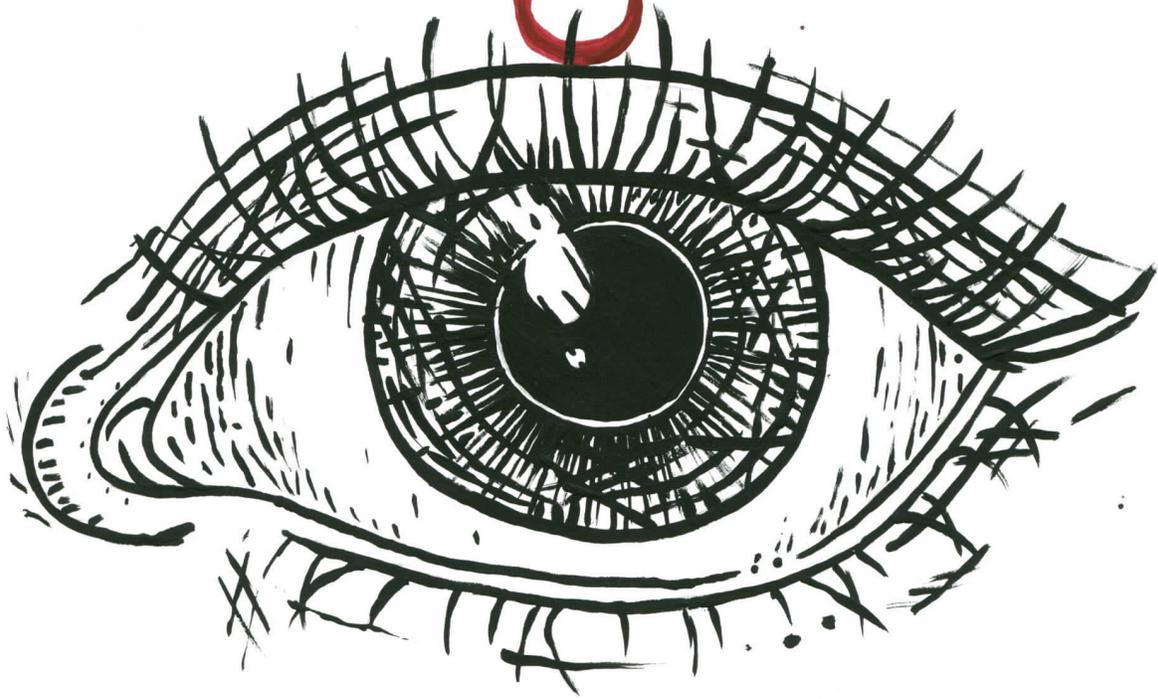


The Sociological Eye



The Sociological Eye 2019

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PREFACE

For students of sociology, social justice is a priority and we cannot achieve it without looking closely at our current social problems and how well (or how poorly) the institutions and people in society work to address them. The contributions in this issue of *The Sociological Eye* collectively reflect the commitment of sociology to listening carefully and conveying the unheard voices of those who are the least powerful and privileged in society. Taken together, the authors' papers highlight that today's social, moral, and political issues are immediate and pressing and suggest the urgency of research that connects scholarship with activism. They support the promotion of progressive public policies to effectuate needed social change.

Experience in the University: Comparing Women in Liberal Arts and STEM

Kyle Friedler

With more women than men graduating university, the lack of women representation, specifically in the science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM) field, seems like a discrepancy and fault in our education system. In 2011, only 25% of STEM jobs were held by women while only 26% of women with STEM degrees work in STEM jobs (Beede et. al, 2011). These numbers show a large difference when comparing to men with STEM degrees. According to the same study, about 40% of men with STEM college degrees work in STEM fields. To help explain this discrepancy, I focused on processes and experience through an interview method. The findings suggest that both women liberal arts and STEM majors share some common experiences in the university, but the structural and institutional barriers within higher education discourage more women STEM majors from pursuing careers in their field of study.

To help explain how women STEM majors experience the university differently, I first looked at the existing research on gender inequality in our educational system and within the STEM field. The literature predicting women's success in higher education and beyond points to many factors that occur throughout lower levels in the American education system. Additionally, they focus more on explanatory methods rather than interpretive ones. After reviewing the literature, I explained my own research process. This section develops why I chose to interview both STEM and liberal arts students and explains how I collected data. Finally, I discussed this data and concluded how social and cultural factors combine to discourage women STEM majors from pursuing their field of study and some possible explanations for why women may continue with a STEM profession post-collegiately.

LITERATURE REVIEW

While more and more women are entering and receiving degrees in higher level education, larger gender inequalities in the post-graduate world still persist. According to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, the median income women earn in the United States is approximately 18.1% of men's median income (OECD, 2018). To understand this phenomenon, it is important to focus on how even high-achieving women perceive their educational experience and how that influences their future interactions and expectations. The focus of the paper is to examine how gender socialization processes in the university setting influence the educational outcomes of women, specifically in STEM fields versus liberal arts. While the effects of gender socialization in the university classroom have been discussed, the influence on gendered experience in the university is still important in the shaping of an individual's life goals, values, and identity. This review focuses on the literature about factors influencing general gender inequality in education, inequality in the university system in STEM majors, and common explanations for the gender inequality present in STEM fields after graduation.

Recent structural trends where women have dramatically increased their success in higher education has led to a current theoretical approach which focuses on the factors that influence the greater success of women throughout the entire educational system. This theoretical approach focuses on the education level of parents and role-modeling, better performance in lower grade levels, an increase in the value of a college degree for women, decreasing traditional gender values, and the long-term decrease of the gender wage gap (Buchmann, 2008). Backed by other research, the presence of role models and performance in middle and high school dramatically increases persistence in higher education for women, particularly in STEM fields (Shapiro and Sax, 2011).

Buchmann's (2008) research heavily focuses on the long-term increase in women's completion of higher education. While these trends are promising for decreasing inequality inside the university, they ignore the current inequality that exists post-collegiate between the success of women in STEM fields (Beede et. al, 2011). Just because the gender wage gap has decreased over the last 40 years does not mean that it has disappeared. Other factors within the current educational system upholding inequality, like the influence of gender stereotypes and traditional notions of gender role acknowledged in Buchmann's (2008) study, were not discussed thoroughly.

Furthermore, the gender socialization research on education has primarily focused on socialization before the university setting. Wang and Degol's (2013) research implies the main factors that influence a student's interest in STEM majors happen before they start college. However, women's retention of STEM majors is often caused by factors within the university life. Therefore, the focus on pre-collegiate factors only depicts half the picture of gender inequality in STEM and the university as a whole. While Shapiro and Sax (2011) include the importance of middle and high school preparation, their research focuses more on interactions in the university that contribute to women's continuation of STEM studies. They found factors like grading on curves, weeding out students, and primarily lecture instead of active teaching all combine to create a more difficult environment for women students. Additionally, female students seemed to be discouraged by an unequal representation in the number of female faculty in STEM fields. Other factors within the university play some sort of role in contributing to women's achievement in STEM, but they have not been extensively researched.

Additionally, the majority of Shapiro and Sax's research was conducted through a survey based method. While it gives an insight into possible factors that influence pursuing a certain major, it really does not explain the processes and specific experiences through which they combine to disadvantage women in the STEM classroom. To gain a deeper understanding of why these interactions deter women from majoring in STEM fields, we must examine the personal experiences of women in the university.

Gender socialization's influence on the values of women often changes what major they want to pursue. Women

are more likely to choose non-STEM majors because the values and role expectations line up with notions of femininity more so than STEM majors. Wang and Degol (2013) conclude the larger interest in non-STEM (specifically, liberal arts) fields comes from perceived feminine ideals present in the disciplines. Therefore, studying why women choose to stay in STEM can help understand how these notions of femininity persist and change throughout women's education. Further research on the effectiveness of explaining inequality in STEM majors critiques the notion that high school achievement is the largest predictor of college success. Researchers found that quantitative evidence does not support the assumption that pre-collegiate achievement creates a greater affinity towards STEM majors (Riegle-Crumb, King, Grodsky, and Muller, 2012).

The literature also points to the intersectionality of women's underrepresentation in STEM majors. Social class has been confirmed as a major factor influencing a student's persistence in STEM majors because higher social class families are linked to higher expectations for success and better actual performance. (Wang and Degol, 2013). The connection of gender, race, sexuality, and class all combine to disadvantage certain groups in STEM while giving the advantage to white, middle-class males. This creates larger inequality after formal schooling finishes. While some literature suggests that gender and race do not contribute to unequal entrance rates for STEM majors, a 2010 study acknowledges that it does not account for large populations of minorities that do not reach four-year universities and could not be included in the data set (Riegle-Crumb and King, 2010).

Finally, women in STEM are highly underrepresented in professional fields, which has caused research about the process between degree attainment and professional life. Beede et. al (2011) found that women with STEM degrees often do not begin STEM careers. Additionally, other findings include that the gender wage gap in STEM fields is smaller than in other fields, and there is more female representation in physical and life sciences careers (Beede et. al, 2011). The connection between the two conclusions suggests that women have the possibility for more material success in STEM fields, but there are other limiting factors that discourage them. Unfortunately, this research is statistically based, and it cannot offer an explanation as to why these inequalities exist.

The influence of interaction within the university setting contributes to larger inequalities persisting in the educational and professional spheres. The current research on the subject places a strong emphasis on pre-collegiate life to understand the unequal distribution of gender in STEM fields, but the processes behind continuing with a STEM education have largely been ignored. Thus, it is imperative to compare interactions students within other fields of study have inside and outside of classrooms in order to identify why gender inequality in the STEM field remains.

METHODOLOGY

Because the current literature fails to completely discuss the processes that affect the continuation of women STEM majors, I wanted to focus my research on specific aspects of the students' lives that influence their current and future plans. In order to do so, I decided to compare STEM majors with liberal arts majors to understand the differences within the STEM and liberal arts curriculum that could possibly explain the gender inequality in STEM university and professional fields. I organized group interviews to open dialogue between the students I was interviewing and encourage expanding on the ideas of other students. This section will discuss why I chose to compare STEM and liberal arts, and an explanation of my interview and research method.

While STEM and liberal arts are starkly different disciplines, we need to explicitly define both. Where I conducted my interviews, the two fields are separated by distinct colleges within the university. Loyola Marymount University has 5 distinct colleges. The Seaver College of Science and Engineering and the Bellarmine College of Liberal Arts are two separate parts of the school. The Seaver College offers ten B.S programs and three B.S.E programs. On the other side, the Bellarmine College has 23 B.A programs and nine distinct minor programs. Each of the STEM students I interviewed were pursuing a B.S or B.S.E degree in the Seaver College of Science and Engineering while each of the liberal arts students were pursuing a B.A in the Bellarmine College of Liberal Arts. One upperclassman and one underclassman included in the STEM major group had philosophy minors, but their major focus was in the Seaver College of Science and Engineering. Additionally, one of the STEM underclassmen is also

minoring in political science, which is a minor in the Bellarmine College. These distinct colleges made selecting which majors classified as STEM and liberal arts significantly more efficient.

I chose to study liberal arts in comparison to STEM because of Beede et. al's (2011) study about the discrepancy between women STEM majors and women employed in STEM fields. Because liberal arts degrees open a variety of different fields of employment, I wanted to investigate why women STEM majors may not be as attracted to STEM fields in their future. By researching the differences in experiences of women in STEM and liberal arts, I hoped to find information that could explain why women in STEM may be more hesitant about their post-collegiate plans.

