Callimicos in this study preferred to use intermediate heights (1.5-3.0m) significantly more than any other height class (52.4-81.6%), while cotton-tops preferred higher supports (> 3.0m). In the wild, callimicos also seem to prefer heights between 2-3m, while Saguinus species tend to prefer higher supports, such as 5-25m+ (Yoneda, 1984; Garber and Pruett, 1995; Defler, 2004; Porter, 2004). This suggests that regardless of the environment, cotton-top tamarins will be observed using higher supports than callimicos. One way of enriching the lives of these animals in captivity is to provide callimicos with enrichment at intermediate heights and cotton-top tamarins with enrichment at higher supports.

The opportunity for these animals to live in a cohesive family group also proved to be beneficial in terms of promoting the presence of social species typical behaviors seen in callitrichids, such as grooming, food sharing, social play, scent-making, vocalization, and low agonistic social interactions. In terms of social spacing, the animals spent between 21.4-22.7% of the time in physical contact with each other. While further analysis of intergroup differences in social behavior is necessary, we can conclude that the animals spend more time socializing than any other behavior, aside from being in a stationary position. Having stable family groups in captivity should be the goal of social enrichment.

Unfortunately, the activity budget of callimicos and cotton-tops in this study greatly differed from what is observed in the wild populations, except for Porter (2004). It must be mentioned that some of these differences could be related to the methodology used to collect the data and the definitions given to different behavioral categories. For example, Porter (2004) includes grooming as part of her resting behaviors. In the present study, grooming was mutually exclusive from resting behaviors. Caution should be taken when comparing the results from this study to other research (Table 8 is only meant to display the variation in activity budget of some callitrichids). Both groups in this study seemed to locomote less, forage less, and socialize more than what is observed in the wild. Yoneda (1984) reports that resting behaviors only occupied 24.6% of daily activities in *S. fuscicollis* in the wild compared to 65-68% in the groups of this study. Feeding/foraging also accounts for a large portion of the activity budget in wild callitrichids, 30-48% (Rylands, 1988; Raboy and Dietz, 2004) compared to 7-7.6% in this study. Concerns regarding the amount of time the animals remain sitting or laying is

quite alarming. It is important to find ways to enrich their lives through a diverse diet that challenges the animals and allows them to work for their food. Providing captive primates with food enrichment does not necessarily have to be very costly or time consuming. Simple changes such as scattering the food within the exhibit, introducing foraging devices, or making feeding time more unpredictable will go a long way in stimulating captive animals. Since primates are highly intelligent, it will take plenty of trial and error, and creativity and inquisitiveness on the part of zoo personnel to positively enhance the lives of the animals under their care.

**TABLE 8.** Comparison of activity budget to wild populations of callitrichids.

	Stationary	Locomote	Feed/Forage		Allogroom/Social		Other
<i>C. goeldii</i> (present study)	68	11.9	7.6	6.3	2.4	3.9	(autogroom)
<i>C. goeldii</i> (wild) <sup>1</sup>	66	17	15	-	2	-	
<i>S. oedipus</i> (present study)	64.9	8.3	7	9.3	5.9	4.6	(autogroom)
<i>S. oedipus</i> (wild) <sup>2</sup>	29-37	19-40	31-44	-	-	-	
<i>S. oedipus</i> (semi-free) <sup>3</sup>	48	9	12	-	-	31	(resting)
<i>L. chrysomelas</i> (wild) <sup>4</sup>	20	33	30	-	10	7	
<i>C. kuhli</i> (wild) <sup>5</sup>	14	38	48	-	-	-	

<sup>1</sup> Porter (2004), <sup>2</sup> (Savage, 1990 in Defler, 2004), <sup>3</sup> (Price, 1992), <sup>4</sup> Raboy and Diets (2004), <sup>5</sup> Rylands (1988).

While there is only one reported study of cotton-top positional behavior, other *Saguinus* species will be used to compare the results of this study to populations in the wild. Knowledge about in depth positional behavior in different *Saguinus* species has been thoroughly documented (Yoneda, 1984; Garber, 1991; Garber and Pruetz, 1995; Garber and Leigh, 2001). In Garber's study (1991), quadrupedal bound and run accounted for 43-52% of travel behaviors, while leaping accounted for 31-41%. The results from this study are similar with the group's quadrupedal locomotion, accounting for 44.9% and 35.3% of leaping. While clinging and grasping is another species typical behavior in callitrichids, comparisons between this study and others could not be made due to the different ways the data was collected and presented. In this study, callimico's locomotor positional behavior was dominated by leaping (78.9%). Garber and Leigh (2001) found that approximately 62% of all locomotor behavior in wild callimicos was expressed through leaping or hopping. To conclude, the groups in this study were spending more time resting than what should be desired, but when the animals did locomote, the amount of time engaged in different locomotor positions was relatively similar to what is observed in the wild.

101), followed by African American therapists (64.4%,  $n = 101$ ) and heterosexual therapists (80.8%,  $n = 102$ ).

## DISCUSSION

The present study sought to investigate African American attitudes toward seeking professional psychological services. After conducting a Pearson correlation we can support the hypothesis of African American college students having negative attitudes towards psychological help. With 116 points being the highest possible score for ATSPPH the sample mean (44.1) reflects negative attitudes towards help seeking. This study investigates the relationship between acculturation and help seeking attitudes. Due to not finding significance we are unable to support the hypothesis of acculturation correlating to attitudes towards help seeking. Ironically, assimilationists reflected negative attitudes towards help-seeking. This phenomenon may be attributed to assimilationists having negative first-hand contact with the dominant group causing unfavorable attitudes. The study also sought to investigate African American therapist preferences for seeking psychological services associated with personal, psychological, and career issues. We are able to support the hypothesis of African American college students showing preference to counselor. When seeking help for a personal, psychological, and career issue participants prefer an African American counselor. Participants prefer seeking the help of a female therapist for personal and psychological help substantially more than a male therapist. In regards to career advice, participants prefer a male therapist slightly more than a female therapist. Participants reflect an increase in European American counselor preference when seeking help for career advice.

## IMPLICATIONS

This study indicates that African American college students have less than positive attitudes about help-seeking. The present sample reported a high preference for African American therapists when seeking help for a personal, psychological and career issue. This implies that more African American college students would be more likely to seek help if they could receive help from a therapist of similar culture and ethnicity. Results also imply that students would rather use informal means of coping as opposed to professional help. Past research shows African Americans students prefer to use informal coping methods such as talking with family, friends, and keeping concerns to themselves (Chiang et al., 2004). Research also suggests that church serves as a safe haven for blacks, a social support network fulfilling the emotional and social needs of the community (Taylor, 1988). Church leaders aren't just the people who provide prayer during a crisis; they prepare meals, rear

subscales that measure recognition of need for psychotherapeutic help. The subscale is comprised of eight items. Stigma tolerance evaluates the opinions about the shame associated with seeking help. The subscale contains five items. Interpersonal openness appraises participants' willingness to disclose personal issues. This subscale consists of seven items factor. Confidence in mental health practitioner measures participants trust in mental health professionals. The subscale has nine items. ATSPPHS has an internal reliability of .86 (Fischer & Turner, 1970) for a standardized sample of  $n = 212$ , and later computations report an internal reliability of .83 of a standardized sample of  $n = 406$ . This calculation confirms a moderately good consistency with the scale. Test-retest reliabilities ( $r$ ) at varying intervals of five days, two weeks, four weeks, six weeks, and two months were .86 ( $n = 26$ ), .89 ( $n = 47$ ), .82 ( $n = 31$ ), .73 ( $n = 19$ ), and .84 ( $n = 20$ ) respectively. Overall, the ATSPPHS scores remained consistent over time. The total is computed by summing all the item scores. High scores signify a positive attitude towards help seeking.

Measurement of Acculturation Strategies for People of African Descent (MASPAD; Obasi, in press) is used to assess acculturation strategy along the dimension of beliefs and behaviors. Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936). The MASPAD (see Appendix B) consists of 45 items participants respond to a six point Likert scale ranging from "strongly agree" (6) to "strongly disagree" (1). MASPAD was selected because it's the only instrument that measures acculturative dissonance.

Therapist Preferences & Demographics are used to investigate African American students' counselor preference when seeking help for a personal, psychological and career issue. Counselor preference consists of nine items; participants are to select their preference in therapist gender, ethnicity, and sexual orientation. The demographic sheet inquires participants' gender, age, grade point average, and class standing.

## RESULTS

Mean scores and standard deviations were calculated on ATSPPH. Frequencies are calculated for therapist preferences. In regards to help seeking for a personal issue female therapists were the most frequent response (82.7%,  $n = 102$ ), followed by African American therapists (74%,  $n = 100$ ) and heterosexual therapists (80.8%,  $n = 101$ ). When seeking help for career advice participants reported male therapists (50%,  $n = 101$ ), followed by African American therapists (67.3%,  $n = 101$ ) and heterosexual therapists (78.8%,  $n = 101$ ). When seeking psychological help, female therapists were reported most frequently (76.9%,  $n =$

## Stereotypical Behaviors

No stereotypical behaviors were observed throughout the length of the study. Autogrooming, which included scratching, was observed between 3.9-4.6% of the time. Since no significant difference was observed in autogrooming between the species ( $\chi^2 = 1.2934$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $P = .2554$ ) and little is known in the wild regarding the amount of time these animals spent autogrooming, I did not consider it a stereotypy. Stereotypical behaviors in New World monkeys requires further exploration to fully evaluate the physical and psychological well-being of these animals in a captive setting.

Trying to provide captive primates with challenging opportunities to enhance their well-being can be a challenging task. In the wild, callitrichids have very complex social organizations, specific physical or ecological adaptations for obtaining food, and have access to a multifaceted environment. Often times, these complex and intelligent animals can have a hard time adapting to a rigid, predictable environment in captivity. With the continuing expansion in the field of environmental enrichment, we can only hope that broad generalizations of what constitutes a complex environment for all captive primates will begin to fade. Focusing on species typical needs as well as differences between groups of the same species in different environments can yield a wealth of knowledge about the needs of that particular group. The ultimate goal of species-specific research should be to tailor the enrichment practices not only to account for interspecific variation, but it should also account for intragroup variation, and even try to meet the needs of different individuals in each institution.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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## PURPOSE OF STUDY

A barrage of literature indicates that African American college students do not obtain the services of professional counselors (Chiang et al., 2004; Duncan, 2005; So et al., 2005). The present study attempts to examine the relationship of help seeking attitudes and acculturation strategies among African American college students. This study is important because it attempts to provide an explanation to past and present findings of help seeking among African American college students. The hypotheses are (a) African American college students will have negative attitudes toward seeking professional psychological help; (b) African American college students will prefer therapists similar in ethnicity; and (c) Acculturation will predict attitudes toward seeking professional psychological help.

## METHODS

### *Participants and Procedures*

The sample included 104 self-identified African American undergraduate students at a Midwestern university. The 104 sample was comprised of 50% of males (n=52) and females (n=52), ranging between the ages of 18-27. There were 44 freshmen, 18 sophomores, 17 juniors, 21 seniors, and 4 graduate and professional students. These students were enrolled in an undergraduate psychology course, Black American studies, or were members of the Minority Engineering Program. Participants were given the questionnaire and were told that the survey assessed attitudes towards university mental facilities. The survey took approximately thirty minutes to complete. All participants were informed that their participation was voluntary and responses would be kept confidential, and that they could withdraw from the procedure without prejudice.

### *Measures*

The Attitudes Toward Seeking Professional Psychological Help Scale (ATSPPHS; Fisher & Turner, 1970) is used to assess help seeking attitudes. The tool consists of 29 items; 11 of the items are positively stated: "If a good friend asked my advice about a mental problem, I might recommend that he see a psychiatrist." 18 are negatively stated: "Although there are clinics for people with mental troubles, I would not have much faith in them." Negatively stated items are reversed for scoring. Items are rated on a four point Likert scale; participant are to designate agree or disagree.

ATSPPHS (see Appendix A) was selected because it is the most widely used instrument to assess help-seeking attitudes among minorities. It is extensively used to assess African American help seeking attitudes (e.g. So, 2005; Duncan, 2005) as well as Asian Americans (Hung-Bin, S., 2004) and Indonesians (Setiawan, 2006). The ATSPPHS consists of four

researchers discovered a significant relationship. African Americans in the Resistance and Immersion (stage II) preferred African American counselors compared to European American counselors (Morten & Atkinson, 1983). African American students in Synergetic stage of identity development did not express an importance in counselor preference (Morten & Atkinson, 1983). While past research has provided an exhaustive list of factors affecting African Americans and help seeking, many lack an explanation of ethnic differences. The present study proposes the paradigm of acculturation to further capture how differences in acculturation level affect cultural ideals, customs, attitudes, and rituals of minorities.

### *Acculturation*

Despite the increased attention to help seeking in African Americans; limitations in understanding acculturation strategies of African Americans are present. In this study acculturation refers to the result of an individual being immersed in the dominant culture (Obasi, in press). Acculturation scales are needed to assist in understanding cultural diversity amongst ethnic groups such as African Americans, Chinese, Japanese, and Cubans (Landrine & Klonoff, 1994).

Landrine & Klonoff (1994) developed the first African American Acculturation Scale. This instrument provided an understanding of African Americans as an ethnic and racial group (Landrine & Klonoff, 1994). Acculturation contributes to many health behaviors and attitudes among African Americans including hypertension, AIDS beliefs, alcohol use, and smoking (Landrine & Klonoff, 1994). The present study will assess acculturation using the Measurement of Acculturation Strategies for People of African Descent (MASPAD). Developed in 2004, the MASPAD instrument is the first to utilize a multidimensional assessment of acculturation (Obasi, in press). An individual increases the cultural distance the more they move away from their original ethnic group (Obasi, in press). African Americans in the U.S. acculturation strategies were specified as traditionalist, integrationist, marginalist, and assimilationist (Obasi, in press).

### *Acculturation Strategies*

According to MASPAD a traditionalist is likely to show a high preference for maintaining one's heritage and a low preference in participation of another heritage. (Obasi, in press). Integrationists are expected to display an increase in maintaining one's heritage as well as participation in another culture (Obasi, in press). Assimilationists are anticipated to reflect a decrease in preference for their own heritage and an increase for participation in another culture (Obasi, in press). Marginalists are projected to reveal a decrease in preference for their own heritage as well as participation into another heritage (Obasi, in press).

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et al., 2006). In addition to the reluctance to seek mental health services because of the stigmas associated with it, cultural mistrust contributes to many African Americans' wariness of the mental health profession.

*Help Seeking Barrier: Cultural Mistrust*

Historical mistreatment, such as the Tuskegee Syphilis experiments of African Americans, has led to a general mistrust of European Americans (Zekeri & Habtemariam, 2006). This belief is said to be an immense factor contributing to the underutilization of mental health services in African American communities (Duncan, 2003). In fact, Nickerson, Helms, & Terrell (1994) reported mistrust as the most reliable and powerful predictor of help seeking. African American students reported higher levels of mistrust of Caucasian counselors and showed an overall negative attitude towards seeking help from agencies primarily staffed by European American counselors (Nickerson et al, 1994). African Americans often have lower expectations of European American therapists and feel therapy would not cure their ailments (Duncan, 2003). This insinuates that African Americans may have a preference for a counselor similar in culture and ethnicity.

A study by Thomson & Cimbolic (1978), corroborates the fact that African American students prefer African American counselors in comparison to European American counselors. African American students sought the help of African American counselors for educational and personal problems (Thomson & Cimbolic, 1978). Furthermore, African American students would be more willing to use counseling services if they were guaranteed treatment by an African American counselor (Thomson & Cimbolic, 1978). Several studies have alluded to racial identity development as a predictor of counselor preference (Morten & Atkinson, 1983; Brinson et al., 1995; Duncan, 2003). Racial identity models aim to describe the stages of psychological identity believed to be applicable to racial-cultural minorities (Brinson et al., 1995). Morten & Atkinson (1983), used the Minority Identity Development (MID) model to assess the relationship between stages of identity among African Americans and counselor preference. The MID proposes three stages of identity development in minorities (Morten & Atkinson 1983). First, the Conformity level (stage I) of identity development; individuals in this stage convey a indisputable preference for cultural ideals and actions connected with the dominant group over the values and actions of their own group (Morten & Atkinson, 1983). Secondly, people in Resistance or Immersion (stage II) only embrace minority ideals and actions; ideals and actions of the dominant group are expelled (Morten & Atkinson, 1983). Finally, persons in Synergetic Articulation and Awareness phase (stage III) of identity development integrate both ideals and actions of their own group and the dominant group (Morten & Atkinson, 1983). As hypothesized,

coverage as central barriers of help seeking among African Americans (Zekeri & Habtemariam, 2006). Other reports suggest that there is a stigma associated with help seeking (Sullivan, Harris, Collado & Chen; 2006). Finally, mistrust of mental health professionals (Diala et al., 2001; Hines-Martin et al., 2003; & So et al., 2005) increase limitations for African Americans when seeking help.

#### *Help Seeking Barriers: Poverty and Inadequate Insurance Coverage*

African Americans reflect high poverty rates in households headed by single women, people in families make up a staggering 58% of poor African Americans (Spriggs, 2006). In regards to age group, African Americans under the age of 18 are disproportionately affected by poverty. African American senior citizens comprise 43% of America and have a poverty rate of 23.8% (Spriggs, 2006). Between 2004 and 2005 poverty rates among African Americans remained relatively unchanged at 24.9%; however, there was a decrease in poverty among European Americans from 8.7% to 8.3% in 2005 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2005). Most often the poverty stricken populations are not equipped with the insurance coverage needed for mental health services. Individuals whose insurance coverage does not provide mental health are unlikely to utilize the specialty clinics for mental health problems (Wu et al., 2003). In the present study, health insurance is defined as private or government coverage, and uninsured persons are classified as those not covered by any private or government agency (U.S. Census Bureau, 2005). Inadequate health insurance is a major barrier to mental health service. As would be expected, uninsured persons are in poor health due to their lack of access to medical services (Wu et al., 2003). Wu et al. (2003), reported young adults ranging from 19-24 years old, particularly African Americans and Latinos, are without health insurance. Research indicates African Americans are less likely to be privately insured or have employment based health coverage (Copeland, 2005) this maybe attributed to African Americans being disproportionately represented in poverty.

#### *Help Seeking Barriers: Stigma Association*

Previous research has addressed stigma association as a primary cause for under-treatment of mental ailments (Halter, 2003; Duncan, 2005, So et al., 2005). In the present study stigma is referred to as a blot or blemish of disgrace (Halter, 2003). The shame that professional mental health services are sought out by "crazy people" is a common belief in the African American community (Sullivan et al., 2006). In the African American culture persons are expected to "pull themselves together" and face their problems; individuals lacking the ability to pull themselves up by the bootstraps are viewed as weak or inadequate (Sullivan et al., 2006). African Americans associate professional mental help with "insanity." Seeking the advice of a professional is often viewed as shameful (Sullivan

## The Role of the Spanish-Language News Media in Chicago's Latino Political and Grassroots Organizing

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### ABSTRACT



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The growth of the Spanish language news media has led to questions surrounding its role in the Latino community. What is the role of the Spanish language news media in Latino politics? How and to what extent does the Spanish language news media help facilitate a Latino political agenda? How does Spanish language news effect Latino political development? This paper will examine the role of the Spanish language news media in Latino communities, specifically looking at how the Spanish language news media effects Chicago Latino politics and grassroots organizations. I have chosen to investigate this role by conducting a series of interviews with news media representatives, Latino elected officials, and leaders in Latino organizations. I have found that the Spanish language news media does have a significant role in the Latino community as part of a Latino Advocacy Coalition. The Spanish language news media is able to facilitate a Latino political agenda in the following ways: 1) it is an accessible source of information; 2) it covers issues of concern for the community that may not be covered in the mainstream news media; 3) it is an effective mobilizing tool for the community by providing a direct link between the Latino leadership and community. The open advocacy role of Spanish language news media is what distinguishes its presence in the Latino community from that of mainstream news media and demonstrates the political significance of the Spanish language news media in Latino communities. In addition, I have found that this advocacy role of Spanish language news media becomes more important during times of crisis, as was demonstrated by the significant role it played in the recent immigrant rights marches.

### INTRODUCTION

On March 25, April 10, and May 1, 2006, millions of people marched throughout the United States in response to legislation on immigration reform passed by the House of Representatives. Most of the Latino community opposed this legislation because the provisions in H.R. 4437 were seen as too harsh and "anti-Latino." This large turnout demonstrated the ability of the Latino<sup>1</sup> population to mobilize at a national level.

1 The term Latino in this study is used to refer to the Spanish speaking population and people whose descendants are from Spanish speaking national origins and does not imply in any way that these groups are one unified homogenous group (Padilla, 1985; Ramos, 2005).

However, this was not the first time that immigration legislation deemed “anti-immigrant” had passed. In 1996, there were a series of bills passed aimed at reducing “illegal immigration,” including the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIA) (Garcia 2003, p.177). Although the majority of the Latino community opposed IIRIA, Latino politicians and grassroots activists did not manage to mobilize the community in a substantial level that could compare to the marches of spring 2006; why was the community effective in organizing this time around?

Several of the organizers attributed the success of the marches to their efforts of informing the public. However, it was the efforts of the Spanish language news media (SLNM) that were crucial in getting the word out on where the marches were held and how to participate. Was it because the SLNM took on a leadership role by “issuing orders” (Flaccus 2006)? Or was it simply that the SLNM informed viewers of events, which may have “prompted” (Flaccus 2006) viewers to attend the march?

The recent massive Latino mobilization raises many questions about the role and effects of the SLNM in the Latino community: How and to what extent does the Spanish language news media help facilitate a Latino political agenda? How has the Spanish language news media affected Latino political development and participation?

Over the last fifteen years, both the Latino community and the SLNM have grown rapidly. The simultaneous growth has strengthened the relationship and interactions between SLNM and the Latino community. The SLNM’s role in providing the Latino/Spanish speaking community with information that is otherwise difficult to obtain through mainstream English news media has been acknowledged in the literature. However, we do not know if and how the SLNM influences the Latino community, especially in mobilizing efforts. The relationship between SLNM and the Latino community may suggest that a segment of American news media has taken on an advocacy role that has affected political development, participation, and awareness in the Latino community.

In this study, I examined the role of the SLNM in Chicago Latino communities. Chicago has one of the largest Latino communities in the United States. The recent massive Latino mobilization in Chicago provides the environment needed to analyze the SLNM’s role in mobilizing efforts. I explored the SLNM’s role in the Latino community through a series of interviews with SLNM representatives, Latino elected officials, and Latino organizers.

Current literature on the effects of the news media, Latino politics, and advocacy coalitions was used to help structure the role of the SLNM in the Latino community. Furthermore, the SLNM role was explored through a series of interviews with members of the Latino political and

help students’ cope with problems they may face. In fact, Rickinson & Rutherford (1995), reported that counseling intervention was discovered to be successful in supporting a group of students at risk of dropping out within their first term. These “high risk” students were involved in training workshops that assisted with coping academically and personally (Rickinson & Rutherford, 1995). Counseling helps improve retention rates in school; students attending counseling seemed better adjusted to the social and academic difficulties (Rickinson & Rutherford, 1995). In a study conducted by Chiang, Hunter, and Yeh (2004), students reported their concerns to counselors at a university counseling center. These concerns included family relationships, academic concerns, depression, difficulties with romantic partners, and stress management (Chiang et al., 2004).

Previous literature indicated Black and Latino college students evade professional mental services (Brinson, 1995; Constantino, 2003; Duncan, 2005). Instead, Blacks and Latinos prefer informal support methods such as peers, family, and mentors, to assist with adjustment (Chiang et al., 2004). Black students reported talking with friends, keeping concerns to themselves, and talking with a significant other and parents as their most frequent coping resources (Chiang et al., 2004). Only 17.3% African Americans disclose that they would seek help from a counselor when facing adversities (Chiang et al., 2004). Disparities in utilization of mental health facilities continue cross-culturally in America.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

A growing body of literature suggests African American college students display less than favorable attitudes towards seeking help (Chiang et al., 2004; Duncan, 2005; So, Gilbert, & Romero, 2005). While there are many forms of help-seeking, the present study refers to seeking professional psychological help from a counselor or psychologist. Although there is limited research in the area of help seeking, most indicate that African Americans compared to European Americans are less likely to seek professional psychological help from mental health facilities (Brinson, 1995; So et al., 2005). Previous reports reveal numerous barriers to mental health services for African Americans. One of these barriers is lack of financial backing (Das, Olfson, McCurtis, & Weissman, 2006); African Americans are more likely to be poverty stricken, be uninsured, or have insurance coverage limitations (Das, Olfson, McCurtis, & Weissman, 2006). Inadequate health insurance coverage (Hines-Martin, Malone, Kim, & Brown-Piper, 2003; Hung-Bin & Sedlacek, 2004; Wu, Kouzis, & Schlenger, 2003). A study by Wu et al. (2003), reported young adults, particularly minorities, are without health insurance. In a study conducted by Zekeri & Habtemariam (2006), participants indicated poverty and lack of health insurance

## Help Seeking Attitudes Amongst African-American College Students

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### ABSTRACT



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Research suggests that African American college students are underutilizing mental health facilities (Chiang, Hunter, & Yeh, 2004). Reports propose numerous barriers that impact African Americans from seeking help such as inadequate insurance coverage, lack of financial resources (Hung-Bin & Sedlacek, 2004), stigma (Sullivan, Harris, Collado, & Chen, 2006), and mistrust of mental health professionals. The present study examines a sample of 104 African American college students at a Midwestern university. Using the Attitudes Toward Seeking Professional Psychological Help Scale (ATSPPH) and the Measurement of Acculturation Strategies for People of African Descent scale (MASPAD), the Assimilationist subscale was significantly related to help seeking attitudes.

### INTRODUCTION

According to the National Center for Education and Statistics (2002), 31% of African Americans were enrolled in colleges and universities. This is a 19% increase since 1980. More African Americans are attending universities where European Americans are the dominant group, yet only 44% of African Americans are completing a baccalaureate degrees at four year institutions compared to 54% of European American students (D'Augelli, 1993). Duncan (2005), reported that African Americans display higher rates of attrition at universities, more African Americans have lower GPAs and graduation rates, and less African Americans are attending graduate or professional school in comparison to European Americans.

For many, college is a time of great change and adjustment; students must learn to adapt in order to face challenges of academia. Setiawan (2006), states university challenges and experiences pose potential damage to students' well-being. Most universities provide counseling centers that

journalism community. For this initial phase of the study, I interviewed<sup>2</sup> two prominent Latino elected officials, who combined have over 20 years of experience in public office. Also interviewed were two editors from a Spanish language weekly newspaper serving the Chicago Latino community and a media representative from a citywide Latino grassroots organization. Ultimately, the interviews will help demonstrate the effects of the growth of the SLNM in the Chicago Latino community within the past fifteen years.

### EFFECTS OF DIFFERENT TYPES OF NEWS MEDIA

In their book, *Is Anyone Responsible*, on the effects of priming by television news media, Iyengar and Kinder (1987, p.3) address the importance of studying the media, "the lack of a theory of media effects has significantly impeded our understanding of how democracy works." Having a functional and free news media has widely been acknowledged as being essential for a democracy, and some researchers have suggested the importance in studying the many different types of media accessible to citizens in order to gain an overall perspective on the effects of mass media (p.1999).

The majority of the literature on news media and politics has focused on the media's ability, or lack thereof, in influencing public opinion (Jacobs & Shapiro, 1996; Mutz & Paul, 2001). However, few studies have focused on the political impact of having a functional news media outlet available to a community where such communication sources were previously unavailable, and how the mere presence of such news media outlets can effect democratic participation in that community. The assumptions made by focusing on only Mainstream news media is that other types of non-English news media outlet effects are insignificant.

Although scholars have been studying the effect of mainstream news media on public opinion it is still unclear if the "media's influence can change the public's attitudes and policy preferences" (Jacobs & Shapiro, 1996, p.10). Another study, which demonstrated the importance of the media's ability to expose people to dissimilar views, however, found that the media's effect on this was minimal (Mutz & Martin, 2001). One study examined the media's effect on local participation and found that the media overall had an effect on local participation (McLeod, Scheufele, & Moy, 1999).

All of these approaches to studying the media focus on the direct influences of the news media on public mass political behavior, which

2 The interviews were conducted both in person and on the telephone within a period of eight weeks. The interviewees were selected from a list of SLNM contacts, elected officials, and Latino community organizers and were contacted either by e-mail or telephone.

is another limitation because indirect influences can also be important. In addition, the majority of these studies are limited because they only address the influences of mainstream English news media outlets, which leave out the effects of other significant American media markets. One explanation for this might be that English news media generally reaches a majority of the United State's population. However, by refocusing research to include other media outlets that cater to minorities or non-English speakers, a researcher will be able to gain valuable insights on the political behavior of underrepresented communities living in the U.S.

The news media interacts daily with politicians and grassroots organizations. These interactions are assumed to be objective and consist of receiving information from public officials, which is then passed on to the public. According to Jason P. Isralowitz (1992), over the last 30 years journalists have been encouraged by newspaper companies to be neutral and objective, resulting in limitations on journalists outside political activities and affiliations. The news media interactions with politicians can have an important advocacy effect if the journalists make politicians aware of issues which they were not informed about.

It is reasonable to believe that the objective role of the news media can change if a journalist's principal responsibility is to report to a specific audience and community with whom they share common values and interest. The journalists and specialized media outlets are able to actively promote certain issues and causes understood by their audience. On the other hand, although these journalists and news media outlets are interested in serving particular interests, this does not suggest that they fail to include both sides of the story. The advocacy coalition framework can explain how audience specific news media outlets can become open advocates for their audiences.

Hecko (1978) describes "issue networks" as a group of loosely gathered actors with common knowledge working together to influence a particular policy area. Sabatier (1987) further developed this concept to include loosely gathered individuals who may be present in these "advocacy coalitions" at certain times working together on a specific public policy area. In revised research on this model of advocacy coalitions, Sabatier and Jenkins (1993) suggest the possibility of including outside actors like journalists into this advocacy coalition model. The traditional actors of such coalitions and networks are government agencies, politicians, and special interest groups that have high stakes in the public policy area at hand (Hecko, 1978). However, it is very possible that journalists and media outlets may participate in such coalitions when they see themselves as having incentives or high stakes in the public policy at hand. This can motivate journalists to actively pursue and cover issues that affect a policy of their interest when they coincide with their audience's interest. Like

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Respect for intelligence is not owed to pediatric cancer patients simply because provision of information makes the child feel better. The obligation to provide to provide relevant information that bears on the child's life and circumstances is owed because of the child's capacity to understand. This is not to say that the principle of respect for intelligence always trumps other moral obligations to the child. Circumstances may certainly arise where the provision of such information may endanger the child and the withholding of information is the best option. The suggestion of this research is simply that there be a shift in framework though which adults consider providing relevant information to the sick child. Instead of giving into cultural prejudices and refraining from sharing information unless pressed to do otherwise, the suggestion is simply that the burden be shifted so that relevant information be shared in an appropriate manner unless circumstances press otherwise. As the most prevalent cause of childhood death from illness, as well as one of the most complex diseases, ethical dimensions of pediatric oncology demand specific inquiry. It is important that we continue to refine the moral tools applied to children suffering this illness, just as we do the medical treatments, in order to fulfill all obligations to this sensitive population.

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other members of the coalition, journalists can appear in the coalition from time to time when they have an incentive to do so.

Recently, the advocacy coalition framework was applied to the Latino community in New Jersey. The Latino advocacy coalition New Jersey was centered on the topic of Welfare reform (Arroyo, 2003). The advocacy coalition framework was used in this exploratory study to identify the role of Latino grassroots organizations in influencing the New Jersey state legislator. However, this present analysis of Latino communities will expand on the Latino advocacy coalition framework to include the SLNM. By including the SLNM into the Latino advocacy coalition framework, their overall presence and impact on Latino political development and mobilization will be explained.

#### UNDERSTANDING THE CHICAGO LATINO COMMUNITY

The city of Chicago is an ideal environment for understanding the SLNM's role in the Latino community because of the rapid increase in political involvement among Latinos. The increase in political involvement was evident by the recent rallies for immigrant rights that drew out over half-million marchers on April 10 and May 1. However, this is only one example of Latinos' democratic participation. Another includes the routine voter registration drives that take place every election season throughout the Latino community along with naturalization workshops in place to help immigrants with permanent resident status become citizens. Studies regarding Chicago's Latino political organization have yet to examine the SLNM's role in organizing efforts. The role of the SLNM in Latino communities may explain, in part, how Latino grassroots organizations and elected officials coordinate their efforts to set and achieve their goals for the community. The SLNM's impact on the Latino community is evident among recent immigrants from Latin America who rely on the SLNM for information on current events in the United States and in Latin American countries (Ramos, 2005; Rodriguez, 1999).

In order to help understand the SLNM's influence on the Latino community, it is necessary to first describe the Latino community's history in Chicago. The city of Chicago has 1.6 million Latinos living in its metro area, which includes Mexicans and Puerto Ricans who make up the majority of the Latino population in the United States. Chicago is the only major city in the United States that has large concentrations of both Mexicans and Puerto Ricans. As a result, Chicago has witnessed significant political interactions between these two ethnic groups, who sometimes do and do not work together. Although Latinos of Mexican national-origin comprise 79 percent of all Latinos living in Chicago, Puerto Ricans, at 8 percent, still make up a significant portion of the Latino community. Puerto Ricans have had a presence in Chicago dating back to after World War II, while the early settlement of Mexicans dates



back to the 1920s (Ready & Allert, 2005; Padilla, 1985). By examining the interaction between the SLNM and these two ethnic groups, we can understand how cultural factors may influence the relationship between the SLNM and the Latino community.

Traditionally, Puerto Ricans have lived on the North Side of Chicago, while Mexicans have lived on the city's South Side. There is little unity between these groups and the interaction between Mexican and Puerto Ricans can sometimes be hostile. Some researchers have found that differences in citizenship among Latinos bring tension between them (Genova & Ramos-Zayas, 2003). For example, there is often conflict between Puerto Ricans immigrants (who are United States citizens by birthright) and Mexicans (a large percentage of whom are foreign born immigrants who may or may not have legal status for residency) over their differences in immigration status (Genova & Ramos-Zayas, 2003). This explains why Puerto Ricans are less likely to show interest in issues dealing with immigration policy, and instead heavily value issues concerning the Puerto Rican mainland, while Mexicans are more likely to be interested in issues dealing with immigration policy.