With a distinction between liberal arts and STEM, and a reasoning for choosing the two, I can now explain my method of interviewing. I interviewed four distinct groups of three students. All the interview subjects identified as women. Two groups were comprised of STEM majors, and two groups were solely liberal arts majors. Out of the two STEM groups, one consisted of only first-year students, and the second was upperclassmen students in their junior or senior years. Similarly, one liberal arts group was entirely freshmen, and the other group had juniors and senior upperclassmen. I chose to interview in groups because I hoped this dynamic would create a collaborative atmosphere in which the students would expound upon the answers of their peers. I also only interviewed women because I am primarily basing my research on women in the STEM field. The purpose of using both upperclassmen and freshman groups was to compare a relatively new life in the university system to one that was more experienced. Additionally, many of the freshmen students were a lot more unsure of their career goals than the upperclassmen students, which would not help explain my primary research question. The interviews varied in length with the shortest being 56 minutes, and the longest being 97 minutes.

After interviewing the twelve students, I sorted through their responses by using a specific set of codes. The codes I used were:

- Pressure from parents/peers
- Positive experiences with peers in the classroom
- Experience with teachers/professors
- Competition/Challenge

- Future plans

These codes were developed based on the existing research and certain themes that appeared throughout the interviews. They served as a lens through which to analyze the data. With these codes, I could compare the two groups of students more definitively.

Finally, the presence of a liberal arts curriculum may have influenced some of the perspectives on future planning for these students. At Loyola Marymount University, all students are required to take 13 classes considered part of the “Core.” Core classes range from a freshman “Foundational” writing class to an upper division “Integration” theology related course. The University offers these Core classes in many different fields of study. However, most of the Core classes are offered in disciplines also taught in the Bellarmine College. Therefore, Seaver students end up taking a fair amount of liberal arts classes, which create a unique education at LMU. I asked each group about their experiences in core and major classes to understand their differences in interest and motivation in each. Because the STEM majors are exposed to more liberal arts classes than at a normal university, their attitudes towards the Core classes were necessary for understanding their experience in higher education.

DISCUSSION

Through the interviews, I was able to understand some of the factors that change and challenge university students’ expectations about their future. I found five common themes that seemed to influence both STEM and liberal arts majors. These included their positive experiences with peers in the classroom, pressure from parents or peers, experience with teachers or professors, level of competition or challenge, and their future plans. In this section, I will discuss why each of these factors play an important role in changing attitudes towards university and post-collegiate plans.

Pressure From Parents or Peers

To begin, students become closer with their peers in classes, but they also inevitably have negative interactions with their classmates or parents. These negative interactions discourage women in both STEM and liberal arts majors. The interviews suggest that STEM

majors had more negative interactions because of the competitiveness within their classes, but some of the upperclassmen had more insight into the culture of the school.

Even before college, pressure from parents and peers often influenced the students’ plans. This suggests that the problem of pressure from classmates does not begin in the university. According to one freshman liberal arts major: “My parents wanted me to major in STEM, and it wasn’t until, like, probably a month or two ago that I realized I actually wanted to do liberal arts.” Similarly, a STEM upperclassman stated, “My mom’s a writer... She would always be like, you know, AP English in first grade...She’d be like, ‘Where are your commas.’” Additionally, a STEM freshman major claimed, “my mom hosted, like, a math olympiad during elementary school....She was very involved, and she wanted us to be very involved.” When she was thinking about running for the LMU cross country team, a liberal arts upperclassman’s father reached out to the coach for her and “set up the official visit for me.” Being involved in their children’s academic success created an environment that promoted intellectual pursuit. However, this pressure influenced the students’ thinking going into college, and it contributes to their sense of self in the university.

Within the classroom, students also find pressure from their classmates. In the STEM field, this pressure often comes from members of the opposite gender. A freshman STEM major explained the atmosphere in her classes by saying: “[the boys] always talk about how well they know everything....My intro to engineering class has...three guys that cheat on...every single quiz, but they also do bad on every single quiz. And, they try to, like, get [the answers] from me.” A STEM upperclassmen reflected these sentiments when she talked about the more competitive classes in her major by saying: “A lot of the classes are ranked....So many people get an ‘A’ and so many people get a ‘B.’ So, that’s where it gets competitive in upper divs....the physiology exams got stolen from the library...LMU isn’t always as friendly as it seems.” This competition and pressure from other students, within the STEM field especially, has an effect on students. However, not all STEM majors face these challenges. Another STEM computer science major responded: “Right now, my classmates have a decent level of respect for me...probably because computer science majors are less interested in grad school.” Specifically, the competi-

tion for graduate school in STEM fields increases the pressure other students place on each other.

Not all STEM majors have difficulty with pressure, but their negative experiences with peers were far greater than the liberal arts students'. When asked about pressure in their classes, the freshmen liberal arts students could not think of any examples. One of the liberal arts upperclassmen pointed to one class she is taking this semester. She explained, "there's two male veterans [in my class] who have very strong opinions about women. So, I have definitely noticed some of their remarks about women." While this was offsetting, she could also offer a reason for the type of behavior by saying, "that may just be because of the direction of the class....I don't know if that's a fair representation." This pressure from men in STEM classrooms creates a more uncomfortable classroom environment for women STEM majors than the liberal arts majors.

While the STEM majors were focused on their interactions within the classroom, the liberal arts upperclassmen did highlight some of the issues in the broader university community. One upperclassman claimed:

Freshman year, when I was a communications major, pretty much every single person in my class was a girl. And, the guys who were in the class were saying they were taking a class just because they needed a grade, and it was easy....I dealt with a lot of the guys on the team that would say stuff like, 'oh, I'm going to be your boss one day.'

This type of interaction was reflected by the other students in the group. One said, "everyone was...one, money-obsessed, and two, job-obsessed, and three, major-obsessed....A guy in the business school...would be, like, 'Oh, you're never gonna make any money; you're in liberal arts.'" These larger patterns of interaction can be representative of larger cultural understandings that affect women's position in the university. While these interactions seemed not to bother the liberal arts students too much, the larger structures do change the university environment.

The larger pattern of pressure that women receive in the university combines with the pressure that STEM majors receive within their classes to create an intersection of negative atmospheres. These two processes help to explain why more women STEM majors have a difficult time staying motivated in their field of study.

Additionally, the pressure from parents from a young age to succeed academically may add another layer onto the problem that women in STEM face. Women in liberal arts may not experience similar amounts of pressure from the larger university and their parents, but they do not experience as much pressure from their classmates.

Positive Experience With Peers in the Classroom

Along with these negative interactions students have, positive experiences with peers are often associated with continued success in the university setting specifically for STEM majors (Shapiro and Sax, 2011). I wanted to find out how the students were motivated by their peers in the classroom, and how that affected their enjoyment of their studies. The interviews suggested that both STEM and liberal arts majors were influenced by the peers in their field, but the STEM majors noticed gender discrepancies within their classes more.

It did seem that strong support helped women throughout their academic careers. Speaking about her high school AP bio class, one freshman STEM major responded: "You kind of...form a...group of...girls in high school, like group of girls, that kept doing the same sciences." While helpful in high school, these groups also form at the collegiate level. However, they did not seem to necessarily be classified by the same gender. Speaking about the math program, one student claimed:

for math majors, we have, like, a very designated path and what classes you have to take. And like, there's a few of those...that are, like... 'I'm not going to do this anymore.' And when we have those classes, we really band together....Man, woman: it doesn't really matter.

Peers seemed to act as a support group not only to help students succeed academically but also offer the stress relief that they need within a difficult class. While the weed-out classes in the STEM field discourage some students, academic support groups within classes dramatically help the success of these students.

Even though support within the classroom has its merits, the freshmen students, in particular, did not find their classmates to be their most important acquaintances. Most of the freshmen STEM and liberal arts majors discussed the importance of friends outside the

classroom rather than within it. One STEM major said:

This semester there's been more group studying, and I think that's also just because, like, we're becoming, like, closer friends and kind of, like, going through it together. But at the same time, I wouldn't hang out with them outside of studying.

Another freshman STEM major added in:

You're friends for class, and then you'll, like, get together and do the project together....And that's, like, the end of it....We're going to be in the same classes for the next three years, so we're...gonna become friends most likely.

A liberal arts major reflected these statements by saying:

I'm friends with a lot of people in my English class, and we, like, get along. But, we're not gonna, like....Most of them I won't...hang out with them ever again.

Even though the freshmen students were content not being great friends with their classmates, some still expressed interest in becoming friends with the students in their majors eventually. One student responded to the others by saying, "I'm friends with people I'm in class with more often...I'm not gonna not be friends with the people in my major." Obviously, the bonds with peers in the classroom grow over the course of students' time in the university.

Analyzing the friendships that students make within their classes gives an insight into why some STEM majors switch their fields of study. Both liberal arts and STEM groups insisted that making friends inside their majors is important, and both groups became friendlier with the people in their classes over time. However, it appears as if the STEM majors were able to form friendships because of the challenge within their classes. The liberal arts students did not express their unification through the challenge that the STEM majors mentioned. The STEM curriculum actually forces them to work together more. While this seems promising, it also suggests that women who have more difficult times making friends within their classes will be more discouraged from continuing with their studies. Additionally, the lack of women in the STEM field creates another barrier for women who wish to make friends with their classmates.

Experience With Teachers or Professors

In addition to interactions with other students, women also experience a variety of interactions with authority figures in the university. Positive interactions lead to a greater interest in their field of study while negative interactions cause some of the same discouraging responses that negative peer interactions cause. Multiple studies claim that the presence of strong female teachers and professors increase a student's interest in STEM fields (Buchmann, 2008, and Shapiro and Sax, 2011). I wanted to explore how these interactions varied by discipline. While my findings support the research, they also suggest that maybe quality teachers and professors influence both groups similarly.

Similar to the experiences with parents, the interactions with influential teachers start from a young age. Both the STEM and liberal arts majors could point to some of their favorite teachers, and they didn't necessarily have to be of the same discipline. A freshman liberal arts major said, "I really liked my chem teacher. She was, like, a mom." A freshman STEM major declared: "My world religions teacher...I liked her...and I liked her teaching style." With quality, supportive teaching, students are more likely to be interested in continuing their academic work in general.

Additionally, there did not seem to be a strong connection with a specific gender of teachers either. One of the STEM freshmen claimed, "My AP lit teacher was really funny, and we just liked to rant about politics....He really liked me, so I liked him." A liberal arts freshman also said, "I had a couple teachers I kind of hung outside of class with...but the biggest one was Mr. Buck....I took three years with him, and we went to foreign countries together." Before the university, it seemed that having a quality teacher at all was more important than having a quality teacher of the same gender.

While any good teacher helps students' motivation in their studies, the importance of female science professors was not lost on the STEM majors I interviewed. Almost every student spoke about some female teacher they had at one point that impacted them. One freshman STEM major shared her experience with a health and human science professor:

She's a health and human science professor, and just, like, making the connection with her [was special]. A bunch of people on the trip were... upperclassmen health and human science majors.... Hearing how much they loved the department... and all the professors within the department... really made me excited for having more...female professors.

A STEM upperclassmen also said:

I have probably two classes that were most impactful. My first one was biochem. So, my professor one, was a woman....I get excited about women in STEM; especially, like, professors. Often...hard sciences are male-dominated. She got me really excited about biochem.

These professors act as role models as well as spark students' interest in their field of study. Women students see their women professors and recognize that they can also succeed in the discipline.

Having important women science professors to look up to enhances the experience of STEM majors more so than liberal arts majors. I found this because this type of experience was not reflected by the liberal arts majors. They seemed to connect with their male teachers just as much as their female ones. An upperclassmen Asian and Pacific Islander minor said, "the professor I had for intro to Asian and Pacific Studies...right off the bat, I could just tell I was gonna like the guy." An upperclassman in the school of education also claimed, "all the school of education professors [are my favorite]. They have...always reached out about letters of recommendation...and to get to know you not just as a student, but as a person." While these professors still pique the interest of the liberal arts students, their gender is less of a connection or issue for them.

Many students also experienced negative experiences with their professors, which leads to less interest in their studies. While the liberal arts students did not have specific examples of professors treating them differently, the STEM students all had certain teachers with which they had problems. An underclassman got heated when I asked about a specific class. She started talking faster and sat upright in her chair:

My calc two professor: I despise him. He...is best friends with these two boys in the class. And they'll, like, walk in, and he'll fist bump them. He's just, like, actively condescending to all the girls....

He looks at this one girl, like every 30 minutes, and always says, 'do you understand? You look like you're asleep.'

Another of the STEM freshmen chimed in explaining an uncomfortable situation her teacher's assistant created:

Today in lab...this girl was talking, and I don't really even know what she was talking about. But, then my TA walks in and goes up to her and goes, 'Oh, you're a dirty little engineering girl aren't you?'

The upperclassmen had more stories similar to this. One said:

I definitely had two male professors who...you know... it was not about you being in there and learning. It was about, like, 'Oh, I'm gonna do my research and thanks for coming by. Thanks for paying the tab.'

Another STEM upperclassmen revealed that "first semester...I had an old, white, male professor who I did not click with. His style, I did not click with. I didn't like physics because of the way that class was taught, and how I felt I was received in that class." She went on to say, "this semester, I have a female professor. She's applicable, and I relate to her in just a much better way. And I feel comfortable going to ask her for questions. I don't feel like I'm being...there's no condescending attitude." These negative experiences with professors inside the classroom make it harder for students to enjoy the classes they are in. For STEM majors, the experiences they have that are negative seem to come from antagonistic interactions with male professors.

The interviews suggested that both liberal arts and STEM students need strong teachers to enjoy their classes and succeed in the university. However, for liberal arts majors, the teachers' gender does not matter as much, and they do not seem to have as many negative interactions with their professors. STEM majors, who notice the lack of women representation in the STEM field, find it difficult to enjoy their studies as much with male professors especially after the negative interactions they have with them. Women professors made them more confident and more interested because of the discouragement they receive from these male professors.

Level of Competition or Challenge

Many of the students also described their experience with challenge and its influence on their understanding of life in the university. While both groups of students voiced opinions on needing a challenging environment, this experience notably impacted their opinions on school. The reason for this section is to explore how competition and difficulty in classes influenced the students' perception of their major.

Both the STEM and liberal arts majors expressed an interest in challenge, which suggests their enjoyment of more difficult classes. An upperclassman STEM major said:

My second [most influential] class was physiology. And that is the class that is known to break people. So, if you wanna go to med school, you take physiology. And how you do in that class will be if you go to med school or if you don't....Class averages were so low he gave up to 18% extra credit on an exam...and the class was curved on top of that. It was really intense, but, like, honestly...it forces you to learn things in such a way....It was really incredible.

These sentiments were also reflected by the liberal arts students. A liberal arts freshman that had already discussed how she enjoyed math discussed how she was not interested in her current statistics class: "right now, I'm taking stats, and that is just, well, it's stats." I responded, "but, it's math?" She told me: "I know, but it's not challenging math." While needing academic stimulation in all their classes, the liberal arts students mostly talked about needing a level of challenge within a class when they were discussing classes that fell into STEM disciplines. A connection between the enjoyment of challenge and interest with STEM studies seems to exist.

While the students I interviewed enjoyed the challenge in difficult coursework, it is important to note that they go to a private university. These students were already high-achieving, and more average-level students may not have the same experience. However, this does not devalue the influence of challenge or support for students. To really succeed in the classroom, it seems that students need to be promoted to find and accept a challenging course load by higher quality teachers. With more challenge, there also needs to be a force to encourage their success, which can also come from

these professors. Without one or the other, students will not want to continue with their studies. STEM classroom environments that create these challenges and support the students to solve problems will keep women continuing in the STEM field. Unfortunately, without a lack of support from male STEM professors, more women in STEM have a difficult time enjoying their classes.

Future Plans

I asked all the students about their plans post-graduation to understand how their studies were affecting their decisions about employment. The students had mixed responses especially those that were younger. Many of the students were unsure about what they would do after college, but some common themes emerged. It seemed that the students wanted to help other people, or they wanted to have a stable income.

In both the liberal arts and the STEM field, the students planned their careers on helping other people. A liberal arts freshman said, "I can definitely see myself working for a non-profit. I really want to commit myself to serving the community." Immediately after, another student chimed in: "even though there's no money in constitutional law, being a lawyer for the ACLU would be really important....The lawyers who go to the airport at two A.M to help people...that just inspires me." Similarly, a STEM freshman implied she's also interested in social change by saying, "I'm not ruling out environmental engineering...not ruling out doing research either." Another of the STEM freshman always wanted to go to the FBI. She told me: "I like collaboration....I want to be in the FBI....I like having it as a goal....I like that because I like being well-rounded." While the liberal arts students could apply their degrees anywhere, the STEM students felt like they were more restricted when they still wanted to help people. This can explain why more STEM students do not follow STEM career paths.

The other major set of responses focused on the pragmatic idea about financial position. A STEM upperclassman said, "I want to use my degree. Why?" she shrugged: "Jobs are nice. We all need 'em." About her plans after graduation, one STEM major responded, "I will be a software engineer at Google...I interned there for two summers, and I really liked it...I've got some job security, got a nice salary, and I really enjoy

the people that I worked with.” This type of thinking kept the STEM majors specifically within their fields of study.

Finally, the students that were unsure of what they would do in the future were mostly liberal arts students. This phenomenon of not knowing what specifically they would do speaks to the lack of structure in the liberal arts curriculum and job industry. The STEM degrees follow very specific paths while liberal arts degrees have more options to explore. One liberal arts student explained her plans by saying, “I’m gonna explore a little bit, I think, after I graduate. I’m gonna stay for an extra semester....I’m gonna be trying to work at that point...but I’ve been thinking about going to Peru for a year.” On the other side of the equation, a STEM major admitted:

I think it’d be sick to be a doctor, but at the same time, I would be okay with being a nurse practitioner or a physician’s assistant....I think a lot of the reason I’m okay with that...because...I know I want to have a family. I know it’s, like, a classic woman in STEM issue....I wish that weren’t a problem where I have to decide if I wanna go to med school and push off having a family for, like, 12 years.

At the end of the day, there are barriers in our economic system that discourage women from pursuing certain STEM employment options. Additionally, the structure of STEM careers limits the options for STEM majors. This heavily impacts women STEM majors and what they plan on doing in the future. While liberal arts majors have more options available to them, the structure of a STEM profession decreases the possibility of following a STEM career after college.

CONCLUSION

The university offers a place for students to study what interests them and heavily influences where they will go in the future. Even though women are underrepresented in STEM majors (Beede et. al, 2011), they make up larger portions of the university population (Buchmann, 2008). With these figures, how women are discouraged from studying and continuing STEM in the university poses a question without a definitive answer. Studies about pre-collegiate factors and collegiate factors fail to explain the processes happening within the univer-

sity that can shed light on the problem. Comparing the experiences of liberal arts and STEM majors suggests that the lack of women in STEM fields can decrease the ease of finding friends within classes. Women in STEM more often deal with discrimination and pressure from both peers and parents, which combine with larger structural notions about women to discourage them from continuing their studies. Additionally, the lack of support from male professors also limits the interest of women in STEM. Comparing the women in liberal arts and STEM helps to explain the material implications of institutional barriers that women face. Women in STEM run into these barriers more than women in liberal arts because of the structure of the STEM curriculum and job market. Fortunately, with a better understanding of the experience of women in the education system, the changes in university culture and structure can begin to take place.

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Hwarang Men

Samantha Kim

I first started asking these questions through personal experiences of East Asian men's emasculation in my life. As someone whose body and identity have been commodified and sexualized in racialized ways, the gendered emasculation of East Asian men made me curious about differences in cultural ideals of masculinity and masculine performance. Likewise, when I learn about colonization and social justice frameworks, most are United States or Western centric and tend to universalize constructions of gender, sexuality, race and sex across culture. Those frameworks, while useful, erase the nuances of gender and otherwise that come from being created in different systems of meaning. In this paper, I will be attempting to analyze and deconstruct different frameworks of masculinity, through decentralizing Western constructions of hegemonic masculinity. I am intentionally using a model of masculinity, the Hwarang system, that acts as an outside performance in contemporary Western culture. This model is useful in that those performances of masculinity were idealized while can also stand as an example of differing idealized masculinity.

Western conceptions of masculinity are deeply inculcated within US understandings of gender and people. Hegemonic masculinity, the primary mode of masculinity is characterized in juxtaposition with of a submissive femininity. It is constructions of aggressive hierarchical masculinity that derogate femininity and marginalize outside performances of masculinity. Outside masculine are deemed "outside" or marginalized as they are performances that do not follow hegemonic masculine ideals of masculinity. Hegemonic masculine performances operate around the masculine/feminine binary. This binary is a social axis that organizes how people act and interact with each other. In that context, hegemonic masculinity has a large influence on the ways in which gender is written and perceived on the body. As a dominant performance of gender, hegemonic masculinity rewards and limit access to white, cisgender, Christian, heterosexual, first world, young men (Cheng 1999: 4). By the construction of ideal masculinity as accessible solely to the elite, hegemonic masculinity then presents a standard of performance that automatically marginalizes everyone else. This

marginalization places outside forms of masculinity as inferior to hegemonic masculinity. In comparing East Asian masculinity to hegemonic masculinity within white culture, East Asian masculinity is classed and raced. The process by which specific bodies codify hierarchy, East Asian masculine performances are then placed as inherently inferior. This paper is attempting to contextualize and deconstruct the ways East Asian men are emasculated in Western cultures through cross-cultural comparisons to ancient Korean constructions of ideal masculinity.

I am thinking about the ways culture can influence modes where gender is perceived, acted as, and on, in what contexts does an understanding of gender and its' performances change? How does Eastern perceptions of masculinity differ from Western constructions of masculinity? Using the Hwarang system in Silla as a model to analyze outside performances of masculinity, the cross-cultural differences and change in masculinity will attempt to be analyzed. In the project of deconstructing Western prioritizing of hegemonic masculinity, hegemonic masculine frameworks will be placed and compared to a different cultural context. Hwarang masculinity-a form of ancient Korean masculinity- will serve as the base of comparison to hegemonic masculinity to explicate the difference between the two. I argue that although hegemonic masculinity may be the ideal form of masculinity in the US, it is not the only expression of masculinity that is valid and useful. Hwarang masculinity is an example of a masculinity that is just as idealized but fluid. The celebration of Hwarang masculinity in it's time proves that there can exist a spectrum of masculinity that does not hinge on narrow axis of gender performance. I hope to challenge Western hegemonic masculinity as the best and only way masculinity should be performed.