Within the last fifteen years the Mexican population has moved into traditional Puerto Rican neighborhoods. This has led to the election of non-Puerto Rican politicians in what are said to be Puerto Rican districts. This continues to occur, especially as the Puerto Rican population in Chicago continues to decrease and makes the need for political cooperation more vital for Puerto Ricans.

Most Latino organizations were formed to cater to specific groups in the Latino community. Latino organizations, like the community, are not united by common issues and crisis. Nevertheless, Latinos are not always united on one political front, but are being urged to do so by community leaders and organizers. Overall, it is important to remember that Latinos are not a homogenous group, but rather a heterogeneous group (Ramos, 2005). As a result, any influence the SLNM had on the Latino community through advocacy coalitions would most likely be limited to public policy areas that affect a majority of the diverse community. The SLNM's influence and how it deals with the two large Spanish ethnicities is important when trying to determine its influence on the majority of the Latino community.

Occasionally, these two ethnic groups organize and work together on issues that affect them equally. For example, Felix Padilla found evidence of Latino ethnic consciousness influencing political coalition building. In the 1970's, a coalition of all Spanish speaking members in the Chicago area united in response to poor treatment of Spanish speaking workers in the "labor force." Padilla describes this coalition as a mostly "symbolic victory" that displayed Mexicans and Puerto Ricans working together

been discussed, simply because a child is not fully autonomous does not mean that there are no moral obligations to the child outside of justice, beneficence, and nonmaleficence. There is a pressing need to be certain that the right principles are being applied and that they are not being distorted in order to best serve sick children morally. The second prejudice uncovered through the justifications for nondisclosure further supports this need for an awareness of moral problems and the cultivation of moral tools.

The second prejudice that appears to inform parental justifications for the nondisclosure of information to children is a particular conception of what childhood ought to be. This cultural conception of childhood as a time of innocence leads to a belief that children are to be sheltered from all harshness of the adult world and, subsequently not fully informed about the seriousness of their illness. Parental instinct in these instances is to protect the child and preserve their childhood. However, it must be recognized that pediatric cancer patients are not typical children and they do not have typical childhoods. Additionally, as challenging as it may be, the dignity of the child suffering cancer must also be given regard. Thus, the framework through which we consider our moral obligations to them must shift away from these prejudices so that the provision of pertinent, age appropriate information for pediatric cancer patients becomes the norm instead of the exception. The following section further develops and articulates this argument.

## CONCLUSIONS

Even though the child may not be autonomous and thus not be owed respect for their autonomy, children are owed respect for those capacities which they do possess. The capacity demanding particular respect in this argument is that of intelligence. This capacity is to be respected in order to more fully respect the dignity of the pediatric cancer patient. Specific attention to this capacity becomes necessary because of the potential inadequacies of the principles of bioethics when dealing with pediatric cancer patients. The first principle, respect for autonomy does not apply to children as they are not assumed to be fully autonomous. However, reliance on the remaining three principles is not sufficient to preserve the dignity of the child either. A review of literature in the field as well as specific case studies indicates the lack of information provided to pediatric cancer patients as well as the need patients often feel for information pertaining to their well-being. Further, the rationalizations that adults forward for withholding information tend to be based on cultural prejudices towards children. All of these findings indicate a need for the provision of information relevant to the child's well-being that is commensurate to the child's level of intelligence. But, this argument is not merely one of utility.

It is hard to explain, but you think of strange things when you're sick and lying in a hospital bed. There was one time when I was real sick with high fevers and all I could think about was whether I could be a mommy someday. Now talk about getting confused. The doctors and nurses were completely stunned when I asked about this. They said, 'Don't worry about this, now. We'll talk about this later.' To me, it was and always will be a big question. I wish they didn't blow me off. (Chanock et. al.1271)

This patient specifically indicates the attitude of disrespect granted to her by the doctors as she describes being "blown off."

All of the above mentioned cases illustrate the patient perspective on being denied age appropriate information, the frequently positive consequences of being granted information, and reveal some of the justifications parents typically rely on for the nondisclosure of information.

### ANALYSIS

Through a review of the literature and various case studies, several trends emerge in the justifications which parents provide for the withholding of relevant, age appropriate information from their children with cancer. The first of these justifications is the withholding of information from a child in order to protect him or her from pain, worry, anxiety, or fear. Thus, the parent withholds information because of a belief that doing so prevents harm to the child. The second justification parents use is the claim that the child is incapable of understanding the relevant information and so there is no reason to attempt to share it with the child. The third rationalization is a claim to parental authority. Under this justification, the parent withholds information because they do not believe the child has a right to it. Closely related to this is the fourth justification for nondisclosure of information, an appeal to the child's lack of autonomy. In these circumstances, the parent does not share information with the child because the child is not able to make autonomous choices based on the information, and so there is no reason to share it. In studying these four justifications, it appears that two cultural prejudices inform these justifications.

The first of these prejudices is the prizing of autonomy above all other characteristics. Adults, generally considered to be fully autonomous, value this trait above others. As such, creatures that are not fully autonomous are not fully respected for their other dignifying characteristics. This is precisely what is occurring in several of the justifications for nondisclosure. Because pediatric cancer patients may not be able to fully comprehend their situation and act with full autonomy, the capacities which they do possess in each of these areas are overlooked. As has

(1985). However, this demonstrates that Latino unity is usually reached when different ethnic groups are faced with a common crises or issue that affects them equally. The concept of the term Latino and its use can best be described by the following definition:

...the Spanish-speaking adopt a Latino identity to gain advantages or overcome disadvantages in the larger American society: *Latinismo is political ethnicity* [author's italics], a manipulative device for the pursuit of collective political, economic, and social interest in society. (Padilla, 1998, p.98)

This definition allows us to acknowledge the limitations of the term Latino, and how its use is only validated when communities who are considered to be "Latino" apply the term to themselves. In others words, the SLNM's influence on the "Latino community" may be limited based on the acceptance of a Latino identity from different Latin American ethnic communities.

Currently, efforts to unite both ethnic groups have garnered success politically with the relatively recent formations of the Illinois Legislative Latino Caucus. The Illinois Legislative Latino Caucus was formed after differences between Puerto Rican north side politicians and Mexican south side politicians were set aside. As a result, the four year old caucus has passed more legislation for the Latino community than older Latino legislative caucuses found in other states. For example, through the efforts of the Latino Caucus, Illinois is the only state in America that allows the children of "illegal immigrants" to receive in-state college tuition. This example demonstrates the political successes that this small caucus of only 13 members has been able to enjoy.

Kim Geron groups Latino elected officials into three separate categories that are based on the level of cooperation with longtime Chicago Mayor, Richard M. Daley. The first group consists of Latino elected officials who work closely with Chicago's Mayor Daley. The second group is composed of mostly Puerto Ricans who work with Mayor Daley only with certain issues that require the city's participation. The third group consists of progressive Latino elected officials who remain "loyal to ideals of the previous Chicago mayor Harold Washington," and who often have opposing views with Mayor Daley (Geron, 2005).

After examining the Chicago Latino political and grassroots community, the SLNM's role in helping these elements of the Latino community will be explained. In addition, the Latino advocacy coalition's significance in Chicago will be shown by examining how the SLNM has helped transform Latino politics in Chicago to help create a significant political force that has helped serve the Latino community in the last 20 years.

### THE ROLE OF THE SPANISH LANGUAGE NEWS MEDIA IN THE LATINO ADVOCACY COALITION

The SLNM was created for the sole purpose of serving the needs of Spanish speaking Latin American immigrants living in the United States who often face a language barrier. The SLNM has also been mentioned as keeping Latin American culture alive for Latin American immigrants and their children living in the United States, most importantly the significant cultural identity provided by the Spanish language. In addition, the SLNM is usually the primary source of information for many older Spanish speaking members of the Latino community (Ramos, 2005). It is important to note that not everyone in the Latino community is bilingual, and a significant amount of the Latino community receives their news in English. However, many Latino bilingual speakers prefer the SLNM for Latino related news, instead of English mainstream news media (Suro, 2004). All of these examples demonstrate how the SLNM has had a cultural impact on the Latino community and explains why the SLNM has a special interest in public policy that affects Latinos and themselves.

The recent role of the SLNM during the immigration reform marches introduces the possibility of them playing an important advocacy role and leadership role for the Latino community. This role has significant implications for the field of Latino politics and for understanding of the minority democratic participation in the U.S. The following will examine how the SLNM has evolved into its current role and how the presence of the SLNM has affected the political involvement of Latinos in Chicago.

The SLNM's role in the Latino community is unique because it is an important advocate of Latino issues. The SLNM advocates Latino issues and public policy concerns, influences Latino political participation, and provides perceptions of salient issues to the Latino community. Members of the Latino political and grassroots organizing community recognize the SLNM as having a significant role in their efforts to advocate political participation among the Latino community. The SLNM during my interviews was referred to as, "The Hispanic Media, Mexican Media, Latino Media." All of these terms identify SLNM as a member of the Latino community. The SLNM's primary role is to keep the Latino community informed. This is a powerful role with a tremendous amount of influence as a large part of their audience only speaks Spanish. In addition, this role was critical in mobilizing the Latino community during the marches for immigration reform.

According to a longtime Latino elected official I interviewed, the SLNM's role in Latino politics is "to get our [Latino Elected Officials] word out." An important note about this particular Latino politician is that he frequently uses the SLNM, although he does not speak Spanish,

a religious miracle. However, Jeremy's mother, in describing Jeremy's behavior revealed Jeremy's desire for more information about his illness and treatment. For example, Jeremy's mother explains, "Sometimes we're watching the news and something comes on about cancer and he's like, 'No Mom! Mom! [when Mrs. Foster would turn the T.V. off]. He wants to listen'" (Bluebond-Langer et. al. 330). Through his behavior and questioning, Jeremy indicated that he had an understanding of his situation and wished for more information about his circumstances. Yet, parental belief in 'protection' did not permit Jeremy to receive the information he desired. Excerpts from additional case studies supplement the findings of the previous case studies.

Stephen J. Chanock, Vikas Kundera, F. Leonard Johnson, and Mark Douglas Singer provide additional support for the disclosure of appropriate information to pediatric cancer patients in, "The Other Side of the Bed: What Caregivers Can Learn from Listening to Patients and Their Families." The following quotations from patients in pediatric cancer wards indicate the trauma that patients can suffer when denied information. Under the heading "Shock at the Time of Diagnosis," this patient recounts his experience of having his capacity for understanding completely ignored through secret yet overheard conversations between his parents and doctors.

I remember being in an examination room by myself because the doctor walked out with my parents. I could hear what they were saying but all I could understand was the doctor who said '...your child has only a few months to live...' My parents returned to my room, very distraught. The doctor tried to be kind to them and me, but they forgot how thin the walls were. I knew I had cancer, but there was no way I was going to die. The surgery should have cured me. The next thing I knew I was off to another center where everything seemed big, including the desk and chair. I felt younger than my age. I left the room while my parents were inside, when they came out; they told me the doctor was more helpful. (Chanock et. al. 1274)

The article follows up this quotation by recommending that patients never be alone when learning of their diagnosis and should also never hear of their diagnosis inadvertently so that the patient can understand the true severity of the situation and feel comforted and supported by their family (Chanock et. al. 1274). Explaining the situation directly to the patient and acknowledging their ability to understand their situation shows respect for their dignity. Other cases within this article further enforce this idea. Under a section entitled "Listen to the Patient," Chanock quotes:

involved in the discussion concerning DNR orders. The medical team agreed to postpone the discussion but stated that they would honestly answer any questions A.P. presented to them. One night, however, A.P. directly asked his parents about the severity of his condition and they felt compelled to respond honestly to him. A.P. “expressed the desire to stop treatments, in order to spend less time at the hospital and more time at home with his family and friends” (Kunin 54). A.P. died several weeks later but, though sharing information with A.P., A.P.’s parents were able to discern and respect A.P.’s wishes as well as prevent toxicity from additional treatments and ensure that pain was minimized in A.P.’s last weeks alive.

Selections from the next case study reveal the depth of knowledge and decisiveness a patient may possess which may be overridden by parental prohibition on patient involvement in discussions and decision making. The following case descriptions are drawn from Myra Bluebond-Langer, Amy DeCicco, and Jean Belasco’s article, “Involving Children With Life-Shortening Illnesses in Decisions about Participation in Clinical Research.”

At fourteen years-old, having endured 14 months of various treatments, Jeremy was found to have advanced tumors that could no longer be treated with surgery or radiation. The medical team contacted Jeremy’s parents and asked that they come into the hospital, without Jeremy. The medical team informed Jeremy’s parents about the severity of his condition and explained the remaining options to them. One such option was to withdraw from cancer treatment and focus on pain management and comfort. The other option was enrollment in a Phase I clinical trial for a newly developed drug. Much like A.P.’s parent’s initial reaction, Jeremy’s parents wished to enroll Jeremy in the trial and do anything possible to prolong his life span. Bluebond-Langer subsequently interviewed Jeremy’s parents about their communication with Jeremy, his involvement and reactions. Jeremy’s mother responded,

To be truthful, I didn’t really involve him, um, cause I just feel at that age, I don’t, I don’t think totally he’s not informed enough to make his own decision...I don’t think you need to go into uh, a long involved process at that age, because they are still children and at that age they’re still children. And, why give them something that’s so heavy on them—a heavy burden to deal with (Bluebond-Langer et. al. 328).

However, it was not clear that Jeremy shared his mother’s perspective on his right to information. Jeremy repeatedly questioned his doctors and parents about the possibility of dying. On his parent’s instruction, such questions were generally addressed vaguely and with the hope for

to spread his message in English. Besides getting out the word he also hinted that the SLNM can exert power in their ability to pick and choose who receives the SLNM’s attention. He went on further to explain that the SLNM occasionally favors some Latino leaders over others, which creates “animosity” between individuals. This is an example of Latino leaders understanding the value and significance of the SLNM’s exposure.

In Chicago, many Latino leaders know that the SLNM serves as a direct link between them and the Latino community. In addition, it is understood that if any Latino politician wishes to get his message across to the Latino community, the SLNM is the best tool available. The SLNM works with many elected officials and grassroots organization representatives on most issues affecting the Latino community. The representative of a large Latino grassroots organization recognized the importance of working with the SLNM:

Organizations organize meetings and... there’s all these meetings community meetings, and the average person doesn’t go to community meetings the average person goes to work goes home takes care of their kids watches the news, reads the news paper, so yeah, it is very important if you want to stay relevant in the Latino community you have to constantly be [brief pause] you have to have a presence in the Media. (Organization representative interview, 2006)

Despite their advocacy role, some members of the SLNM maintained their objectivity. This is why it is not unusual for members of the SLNM to reject some stories and ideas proposed by Latino leaders. This is evident through the actions of one Chicago Spanish weekly newspaper. Jorge Medeiros has been the editor of the Spanish weekly newspaper *La Raza* for several years. Medeiros confirms his newspaper’s advocacy position, “*La Raza* is what one would call an advocate for Latino issues,” but he explains the nature of this relationship with Latino elected officials and grassroots organizations:

Yes Hispanic community groups influence and they are always bombarding us with ideas. And there is where we have to consider carefully what is news and what is propaganda... Especially when there are a lot of groups that exist by name, but don’t represent anyone. We promote only those who really work for the [Latino] community. (Medeiros interview, 2006)

*La Raza* filters out information and only informs on issues deemed important for the Latino community. *La Raza* believes it establishes credibility by only advocating Latino issues that are in the best interest of the community.

In 1987, Illinois State Senator del Valle became the first Latino elected to the Illinois State senate. He was elected in a district that did not have a Latino registered-voter majority (Geron, 2005). According to Senator del Valle, his campaign relied heavily on the SLNM, “the regular media paid very little attention to my campaign [first campaign], actually it paid no attention to my campaign it was just the Hispanic media at that time that paid attention.” Senator del Valle believes the Latino electorate is more informed about policy issues because of the SLNM. The Senator provides an example of how the SLNM has helped increase political participation

Hispanic media has helped promote voter registration; Hispanic media has promoted voter participation, getting out the vote on Election Day. Hispanic media has helped promote naturalization workshops so that we get more people to become naturalized citizens and be able to vote. (Senator del Valle interview, 2006)

This shows the SLNM’s advocacy of political participation among its audience, especially electoral participation.

It is clear that the SLNM differs from mainstream news media in their open advocacy of Latino issues. As Senator del Valle noted, he did not think mainstream news media would be able “to get away with advocacy like the SLNM.” The SLNM advocacy may be the result of the lack of attention from the mainstream English news media of Latino issues. A Latino elected official noted that the SLNM is more responsive to Latino politicians than the English mainstream news media. He goes on further to say that the SLNM is always present at press conferences held by Latino elected officials, while English mainstream news media is present from time to time. The SLNM covers Latino issues that are important to the community. For example, Senator del Valle points to coverage of town hall meetings, local school council meetings, and concerns over gang violence by the SLNM, while the English mainstream news media is said to only cover Latino issues that non-Latinos audiences would also be interested in. Senator del Valle also pointed out that SLNM helps keep non-Latino politicians accountable to the Latino community’s issues and concerns. This is accomplished by the SLNM’s presence at press conferences that non-Latino elected officials hold in which they ask these elected officials their positions on issues that directly affect Latinos. This advocacy role of the SLNM is extremely important as it allows this population to become informed on issues and concerns that directly affect them, and hold all elected officials accountable.

The frustration of Latino journalists in trying to demonstrate the importance of these issues to mainstream English news media will be discussed later in the context of the immigration debate. The SLNM is

hospital staff not inform their son of his illness “fearing that if he knew this [he had cancer] he would think he was going to die and...he was too young to know what was going on” (Kunin 50). In his subsequent days in the hospital however, A.P.’s nursing staff described the boy as “passive and depressed” which was viewed as a distinct contrast from A.P.’s “happy and well-adjusted” pre-diagnosis behavior (Kunin 50). In discussing these observations with A.P.’s parents, a social worker determined that the parent’s South American cultural norms pressured the parents not to share A.P.’s cancer diagnosis with him. After conversations with numerous members of the medical staff, including A.P.’s oncologist and psychologist, A.P.’s parents consented to informing their child about his condition. Upon learning of his diagnosis, A.P. expressed that “he had known for some time that he had cancer and was beginning to fear that he was dying because no one would talk to him about it...he expressed relief at finally learning the truth” (Kunin 51). After being informed of his diagnosis the medical team noted improvements in A.P.’s coping behavior. A similar situation arose later in the course of A.P.’s cancer.

At 12 years-old, A.P.’s cancer relapsed with tumors occurring in multiple areas of his body. A.P.’s parents “accepted that he [A.P.] would need to be told something because he would be starting a new medical treatment,” yet, because “there were no curative treatment options available to A.P., they were afraid that if he were told this he would ‘give up’” (Kunin 52). Again, after much consultation with the parents, the medical team informed A.P. that the proposed treatment could not cure him. However, the team also added that the proposed treatment could keep him well while new, and potentially curative, treatments were being developed. In response to this information, A.P. “voiced a desire to keep fighting his illness and did not display any outward signs of undue stress or anxiety” (Kunin 52). Thus, being informed of the condition of his illness and the potentialities of his treatment still allowed for the preservation of hope. The provision of information to A. P. in the end-stages of his cancer also proved beneficial.

After 9 months, enrollment in several Phase I studies, and experimental treatments, it was discovered that A.P.’s cancer had metastasized throughout his body with no chance of a cure. A.P.’s parents wished to continue enrolling A.P. in additional non-curative treatments in the hopes of prolonging his life. A.P. was not honestly consulted on the matter. However, A.P. began to probe the health care team for information about his chances for survival. The team became concerned that “his questions and other aspects of his behavior indicated that he was psychologically ready to stop treatment” (Kunin 53). Additionally, because of A.P.’s condition, his doctors felt it appropriate to discuss do not resuscitate (DNR) orders with A.P. and his parents. A.P.’s parents adamantly requested that A.P. not be told about the latest treatment nor become

extent that it slows or stops the growth and spread of cancer. With regard to morality, and particularly under such conditions as pediatric cancer, the outcome is not always the focus. All decisions and outcomes may be tragic and painful, making it all the more important that everything that can be done morally to respect the child's dignity is done. An examination of the application of the four principles of biomedical ethics to cases involving pediatric cancer patients reveals that the four given principles may not be sufficient to fully respect the dignity of, and fulfill all of the moral obligations adults have to, pediatric cancer patients.

Utilizing the definitions of autonomy and the principle of respect for autonomy, this principle is shown to be less useful for children than it is for adults. For an individual to be considered autonomous, they must have freedom from controlling action as well as possess agency, or the capacity for intentional action (Beauchamp, Childress 58). However, given the reliance of children on adults, as well as their developmental capacities, it is not clear that children are fully independent to act as they please, nor would they be capable of intentional action to the extent that adults are. For these reasons, the obligations stemming from the moral principle of respect for autonomy (respectful action towards the individual and protection from neglect, insult, or other demeaning action) are often lost for children. The principle of respect for autonomy is not able to provide such respect for dignity as children are owed. Application of the remaining three principles also leaves something to be desired for the dignity of the child.

Because adults typically suppose that children lack autonomy, adults rely on the other three principles to guide their actions towards children. It is possible for beneficence, nonmaleficence, and justice to be satisfied, and yet the dignity of the child not be fully respected.

There is an apparent need for a supplementary moral tool in order to ensure that the dignity of the child is more fully respected. One such tool is respect for the intelligence of the child, fulfilled though the provision of developmentally appropriate, relevant information. The subsequent case studies reveal the ways in which disrespect for intelligence translates into disrespect for the dignity of the child.

### CASE STUDIES

The following case studies serve to represent the failure to fully respect a child's dignity that occurs when information pertaining to their well-being is withheld. The first study comes from Howard Kunin's article, "Ethical Issues in Pediatric Life-Threatening Illness: Dilemmas of Consent, Assent, and Communication." The case study in this article features a young boy, 11 years-old at the time of diagnosis, referred to as A.P. At the time of his diagnosis, A.P.'s parents requested that the

generally more attentive to Latino issues and causes than the mainstream English news media. The SLNM's influence on the Latino community is seen by its willingness and ability to facilitate a Latino political agenda. All of the Latino elected officials I interviewed recognized that the SLNM helps facilitate a Latino political agenda. They embraced the SLNM's advocacy role, as both Latino elected officials along with the Latino organization representative alluded to the fact that it was important for them to work with the SLNM to help inform the Latino community on important issues.

The general influence of the SLNM in the Latino community is seen by its participation in mobilizing efforts. The SLNM's role in mobilizing efforts can be described in the context of a Latino advocacy coalition; this coalition explains how the Latino community was able to mobilize effectively. To understand how the SLNM fits into this coalition, we must first define a Latino advocacy coalition. This is complex, and research regarding such a model is underdeveloped. As previously noted, Padilla (1986) described how several coalitions among the Spanish speaking community were formed only when sharing a common goal. In addition, the advocacy coalition framework has been used in the context of welfare reform in New Jersey (Cainno-Arroyo, 2003). Earlier "issue networks" (Heclo, 1978) and "advocacy coalitions" (Sabatier, 1987; Sabatier & Jenkins, 1993) were defined as a group or coalition of members with common knowledge in a public policy area in which all members have high stakes. Therefore, a Latino advocacy coalition can best be described by a policy that encourages unity and cooperation among the community. In addition, members in this policy coalition must have high stakes in the policy at hand.

The recent massive mobilization of the Latino community, especially in Chicago, revolved around the immigration debate. This policy issue brought together most of the Latino community to support comprehensive immigration reform. Thus, by examining the coalition for comprehensive immigration reform, key members of the Latino advocacy coalition will be easier to identify. The comprehensive immigration reform coalition is led by interest groups in the Latino community that would benefit the most from protecting the rights of Latin American immigrants or undocumented workers who make up a significant proportion of the Latino community. As a result, the most prominent members of the comprehensive immigration reform coalition are Latino politicians, Latino grassroots organizations, and now the SLNM.

One reason for why there was not a large protest to the IIRIA in 1996 is that there were not as many options available to communicate within the Chicago Latino community. In 1996, the SLNM in the Chicago area was smaller; it was comprised of one full-time and one part-time Spanish television station, three radio stations, and two citywide newspapers.

Today there are four full-time Spanish television stations, over five Spanish radio stations, and two citywide newspapers along with several community newspapers in the Chicago area. Despite the earlier existence of immigrant right advocacy coalitions, a large display of opposition to legislation was not witnessed in Chicago until recently. This may have been a result of the smaller presence of the SLNM. These entities provide representation and communication within the Latino community and are a political link between the Latino community and the non-Latino American community. Each has a high stake in protecting the rights of immigrants and an incentive for participating in the coalition. The majority of the Chicago Latino community view the immigration debate as an important issue, but not all members of the community are interested in this topic. The importance of immigrant rights in Chicago Latino communities give a reason as to why Latino grassroots organizations and Latino elected officials are deeply interested in this public policy area. The SLNM's existence is based on its ability to cover and respond to Latino issues, and the immigration issue is also viewed as important by the SLNM (Rodriguez, 1999; Ramos, 2005). According to the Latino elected officials I interviewed, the SLNM is most interested in covering stories or issues concerning the immigration debate, which is why the immigration marches that took place on March 25, April 10, and May 1, 2006, allow us to clearly see the SLNM as having a role in the advocacy coalition for immigrant rights. .

During the recent massive Latino mobilization, the SLNM initiated the immigration marches by directly advocating and promoting participation among the Latino community. The Spanish Radio was accredited with initializing the mobilization in Chicago, which encouraged other Spanish language news mediums to follow. This chain reaction is described by Senator Del Valle:

These radio personalities with morning radio programs and other programs I think contributed more than any other group to getting the kinds of turnout that came out. And they just hit this everyday they would say *vengan a marchar, vengan a marchar* [come march, come march] they just kept promoting and promoting. And people respond to that type of thing and it was the radio personalities who first touched that nerve. And once the television stations networks Univision and Telemundo saw the response then they started and they got in and started to promote the marches and so you had television and radio all promoting the marches. And I would say that it was Latino media when you put it all together that was responsible for those huge turnouts. And so it's an example of because Latino media doing what they did then the people kind of got ahead of the

extent to which one is to jeopardize one's own well being, the extent to which society can and should enforce specific and general beneficence, physician respect for patient autonomy when the physician believes the patient to be willing harm to himself, and requests for non-beneficial medical procedures (Beauchamp, Childress 170-191).

The fourth principle of biomedical ethics set forth by Beauchamp and Childress is that of justice. The most basic definition of justice provided is, "equals must be treated equally, and unequals must be treated unequally" (Beauchamp, Childress 227). However, this definition does not prove useful considering its lack of specificity. The text thus turns to various theories of justice to develop the ways in which the principle of justice is relevant in medical ethics. These are utilitarian theories, libertarian theories, communitarian theories, and egalitarian theories (Beauchamp, Childress 230). A broad set of principles emerge under all of these theories. These include: to each person an equal share, to each according to need, according to effort, contribution, merit or free-market exchanges (Beauchamp, Childress 22). The principle of justice is applied in medicine to issues of rights to health care, opportunities to receive health care, the prioritizing of patients, and the distribution of treatments (Beauchamp, Childress 239-267). As can be perceived through the number of theories studied and issues involved with the principle of justice, there is great debate over how this principle should play out in the United States health care ethics.

Application of these principles to the policy and decision making processes in bioethics is designed to aid in "obtaining relevant factual information, assessing its reliability, identifying moral problems, and mapping out alternative solutions to the problems that have been identified" (Beauchamp, Childress 21). The overarching goal of these principles is to respect the dignity of all those involved. While respect for autonomy, beneficence, maleficence, and justice do at times conflict, the autonomy of the individual is frequently the principle that trumps the others in medical decision making with adults. However, with regard to children, especially those facing life-threatening illness such as cancer, the principle of autonomy is often given less weight and the other three principles relied on more heavily.

#### STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Medical technologies and treatments are continually being tested and developed to treat and improve the lives of pediatric cancer patients. While there is a necessity for continual improvements in such technologies in order to preserve the lives of children with cancer, it is equally necessary that the moral tools which are utilized in dealing with pediatric cancer patients be equally refined. In the development of medical tools, the focus rests on outcome. A treatment or procedure is successful to the

assessing competence, understanding, and voluntariness, the legitimation of the consent process, and the disclosure of information to subjects for research purposes (Beauchamp, Childress 69-93).

The second bioethical principle is nonmaleficence. Essentially, nonmaleficence is an obligation not to inflict evil or harm on others (Beauchamp, Childress 115). Again, there is much complexity in this idea which Beauchamp and Childress attempt to clarify. The most basic definition of harm is setting back the interests of another. While the debate over the broadness of the definition of harm is acknowledged, in medical ethics there is a focus “on physical harms, especially pain, disability, and death, without denying the importance of mental harms and setbacks to other interests” (Beauchamp, Childress 117). This definition then translates into rules which can be supported by the principle of nonmaleficence. Beauchamp and Childress cite five such examples: “do not kill, do not cause pain or suffering, do not incapacitate, do not cause offence, do not deprive others of the good life” (117). Thus, this principle plays out in treatment recommendations of physicians and in the conduct of medical researchers. However, there are areas in which decision making based on this principle become complicated. Many of these complications arise from the distinctions between not beginning and stopping treatment, ordinary and extraordinary treatments, life sustaining technologies and therapeutic treatment, and intended effects and foreseen effects (Beauchamp, Childress 119).

The third principle, closely related to nonmaleficence and building upon respect for autonomy, is beneficence. The principle of beneficence is defined as a moral obligation to help others further their own interests (Beauchamp, Childress 166). The definition of beneficence which Beauchamp and Childress put forth is not an all-encompassing one and is explained as distinct from the principle of nonmaleficence. Rules of beneficence differ from those of nonmaleficence in that they are positive action statements, they may be followed partially, and they rarely create a need for punishment should one fail to abide by the rules (Beauchamp, Childress 168). The authors believe that in bioethics, beneficence can legitimately be constrained under some circumstances by the other three principles of biomedical ethics, thus, defining the principle of beneficence as distinct from unconstrained utility. Several basic rules emerge which serve as examples of the guidelines the principle sets forth: “protect and defend the rights of others, prevent harm from occurring to others, remove conditions that will cause harm to others, help persons with disabilities, rescue persons in danger” (Beauchamp, Childress 167). This principle plays out in the health care setting when a physician administers a needed treatment, or provides medical assistance in an emergency such as a car accident. There are of course numerous complexities in the pursuit of these principles. Areas of conflict or complexity include, the

leadership if you will and the thing just grew and it took on a life of its own and that’s how movements are born. (Senator del Valle interview, 2006)

The SLNM’s leadership role during these marches is evident. Senator del Valle was not the only one who recognized the importance of the SLNM’s role in leading mobilizing efforts.

Yeah, I think so considering the recent marches, I don’t know how it started in other cities, but in Chicago it kind of spun out from a radio campaign. One of the jockeys from the radio... spearheaded that through his constant announcements and through the media’s constant focusing on that issue it was what brought out so many people. So yeah it could definitely effect political participation. (Organization Representative interview, 2006)

However, the immigrant rights advocacy coalition had limits during this advocacy initiative that resulted from the diversity of the Chicago Latino community. Some members of the diverse Latino community can reject a particular story if it does not affect them. The immigration debate, besides Puerto Rican leaders like Senator del Valle, garners little interest from the Puerto Rican community. This is because Puerto Ricans are not affected by immigration policy. The SLNM is aware of this distinction and remains objective within the Latino community by catering to the preferences of their different audiences. According to Medieros, *La Raza* distributes two different editions, a north side and south side edition. Stories that interest Puerto Ricans, like those dealing with events occurring in Puerto Rico, are covered on the north side edition, while stories that interest the Mexican population, like immigration, are covered in the south side edition. *La Raza* recognizes and respects the demographics of their distinctive Chicago Latino audiences. This objectivity demonstrates the limitation on both the SLNM and the immigrant rights advocacy coalition’s ability to influence the *entire* Latino community.

The immigrant rights advocacy coalition was still able to successfully attract a large number of non-Latinos to participate in the marches (Flaccus, 2006). The SLNM, as part of the immigrant rights advocacy coalition, played a significant role in helping get the word out to non-Latino Spanish speaking audiences. Medieros explains that during the massive Latino mobilization the editors of *La Raza* had to convince the editor of a mainstream newspaper that the May 1st march was going to have large turnouts in Chicago. He cites this as an example of how the Spanish newspaper has a direct insight, which the mainstream news media does not have.

Some members of the SLNM are stronger advocates of Latino issues than



others. The accounts of Senator del Valle and the Latino organization representative clearly identify the radio stations as taking on the advocacy leadership role. Despite this, Spanish newspapers as advocates of Latino issues, tend to stick to the objective ideology of mainstream newspapers. As a former employee of a Spanish newspaper and now a representative for a large Latino organization states, “print media [Spanish newspapers] tends to shy away from Local politics...I mean obviously they report on it, but it is very bi-partisan you know inform the people and let them make the decision, unfortunately, Latino voting is not at its highest.” An analysis of his statement along with his tone of voice during the interview also implies that he would prefer to see the Spanish newspaper take on more of an advocacy role for Latino issues and causes. Medeiros’ statement reaffirms the objectivity of *La Raza*, despite their advocacy:

For example, with the recent immigration issues *La Raza* has tried to play an informative role by presenting both sides of the story without favoring or condemning either side... Many do not like this and will ask us how we could support people who violate the law and enter the country through the borders like terrorists. And we always say the same thing ‘we don’t support or condemn we just try to inform the pro and the con of the issue.’ We try to avoid the bias or the tainted report, but it is difficult. People consider that because we are a Latino newspaper we have to support everything that is Latino even if it is illegal and that is not the case. (Medeiros interview, 2006)

Another restriction on the SLNM’s advocacy is that they are still a media company, or private entity. Their survival is not only dependent on serving the Latino community, but also their ability to convince companies of the significance of the 5th largest Latino market in the United States (Rodriguez, 1999; Hispanic Market, 2000). In Chicago, the SLNM is limited by this factor; this restriction was evident during their direct advocacy role in the Latino mobilization. The Chicago SLNM, unlike other SLNM outlets in other cities, according to community leaders, did not promote the “Boycott” that was to coincide with the marches. The reason why may have been from powerful outside economic influences. This means that both the immigrant rights advocacy coalition and the SLNM advocacy are still influenced by members outside of the Latino community. Overall the SLNM’s advocacy role has been crucial in effectively organizing and mobilizing the Latino community.