CONTEXTUALIZING HWARANG MEN

Why Hwarang?

Remnants of the Hwarang system can still be seen in contemporary South Korean culture. The Hwarang system has a large influence on Korean identity and history, drawing parallels between South Korean popular music to literal media recreations of Hwarang groups. Hwarang, the system in which the Hwarang existed, lives today in contemporary South Korea as a symbol of military and nationalistic success. As social figures, part of the Hwarang's influence stems from their role as nationally revered and idealized. This reception and contemporary endurance of Hwarang in Korea proves how socio-culturally integrated the Hwarang, and their masculinity, are in past and present Korea.

This group is an example to analyze hegemonic masculinity with as they held the standard for ideal masculinity in their respective culture. That said, the Hwarang also differ systemically from hegemonic masculinity as their masculine performances would be taken as highly feminine in contemporary Western societies. The existence and comparison of Hwarang masculinity to hegemonic masculinity shows the instability of gender performativity in general. Idealized notions of performativity and gender shift over time and space. Such that it is possible for both constructions of masculinity to exist cross-culturally/temporally and both be lauded as ideal. In that sense, the Hwarangdo provide an alternative structure to hegemonic masculinity. The resulting analysis and comparison of Hwarang to East Asian perceptions of masculinity in Western cultures will be done, attempting to use the Hwarang system as a sounding board. As they exist in a separate context, it is easier drawing out paradoxes of (Western) raced and colonial constructions of masculinity. The comparisons made will point internal operations of hegemonic masculinity, making visible normalized systems and constructions.

What are Hwarang?

The Hwarang system, and the Hwarangdo, flourished and presumably started in the "Period of Three States" on the Korean peninsula. Nam-Gil and Mangan introduce the concept of Hwarangas "...a person who is beautiful-symbolically a person who perceives the

truth" (1998: 78). A layered cultural and social figure, Hwarang were spiritual, militaristic, and intellectual giants known for their physical beauty and skill in battle. Roughly translated, Hwarang means "Flower Knight" or "Flower Boys". These knights are recorded as existing in the Silla state (from roughly 57 BCE-935 CE) and is credited for enabling Silla to unite the Korean peninsula under one empire (Park and Ok 2016). The success of Silla's eventual conquering of the peninsula speaks to the military prowess of the Hwarang as Silla was the weakest of the three nations occupying the peninsula at the time. The two other nations, Goguryeo and Baekje, were much larger and surrounded Silla which existed at the tip of the peninsula. Further proving the military reputation of the Hwarang, despite Silla's size it was still able to refuse trade with neighboring Japan and China.

Silla, and in extension the Hwarang, was known for its archery. As a major cultural phenomena archery was valued for its' military advantage and as a method of teaching self-growth. To the benefit of Silla, much of the nation was plains giving further advantages to archery as a military tactic and skill. Specifically, Silla was known for the development of the catapult and its' high-quality steel ware (G. Ok. Et al 2010: 531). Much of the information about the Hwarang is found through oral stories or poems structured as narratives. These stories that happen to mention protagonists or other characters as Hwarang, but centering the plot less around their feats/ heroics as Hwarang and more on the characters (Park and Ok 2016). The heroes are heroes who happen to be Hwarang, not Hwarang who are heroes. There are few primary sources and most of the information comes from second-hand sources. As these sources usually describe the heroes, there are few pieces available to inform on Hwarang lifestyle, training, or dress.

The original idea of a Hwarang system was thought to have spread from China, although the Hwarang system itself originated in Silla. Hwarang were originally an order of women called the Wonhwa (Original Flowers). The original conception of the Wonhwa system came from China and started as a youth organization. King Jinheung liked the system so much so that he implemented it as a national program, starting the process of transitioning it into a major governmental system. Wonhwa were women were selected by King Jinheung to take part as an order of women formed to conduct memorial services. This system failed when,

according to myth, the two selected grew so envious of each other that one killed the other (Park and Ok 2016). It was after the failure of the Wonhwa that the Hwarang system was created. The Hwarang system became the main way for young men to gain social prominence and training. A classed space, aristocratic youth were chosen and provided with a highly-specialized education.

At the time, there weren't any other education organizations existing to compete with the Hwarang education system. To be chosen to be Hwarang was prestigious and highly competitive (Park and Ok 2016). Silla's social systems awarded the Hwarang by making the system the only method of gaining an education and higher social status. This reward system further emphasizes the multiplicity of ways Hwarang training and status was held in high regard.

The Hwarang System

Hwarang operates as both the larger system and the more elite individuals within the system. There was one Hwarang system but within that there were many Hwarang groups. The Hwarangdo are the specific elite class within the Hwarang and it is made up of boys picked from the aristocracy. An easier example to conceptualize the Hwarang system would be American Boy Scouts. There is a larger unifying system that holds many different boy scout troops across states. Each group operates similarly but hinge on the impetus of the leaders. Like Boy Scouts the Hwarang had ranks according to experience and authority. There were three levels of authority where the kukson was the head of the group and was seen as the having achieved ultimate religious and military mastery. The Hwarangdo, the young aristocratic men chosen to enter the order, were the second highest rank under the kukson. The lowest rank were the nangdo, lower class young men who followed the beliefs of Hwarang but were not actually Hwarang themselves.

It can be assumed within the order that there was very little upward mobility between the nangdo and Hwarangdo. Class was heavily emphasized in the distribution of power. However, although class heavily influenced recruitment, once gaining entry into the system upward mobility as a Hwarang was possible. Nam-Gil and Mangan summarize this neatly as "... recruitment was by social class, promotion was based

on military skill" (1998: 82). The epics centering around the Hwarang emphasize military skill and self-sacrifice, telling stories of heroes performing well in battle and thus being rewarded with higher positions. That said, this accessibility to rank only applied between the Hwarang. The class divide between the nangdo and the Hwarangdo was not superficial and contained ramifications solely for the Hwarang. The Hwarangdo were chosen from the aristocratic class while the nangdo were men from the lower classes. So that while military skill may be highly valued, it was the Hwarang who were given the most resources in training. Therefore it was the Hwarang who most likely rose in rank and were understood as capable of achieving spiritual mastery. The nangdo, while permitted to join the Hwarang group, were known as followers of the Hwarang and so were limited in perceived potential by their class status.

SOCIAL ROLES THE HWARANG PLAYED

Military

The Hwarang system acted in a religious, educational and military role within Silla. Hwarang were not just warriors and held a multiplicity of social roles. These roles often overlapped with each other and were held to the strictest standards. Hwarangdo were expected to excel in and become masters of each discipline. It makes sense then that the kukson was the epitome of all three as he was the head of the Hwarang. Specifically focusing on military system, Hwarang were trained in archery, taekwondo, spearmanship, horsemanship and ssirum (a type of wrestling) among other forms of combat (Nam-Gil and Mangan 1998: 89). In earlier periods, before Silla's expansionist movement, the Hwarang were a standing army and a means of constant defense in case any group attacked Silla. Combat skill and military prowess were prized not only for the value understood in prowess but in its utility as a defense. As a smaller state, Silla was very much aware of its vulnerability and sought to preserve its' borders at all times. Once Silla moved to expand across the peninsula, the Hwarang shifted from a standing to an active army. Ultimately, it was the utilitarian use of the Hwarang's military skill that helped Silla unify the peninsula under one empire.

It is impossible to write about the Hwarang's military

pro prowess without mentioning the importance of archery as a military and self-growth exercise. A prime focus of military training archery was also seen as a way of teaching leadership. It wasn't limited to Silla, all three states were known for excelling in archery, but it was a strong cultural influence. Nam-Gil and Mangan write that archery was "...not just for ensuring the skills of a warrior but for creating the personality of a leader" (1998:86). A skill that took on layered meanings archery became integrated in the identity of the people in the three peninsula states. Historians speculate that all three states understood the military power and personal training in archery and so encouraged it to increase the quality of their military. Each state respected archery so much that they each contributed their own inventions to the practice such as Goguryeo with horned bows, Baekje with long-distance bows, and Silla with the Gongjeon law (Ok, Seogkyu, and Hee 2018). The Gongjeon law was integrated as an aspect of the Hwarang system. It was a law that assessed prospective Hwarang through their skill in archery. Once accepted into the Hwarang, even within the ranks of the Hwarang, the most "elite" warriors were the best archers. Archery was valued geographically and state-wide, such that part of being an excellent hwarang warrior was being a superb archer.

Education

The Hwarang's education system was one that emphasized song and dance. Perhaps contributing to Western perceptions of Hwarang masculinity as "feminine", song and dance were understood as an integral part of education. Unfortunately, there are few records of Hwarang dances but there are records of Hwarang songs such as Heasung-ga (Song of the Comet). Hwarang songs were typically sung or chanted and were oriented to "...reveal either a yearning for stability and peace in their country, feelings of sadness and happiness or admiration for the life of the Hwarang" (Nam-Gil and Mangan 1998:89). These songs humanize the Hwarang, and are some of the rare resources that reveal the daily life and emotions of Hwarang warriors.

In addition to dancing and singing, the Hwarang were known for their code of honor. While the origin of the five secular injunctions is unknown, it is certain that the five injunctions were absolute. A Hwarang warrior must be loyal to the king, his parents, his friends, must never flee in battle, and must discriminate when killing

(Nam-Gil and Mangan 1998: 82). The five secular agreements dictated the way the Hwarang live. The code articulates Hwarang values well ensuring a deep loyalty to the nation, family and comrades. Specifically emphasizing intersections of honor and war, the five injunctions hold a theme of nobility in self-sacrifice for the nation. Extreme nationalism and honor were deeply enmeshed within each other. Most stories and songs imply that the Hwarang saw loyalty to the nation as a way of maintaining honor. In that context, the education of Hwarang involves a deep inscription of nationalism and self-sacrifice within constructions of military prowess.

Religious

The loyalty and discipline demanded of Hwarang comes in part from its religious beliefs. Silla was a nation that worshipped Buddha but was strongly influenced by Confucianism and Taoism (Park and Ok 2016: 956). Many members of the aristocrat were monks who took a heavy role in the formation and life the Hwarang. Due to little record of Hwarang life and training, it is hypothesized that it was in fact monks that trained Hwarang boys in martial arts. Spread through influence of the monks, the existing mixture of nationalism and religious ideology created a belief system that rewarded Hwarangdo's bravery in battle and willingness to self-sacrifice. This belief system asked for the Hwarang to place the good of the nation over the individual. Death was not a horrible concept in this system. Hwarang spirituality drew on Taoist hermit ideology and Maitreya ideology that expected followers to distance themselves from the material world. Death was understood as another world, and so Hwarang spirituality saw death as a way of gaining a "...better life in a world other than the real one..." (Park and Ok 2016: 958). The Hwarang trait of fearlessness in battle makes sense within their religious background. Self-sacrifice in the service of one's nation transforms from a loss of life into retention of one's honor and an award of a better life. It is the ultimate act of honor and respect to the nation, where warriors are rewarded in the afterlife for their courage.