## CONCLUSION

Although levels of Latino democratic participation are still relatively low when compared to the rest of the United States, especially electoral participation, the Latino political influence continues to grow (Garcia,

to tell about the diagnosis is often complicated. The second step involves parental consent and patient assent for some form of treatment (Fletcher et. al. 1283). Again, the patient, immediate family, researchers, doctors and the extended family may all contribute to treatment decision making which may occur numerous times throughout the course of the cancer. The third aspect is the preservation of confidentiality within research and between the family, doctors, and the patient (Fletcher et. al. 1283). Fourth, there are issues raised by the refusal of therapy which sometimes occurs by parents and patients. Next are the decisions to enroll in clinical Phase I and II trials as discussed above (Fletcher et. al. 1283). Lastly, there are issues connected to forgoing life-sustaining treatment and the provision of terminal care (Fletcher et. al. 1297). The prevalence and uniqueness of pediatric cancer presents many ethical dilemmas to be investigated. The four principles of bioethics are appealed to in order to deal with these dilemmas.

### *Principles of Biomedical Ethics*

Tom L. Beauchamp and James F. Childress’s text, *Principles of Biomedical Ethics*, has served as the foundational guide for principlism in bioethics since the first edition was published in 1977. Five editions have since been published, each presenting modifications in organization and revised case studies. However, the core of the text, the four principles of biomedical ethics and their definitions, has remained unchanged throughout the years. These four moral principles of bioethics are respect for autonomy, nonmaleficence, beneficence, and justice.

The first principle, respect for autonomy, can be complex, but Beauchamp and Childress find that there are two conditions common to all definitions of autonomy which help clarify the ethical principle. The first condition for autonomy is liberty, defined as “independence from controlling action” (Beauchamp, Childress 58). The second condition is agency, which is “capacity for intentional action” (Beauchamp, Childress 58). Thus, autonomous action is action which is done “intentionally... with understanding...and without controlling influences” (Beauchamp, Childress 59). For one to act in accordance with the ethical principle of respect for autonomy requires several elements. First, the text indicates that to truly respect the autonomy of another, one takes respectful action towards them and does not simply express a respectful attitude (Beauchamp, Childress 63). Furthermore, respect for autonomy also includes maintaining and supporting another’s capacity for autonomous choice while protecting their autonomy from neglect, insult, or other demeaning action (Beauchamp, Childress 63). This principle is visible in health care when for instance physicians are truthful, preserve doctor-patient confidentiality, obtain consent for medical procedures, and utilize their expertise in assisting others in decision making as asked (Beauchamp, Childress 65). Challenges to respect for autonomy include

conventional therapies and may be harmful or non-harmful. These complementary therapies can include such things as massage or aromatherapy and can supplement conventional treatments by simply making the patient feel better, physically or psychologically (Janovic et al. 107). While there are risks associated with any form of treatment, non-conventional therapies have the greatest potential for harm to the patient because they are not based on clinical research, although these therapies remain an option (Janovic et al. 107). As indicated though, most treatment is conventional and research based. As such, an understanding of research becomes important in understanding pediatric oncology as a whole.

Research in cancer treatment is typically broken down into four trial phases. Phase IV trials present the least amount of risk to the patient. Typically, Phase IV trials occur after a treatment has already been licensed and the trial serves to gauge long term side effects or broader uses for a treatment (Phases). Phase III trials present slightly more risk than Phase IV trials. In Phase III trials, a treatment is being compared with the current standard treatment. Such studies often involve large numbers of participants in order to show statistically significant differences in the treatment (Phases). Phase I and II trials are then potentially the most dangerous and controversial with regard to pediatric trials. Phase II trials are conducted when relatively little is known about the treatment. The objectives of such trials are generally to assess dosages and side effects of a treatment, the types of cancer the therapy is best able to treat, and if Phase III trials can be conducted with the treatment. Children are enrolled in Phase II clinical trials when they do not respond to standard therapy as there is some chance for therapeutic effect from the treatments in this phase (Fletcher et al. 1295). Phase I trials are thus the most risky because there is the greatest deal of uncertainty surrounding treatments in this phase. Phase I trials assess toxicity, side effects, and the treatment's affects on cancer (Phases). Children are usually enrolled in such studies only once the maximum tolerated dosage of a drug is determined in adults and after careful consideration by an institutional review board (Fletcher et al. 1294). Thus, it is evident that there are many decisions that must be made by parents, researchers, health care providers and patients when choosing a course of treatment for pediatric cancer. Beyond just selecting a treatment option from among so many, there are multiple phases of decision making throughout a child's experience with cancer.

John C. Fletcher, Lorah D. Dorn, and Peter Waldron reduce some of the complexity of the quantity of decisions that arise in pediatric oncology by dividing the ethical problems which arise into six categories. The first aspect is the initial meeting between the doctors and the family (Fletcher et al. 1283). In this aspect, the diagnosis is presented and explained to the family, sometimes including the patient. Deciding who to tell and what

2003). In Chicago this increase in Latino political power has led to more descriptive representation along with the passage of Latino friendly legislation. As a result, the role of the SLNM in the Latino advocacy coalition is expected to continue. The SLNM has helped bridge and preserve the ethnic differences between Latin American immigrants. The importance of the SLNM in the Latino community is evident through its role in mobilizing efforts. The recent emergence of the Latino community has helped provide a mode of communication for Latinos living in Chicago. The ability of the SLNM to cover issues that would otherwise not be covered by Mainstream news media has helped them convince the Latino community that they are an important entity for the community.

The rest of the non-Latino communities are starting to realize the significance of the SLNM in mobilizing efforts. In addition, Latino scholars must consider the SLNM's role when discussing Latino politics because of its tremendous influence and role in the community. Future research should develop this role and examine the successes of SLNM membership in the Latino advocacy coalition. In addition, a comparison between the SLNM and mainstream news media coverage will help provide a basis to claim that mainstream is not concerned with Latino issues. The SLNM's important role is expected to remain for quite sometime, but the possibility of the SLNM no longer being viewed as a non-mainstream media outlet also exists, especially as the Latino community increasingly becomes more bilingual and assimilated. Overall, the significance of the SLNM can no longer be denied and their important impact on Latino political development must be acknowledged and studied in more depth.

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tumors are the predominant forms of pediatric cancer, while epithelial tumors are the most common form of cancer among adults (Ross, Olshan 1552). The biology and genetic features of these cancers found in children differ substantially from cancer in adults (Robinson 1). As such, there is a need for research specifically into these pediatric cancers. There is an unavoidable need for research directly involving children in order to determine the precise causes of cancer and effects of various treatment options on children (Fletcher et. al. 1294). As a result, most children diagnosed with cancer will become a subject of research or will receive treatment at a research institution. In fact, about 94% of children diagnosed with cancer under the age of 15 receive treatment at institutions that are either members of the Children's Cancer Group or the Pediatric Oncology Group, the premier research groups in the nation (Robinson 5).

Research is the means through which continual progress is able to be made for pediatric cancer treatment. Because of this intimate relation between research and treatment, there is a high degree of integration between "standard treatments" and studies seeking to improve upon those treatments (Kodish et al. 2468). Research published by the Children's Cancer Group indicates, "pediatric oncology embraces the notion of therapeutic research, defining 'standard treatment' as the most effective or least toxic arm of the previous study, and seeking to enroll children with cancer as subjects on the current study" (Kodish et al. 2468). Every improvement made to pediatric cancer treatments is possible because of the collective expertise of cancer centers which is developed through the networking of clinicians and researchers in order to continually refine treatments (Guidelines 1837). This relation between research and treatment is distinct among illnesses and because of this connection there is a great quantity of literature focused on the types of research and the types of treatment available.

Although research and treatment are closely related, some distinctions can be made within each of these areas. There are generally considered to be two main branches of treatment. These are conventional therapy and non-conventional therapy. Conventional therapy consists of tested and seemingly effective "proven" treatments and investigational treatments which are therapies currently under study (Janovic et. al. 106). The types of treatment received by most pediatric cancer patients falls into this conventional category and includes chemotherapy and radiation treatments. An important element of conventional therapies is that they are based on clinical research. Non-conventional therapy consists of complementary therapies and alternative therapies (Janovic et. al. 106-107). Alternative therapies are therapies that are not deemed medically effective and are generally discouraged by the medical community. Complementary therapies are those that are used in conjunction with

to give full regard to the dignity of a pediatric cancer patient. Of the four principles, respect for autonomy becomes particularly complicated with regard to pediatrics because children are assumed to possess little or no autonomy. Thus, children are typically dealt with using only the other three principles. These alone may not be sufficient to give full respect for the dignity of the child. When ascertaining the moral obligations parents and health care professionals have to children, another principle can help to clarify the obligations which these groups have to pediatric cancer patients. The principle proposed and developed here is that of respect for patient dignity. This investigation focuses on the way a child's dignity is respected when they are provided age-appropriate information that is relevant to their well-being. A selection of case studies serves to illustrate ways in which the dignity of pediatric cancer patients has not been adequately respected due to nondisclosure of information. From these case studies, two adult prejudices emerge. Through a recognition and acknowledgment of these prejudices, an argument is made for respecting the level of intelligence present in a child suffering cancer by providing the child with information that bears on their life and circumstances.

## BACKGROUND

### *Pediatric Oncology in the United States*

According to the American Academy of Pediatrics, cancer is currently the second leading cause of death among children in the United States, second only to accidents (143). Ten percent of childhood deaths are cancer related (Robinson 1). This figure indicates that, in the United States, approximately 12,000 children under the age of 20 are diagnosed with cancer every single year (Guidelines 1837). In 1997, it was estimated that by the year 2000, 1 of every 900 people between 16 and 44 years old would be a survivor of a childhood cancer. Of those who manage to survive their childhood cancer, their risk of developing a second cancer within 20 years is approximately 8% to 9% (Robinson 9).

Cancer is unique among childhood illnesses because of its degree of prevalence (it is the most common cause of childhood death from disease) but it is also unique in that the disease functions and develops differently in children than in adults. An overview of the unique relationship between research and treatment in pediatric oncology, the types of research, the types of treatment, the multiple phases of decision-making and the sheer number of parties involved in the decision-making, all provide insight into the incredible level of complexity involved in pediatric oncology.

Pediatric cancer is exceptional in the variability of the disease between children and adults. The types of cancers and the distribution with which they occur in children are strikingly different from adults (Robinson 1). For instance, leukemia, lymphoma, nervous system, and soft tissue

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## APPENDIX 1

### *Spanish News Media questionnaire*

- 1) How long has your (insert type of media) been serving the Spanish speaking community in the Chicago area?
- 2) What are the demographics of your audience?
- 3) As a Spanish news media representative what do you feel is your role in the Hispanic/Latino community?
- 4) How has the role of the Spanish news media in Latino/Hispanic communities changed over the past ten year?
- 5) How does your (insert type of media) work with Latino elected officials? Is working with Latino elected officials a priority for your (insert type of media)?
- 6) How does your (insert type of media) work with Latinos/Hispanics organization? Does (insert type of media) work only with organizations that serve the Spanish speaking
- 7) How does your (insert type of media) have a role in Latino political participation?

- 8) What role does your (type of media) have during the elections? How important is this role?
- 9) During elections what does your coverage focus more on, Latino candidates or issues?
- 10) Does your (insert type of media) work with elected officials on particular issues outside of public interviews?
- 11) How do you decide on what stories to cover in Hispanic/Latino communities? Do some issues take priority over others?
- 12) Does the Spanish news media help facilitate a Latino political agenda?
- 13) Is your network different from English news media when reporting on Latino political issues?
- 14) Did your (insert type of media) have a role in the recent Immigration rallies? Did you work with any organizations involved with the event? If so in what way?
- 15) Are Latinos/Hispanic becoming more involved in United States politics? If so how will it affect Spanish news media or English news media in the future?

## APPENDIX 2

### *Latino Elected Official*

- 16) How long have you been serving this community as an elected official?
- 17) What are the demographics of the community you serve?
- 18) Do the majority of the people you serve speak English or Spanish, or both?
- 19) What is the role of Spanish news media in Latino politics?
- 20) Is the Spanish news media your preferred media outlet? Why or why not?
- 21) Does the Spanish news media's interaction with the Latino community differ from that of the English news media?
- 22) Does the Spanish news media help facilitate a Latino political agenda?
- 23) In what ways, if any, does the Spanish news media effect Latino political participation?
- 24) Does the Spanish news media have role in Latino political organizing?
- 25) Do you feel the Spanish news media will have a role in the upcoming elections?

## The Preservation of Dignity of Pediatric Cancer Patients through Respect for Intelligence

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### ABSTRACT



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One of the most sensitive and complex areas within the field of bioethics is pediatric oncology. Any health care concern dealing with life-threatening illnesses in children is of grave seriousness, yet, the prevalence and complexity of pediatric cancer demands specific ethical inquiry. Bioethicists rely on a set of bioethical principles as decision-making guides. While the four principles are designed to respect the dignity of all parties involved, these principles may not be enough to give full regard to the dignity of a pediatric cancer patient. Of the four principles, respect for autonomy becomes particularly complicated with regard to pediatrics because children are assumed to possess little or no autonomy. Thus, children are typically dealt with using only the other three principles. These alone may not be sufficient to give full respect for the dignity of the child. When ascertaining the moral obligations parents and health care professionals have to children, another principle can help to clarify the obligations which these groups have to pediatric cancer patients. The principle proposed and developed here is that of respect for patient dignity. This investigation focuses on the way a child's dignity is respected when they are provided age-appropriate information that is relevant to their well-being. A selection of case studies serves to illustrate ways in which the dignity of pediatric cancer patients has not been adequately respected due to nondisclosure of information. From these case studies, the prejudices through which parents typically justify withholding information from their sick children are revealed. Through a recognition and acknowledgment of these prejudices, an argument is made for respecting the level of intelligence, and hence the dignity of the child, by providing the child with information that bears on their life and circumstances.

### INTRODUCTION

The discipline of bioethics is driven by the desire to develop ethical thought and policies to guide health care decision-making. One of the most sensitive and complex areas within the field of bioethics is pediatric oncology. Any health care concern dealing with life-threatening illnesses in children is of grave seriousness, yet, the prevalence and complexity of pediatric cancer demands specific ethical inquiry. Bioethicists rely on a set of bioethical principles as decision-making guides. These four principles are articulated in Tom L. Beauchamp and James F. Childress's *Principles of Biomedical Ethics*. While the principles are designed to respect the dignity of all parties involved, these four principles may not be enough

- 26) What did the recent immigration rallies represent for Latinos politics?
- 27) Did you have a role in the recent immigration rallies? Did you work with any organizations involved with the event? If so in what way? What role did the Spanish news media play during the immigration rallies?
- 28) What will the future look like for Latino politics?
- 29) Will the Spanish news media have a role in the future of Latino politics?

### APPENDIX 3

#### *Latino Grassroots Organization Representatives*

- 30) How long has your organization been serving the Latino community?
- 31) What is the purpose of your organization?
- 32) What are some of the goals or projects that your organization is currently working on?
- 33) Do you work with the Spanish news media in achieving your goals?
- 34) Do you work with elected official in achieving your goals?
- 35) What is the role of Spanish media in Latino politics?
- 36) Does the Spanish news media interact with your organization?  
Is working with the Spanish news media a priority for your organization?
- 37) Is the Spanish news media your primary media outlet? Why or why not?
- 38) Does the Spanish news media help facilitate a Latino political agenda?
- 39) Does the Spanish news media effect Latino political participation and mobilization?
- 40) Does the Spanish news media's interaction with the Latino community differ from that of English news media?
- 41) What did the recent immigration rallies represent for Latino organization?
- 42) Did your organization have a role in the recent immigration rallies? How did you work with any organizations involved with the event?
- 43) How did your organization work with the Spanish media during the recent immigration rallies?
- 44) What will the future look like for Latino organizing? What will the future look like for your organization?

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## Examining the Flow of “Grab-N-Go”: A Case Study of an Atypical Dining Experience



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### ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to examine the efficiency of serving walk-up customers in a residence hall carry-out facility at Southern Illinois University, Carbondale. The ability to serve customers in a timely fashion is the hallmark of a well-designed food service establishment. For this study, customer arrival and food usage rates were tracked within one residence hall Grab-N-Go during the month of April 2006. Daily census, quantity of food cooked, and the rate at which food was taken was collected. Results indicate that 1) only 30% of the students that entered the Grab-N-Go had the option to receive hot food, and 2) due to the wait time, many students who would have chosen hot food items changed their minds to purchase pre-packaged food items. This research identifies areas to improve the service to customers by reducing waiting times and predicting peak demand.

## Empathy and Prejudice: Can Holocaust Education Produce Positive Change in How Adolescents View Others?

BRENDA SANDERS  
*College of Liberal Arts*

### ABSTRACT



Brenda Sanders,  
University  
Studies



Thomas Thibeault,  
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The purpose of this research was to explore whether a one-person Holocaust performance could produce a measurable change in adolescents' Empathy Level Indexes. The 32 participants were gathered through a convenience sample from two rural Southern Illinois 7<sup>th</sup> grade classes in Harrisburg and Carbondale. Age and gender make-up of participants were comparable in each of the classrooms, and their identities were kept confidential. Molly Seale Edwards designed the performance intervention specifically for a 7<sup>th</sup> grade audience. External influences were hypothesized to have an impact on producing positive changes in adolescents' index empathy levels. Data were gathered using mixed methods. Pre and post tests were administered using the Bryant Index of Empathy instrument; four students, a boy and a girl from each classroom, were interviewed, and the performance was video taped in order to analyze student reactions. I ran a four factor ANOVA on my four dependent variables: time, location, gender and ethnicity, using pre and post test scores as my two dependent variables. Interviews and observations were examined using descriptive analysis. Results indicate that there were positive changes in Empathy Level Indexes in both participant groups after the performance. Educational interventions like the one utilized in this study can produce positive effects in the way adolescents view others.

### INTRODUCTION

In order to reduce prejudice, attitudes must be changed; one way to achieve this is to increase the level of empathy towards others. The purpose of this mixed method experimental study was to determine whether a one-person Holocaust performance piece as a treatment could produce measurable change in adolescents' Empathy Level Indexes.

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### *Background*

This paper will review literature and present an experimental study on how Holocaust education, used as a treatment, can cause positive changes in how adolescents view others, thereby increasing their level of empathy and reducing prejudice. The organization of this paper first presents definitions of key terms. Next, a broad overview of empathy is covered, including perspectives, the need for emotional balance, and decreasing



prejudice through increased empathy. This is followed by a review of interventions, treatments, and measurements dealing with empathy. Finally, a review of the methodology and analysis used in other studies is presented. This paper concludes by discussing the gap in research on how to improve adolescents' view of others by increasing their empathy and is followed by a presentation of my present research project.

Based on previous literature, it has been learned that by decreasing the perception gap between prejudiced people and the people who are targets of prejudice, empathy can be used to improve prosocial behavior and attitudes (Roberts & Strayer, 1996). To understand the literature, it is necessary to clearly define the associated terms. Thus, to clarify terms used in this paper, the following definitions from the *American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* (2000) are used: prejudice is an adverse judgment or opinion formed without knowledge of the facts; empathy is the identification with and understanding of another's feelings; and, diversity is a way in which things differ. In addition, to understand the fundamental principles of prejudice, it is valuable to review Gordon Allport's Scale of Prejudice from his book, *The Nature of Prejudice* (2000), which includes a description of different degrees of prejudice from minor to extreme which are described by his use of the labels of antilocution, avoidance, discrimination, physical attack, and extermination. Furthermore, Allport's definitions and clarification of prejudice have been widely accepted (Newman, 1979), therefore they are also used in my present study.

Empathy has been studied for many decades and increases in empathy can lead to the beneficial reduction of prejudice; however, a theoretical concern is the notion that adults are slow to change their feelings of prejudice (Cotton, 1992). If increased levels of empathy can reduce prejudice, then it seems logical that more empathetic young people would lessen prejudice over time after reaching adulthood. As young people begin to form their own beliefs and attitudes toward life, an increase in their level of empathy will help to reduce prejudice around them. Adolescence is an important developmental stage for individuals, since during this developmental stage, attitudes, approaches to life, and the manner in which interaction with others is learned. Hence, empathy education may be a way to reduce prejudice (Dror, 2001).

#### *Perspectives on Empathy*

Cotton (1992) reviewed fifty-eight published articles on how empathy affects individuals' values and morals and found that child-rearing practices can positively affect empathy level in children including social behavior. On the other hand, it was found that certain child-rearing practices can have a negative effect. For example, responsive, reasoning, caring, and encouraging behavior towards children by parents has a

## Ethical Instructional Methods in Information Technology: A Pilot Study



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### ABSTRACT

In light of several recent highly publicized unethical acts (e.g. hacktivism, identity theft, and various other cybercrimes) in the field of information technology (IT), there is a renewed sense of urgency for ethics to be taught in IT departments at the university level. Because of this interest in teaching ethics in IT, the current study is designed as a small pilot study that will lead into a larger year-long study of ethics instructional practices in IT departments across the nation. A convenience sample of six IT instructors at Midwestern universities completed a questionnaire regarding their ethics instructional practices. The purpose of this pilot study is to determine: (1) what types of ethics courses are undergraduate students in IT departments required to take, (2) what are the instructional methods used to teach ethics in IT, and (3) is there a significant difference in the requirements and methods used at various universities. A descriptive analysis of this data reveals that course requirements and instructional methods are varied across the field of IT. This study contributes to the ongoing conversation on how best to approach the instruction of ethics in IT at the university level.

## Adaptive Reuse of Historical Structures: Cultural Development of Rural Communities via the Reinterpretation of the WPA Library



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Mentor: Robert Swenson, Associate Professor, School of Architecture

### ABSTRACT

In this study, I examine the adaptive reuse of Works Progress Administration (WPA) funded public libraries, specifically the courthouse in the village of Thebes. I explore whether adaptive reuse results in a culturally advantageous outcome for the communities which house similar facilities. Analysis of field data, site analysis, case study information, and graphic imaging data are explored for their relevance to WPA library preservation and cultural objectives. An in-depth analysis of WPA documentation highlighting the history and significance to rural library development is used to provide context for the study. The significance of this research could impact the direction taken by the Village Board and the Mayor as they guide the future cultural development of the Village of Thebes. This study could aid in providing an identity that highlights the importance of the preservation of rural communities throughout the historical districts of Illinois.

positive influence. Logically then, parents who threaten, abuse, bribe, and reject their children cause negative influences. In addition, it was found that empathy training is supported by research to enhance empathy level and social behavior. It was also found that classroom strategies and program designs based on cooperative learning are effective in enhancing empathy level and social behavior. Moreover, it was found that research supports all of these empathy enhancers in producing empathetic people. Overall, there appears to be two paths for this study of empathy: one is cognitive empathy and the other is emotional empathy. It is important to note that my study focused on emotional empathy. As consistent with previous research, I believe that teaching adolescents about empathy and the good that comes from it will yield beneficial results. This same contention is promoted in research on school improvement (Cotton, 1992).

On the other hand, Knight (1989) deems that school administrators and professionals should be cautious about putting too much emphasis on empathy in the educational system. He argues that too much focus and energy are being directed towards what students should do, rather than how they do it. Diversity, in the relation to empathy, is an underlying theme in his article and has led to much confusion. According to Knight's conclusion, throughout history empathy has not been a helpful term to use in an educational setting. However, Knight (1989) provided a contra perspective that helps to balance the views in literature about the value of empathy in dealing with the reduction of prejudice. Concerning empathy education in school systems, Knight (1989) argues that a national curriculum for schools is unlikely to develop if it is based on assumptions "about how children should be reasoning rather than upon psychologically grounded evidence about how they do reason" (p.41). Specifically, he acknowledges the need for empathy education and at the same time complains that there is much confusion surrounding efforts to include empathy in curriculums. In addition, he conducted an extensive literature review about the origins of empathy and tracked empathy from history to its current place in psychology and references Bryant's Index of Empathy. However, the uncertainty about how to approach empathy education is described in his article, which emphasizes the ambiguity and difficulty of measuring empathy. Likewise, he does admit that empathy training could serve to increase levels of empathy.

Dror (2001) wrote about Holocaust education in secondary schools in Israel from a historical perspective and the need for balance in the emotional aspects of learning which has led to the identification of eight moral issues to consider. In emphasizing the need for emotional balance, Dror promoted increasing empathy and reducing prejudice. In fact, the author pointed out concerns relating to the curriculum history of mandatory Holocaust education. These concerns dealt with the lack of a healthy emotional balance of adolescents from a larger perspective,

including a strong heritage and emotions of the Jewish people who need to know that what happened will never be forgotten.

### *Increasing Empathy to Reduce Prejudice*

In an article by Newman (1979), prejudice was studied within the context of ethics and morality. The term “prejudgment” was used in a neutral sense and forms the foundation of his theme. With a neutral, and even sometimes positive nature, prejudice has taken on a negative connotation over time and leads people to make empirical and inferential errors about others, for which education is the answer. The author describes prejudice as something akin to a scourge of society and, moreover, the target of increased empathy is prejudice. For example, Newman (1979) draws upon information from Gordon W. Allport when he quotes a rather brief definition of prejudice as “thinking ill of others without sufficient warrant” (p.48).

Relationships between emotional expressiveness, empathy, and prosocial behaviors were described in a study by Roberts and Strayer (1996). In addition, their methods included interviews and questionnaires as sources, including children and their teachers. Their research involved children in three age groups, one of which was 13-year olds. Positive and negative emotions were studied and it was found that positive emotion was tied to a generalized feeling of well being. Conversely, negative emotion was connected with an overall feeling that everything is not going well. As children became older, it was found that negative emotions became less disruptive. This study contends that “empathy is an important way in which emotional engagement motivates prosocial behaviors” (Roberts & Strayer, 1996, p.453). Findings supported the authors’ expectations of empathy and expressiveness, gender and empathy-prosocial relations, and developmental trends. Moreover, their article also establishes that decreasing the perception gap between prejudiced people and the people who are targets of the prejudice through empathy can result in improvements in prosocial behavior and attitudes.

Furthermore, Roberts and Strayer’s study used laboratory observations as methods for this research. The participants in the study included three groups of students at different age levels. Of particular interest, is the group of 10 boys and 10 girls with a median age of 13. Pre-testing was done on the participants and the children viewed vignettes as a treatment. Descriptive information such as intensity of emotion and emotional expressiveness were coded. Correlations were examined across domains including age, empathy, latent variables, path analysis, and mean gender differences. The findings led to an interesting implication that “empathy is not a strong determinant of girls’ prosocial behavior” (Roberts & Strayer, 1996, p.466).

On the other hand, their findings support my hypothesis that empathy is

## Government of the Soul: According to Plato and Aristotle



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### ABSTRACT

The focus of my study is the government of the soul as understood by Plato and Aristotle, two classic philosophers. Both thinkers believed that the soul is consisted of three parts: intellect, spirit, and appetite. Virtues such as wisdom, courage, and temperance are the tools of self control which allow for the government of the soul. Typical of natural law thinkers, Plato and Aristotle organized ideas hierarchically. A right ordered political hierarchy consists of morality at the top, followed by law, and then politics. When medieval philosophers such as Machiavelli, Hobbes, and Rousseau emerged they rearranged the political hierarchy by placing politics at the top, law second and morality last. Soul government is a topic unique to the Classic philosophers because thinkers who followed did not believe in the individual’s ability to govern themselves. Medieval philosophers thought of passion as a key motivator for behavior. For this reason emphasis is placed on politics because it is the responsibility of the ruling structure to govern society so as to maintain order. I will be conducting a qualitative study on the governing of the soul by means of analytical observations derived from a close reading of primary philosophical, biographical, and historical texts. The purpose of this research is to address the trend of moral decline, which many scholars argue is a continuing issue in modern day society. Consulting the thoughts of the classic philosophers is an effective way of addressing this current socio-political issue.

## Cyber Risk-Taking: College Students' Attitudes Toward Risk Behaviors on Social Networking Sites



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### ABSTRACT

MySpace and Facebook have recently become popular social networking sites among college students. As indicated by recent media coverage, there are risks involved with these social networking sites. This study explores how college students' attitudes toward posting personal information have been affected by their involvement with MySpace and Facebook. A thirty question survey was sent to Health Education instructors across the United States who distributed them to their summer students; 145 respondents provided demographic information, time management practices, and self-reported risk behaviors on social networking sites. The data was examined using descriptive analysis and thematic coding. The researcher's analysis demonstrates that college students using MySpace and Facebook are surprisingly aware of the risks involved with disclosing personal information online, and yet continue to engage in this behavior. This study is important to public health education because of the potential impact of MySpace and Facebook on the college student population. Education and outreach efforts regarding online behavior should be implemented throughout colleges and universities to help students better understand how they are putting themselves at risk.

an "important contributor to prosocial behavior" (p.466). Their findings also support the positive effect of emotionally charged intervention upon the level of empathy. Descriptive information such as intensity of emotion and emotional expressiveness were coded. In fact, a self-test using Bryant's (1982) Index of Empathy for Children was used as another measure.

Also, it would have been interesting to review the results of a posttest following the video-viewing by the participating students. The data from the posttest could have further strengthened the researchers' findings or may have raised more questions. The following study deals with a different aspect of empathy as it might relate to prejudice. In order to reduce prejudice, attitudes must change. One way to achieve this is to increase the level of empathy in people (Roberts & Strayer, 1996).

An article by Stephan and Finlay (1999) reviews the role that empathy can have in improving intergroup relations. Research indicates empathy is a factor in prosocial behavior. Studies show that empathy training can increase empathetic skills. Processes using empathy to mediate changes in prejudice improve intergroup relations. Seven recommendations for the use of empathy are made in their article with the caveat that our hierarchical social system must be considered, and that empathy can be cognitive, reactive, and parallel. Empathy can be increased through training, and can have a positive effect on attitudes and behavior. Conceptually, carrying forward this notion should lead to improved intergroup relations, and thereby function as a reducer of prejudice.

### *Intervention*

Ascione and Weber (1996) examined retention and changes of children's attitude toward animals in a one-year school-based education program in their study. Generalization to human related empathy was measured and it was found that improved attitudes toward animals resulted in increased empathy towards humans. Limitations are that as children mature, it is likely that an enhanced awareness of humane responses is acquired and additional enhancement may occur over a one-year time frame. Increased duration of humane education intervention could be the focus of additional research as humane education can be an effective way to enhance children's sensitivity to others.

Most of us believe that humane attitudes towards animals are transferable to people in that more caring, kindness, and awareness of the needs and cultural differences of others lead to being more empathetic (Ascione & Weber, 1996). Transfer of what was learned by the students on empathy towards other people was also measured. This quantitative study aimed to assess the maintenance of the level of having a humane attitude or empathy at one year and then again at two years following an intervention or treatment. Their study used pretests and posttests,

along with a questionnaire, to determine experience with animals and three core assessments measuring instruments including: Intermediate Attitude Scale, Bryant Empathy Index, and the Companion Animal Bonding Scale.

The findings of this study demonstrated that “humane education intervention can enhance children’s attitudes towards animals . . . and that there is generalization from humane attitudes to human-directed empathy” (Ascione & Weber, 1996, p.192). Limitations of this study include that only one grade was studied and it is unknown if maintenance of more humane attitudes would survive over a longer period of time.

Another article reviews highlights of Holocaust education and poses the query as to the importance of this education in terms of its effect on students (Gallant & Hartman, 2001). An effort to include Holocaust education to increase awareness of intergroup relations is made in their article, which attempts to assess what has been done up to this point and what needs to be changed. The basis of the education is to point out what can happen and the importance of moral considerations in getting along with and dealing with other people. In contrast, what should be taught, and how, is a legitimate question to ask those responsible for developing a systematic multi-dimensional curriculum. Thus, their article has provided me a much greater understanding of how using information about the Holocaust as an educational intervention can be helpful in learning more about empathy and prejudice.

#### *Holocaust as a Treatment*

A study by Brown and Davies (1998) examines issues of learning and teaching about the Holocaust which include time devoted to the teaching, presentation as a distant event and its contemporary relevance, lack of teacher collaboration, and how students learn. The author developed questions rather than answers. Research in the future could help position and equip teachers to do a better job in teaching students about the Holocaust. Since my research uses the Holocaust as a treatment to sensitize 7th graders, it is important to learn about how the Holocaust is taught in the classroom. After taking a close look at the Holocaust, it is against this backdrop of the most vivid and most documented event of prejudice in history, that a closer look at prejudice should be taken. Several articles were reviewed to find ways to combat prejudice. Brown and Davies (1998) write about the use of tolerance as a way to emphasize the importance of empathy in relation to prejudice.

In addition, different pedagogical approaches in teaching the Holocaust to children and adolescents are formulated using real life stories of survivors and themes, rather than fiction with the central theme being the fate of the Jewish children (Caplan, 2001). Testimony of children survivors were utilized in this study. The plight of Jewish children

## Bloom’s Taxonomy Revised: A Look at Course Syllabi Objectives within Undergraduate and Graduate Disciplines in the Rehabilitation Institute



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### ABSTRACT

It is implied that many course objectives do not challenge students beyond the Remembering and Understanding levels of the cognitive process dimension and Factual Knowledge of the Knowledge Dimension. This study evaluates course syllabi objectives taken from instructors in order to ascertain at what level of the Revised Bloom’s Taxonomy these objectives fall. Thirty syllabi were randomly selected from various instructors within the Rehabilitation Department who instruct 400 and 500 level classes. Using the Taxonomy Table, two people rated course objectives based on two dimensions: Cognitive Processes and Knowledge. The hypotheses are: course syllabi within the undergraduate disciplines of the Rehabilitation Institute will on average fall in the understanding cognitive processes dimension and in the conceptual knowledge dimension; and, course Syllabi on the graduate level of instruction on average will fall in the evaluating cognitive process dimension and in the procedural knowledge dimension. The data gathered was analyzed quantitatively using a logistic regression test that analyzes ordinal data. Knowledge gathered from this study will assist instructors in revising their course objectives to develop more clear objectives for future classes. These newly revised objectives will aid students in higher-level thinking according to the Revised Bloom’s Taxonomy.

during the Holocaust is effectively portrayed in a manner to help educate children in the hopes of sensitizing them to increase a student's level of empathy.

Again, Totten and Feinberg (1995) present rationales, selecting content, pitfalls to consider, and resources for teachers to use in teaching about the Holocaust. In-depth information is provided on each of these areas with suggestions to improve effectiveness and understanding by students, and an admonishment by the authors to not trivialize the enormity of the Holocaust and all its horrible events.

Danks (1995) promotes the use of fiction to help connect students with the horrible reality of what really happened along with pointing out the absence of much information in history books about the Holocaust. A caveat was that use of fiction for this purpose had to fulfill four criteria identified by the author who supported his main theme of the need to connect students with the realization of the magnitude of the negative events of the Holocaust.