Shamanism also had a major influence on Hwarang spirituality. Ancient Korean shamanism involves the worship of the Mountains and Heaven. According to origin stories, ancient peoples believed a group of guardian gods lived in the mountains and so worshipped

the gods who protected the people (Nam-Gil and Mangan 1998). The mountain gods were called Sinsun, and so the Hwarang named themselves Sinsun in an act of power. This self-naming later mutated into kuksun., Hwarang spirituality saw mortal Sinsun, the Hwarang, as persons with high moral standing, comparing their moral purity to the gods themselves. The kukson, the head of the Hwarang and a spiritual master, was the embodiment of a mortal Sinsun. The kuksun having trained himself (the method of said training as “Sun”) morally and physically to reach perfection. Kuksun, combining “sun” referencing training and “kuk” referencing nation, was so named as those who achieved high moral standing in the service of and for the nation. This worship and taking on of spiritually resonant names implies the way the Hwarang saw their role as protecting the state. Much like the gods, their protection to the state encouraged fierce loyalty, rewarded through increased spiritual might. This intersection is another pathway where nationalism was strengthened, revealing a way spirituality can operate to create extreme nationalism.

HWARANG MASCULINITY AND WESTERN HEGEMONIC MASCULINITY

East Asian Masculinity

Drawing Hwarang masculinity under the lens of Western hegemonic masculinity Hwarang performances become radical and feminized. Displaying traits and performances that are coded feminine in hegemonic masculinity, Hwarang masculinity saw those traits as minor embodiments of masculinity. Known for their beauty, Hwarangdo were members of the socially elite and had the resources to wear fine clothing, make-up and jewelry. Tying personal appearance with personal moral standing, Hwarang ideology compared outer beauty with the inner qualities of the person. Hwarang blended notions of the soul and body to existing as one, such that beauty became a marker of a person’s quality (Nam-Gil and Mangan 1998). Through extension the training of the body became a means of training the soul, so that one grew spiritually as they developed physically. Silla culture internalized this understanding and linked power to physical beauty, framing authority as only truly accessible to the physically beautiful. Emphasizing Hwarang spirituality,

it has been argued that Hwarang acted as shamanic leaders in their communities. Linking their role with nationalistic thought, the Hwarangdo’s purpose was to protect Silla, helping to contextualize strong spiritual ties between the Hwarang and guardian gods. Drawing parallels between other East Asian shamanic practices, scholars relate Hwarang’s coded feminine traits to other shaman men’s practiced “feminine” appearances (Lazore 2014). In that context, Hwarang men’s appearances are normalized in larger cultures of “feminine” presentation for spiritual leaders.

Emphasizing Hwarang masculinities influence and reception by women, unlike Western masculinity, Hwarang masculinity does not situate itself as opposite to or linked with femininity. Hwarang masculinity, and the degree to which it is validated, is then not attained through coded interactions with women. For instance, epics and legends surrounding the Hwarang focus less on the sex appeal of the warriors and more on the selflessness of the warrior in battle. It becomes apparent then that heterosexual appeals to larger society are not tied to performances of masculinity. Even if so nationalism to the nation supersedes heterosexual appeals and is valued higher. Likewise comparing Hwarang masculinity to hegemonic masculinity, Hwarang masculinity does not inherently place femininity and women as inferior. Which is not to say the Hwarang masculinity did not contribute to gendered oppressions, rather it does not derogate women and femininity as part of its construction of masculinity. It can be argued then that the emphasis of masculinity in Hwarang warriors was less placed on performative aesthetic (the make-up, the hair, etc.) but on what they represented. A well-rounded individual, the Hwarang’s masculine performances were validated through the ways in which a warrior devoted himself to the five injunctions and the nation. Encouraged to perform the ultimate act of honor and nationalism, death in battle, Hwarang men acted as military heroes, teachers and spiritual leaders who often achieved great political success as they aged. Secure in their social position, coded feminine traits were more so second-hand representations of inner moral superiority that were part of constructions of masculinity. I argue then that Hwarang masculinity constructs spiritual morality (which translates to physical beauty), loyalty to the nation, military prowess and intellect as the ideal form of masculinity.

Western Masculinity

East Asian masculinity is not as celebrated as Hwarang masculinity in Western cultures. When subjugated to Western standards, Hwarang masculinity does not fit hegemonic masculinity performance and would be considered “feminine.” Likewise, East Asian men are similarly feminized although their performances may fall in line with hegemonic masculinity. This parallel is not to imply that East Asian men perform masculinity in non-hegemonic ways. Rather that Western cultures automatically derogate East Asian men according to their race. East Asian masculinity is racialized and feminized within hegemonic masculine logic. This derogation is due in part to internalized understandings of the ways East Asian cultures practice masculinity. Through this logic, hegemonic masculinity’s integrity as the only valid performance is maintained through racing and derogating of East Asian masculinity.

In American imagery, Asian-American masculinity is portrayed as an “inferior” masculinity. Cliff Cheng writes “...Typically Asian and Asian-American men are portrayed as being physically smaller than Euro-American men, who are (the standard of masculinity) ... Since hegemonically masculinity values physical dominance, and Asian men are smaller in size, they are regarded as unmasculine, they are inferiorized” (1999:7). Hegemonic masculinity places part of performance in the body, and by drawing on a raced and universalized stereotype of spaces Asian bodies can take up, East Asian men are barred from fitting into hegemonic masculinity. This summation of ways where Asian and Asian American men are restricted from achieving hegemonic masculinity points to the influence race and prejudice have in reading masculine performances from specific bodies. The reading and racing of bodies relies on stereotypes and prejudice to hide the colonialist framework around which consumption of those bodies is done.

Basketball player Jeremy Lin defies this standard of Asian-American masculinity by being tall, successful in basketball, and aggressive. Michael Park analyzes narratives surrounding his performance as an athlete, describing him as the typical “successful” athlete. The media craze around Jeremy Lin (“linpossible”) while positive held raced undercurrents. One commentator wrote that he was “deceptively quick” (2015: 380), framing the narrative around stereotypes of

Asian-Americans not being athletic. Sports commentators talked about Lin’s performances in emasculating ways, quick to comment on his sexual prowess or status. These comments acted as means to acknowledge his skill but separate him from “true” top athletes, ie. hypersexualized and aggressive (Park 2015). The attention then worked twofold. The frenzy credited his skill as an athlete but also fixated on his Asian-ness. It isn’t just that Jeremy Lin is Asian-American. Jeremy Lin is an Asian-American man in a hyper-masculine sport. Lin’s raced masculinity was a barrier in being acknowledged as a “true athlete”. His gendered performance was consumed as an outside performance of masculinity as it was done by an Asian-American body. Thus, the comments on his sexual performance, status, and desirability were a means of rewarding his skill while also protecting the credibility of hegemonic masculinity in sports.

CONCLUSION

Rather than holding one type of masculine performance as valid, it could be argued that Ancient Silla culture upheld a spectrum of masculinity. Materials that mention the Hwarang imply constructions of Hwarang that center their legendary status on their dedication to the nation. By centering nationalism as a means of proving and performing masculinity, Hwarang masculinity provides a larger base for construction and thereby does not limit masculinity to a specific performance. The ideal masculinity is then available to any young man who proves true dedication to the nation. As a classed symbol to aspire to, Hwarang men inspire people to this day. Through representations of young artists, Korean boy groups, to direct recreations of their daily life, Hwarang masculinity is a form of masculinity that does not rely on relegating others as inferior. The celebration and resilience of Hwarang masculinity proves that masculine performances can differ from hegemonic masculinity and be celebrated. Hwarang masculine performances distorts notions of the universality of Western hegemonic masculinity. In its’ existence and reception, Hwarang masculinity is an example of the ways masculinity operates differently across geo-social and cultural lines.

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Pornography and its Legal Limits

Alex Meek

Sexuality plays a role in all aspects of our society, from small personal interactions and desires, to larger structural norms and expectations. Society puts laws into place that provide concrete boundaries for the ethics of sexual behavior; these laws control who is allowed to get married, who is allowed to have sex, the accessibility of contraceptive and abortions, and even the available avenues for sexual expression. Over time, pornography and prostitution along with other forms of sex work, have been regulated to varying degrees, and remain the center of ongoing ethical debates.

The opponents of pornography, who seek to tighten regulations, use either traditional conservative values or feminist theory to arrive at the same anti-pornography conclusion, giving the movement a unique combination of arguments. However, through analysis of the First Amendment, along with an academic understanding of its application to content considered obscene or socially harmful, the legal boundaries of pornographic censorship can be clearly defined. Once legal restrictions of the First Amendment on pornography are outlined, this paper will explore the structures of gender that shape pornographic content. Proponents of pornographic restriction often argue that violent or demeaning pornography is fodder for the majority of gender and sex based social ills. In reality, it is far more complex than that. A legal argument about the restriction of pornography will not sway an argument based in morality, nor does the law exist in a vacuum, separate from morality entirely. While pornography has a clear influence on culture and sexual behavior, pornographic content is a byproduct of the culture it was created in. Barring the regulation of conclusively harmful content, such as child pornography or animal abuse, regulating the output and distribution of pornography on the basis of social control violates the First Amendment right to freedom of speech, but more importantly fails to address the root social issues of gender hierarchy and sexual inequality.

PORNOGRAPHY AND THE FIRST AMENDMENT

Pornography has historically been considered a form of speech; however, the ongoing debate centers around the interpretation of pornography as obscene speech, a form of speech unprotected by the First Amendment of the Constitution. The court has a difficult time discerning a concrete standard of obscenity, because moral standards vary through time and region, let alone person to person. What is obscene to one could be perfectly ordinary and uninteresting to another. This uncertainty is further compounded by the complexity of human sexuality; there are pieces of film and content could be viewed as sexual or pornographic by some, that the rest of the population would find void of sexuality. It was not until 1957, in the Supreme Court case *Roth v. United States* (1957), that a standard of obscenity was first established. In the case's opinion, Justice Brennan states that speech classified as obscenity must be "utterly without redeeming social importance" (*Roth v. United States*, 1957). Speech with even the "slightest redeeming social importance", even if it could be considered hateful, was protected (*Roth v. United States*, 1957). Only pornographic material that "deals with sex in a manner appealing to prurient interest," was obscene, and therefore formally regulated (*Roth v. United States*, 1957). Furthermore, Justice Brennan explains that "the protection given speech and press was fashioned to assure unfettered interchange of ideas for the bringing about of political and social changes desired by the people" (*Roth v. United States*, 1957). This ideal stands in sharp contrast to those who argue against the First Amendment protection of pornography. While it may not align with personal standards of morality, obscene pornography serves as a point of discussion, and provides an opportunity for a deeper understanding of gender and human sexuality. It therefore serves a practical purpose in social context and development, thereby negating its potentially prurient status.