Furthermore, an article authored by Rogow (1999) is a synthesis of secondary literature and was developed for use by teachers of Holocaust education, particularly as it relates to child victims. Information is presented as a chronicle of events and situations in Nazi Germany and describes the genocide of disabled children and misfits under the pretense of improving society and medical research. This article is more closely related to creating an emotional experience for readers since it deals with what the children in Nazi Germany experienced. Articles that relate to extreme prejudice are important for assessing empathy levels because of the high emotional levels that they create for their readers. At the same time, it captures what happened to children in history and the need to do what we can to prevent such things in the future.

#### *Instrument and Scale of Measurement*

The purpose of Bryant's (1982) landmark experimental study was to develop and validate an index of empathy instrument to be used in experimental studies on children and adolescents. Outcomes of this study were favorably compared with previous studies about empathy. Bryant tracks empathy from history to its current place in psychology. Because of this, the pretest and posttest instrument to be used in my research project is the Bryant Index of Empathy (Bryant, 1982), which has been validated and accepted as a credible instrument among other researchers (Roberts & Strayer, 1996). It has 22 statements that were scored using negative numbers for one end of the scale and positive numbers at the other end of the scale to represent responses ranging from "very much like me" to "very little like me."

Bryant's measurement was tested for validity in situations involving aggression and helping behavior which proved to be reliable and valid,

and has become a standard in the field. Bryant's study was developed by modifying a similar landmark experimental study for adults (Mehrabian & Epstein, 1972). Mehrabian and Epstein's article presents the cognitive role-taking approach and the vicarious emotional response approach, which are the two ways to define empathy in adults.

The statements in Bryant's quantitative experimental study were categorized into general groupings in order to gain insight. In addition, it is interesting to note that 87 7<sup>th</sup> grade students were included as participants and that "among 7<sup>th</sup> graders, reliability was  $r(41) = .80, p < .001$  for males, and  $r(38) = .83, p < .001$  for females" (Bryant, 1982, p.417). The measures in this study used several existing methods that were in place in order to review comparability of results. Data analysis in this study included: "Item means, item-total correlations, test-retest reliabilities, correlations testing the relationship of empathy to aggressiveness and acceptance of individual differences, correlations testing the relationship of the adapted index of empathy to other existing measures of empathy, as well as, to social desirability response set and reading achievement formed the basis of internal, discriminate, convergent, and general construct validation" (p.413). Minimum requirements for construct validity were met.

Bryant's study showed convergent validity with 7th graders in strong correlation between the study on adult empathy measure (Mehrabian & Epstein, 1972) and the index in Bryant's research. Limitations mentioned include: gender of the researcher and the requirement that the scores are the adolescents' reflection of their empathy and not a direct measure of empathetic behavior. It would have been interesting to have results from such a study using pretests and posttests in conjunction with interventional treatment.

#### *Methodology/Analysis*

A study by Caruso and Mayer (1998) describes a new multi-dimensional scale to measure emotional empathy. The authors claim that this scale can provide detailed sub-scales as well for adolescents and adults. The author presented the background on cognitive and emotional empathy and reviewed previous works. This researcher focused on constructing a multi-faceted measure of emotional empathy. Six scales were used to compare results and included the adult empathy measurement (Mehrabian & Epstein, 1972). What is more, findings included the hypothesized gender differences and increasing empathy in adolescence. This was a mixed methods study and the results showed that there were significant gender differences in the total scale, as well as for the six scales used; the researcher used MANOVA for his analysis. Another finding was that empathy increases somewhat in adolescence. Limitations, again, appear to be a lack of pretests and posttests in conjunction with an interventional treatment.

# Abstracts

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## METHODS

This experimental study utilized mixed methods (quantitative and qualitative). The purpose of the proposed study is to determine whether one 7th grade class session, using a one-person Holocaust performance piece as the treatment, can produce a measurable change in adolescents' empathy and if there is a gender related difference.

### *Hypotheses*

The importance of this proposed study is to determine whether one 7th grade class session, in two different classrooms, using a one-person Holocaust performance piece as the treatment, can produce a measurable change in adolescents' empathy. It is hypothesized that there would be a significant positive difference in empathy in 7th grade students as a result of watching and listening to a one-person performance on the Holocaust during a 45-minute class period. In addition, significant differences in empathy levels between male and female 7th grade students are expected; it was hypothesized that females would become more empathetic than their male counterparts as a result of the treatment.

### *Quantitative Research Questions*

My quantitative research questions include the following:

- 1) Does watching and listening to a one-person performance piece on the Holocaust as a treatment for one class period have a significant effect on the empathy level index in 7<sup>th</sup> grade students in rural schools?
- 2) Do students who interact regularly in a classroom with a more ethnically diverse population (Carbondale) have a significantly greater score on an empathy level index than do students who interact regularly in a classroom of limited ethnic diversity (Harrisburg)?
- 3) Is there a significant interaction between gender and classroom ethnic diversity in the empathy level index in 7<sup>th</sup> grade students in rural schools?

### *Qualitative Research Questions*

My qualitative research questions include the following:

- 4) What do 7<sup>th</sup> grade students in rural schools ask about the performance after watching and listening to a one-person performance on the Holocaust?
- 5) Are there any observable gender patterns in the participants after watching and listening to a one-person performance on the Holocaust?
- 6) Are there any observable ethnic interaction patterns in the participants after watching and listening to a one-person performance on the Holocaust?



### *Treatment*

Molly Seale Edwards provided the treatment for this proposed project. Her one-person performance piece, *From the Holocaust*, has earned wide acclaim from teachers and the university community, and thereby, would bring considerable credibility to this project. This one-person performance piece has targeted middle school and high school audiences. Ms. Edwards, a theater artist who works extensively in the area of creative drama and theater for youth, has written, directed and continues to perform this piece. Molly created this piece in 1996 with a grant from the Southern Illinois Cultural Alliance. She collaborated with a visual artist to present her piece to middle schools throughout the Southern Illinois region. In 1999, Molly re-wrote and re-staged the piece and began to perform it to a variety of audiences. In 2001, she was rostered on the Illinois ARTSTOUR roster for performance of her piece, through the Illinois Arts Council. The piece runs approximately one hour in its entirety, providing a chronological overview of the events of the Holocaust, including the artist's own narrative perspective, and drawing from the experiences and writings of Etty Hillesum, Nechama Tec, and Elie Wiesel, as well as other Holocaust survivors.

Ms. Edwards modified her performance piece to 30-minutes to fit each classroom session for this research project and allowed 15-minutes for questions and answers following her performance. This background information on Molly Seale Edwards can be found on her personal website at <http://colanmc.siu.edu/mollyedwards>.

### *Independent and Dependent Variables*

The independent variables for this project were; Time (totals on pre and post test empathy level index scores), Location (Carbondale and Harrisburg), Gender (male and female), and Ethnicity (White and Non-White). The two dependent variables were the Pre and Post Test Scores on Bryant's Index of Empathy (Bryant, 1982).

### *Instrument*

The pre and post test instruments used in this research project were the Bryant Index of Empathy (Bryant, 1982) which has been validated and accepted as a credible instrument among other researchers. It has 22 statements which are scored using negative numbers for one end of the scale and positive numbers at the other end of the scale. The specific instrument is a 9-point Likert-like scale which is a slightly modified version of Bryant's 1982 Empathy Level Index Scale. It has 22 questions, the minimum score being 1 = "Not at all like me", to 9 = "Very much like me", being the maximum score to represent responses ranging from "very much like me" to "very little like me." Examples of statements on the instrument include: "I get upset when I see a girl being hurt" and "It makes me sad to see a boy who can't find anyone to play with."

When all is said and done, future research should continue to explore Black female head coaches experiences. It is easy to gain the facts and figures but it is what sports administrators are doing about those numbers that is important. It is necessary to listen to what these coaches have to say to gain insight as to what needs to be changed and what aspects of their profession are working well for them.

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On the other hand, many predict that more women will be entering the profession of coaching in another decade, as these women will have grown up playing sports. In other words Title IX may produce the same positive effect for female coaches as it did for female athletes, but must be given the requisite time period to realize these gains. Even those women who do secure the sparse number of coaching jobs available to females must face much lower salaries than may be earned in other professions in which women are presented with the opportunity to be on a more equal plane with men. Coaching is considered to be a grueling, low-pay, high-stress job with little time off, yet another reason why the recruitment of female coaches has proved so difficult. In a recent NCAA survey, 75% of female collegiate athletes said that they are interested in a career that would offer a higher average salary than could be obtained in either coaching or administration of intercollegiate athletics (Fazioli, 2004).

Not to go unheard, one female coach stated, "I don't think that women, as a whole, look at coaching as a profession that they would choose. They are just not trained to go on to coach. And I think most of us play for male coaches, and so don't ever really think about that—he's not really a role model for what we want to do in our lives."

## CONCLUSION

As we have seen through this research, numbers indicate that Black females are underrepresented in NCAA Division I coaching positions. They represent the fewest number of coaches. Black female coaches in the NCAA face a double jeopardy; they are a double minority in the coaching profession both as Blacks and as females. Historically, Blacks and females have faced the most discrimination in leadership positions.

In order to understand Black female head coaches' experiences, qualitative methodology was used. The qualitative method was used because of the complexity and sensitivity of the issues. Also, a semi-structured interview was created to have a free-flowing framework. Two-way conversations were easy to have and questions were created as discussion grew. Throughout the process the coaches were able to ask me questions as well.

Results of the study indicated that the four most relevant themes were: 1) Perceptions of male and female coaches by female athletes. 2) Hiring based on being qualified vs. fulfilling standards of minority report card. 3) Lack of female student-athlete grooming to become head coaches. 4) Black inferiority and the lack of representation in leadership positions. Each of these themes emerged after closely analyzing the quotes from the coaches who were interviewed. These results indicate that Black female head coaches face issues specific to both race and gender in their professional lives.

## *Data Analysis*

For the quantitative portion of this study a four factor ANOVA (at alpha level .05) was performed in SPSS on the four independent variables: time, location, gender, and ethnicity, using pre and post test scores as the two dependent variables. Interviews and observations were examined using descriptive analysis for the qualitative portion of this study.

## *Participants*

There were 32 participants from two 7th grade classes in rural Southern Illinois. Specifically, one class was from Harrisburg and the other from Carbondale. Since there is more than one 7th grade class in each school system, a school administrator at each of the two schools selected a particular 7th grade class to be used as participants in this research project. One school has greater diversity than the other. It was also expected that the gender mix would be approximately equal. The age range of the participants in this study were 11 to 13. Seventh grade students represent the youngest age group for which the Holocaust performer, Ms. Edwards, provided the treatment. This student group is desired for the research because it is believed that external influences may have a greater impact on producing positive change in the younger students' level of empathy.

The two grade schools were selected as a convenient sample due to time constraints and the school calendar year ending in May for the summer break. There were two students, one male and one female, who were pre-selected on the basis of comparable socio-economic demographics at each of the two schools by their respective classroom teachers. These four students were interviewed by the researcher as part of the qualitative research. These interviews were audio-recorded and no names were used. All students in the 7th grade classes selected participated provided that they had a signed parental/guardian consent forms. Of these, only the students who took the pre test were permitted to take the post test.

Demographic information collected from the participants included the following: age, gender, citizenship, race/ethnicity, family size, and students general schoolwork grade. Following the one-person performance piece on the Holocaust, two students at each school were interviewed by the researcher. One question asked was: "Is society fair to all people? Explain." Data gathered from the interview process was used in the qualitative portion of the research.

## RESULTS

### *Quantitative findings*

The present study was designed to determine whether a brief educational intervention can produce a positive change in adolescents' empathy level

indexes. Using a one-person performance piece about the Holocaust as the treatment, this experimental study, using students from two 7th grade social studies classes, found that there was a significant increase in empathy level index across the board when the participants' posttest scores were compared to their pretest scores.

The data were analyzed using four t-tests for independent samples. The dependent variable was the participants' empathy level indexes average posttest scores. The quantitative descriptive statistics for the independent variables and the interactive effect are summarized in Tables 1 and 2 and Figure 1 following:

TABLE 1: Descriptive Statistics for the Effect on Time in Students' Empathy Level Index Scores

Time:	n:	Mean Score:	Standard Deviation:	Min. #:	Max. #:
Pre test	32	5.57	1.05	3.45	7.68
Post test	32	5.92	1.00	3.77	7.77

TABLE 2: Descriptive Statistics for the Effect on Location in Students' Empathy Level Index Protest Scores

Location:	n:	Mean Score:	Standard Deviation:	Min. #:	Max. #:
Carbondale	13	5.61	1.05	3.77	7.77
Harrisburg	19	6.13	0.94	4.32	7.59

Figure 1 Plot of the Interaction Between Gender and Ethnicity

In order to see if the observed differences in *Means* between the levels of the independent variables were statistically significant, that is systematic and not due to chance, a four-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was preformed at alpha level = .05. This was preceded by Lavene's test of homogeneity of error variances. Thus, the assumption of homogenous variances was observed on the post test average scores,  $F(7,24) = 1.149$ ,  $p = .367$ . The fact that the above assumption was observed, allowed the four-way ANOVA to be carried out without any modifications.

The ANOVA results revealed that; 1.) The independent variable, Time, had a significant effect on adolescents Empathy Level Index scores as a result of the pre and post test findings,  $F(1,24) = 7.853499$ ,  $p = .01$ ; 2.) The second independent variable, Location, had a significant effect as well,  $F(1,24) = 4.954$ ,  $p < .04$ . More specifically, Harrisburg Middle School ( $M = 6.13$ ) showed a significantly higher Empathy Level Index score on their post test as compared to Carbondale Middle School (5.61); 3.) The interaction effect between Gender and Ethnicity groups was also significantly effected  $F(1,24) = 8.611$ ,  $p = .01$ ; however, only among White participants, the females empathy scores were higher than their counterparts, White males  $t(18) = .3583$ ,  $p = .002$ . Among Non-White

(e.g. relationships and friendships) while males are focusing on great performances. Participant 1 added, "it's really interesting in coaching now, even though I played for all men, to listen to girls—maybe when a job opens up, the first thing that girls say they want is a man, because they equate men with winning, not women."

It is clear that when hiring a coach, the athletic director not only needs to interview the applicant but the team as well. Hiring a coach should be based on the team's needs because every team is different. Many females are counted out before they even get a chance.

### *Being Qualified vs. Fulfilling Minority Report Card*

A report card was established by the Black Coaches Association (BCA) to show how various NCAA institutions are ranked in their hiring practices. The BCA's main goal is to address significant issues pertaining to the participation and employment of minorities in sports in general, and intercollegiate athletics in particular. The purpose of this is to assist minorities aspiring to have a career in athletics through educational and professional development programming and scholarships, and to provide youth and diverse communities the opportunity to interact positively with the BCA as a corporate citizen and community builder through a variety of alliances (BCA, 2005). A minority report card is currently being developed to achieve the same goals the BCA presents but specifically for females.

Because college athletic administrators are aware of this report card it brings up the question, are coaches getting hired because of their attributes or because it looks good on paper? When asked if minorities were being hired to fill an obligation, Participant 1 exclaimed, "I hate to say it like that, but yeah. I can't think of any better way to put it." Participant 3 declared, "you go into a job with your portfolio, resume, and all the credentials you have hoping to be hired for what you can offer. But in reality, some administrators only see that you are a minority and could care less as to what you just presented. When administrators do that, they are in danger of attaining mediocre coaches and having mediocre performances."

Anonymity may play a huge part in removing the obligations administrators may face. The report should be made randomly, frequently, and in secret. Furthermore, the grades given should be based on qualifications and performance of the coach, in addition to their race. This should result in healthy pressures placed on administrators to hire quality coaches with fairness.

### *Female Student-Athlete Transition*

A friend once said, "females go to college to accomplish reality and males go to school to accomplish dreams." When it comes to sports do females go to school to receive coaching degrees or degrees in other careers?

looking for previous experience head coaching at a Division I level, then you are currently only talking about the five existing [black] coaches" (BCA, 2001, www.bca.org).

Many professionals in the field feel that the White leaders in the NCAA see Blacks as inferior and unqualified for many positions, but what about the idea that Blacks themselves see Blacks as inferior? Participant 1, who is from a prestigious university stated that, "I think that Blacks as a whole, that we don't always recognize our race as being capable, and that we would rather go play for a white man than a black man, and then a white woman before a black woman."

Participant 2 gave another spin to the idea when she explained that, "for many Black student-athletes growing up, Black people were their buddies on the street, cousins, or favorite comedian. Those who should have been positive role models in their life were non-existent. Then in comes the white teacher, police officer or whatever being the authority figures in their lives. So when they enter the collegiate sports scene, they don't respect their Black authority figure and see them as inferior. Administrators pay attention to the relationships and productivity of these coaches."

#### *Women Coaching Women*

A recent study by Fasting and Pfister (2000), found that elite female soccer players from the United States, Germany, Norway and Sweden preferred female coaches because they like the female style of communication. This communication style was described as understanding and caring. This is not to say that male coaches cannot display these coaching behavior characteristics, or that female coaches only display these characteristics. Female athletes prefer coaches that communicate more openly and are empathetic. They value friendship, team unity, and are sensitive to the thoughts and feelings of coaches and teammates (Silby & Smith, 2000). Women's National Soccer Team coach Tony DiCicco admitted, "I learned something about coaching women, that validating their feelings is a tremendous acknowledgement" (Longman, 2000, p.172). It is clear that there is some sort of affective relationship that females have among themselves. Having stable emotional health and strong athletic performance is reason enough to hire a female head coach for these athletes.

On the other hand, some argue that because feelings and emotions are strong attributes of women females coaching other females is a difficult task. Participant 1 stated, "that's the challenge of being a female coach, is that female athletes think that they would rather have a man without even really knowing. Or, maybe they had one bad experience with a woman and then they decide that all women are emotional or whatever terms they have for us." Another conclusion that can be made is that athletes think female coaches are looking for more emotional components

participants, gender differences were not found,  $t(10) = .377$ ,  $p = .716$ .

#### *Qualitative Findings*

Qualitative research, video tapings and audio taped informal interviews of four participants were done to supplement and support the quantitative results. The findings of this qualitative research study answers the following questions: 1.) What do 7<sup>th</sup> grade students in rural schools ask about the performance after watching and listening to a one-person performance on the Holocaust?; 2.) Are there any observable gender patterns in the participants after watching and listening to a one-person performance on the Holocaust?; 3.) Are there any observable ethnic interaction patterns in the participants after watching and listening to a one-person performance on the Holocaust?

To begin, in answering the first qualitative question, "what do the participants ask after the treatment," the Holocaust performance was mostly related to the characters Molly Edwards portrayed in her performance. More specifically, they were interested in a 13 year old Jewish boy, named Mottel, in the Warsaw ghetto, who died while fighting the Nazis, and a Jewish woman, Claire Bierbaum, who was imprisoned in Auschwitz, with her two small children. Examples of questions asked were, "how did Mottel die?" and "was it a true story about the woman and her kids?"

For the second question, as far as any observable gender patterns, there were differences observed only during the questions the participants asked of Ms. Edwards after her performance. For instance, in the male teacher's class, a higher number of females asked questions compared to the males, and in the female teacher's class most of the questions were asked by males.

Lastly, question three, relating to the interaction between the White and Non-White during, and after the performance, were also observed, although only after the performance. It was interesting that more White participants asked questions in the school where ethnic diversity was greater compared to the Non-White participants. Also, it was observed that Non-White participants asked more questions than their counterparts, the White participants, in a school of limited ethnic diversity.

In addition to the posed research questions, confidential 10-minute informal interviews were conducted with two students, one male and one female, at each school. Since the interviews were brief, and both students were present, the findings of the results may have been biased to not reveal the participants true feelings. For example, when asking the male student, "in society, do you think society is fair to all people in general?", the male student responded, "no I don't." Then, when asked, "why?", he responded, "because some people are prejudiced like the governor and may be prejudiced against a thing and try to make it

hard for you.” Then when asking the female student the same question, after hearing her classmate’s response, simply answered, “no”, and when asked, “why?” she responded, “pretty much the same reason he had.” Also, the rooms in which the interviews were conducted were very distracting. For example, people came in and out and phones and talking in the background distracted both the participants and researcher’s concentration. However, overall the interviews did reveal that the students were aware of how prejudice affects their views of others.

## DISCUSSION

Instruments and measurement devices dealing with empathy have been developed, however, not widely used in research on how to reduce prejudice in adolescents using one-class sessions as the time-period for educational intervention. Researchers have studied empathy in adults and in school systems alike. Yet, there has been little or no research on the effect of brief one-time educational interventions on levels of empathy in adolescents and the way in which they view others. Unlike some studies (Bryant, 1982; Roberts & Strayer, 1996), the presence of the pretest and posttest scores ensured that data gathered was reliable and representative of all variables of an empathy study. Furthermore, analysis of the results from males versus females found that there was a gender-based difference, whereas, the girls showed a greater increase in their empathy level indexes. This was particularly noticeable in white girls. In fact, I had hypothesized that females would become more empathetic than their male counterparts.

Limitations of this study included limited time frames due to access to students and their schools’ schedules, student exposure, if any, to Holocaust information, distractions during the process, small sample size, and using convenient samples rather than random samples. Future studies should attempt to extend the research and increase the external validity, replicate the study to verify results, and include religion as another independent variable.

Hopefully, my research on this study will broaden the knowledge in the area of empathy training and increase empathy levels as a means to reduce prejudice. In addition, the results of my research will help school curriculum developers to move towards introducing brief educational interventions designed to increase empathy levels into school systems’ time-constrained schedules, since, the desired outcome is to produce more prosocial and less prejudiced individuals in our society.

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“plantation system” in athletics in which Blacks perform on the playing fields for whites who control the action (Lapchick & Matthews, 1998; 1999). Interestingly, recent information indicates that colleges are also not doing a particularly good job of hiring Black administrators and coaches (Lapchick & Matthews, 1998; 1999).

In this position one might expect to find a higher percentage of Blacks than in the front office. This may be anticipated since coaches typically are former players, and with a higher percentage of African-American athletes who retire from sport, a larger pool of candidates for coaching positions would evolve. As a response, one could make the argument that the abilities and skills necessary to succeed as players are not the same as those necessary to succeed in areas related to the organizational and administrative aspects of a sport (Hubbard, 2001).

Thus, a large playing population of Blacks does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that there should be a greater percentage of blacks in other sports roles. Assuming that most positions in professional and sport organizations require a college or even a graduate degree, it might be more meaningful to assess the demographics of these positions by looking at the population of individuals holding such degrees, than to assessing them in relation to the population of athletes who excel on the courts and playing fields.

As a rough estimate, data reported by *The Chronicle of Higher Education* showed that Blacks represented 9.5% of all students enrolled in colleges and 7.2% of those in graduate programs. When these figures are used to assess employment patterns in professional and college sports organizations, the demographics do not appear to be disproportionately biased in any systematic fashion. In the final analysis, as in other endeavors, the route towards increased representation in professional occupations, among which the many non-playing sports positions should be included, comes with educational attainment. This represents a broader issue in society, but one that is magnified by the strange disproportionality of players to administrators and coaches in our major professional and collegiate athletic programs (*Chronicle of Higher Education*, 1998).

Floyd A. Keith, the executive director of the Black Coaches Association, has said that the under-representation of Blacks in coaching positions reflects the fact that athletic directors and college presidents, the vast majority of whom are White, are still uncomfortable with recruiting and interviewing Black prospective coaches. “Oftentimes the hiring criteria are expressed in a fashion that eliminates blacks from the onset, says Keith, citing job announcements specifying that applicants should have Division I head coaching experiences.” Keith continues, “one of the failures of the system has been the [lack of] recognition of the minorities that are qualified to have these positions,” said Keith. “If the job is

TABLE 1

Each participant will be asked the following demographic questions:

- 1) How many total years have you been coaching? Assistant coaching experience? How long have you been in your current head coaching position?

Each participant will then be asked the following probe questions:

- 2) What do you believe was the most important factor(s) in you getting hired in your current coaching position?
- 3) Do you think your race or gender affected how you were treated in the interview process?
- 4) Why do you think there are so few Black female head coaches in Division I athletics?
- 5) What recommendations would you make for increasing the number of Black female head coaches in Division I athletics?
- 6) How would you describe the support (i.e., financial, academic, and resources) that you receive from your institution?
- 7) What advice do you have for Black females who are interested in pursuing a career as a head coach in Division I college athletics?

### Procedures

Upon approval from the SIUC Human Subjects Committee, initial contacts were made with potential participants via email. Those coaches who responded to the initial email were contacted by telephone to set up a mutually convenient time to conduct the interview. A telephone script was created for consistency. Interviews lasted approximately 45 minutes and were audio taped for accuracy in the transcription process. The primary protocol employed a one-on-one semi-structured interview approach. Following the one-to-one interviews the participants were debriefed and thanked for their participation.

### Content Analysis

A question-based coding system was used to identify the emerging themes. Selected quotes were used to illustrate the various emerging themes. Validity of reoccurring statements or ideas was cause for further research. This included asking follow-up questions and looking at previous literature relating to the topic.

## RESULTS

### Blacks and Inferiority

The first major equity issue concerns Blacks and leadership in sports. While African-Americans dominate as players in revenue producing activities, they are vastly under-represented in positions of ownership, management, and coaching. Some have presented the picture of a

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Training and development processes for coaches and athletic administrators should be formalized so that job requirements include standardized, formal learning components (e.g., an advanced degree), and formal coaching certification processes (e.g., through the professional association for individual sports). Colleges and universities would need to agree, perhaps through the NCAA, to adhere to standardized requirements and certification (perhaps with a deadline after which all new hires would require certification). Select colleges and universities would need to further develop existing programs for the training of coaches and athletic administrators (Drago & Henninghausen, 2005).

## METHODS

### *Design*

In order to qualitatively assess the nature of Black female coaches' experiences in the NCAA, a one-on-one interview format was considered appropriate. Individual interviews, which aim to obtain individual attitudes, beliefs, and feelings were best for this study. The individual interview is easier for the researcher to control and get the specific results they are looking for (Gibbs, 1997). For many projects, personal interviews of a properly drawn sample will give more in-depth information from each person participating and it will not be influenced by the opinions of others in the sample. Conducting a series of one-to-one interviews can provide valuable insight into how members of special groups (e.g. Black female head coaches) view the topic. This method helps researchers understand how people perceive and interpret language and their own experiences (Sofaer, 1999).

### *Participants*

A pre-determined convenience sample was used for inclusion in this study. A total of three Black female head coaches were interviewed. The coaches came from different backgrounds, including basketball, track and field, and volleyball. The participants represented universities from 3 different NCAA Division I athletic conferences. All participants read and signed an informed consent form prior to the start of the one-on-one interviews. The consent forms were sent via email because the coaches were spread out across the country and time constraints precluded the use of regular mail.

### *Instrumentation*

A series of seven questions were developed to provide open-ended discussion among participants (see Table 1). Follow-up probe questions were also utilized by the researcher to elicit more information from the participants.

### *Gender Inequality*

“During the 1980s, men’s and women’s intercollegiate athletics programs were merged at most institutions, and the NCAA and the NAIA became the national governing bodies of all of intercollegiate athletics. Both developments left men in the powerful leadership positions in intercollegiate sports. By 1988, less than half the coaches of women’s intercollegiate teams were women” (Dixon, 2004, p. 56).

Since the latter 19th century, when sport began its rise to public prominence, one of the most persistent and widespread forms of discrimination in American society has been in women’s lack of access to sport opportunities (Sage 1998). Historically, females have been denied equal opportunity in sports in numerous ways. Not only have their opportunities and rewards been unequal, but their facilities and sport organizations—where they have existed—have been segregated from and inferior to men’s. Even today, despite laws designed to provide equity in sport opportunity and improvements in access for females in sports, males still have access to more sport opportunities and public resources. Men continue to control most sport organizations, and numerous inequities remain (Sage, 1998).

Some researchers are looking for ways to reverse the decline of women coaches in the NCAA. Women coaches of women’s teams may serve as role models, drawing more girls into coaching and athletics administration, and thereby reversing the decline. As women continue to be shut out of positions coaching men’s teams, reversing the decline of women coaching women’s team may be a more realistic short to intermediate term goal.

In 2005, Robert Drago stated that to achieve either the short- or long-term objectives stated above, both female and male student athletes require more exposure to women in coaching. In an effort to effect that change, women should be encouraged to coach athletic teams beginning with elementary school students, continuing through high school, and as collegiate athletes. Coaching internship programs should be developed to provide formalized coaching training and development of women student athletes at the collegiate level (Drago, 2005).

Researchers also suggest that administrators should formalize hiring practices, decision-making processes, training and development, and the career paths of coaches. The informality of present practices allow sex discrimination to play a major role in hiring, decision-making, training and development, and in career paths, thereby limiting opportunities for women interested in or already in coaching and athletic administration, and makes the career path uncertain for prospective coaches (Henninghausen, 2005).

## Diversity in the NCAA: A Study of Division I Black Female Head Coaches

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### ABSTRACT



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The purpose of this study was to qualitatively examine the experiences of Black female head coaches in the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA). A one-on-one interview design was utilized to explore views and experiences of Black female coaches. Three Black female coaches who are currently coaching at the NCAA Division I level were recruited for this study. The participants were asked seven structured questions to elicit rich description. Responses were audio-recorded and transcribed. Major themes in the data were then identified. Through question-based coding, many themes emerged. The themes that were derived post-analysis were: being qualified vs. fulfilling the standards of a “minority report card,” Blacks and inferiority, sociology of women coaching women, support, and female student-athlete transition. The number of black female coaches in the NCAA as a whole is extremely low. There appears to be a tendency for administrators to hire coaches to complete the necessary requirements for the annual equity reports issued by each university for race and gender rather than hiring based on objective standards. On the other hand, female student-athletes are not expressing their want to become a head coach. Females have the tendency to go to school for other careers besides coaching.

### INTRODUCTION

There are currently glaring gender and race inconsistencies within intercollegiate sports. Specifically, there is a significant underrepresentation of Black women as head coaches in NCAA Division I athletics. Black females are the focus of this study because the inequality they face is two-fold, both as Blacks and women. Less than 1% of all coaches of men’s teams and less than 46% of all coaches of women’s teams are female. Black females represent less than 10% of all college athletes, less than 2% of all coaches, and less than 1% of all college athletics administrators (Lopiano, 2005). The numbers for females seem to be extremely low in comparison to male figures. It is important to note that Black women who aspire to leadership positions in intercollegiate sports are faced with two obstacles. First, they are victims of racist beliefs that may very well work against their employment. Second, given that there are fewer women’s sports than men’s; the opportunities simply do not exist for females—White or Black—to coach in intercollegiate sports (Sage, 1998). Although facts



and figures are important to break down and understand concepts and theories, it is important for sport administration professionals to gain perspective from the people who are actually going through this experience. Black female head coaches are such a rare group within the NCAA that it is important to hear from them. Currently, little systematic research has been done to understand why the percentages are so low.

### *Review of Literature*

Based on numbers and percentages, there is little doubt that Black females who aspire to become coaches in the NCAA face double jeopardy. Little research has been done to gain knowledge to explain the reasons why Black females are seldom hired as coaches. Although no precise explanations can be given, the NCAA does compile numbers based on facts and figures. The NCAA has an agenda it wants to achieve. The NCAA wants more women and minorities in coaching and administrative positions (*NCAA News*, 2005). The governing body has set up a task force in an attempt to address a situation in which almost 90% of men's teams at the largest universities and almost 60% of women's teams were coached by white men. The statistics, presented during a Division I forum at the NCAA convention, were collected for the 2003-04 school year, the most recent studied by the NCAA. The task force, appointed by NCAA president Myles Brand, will also look for ways to enable female coaches and administrators to better balance home and work responsibilities. Brand gave the group no timetable (*USA Today*, 2006). There has been a push for diversity in universities across the country but in the NCAA the numbers do not yet reflect a diverse population in the coaching ranks. The NCAA survey also showed 7.2% of male head coaches and 7.7% of female head coaches were Black, compared with 24.6% of male athletes and 14.8% of female athletes. And, more than 30 years after the passage of Title IX legislation requiring gender equity in education, there were still more men coaching women's teams than women (*USA Today*, 2006).

### *Race Inequality*

One of the two most important variables used to explain inequality in Division I coaches is race. Racial inequality deprives people of color of equal access to socially valued rewards and resources. Employment patterns in sports leadership for Blacks have been similar to that of female sport coaches. Access for Black athletes has expanded greatly in recent years, but very few Blacks—men or women—have been hired for positions high in the sport hierarchy. At the present time, Blacks account for less than five percent of the key management positions in professional and intercollegiate sports. Racist ideology, stereotypes, and caricatures have portrayed Blacks as lacking the

requisite intelligence and rational thinking capabilities for leadership. The same racist ideology claims that Whites will not follow Black leaders (Sage, 1998).

Another barrier to leadership (coaching) positions in sports for Blacks is the dominance of the entrenched White "ol'boys" network. Those who control access to those higher levels can subtly insulate themselves against those with whom they do not wish to associate. The extent to which any of these factors account for the hiring for any given sport leadership position is hard to determine, but the perpetuation of racial stereotypes and the dominant social network, the continuance of discrimination and being "in" with key figures, certainly are powerful forces. This shows the momentous control White men have on our society and it also shows the importance of networking. In intercollegiate and professional sports, coaching jobs are under the control of those who have the power for determining who gets selected for the upper-level positions (Sage, 1998).

To further explain the low numbers in coaching positions in the sports, researchers have come up with two theories: Conflict Theory and Functionalist theory. The Conflict theory suggests that such attitudes toward Blacks stem from this nation's long history of prejudice and institutional discrimination. This theory explains that although slavery ended more than 100 years ago, many Americans still consider Blacks as immoral, lazy, undependable, and undeserving of positions of higher authority (Lenski, 1966).

On the other hand, Functionalist theory suggests that apprehension toward Blacks in key functionary positions (e.g. athletic directors, general managers, coaches) results from the important responsibilities and uniqueness of these roles. In general, these roles require higher qualifications and more extensive training than do other less powerful positions (Davis & Moore, 1945). This evidence suggests that Blacks may be turned down for the job before they even apply. This means that administrators have preconceived notions as to who they will and will not hire. Research says that obvious qualifications mean little now, but racial stereotypes in history mean a lot more.

On the positive side, some researchers would argue that sports, perhaps more than any other social institution, have done an excellent job of providing racial and ethnic minorities with opportunity and access (Yiannakis & Melnick, 2001). For example, athletic scholarships and trips around the world for athletics are things that are missed without sports. Though these groups of researchers are a select few, their ideas should be heard. It is acknowledged that Blacks are still far behind in attaining coaching positions but gains are slowly being achieved.