Unfortunately, the standards set by *Roth v. United States* were fairly broad and difficult to apply on the

national, or even state level. The system of identifying and categorizing obscene content was redefined by the ruling in *Miller v. California* (1973), a case involving the distribution of pornographic films, books, and fliers. In the opinion issued by Justice Burger in *Miller v. California*, the right of the state to regulate obscene content, and the exemption of obscene content from First Amendment protection, was reaffirmed. However, the “Roth test” had been difficult to apply, so the court formulated a new, three part test. When classifying material as obscene, it must first be determined “whether the average person, applying contemporary community standards would find that the work, taken as a whole, appeals to the prurient interest” (*Miller v. California*, 1973). This follows the precedent set in *Roth*, but is modified by a stipulation questioning “whether the work depicts or describes, in a patently offensive way, sexual conduct specifically defined by the applicable state law” (*Miller v. California*, 1973). This provides a more specific definition as to which communities’ standards are to be applied, as per the first prong of the “Miller test”. Finally, the system established by this case asks “whether the work, taken as a whole, lacks serious literary, artistic, political, or scientific value” (*Miller v. California*, 1973). The Miller test’s more carefully defined criteria for obscenity is important, but lawmakers and judges must still make decisions with their subjective, personal understandings of “literary, artistic, political, or scientific value” (*Miller v. California*, 1973). This stipulation protects the producers and consumers of content that would otherwise be sexually obscene. However, were it not for the possession of additional “legitimate” values in the eyes of a court, it could be heavily detrimental to the First Amendment rights of those subjectively deemed illegitimate by the same court. One of *Miller’s* largest outcomes is that it “permitted triers of fact broad discretion in defining the relevant community, and in applying that community’s measure of obscenity” (Community Standards 1975:1842). Each person within the legal system tasked with reviewing potentially obscene material, views it through the lense of their own social demographics, personal experience, and community background. When analyzing a certain piece, one person may see heavy value while another may see none. This would also be, in some regards, a self fulfilling cycle. Perhaps someone creates content that they believe has meaningful artistic and political value, but this value is not recognized by the justice system. When the content gets labeled obscene, it becomes regulated, and gets moved outside the protec-

tion of the First Amendment. This halts the distribution of the material, and consequently strips it of any political or artistic value it objectively may have had in the public sphere. Value is socially assigned, money has value because our society has decided it does; designer clothes, diamonds, and gold, would all be significantly lower prices if society collectively deemed the items undesirable. Limiting freedom of speech in this capacity gives the court system the power to selectively shape the values and ideals that society is exposed to. This is not necessarily power that should be within the hands of the select few.

The extra layers of specification present in the Miller test are necessary because “our Nation is simply too big and too diverse for this Court to reasonably expect that such standards could be articulated for all 50 States in a single formulation” (*Miller v. California*, 1973). Setting the limit to the moral standards within a given state, rather than the overarching standards of a nation, is helpful and pushes obscenity construction in the right direction. However, it continues to limit freedom of speech, and leaves construction of deviance open to heavy debate. As Justice Burger explains, in the Court’s opinion, it would not be “realistic nor constitutionally sound to read the First Amendment as requiring that the people of Maine or Mississippi accept public depiction of conduct found tolerable in Las Vegas, or New York City” (*Miller v. California*, 1973). This singular statement can be used to understand the social construction of sexuality and deviance. What may be considered obscene in certain areas, may be considered both socially standard, and a key component of the region’s commerce. Attitudes may even vary significantly across a single state; for example, a large quantity of pornography is produced in California’s San Fernando Valley, but this may not feel acceptable to the residents of the conservative Orange County area. These municipalities are only a few hours apart, yet one group contains those whose livelihoods depend on the production of material that those in the other group would like to legally restrict. In *Butler v. Michigan* (1957), the court found, under the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, that the state could not make it a “misdemeanor to sell or make available to the general reading public any book containing obscene language”, on the basis that it could potentially corrupt the moral standing of a minor (*Butler v. Michigan*, 1957). The state of Michigan argued that it was “exercising its power to promote the general welfare” of Michigan residents

(*Butler v. Michigan*, 1957). Justice Frankfurter, when providing the opinion of the court, asserted that it was unfair to “reduce the adult population of Michigan to reading only what is fit for children” (*Butler v. Michigan*, 1957). This ordinance was overturned because the court believed that it “arbitrarily curtails one of those liberties of the individual”, liberties that are necessary to the “maintenance and progress of a free society” (*Butler v. Michigan*, 1957). Although this case dealt specifically with minors, a group that cannot consent to sex or fully understand mature adult content, the logic of the courts remains applicable in other cases of censorship. Regulating the content that consenting, willing adults are able to access on the basis that others find it morally reprehensible, is unfair and an encroachment on the freedoms of thought and speech guaranteed under the First Amendment.

ANTI-PORNOGRAPHY FEMINISM AND ITS LEGAL IMPACT

In the case *American Booksellers Ass’n, Inc. v. Hudnut* (1985), the standards of obscenity were extended past “prurient interest” in the city of Indianapolis, Indiana on grounds purportedly in line with the feminist movement. The city of Indianapolis had broadened its definition of pornography to include more things. However, it did so in a manner that left distributors of pornographic material vulnerable to liability, in any case involving a violent defendant that had viewed pornographic material from that distributor (*American Booksellers Ass’n, Inc. v. Hudnut*, 1985). In response, these distributors filed a lawsuit against the city, believing that the Indianapolis ordinance violated their First Amendment rights. This law was different than those that had been dealt with previously, and had been based largely on the ideologies of Catherine MacKinnon, a prominent attorney with strong anti-pornography views. MacKinnon played a large role in writing the ordinance, in which pornography is defined as “the graphic sexually explicit subordination of women, whether in pictures or in words” (*American Booksellers Ass’n, Inc. v. Hudnut*, 1985). The ordinance goes on to specify the specific acts or depictions of women “as sexual objects who enjoy pain or humiliation”; “as sexual objects who experience sexual pleasure in being raped”; “as sexual objects tied up or cut up or mutilated or bruised or physically hurt, or as dismembered or truncated or fragmented or severed into body parts”

(*American Booksellers Ass’n, Inc. v. Hudnut*, 1985). The ordinance also includes material that presents women “as being penetrated by objects or animals”; “in scenarios of degradation, injury abasement, torture, shown as filthy or inferior, bleeding, bruised, or hurt in a context that makes these conditions sexual”; or “as sexual objects for domination, conquest, violation, exploitation, possession, or use, or through postures or positions of servility or submission or display” (*American Booksellers Ass’n, Inc. v. Hudnut*, 1985). This definition is also stipulated to include “men, children, or transsexuals in the place of women”, allowing for the regulation of pornography that did not physically include women (*American Booksellers Ass’n, Inc. v. Hudnut*, 1985). This ordinance was passed because Indianapolis lawmakers believed they had identified a pattern of women being subjected to violence and subordination within general society, and believed this problem to be caused by, and exacerbated by, violent pornography. By regulating this type of pornography as obscenity, Catherine MacKinnon and other lawmakers hoped to remove it as a socializing agent, in order to reconstruct the behavioral patterns of men.

Despite heated debate on each side, the court overturned the ordinance because it did not pass the Miller test. The definition of pornography provided by the ordinance excluded many things commonly considered pornography, and failed to address key components of obscenity. Justice Easterbrook essentially explained that even if speech is hateful, or subordinating, it is still protected under the First Amendment, unless it is considered obscene. Because the ordinance did not involve prurient interest, it did not hold up against the Miller test, and it was overturned (*American Booksellers Ass’n, Inc. v. Hudnut*, 1985).

PORNOGRAPHY, FEMINISM, AND CONSTRUCTIVE DISCOURSE

MacKinnon, one of the central figures in the Indianapolis case, and other anti pornography feminists use a feminist rhetoric to argue that pornography “eroticizes hierarchy”, “sexualizes inequality”, and further “institutionalizes the sexuality of male supremacy” (MacKinnon, 1987). The power dynamics of pornography are then replicated and normalized in daily life. MacKinnon believes that “pornography makes it impossible for men to tell when sex is forced, that women are human, and

that rape is rape” (MacKinnon, 1991:496). Additionally, MacKinnon states that “pornography constructs who women are and are viewed as being”, as well as their sexuality (McGowan 2005:30). This is problematic in that it strips individual men of their own free will, their humanity and compassion, and consequently removes their sexual responsibility. MacKinnon also equates pornographic actresses to prostitutes and perceives both groups as having little to no agency, options, or free will (MacKinnon, 1991:496). She also discredits pro-pornographic feminism, by claiming that women who like “rough sex” are not “reclaiming” their sexuality, and are in fact controlled by the patriarchy and are conforming to standards of male sexuality to create a false sense of empowerment. MacKinnon’s understandings of sex workers and female sexuality fall in line with society’s sexual standards of women being sweet and innocent. It also negates the stigma around sex work, by removing the responsibility from the woman, and putting her into the box of victim, at the hands of the patriarchy. These claims create a false view that “counts as correct and because this false view has normative force,” it causes “the world to accommodate it by conforming to it” (McGowan, 2005:34). It could be argued that by telling sex workers who are happy with their careers that they are wrong and without free will, MacKinnon herself is reinforcing patriarchal structures of discrediting women’s ideas, feelings, and experiences. In *California v. Freeman* (1989), it was determined that pornography and prostitution are not synonymous, as a pornographic actress or actor is being paid for a performance, not for direct sexual pleasure. MacKinnon’s inability to differentiate between each occupation, as well as her inability to differentiate between consensual and forced sex work, is problematic. When a blanket label is placed on such a diverse group, it becomes difficult to identify the nuances and accurate experiences of the individuals involved; subsequently, it become impossible to identify legitimate problems and effective solutions. Furthermore, people of all genders experience sexuality in different capacities, and in some women this includes acts that MacKinnon would consider violent or degrading. Although MacKinnon believes this stems from patriarchal sexuality and pornography, it does not erase the objective truth that some women get enjoyment from it. The argument around sexuality that MacKinnon presents, uses constructivism to position her ideas as facts. Society and some lawmakers accept them as fact, because they play into baseline societal expectations for female sexuality, and loose feminist ideals that require

little analysis to accept. It creates a factual feedback loop of sorts: pornography is degrading to women, so women get treated poorly in non-sexual capacities. Men and women sexualize the gender hierarchy because that is what porn presents to them, then hypersexualized men and degraded women make more violent and degrading porn, and the cycle begins again. Initially it seems logical, but upon inspection it absolves both men and women of culpability in this socialization. It also fails to explain how hierarchical and violent porn first got made. Claims about violent pornography are sound in that it “portrays women not as human beings with rights, but as mere objects that can be violated, abused, or killed, and it represents this violence in an erotically powerful way” (Heyman, 2008:189). Humans are socialized by the media they consume, and because pornography is socializing that type of sexuality into our society, people continue to participate in violent sexual activity. However, if pornography was the initial source of violent and degrading sexuality, then there would have been no incentive to produce violent pornography in the first place. Hypothetically, prior to the first violent pornography, no one would have been socialized to enjoy or crave the violent pornography. Logically, this means that deviant sexualities do not come from pornography, but instead come from personal preference, and larger pre-existing social structures, that are then reflected in pornography.

ANALYSIS AND CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

Violent pornography is a product of human beings that already exist in our society, and is a byproduct of the sexist structures that already exist within those people. It reflects the culture and world that it is produced in, and while it does reinforce that culture, the root cause will not be erased or fixed by banning pornographic material under obscenity laws. Every piece of cultural production, be that something benign, or something like violent pornography, has a value socially, because it was created by a member of society and it exists. No piece of pornography can serve a purely prurient intent, because any can be observed in the context of social science. Following the guidelines set in *Miller v. California*, and reinforced by *American Booksellers Ass’n, Inc. v. Hudnut*, the First Amendment right to freedom of speech continues to apply to pornographic content, even if it is objectifying or violent. *Butler v. Michigan*

solidifies this claim by showing that Freedom of Speech cannot be curtailed for one group on the grounds that another groups finds a speech act offensive or morally detrimental.

This is not to say that violent pornography cannot be harmful, “in many cases, women, mostly very young and often the victims of sexual abuse as children, are forced into pornography and brutally mistreated thereafter. The participants have been beaten, forced to commit sex acts, imprisoned, bound and gagged,” (Sunstein, 1986:595). Pornography that is conclusively harmful, such as child pornography, as a child cannot consent to sexual activity, or pornography in which a woman did not consent and is being forced into the act, should absolutely be illegal, because they depict actual crimes. However, banning violent pornography will not stop its production, nor will it combat the structures of patriarchal violence that contribute to violent sexuality. Turning violent pornography into a black market could make it even more dangerous. Currently it involves a regulated performance of sexual assault with breaks, safe words, and contracts; banning it could contribute to a rise in human trafficking, or a rise in actual sexual assaults. Criminalizing pornography will make it more difficult for real victims to get help, as the process will become more secretive and

less regulated. Banning or regulating pornographic content is unrealistic, as it directly contradicts the First Amendment, and the corresponding case law. Perhaps even more importantly, it limits the platform on which larger societal problems with sexuality can be discussed or understood. Regulating violent pornography on the grounds of free speech does not treat the societal wound; it leaves it vulnerable to infection. A more viable path to respectful sexual behavior is a resocialization around sexuality and pornography. Pornography has always been a part of human culture, so we must analyze it and unpack it as objectively as possible, so that a deeper understanding of sexuality and culture can be formed. Instead of banning it, regulating it, or explaining it away, teach people that pornography is fake and unrealistic, just like any other movie. Teach people about what constitutes proper consent to sexual activity, teach them about respecting boundaries, and teach them about the importance of gender equality. The First Amendment protects pornographic content, but just like all speech, pornography is a vehicle for humans to express thoughts, desires, and social structures that they have already internalized. We analyze literature, history, and social interaction; if our society hopes to make progress in terms of pornographic content and non-violent, non-objectifying sexuality, then we need to open dialogues and understand what is in front of us.

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The Role of Social Actors in the Abuse of OxyContin

Emma Dunn

INTRODUCTION

Most Americans have an image in their minds of what they think drug abuse looks like. That image often involves hypodermic needles, burnt spoons, meth labs, crack pipes and dangerous back alleys. Rarely does it conjure up images of brightly lit pharmacies, friendly doctors, and professionally produced commercials. But all of these things paint the picture of one of this country's most enduring drug crises.

Prescription opiates and painkillers have become a significant problem for those suffering from substance abuse. The addictive qualities of many of the prescription opiates on the market lead to severe dependence following a prescription, which many do not consider, as we assume prescriptions are not supposed to worsen our symptoms. In 2014, 10.3 million people reported that they utilized prescription opioids for non-medical reasons, some of which were that they were not prescribed to them or for the euphoric experience it would cause (Compton et al. 2016). In recent history, abuse of prescription drugs has become a bigger issue than abuse of illicit drugs, especially those that fall under the category of prescription narcotic painkilling drugs like OxyContin, Percodan, Percocet, and Vicodin. Of these, OxyContin has received most attention, not only for its medicinal effects, but for its role in the increasing rates of the abuse of prescription drugs as well. Following its release to the market, it became a popular response to chronic pain among patients. The guiding research question for this paper is which social actors contributed to the abuse of OxyContin, and of these, which had the largest impact? I seek to examine the negative influences of various social actors like pharmaceutical companies, doctors and physicians, and even government regulatory agencies. But it is clear that Purdue Pharma ultimately played the biggest role in creating this crisis thanks to the extreme tactics they employed aggressively promoting the drug.

CORPORATE CRIME

Often described as “crimes of the elite”, corporate crime is defined as “illegal or harmful acts, committed by legitimate organizations or their members, primarily for the benefit of these organizations” (van Erp 2018, 1). This term became an area of study when Edwin Sutherland coined the term “white collar crime” in 1949 (Braithwaite 1985). White-collar crime is defined as a “crime committed by a person of respectability and high status in the course of his occupation” (Braithwaite 1985, 3). Although the acts of social actors involved can often be described as white-collar crime and corporate crime, there is one key difference between the two. Corporate crimes may include individual gain, but this would only serve as a secondary motive, whereas white-collar crime is committed for only individual benefits (van Erp 2018). By utilizing a corporate crime method of analysis, corporations or other high-level groups are examined at the organizational level. This allows one to see how these social actors impact victims outside of the organization (van Erp 2018). In regards to pharmaceutical drugs, this theory looks into the ways that the social actors involved impact patients or abusers, who are victims of the wrongdoings of these bigger organizations (Dukes et al. 2014). These social actors can be the pharmaceutical companies themselves, physicians, pharmacists, illicit markets, and government agencies. It is important to acknowledge this as large corporations are experiencing a growing dominance in society, and their activities must be compatible with those of our society. If they fail, they should be held accountable (Dukes et al. 2014).

BACKGROUND

Approved by the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) in 1995, OxyContin has rapidly grown into one of the most used and abused prescription drugs on the market. Formulated by Purdue Pharma L.P. as a controlled-release version of the opioid oxycodone,

OxyContin was placed into the same classification as drugs like morphine, cocaine and methamphetamine (DEA). These are all classified as Schedule II drugs under the Controlled Substances Act, meaning that they have a high potential for abuse, currently have some accepted medical use for treatment in the US, and may lead to severe psychological or physical dependence (DEA). This classification is the most restrictive level of control that can be placed on a drug for medical purposes under the Controlled Substances Act. Typically, it should signal to the doctor that they should be cautious prescribing it to patients, but as the case with many potent opiates, OxyContin became heavily overprescribed following its release.

Purdue Pharma L.P., an extremely successful pharmaceutical company based in Stamford, Connecticut, began making and marketing OxyContin in the early nineties. Founded in 1892, they are a privately held pharmaceutical company that focuses on pain management medications. Since 1952, it has been owned and operated by the billionaire Sackler family. The three brothers, Arthur, Mortimer, and Raymond Sackler, who made the purchase, were each physicians and steered Purdue Pharma into the wild success it has become today (Keefe 2018). Arthur and Mortimer are often described as great philanthropists who have made immense contributions to the well being of society, but many are unaware of their integral role with the development of OxyContin abuse (Keefe 2018).

Despite the existence of oxycodone prior to World War II, OxyContin became instantly and rapidly popular in the US when it was introduced to the market. OxyContin's primary medical use is pain management, and many of those who utilize it for this purpose describe it as their "miracle drug" for its rapid effects and allowing people with chronic pain to live a normal life. Unlike its preceding oxycodone products, that contained aspirin or acetaminophen to lengthen potency, the medical breakthrough of OxyContin's ability to continuously provide pain-relief for up to 12 hours from one dosage (Inciardi and Goode 2003). The prescription drug is offered in tablets of 10-, 20- 40-, and 80-milligram doses, and was briefly offered as a "160-milligram dose in July 2000 for its opioid-tolerant patients, only later to withdraw it from the market amidst controversy over its alleged abuse" (Inciardi and Goode 2003, 17). Additionally, its extended-release formulation likely means that more opioid is required in its formulation than in immediate-release versions (Coplan et al. 2016).

Upon its release, OxyContin immediately became a top-selling prescription drug. There were more than 7.2 million prescriptions for OxyContin given out in 2001 and its retail sales totaled over \$1.45 billion. This made it become a major economic success for Purdue Pharma, making up 80 percent of the company's total business that year (Inciardi and Goode 2003, 18).

However, the drug was not as successful in other ways, leaving some still struggling with pain and new cases of addiction problems. OxyContin's formulation and effects gives it a morphine- or heroin-like high, as they have a similar chemical structures and bind to the same receptors in the brain. It did not take long for users to realize that crushing and injecting or snorting the drug would give a similar euphoria of heroin (Inciardi and Goode 2003; Jayawant and Balkrishnan 2005). One study found that 55 percent of abusers snorted OxyContin, 36 percent injected it, and 53 people used an oral mode of administration (Coplan et al. 2016). The Drug Abuse Warning Network (DAWN) found that "oxycodone-related emergency department visits increased by 560% between 1995 and 2002," coinciding with the time that OxyContin was introduced to the market. (Leukefeld et al. 2005, 632). Meanwhile, between 2000 and 2001, medical examiner reports showed that "32 states reflected that 949 deaths were associated with oxycodone, of which almost half (49%) were 'likely' related to OxyContin" (Inciardi and Goode 2003, 19). This shows the relationship between the rapid increase in of oxycodone abuse, and OxyContin's arrival on the market.

An important consideration in the abuse of OxyContin is what groups it affects. Abuse rates began to rise in Maine in 1999, and from there the opioid primarily became popular among other rural areas throughout the Appalachians, like Kentucky and West Virginia (Leukefeld et al. 2005). This spread of heavy use of OxyContin throughout these smaller, rural communities can be attributed to a few reasons. First, there are large populations of disabled and chronically ill people who are in need of pain relief throughout these rural areas. Second, there are high unemployment rates throughout these areas, and a lack of economic opportunity to seek work. Third, these communities are remote and far from the network of major cities and interstates that non-prescription or illegal drugs, like heroin and cocaine, would travel (Tough 2001). Fourth, there is racialized access to insurance and medical practitioners within major cities' healthcare systems, forcing individ-

uals to turn to unregulated and illegal drugs, like heroin (Netherland and Hansen 2017). Lastly, the decision on behalf on the DEA to make OxyContin legal influenced the way law enforcement responded to it. A number of treatment-oriented plans were put in place instead of punitive laws that would lead to the arrest of consumers. Some of these included the mandating of:

Physicians to use Prescription Drug Monitoring Programs, [instituting] voluntary take-back programs for unused medication, and [disseminating] the opioid overdose reversal medication naloxone, while passing Good Samaritan laws to protect those calling for emergency assistance during an overdose from drug charges (Netherland and Hansen 2016, 1).

Each of these takes a public health ideology to treating OxyContin abuse, whereas other drugs like heroin or cocaine would typically be responded to with a criminalized approach.

SOCIAL ACTORS INVOLVED WITH THE ABUSE OF OXYCONTIN

Pharmaceutical Company

Purdue Pharma, as the company that created OxyContin, played a significant role in the promotion and distribution of OxyContin. The Sackler brothers' experience in advertising and marketing shaped Purdue Pharma's approach, with an emphasis far more focused on business and profits than medical practice and helping others (Keefe 2018). In the 1990s, they implemented a number of techniques to promote their newest prescription painkiller on the market. The company spent more money marketing their new painkiller than on the research and development, spending \$200 million on promoting OxyContin in 2001 alone (Van Zee 2009). Purdue Pharma publicized and marketed OxyContin through sale representatives, national pain-management and speaker-training conferences, free sampling, and even branded merchandise like OxyContin fishing hats, stuffed toys, and music CD's that sing "Get in the Swing With OxyContin" (Van Zee 2009).

Detailers are a popular method of pharmaceutical marketing among many companies. These are teams that visit and inform physicians about new advances from their respective companies. It is an aggressive

selling technique that may impact sales more than print advertising. As competition in the market has increased throughout the years, the educational role of detailers has decreased and their purpose has become to manipulate the prescriber of the medicine. These detailers are able to speak about the medication without being regulated by the FDA, which allows them to alter facts about the medication (Dukes et al. 2014). Purdue Pharma's sales representatives were highly encouraged to increase sales and were offered incentive bonuses every year to do so (Van Zee 2009). These bonuses were on top of the sales representatives' salary, which is on average was \$55,000, and the "annual bonuses averaged \$71,500, with a range of \$15,000 to nearly \$240,000" (Van Zee 2009, 22). Often, the practice of detailing is coupled with "data mining," where the prescribing data of physicians is examined and used by sales representatives to determine where to target their efforts. Purdue Pharma utilized this technique by targeting specific zip codes to locate physicians with the highest rates of prescribing painkillers, and sent their sales representatives there to increase the prescribing rate of that physician. With Purdue's growing success and goals, they increased their sales representative force from 318 to 671 sales representatives between 1996 and 2000. This allowed them to reach between 70,500 to 94,000 physicians, opposed to 33,400 to 44,500 (Van Zee 2009).

Meetings and conferences are another popular method of promotion for pharmaceutical companies. Companies will often sponsor and reward an opinion leader in the health industry to host a private dinner or speak at a symposia or conference (Dukes et al. 2014). Purdue Pharma followed this common practice and held their own pain-management and speaker training conferences at a number of resorts spanning Florida, Arizona, and California. Many members of the health care system attended these events, including physicians, pharmacists, and nurses. These trips to the resorts were all-expenses paid, and often these attendees would be recruited to become speakers on behalf of Purdue Pharma and OxyContin (Van Zee 2009). From 1996 to 2001, Purdue Pharma held over 40 of these conferences with a total of approximately 5,000 attendees (Van Zee 2009).

Sampling and free coupon programs are popular tools to promote sales in many different industries. However, for pharmaceuticals, it differs in that it typically has to go through the physician to get to the patient.

This practice has become particularly discouraged in the health industry, but it continues to be practiced regularly. Restrictions have been placed on giving samples to physicians to limit this marketing technique, and now physicians have to submit a written request to receive the free sample (Dukes et al. 2014). Purdue Pharma's 'patient starter coupon program,' which gave patients a free prescription for a 7-30 day supply, had approximately 34,000 coupons given out nationally before being shut down in 2001 (Van Zee 2009).

Purdue Pharma was also able to promote OxyContin by misrepresenting the risk of addiction, which can be seen through their black box label and through advertising that there was a small amount of risk, despite it later unfolding that they were knowledgeable about the addiction potential. The black box label that was used on OxyContin's bottle warned "users not to use broken tablets, chew, crush, or dissolve the tablets as it may cause rapid release of the drug and even bioavailability of a fatal dose" (Inciardi and Goode 2003). Though voluntarily put on the OxyContin bottle in 2001, many users had already figured out how to increase the effects of the drug and this warning did not cease abuse of the drug, rather it was treated as a guide for increasing its' potency. Through promotion on their website, printed promotions, and through sales representatives, Purdue was able to make physicians and patients believe there was a small chance of addiction to this opioid. Often, Purdue even had their sale representatives, who were not closely monitored, say that there was less than a one percent chance of addiction. This misrepresentation did lead to a lawsuit, and on May 10, 2007, Purdue Frederick Company Inc. and three Purdue Pharma company executives, "pled guilty to criminal charges of misbranding OxyContin by claiming that it was less addictive and less subject to abuse and diversion than other opioids, and [paid] \$634 million in fines" (Van Zee 2009, 223). Each of these minimized the abuse potential of OxyContin and contributed to the overall role that Purdue Pharma had in the high rates of abuse.

Physicians, Pharmacists and the Growth of Illicit Markets

Just one corrupt physician or pharmacist can have significant impact on the availability of a prescription drug. As the link between the pharmaceutical companies and patients, physicians and pharmacists together act as

another important social actor. The influence of these social actors can be broken into a few different avenues, including the choice and actions of physicians and the more illicit trends of doctor shopping and pill mills.

The prescribing habits of physicians can directly influence one's ability to gain quick and easy access to OxyContin. Many doctors are not formally trained to identify drug-seeking behavior in patients and are often heavily influenced by the marketing tactics of pharmaceutical companies, altering how liberally or conservatively they prescribe sought-after drugs. Detailers are often reported as the most influential source of product information when doctors are first considering a drug (Miller 1973). An abundant amount of research has also found that the trips and conferences sponsored by pharmaceutical companies are highly influential for physicians when they are later prescribing drugs to patients (Van Zee 2009).

Doctor-shopping is one of the most popular ways to access large amounts of OxyContin at once. This is the phenomenon of patients visiting multiple doctors and getting prescriptions for the same drug at each. This is typically followed by patients visiting different pharmacies to fill the prescription, as to not get caught or noticed. One study found that 33 percent of all prescriptions diverted was made up of oxycodone-based products under the name of OxyContin in 2008 (Simeone 2017).

Pills mills are another significant way in which doctors influence the way one can receive OxyContin. A trend that was common in pain management clinics in Florida, pill mills are doctors, clinics, or pharmacies that are dispensing prescriptions in extremely large amounts. People are typically paid to fake symptoms at these pill mills and doctor shop to receive a large number of drugs to drive back to rural areas along the "Oxy Express" to sell illegally back home. In 2006, these "dispensing doctors" were responsible for 85 percent of all the oxycodone prescribed by doctors nationally and in the last 6 months of 2008, 9 million pills of oxycodone were dispensed by just 45 South Florida doctors (Rigg et al. 2010). Florida adopted a few measures to address the practices of pill mills, which included two laws to address this issue in 2010 and 2011, which:

Substantially restricted prescribers' ability to dispense opioids at the site of care, and law enforcement initiatives during 2010 and 2012, which led to the arrest and prosecution of persons operating

the pill mills violating these new laws. (Hendricks et al. 2016, 291).

This significantly reduced oxycodone-purchasing physicians, opioid prescribing, and prescription diversion, but the effects of the operations lasted beyond the decreasing access to the Oxy Express in Florida, forcing many addicted individuals to seek out illicit markets.

The practices of doctor shopping and pill mills played a significant role in the creation of illicit markets for OxyContin. When OxyContin diverts from doctors or physicians to illegal markets, it spreads throughout the market in a different way than other drugs. Diversion is the “diverting” of a drug from its medical purpose. Due to the environments that OxyContin abuse typically occurs, the diversion of OxyContin is classified as pharmaceutical diversion due to lack of illicit markets available. This means that this illicit market often consists of pharmacy robberies, burglaries, and thefts, fraudulent prescriptions, illegal sales both online and in-person, and stealing or buying from parents or other family members with valid prescriptions (Jayawant and Balkrishnan 2005). However, ultimately, the primary sources of OxyContin diversion abuse and diversion remained the illegal acts by physicians and pharmacists.

Government Agencies

As a legal drug, OxyContin falls under different considerations than illegal drugs like heroin and MDMA, which are Schedule I drugs. The government is able to monitor the quality, prevent tainted drugs, and tax manufactures and sellers for public service reasons. Different federal agencies, like the FDA and Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) are tasked with different roles in this regulating process, all with the goal of protecting citizens. However, when the policies that govern these regulations fail, there is a risk of a regulation deficiency, which is when “the government fails to protect individuals from societal harm despite good intentions,” (Griffin and Miller 2011, 223).

The FDA is the federal agency that approves drugs for medical use and regulates the marketing and promotion of drugs with the goal of ensuring these promotions are truthful, balanced, and accurate. The FDA became the regulating body for drug safety in 1938 with the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act. This purpose of this act was

to:

Assure the consumer that foods are pure and wholesome, safe to eat, and produced under sanitary conditions; that drugs and devices are safe and effective for their intended uses; that cosmetics are safe and made from appropriate ingredients; and that all labeling and packaging is truthful, informative, and not deceptive... (FDA).

Although all pharmaceutical companies must submit any and all promotional items to the FDA for review, generally it is not required to get approval before beginning use of the promotional item. This is largely attributed to the limited staff the FDA has to oversee the immense amount of promotional materials they must review, inhibiting the FDA’s ability to ensure the truthfulness and accuracy of the promotional materials (Van Zee 2009). Purdue Pharma abused this fact in multiple ways within OxyContin’s first few years on the market, and when repercussions later came from the FDA, OxyContin abuse issues had already spread. First, the original label minimized the risks of OxyContin and claimed addiction from the painkiller was “very rare”. It was not until 2001 that the FDA reevaluated this, when the label was modified and the black box warning was removed. If the FDA had reviewed OxyContin’s original label more thoroughly, there may have not been a need to alter the label, and there would have been more knowledge about the drug’s risks at the time of OxyContin’s release (Van Zee 2009; Jayawant and Balkrishnan 2005). Another incident was Purdue’s release of a promotional video in 1998. Purdue Pharma did not follow FDA regulation and released 15,000 copies of the video to physicians without first submitting it for review. Purdue later had to make a second version in 2001, but because pharmaceutical companies are allowed to use promotional materials without direct approval, it was not until 2002 that the FDA claimed the second version “minimized the risks from OxyContin and made unsubstantiated claims regarding its benefits to patients,” even though the video had already been used for a year (Van Zee 2009, 224; Jayawant and Balkrishnan 2005). If the FDA were to enforce that approval must be given for a promotional item to be used, the second version would not have reached prescribing social actors.

The DEA is the second federal agency most involved with drug regulation. Differing from the FDA, the DEA does not directly regulate the marketing of controlled

substances unless there is concern about diversion. It also oversees the classification of substances under the Controlled Substances Act, becoming the governing body for what drugs are legal and regulated and which are not. The DEA was not concerned with OxyContin until the trends of abuse, illicit use, misuse, and diversion became pervasive. The DEA then launched an extensive plan to prevent this abuse. The DEA aimed to target individuals involved in abuse or diversion, illegal sale, pharmacy theft, and fraud, encourage rapid reformulation in teamwork with the FDA, work with Purdue Pharma, and educate the public, schools, health-care industry, and state (Jayawant and Balkrishnan 2005). An issue that arises with this is that the large majority of the work that the DEA does is dedicated to illegal drugs, not prescription drugs that still provide a “legitimate benefit ... to those patients that are in legitimate need of ... medical treatment” (Griffin and Miller 2011, 222; Jayawant and Balkrishnan 2005). To moderate physicians and pharmacies, the DEA placed seven diversion agents on each actor. This, combined with regulations that limit having a prescription beyond a few days, poses a risk of access to the medication for those who legitimately need OxyContin (Jayawant and Balkrishnan 2005; Griffin and Miller 2011). Their method of controlling the prescription drug OxyContin differs from any approaches they have for illegal drugs, removing OxyContin from the conversation about the War on Drugs. The arrest rate for sale or possession of manufactured drugs was one-quarter that for the sale or possession of heroin or cocaine, even though prescription opioid misuse far exceeded heroin use (Netherland and Hansen 2016).

EVOLVEMENT OF THE OXYCONTIN CRISIS

Since the release of OxyContin in 1995, abuse of the drug became a severe public health issue. Between 2000 and 2014, the rates of death from prescription-opioid overdose nearly quadrupled from 1.5 to 5.9 deaths per 100,000 persons (Compton et al. 2016). Becoming such a pressing issue lead to a number of changes in policies, regulation, and OxyContin itself, and from this many observed an overall shift in treating the abuse of OxyContin. Some of these included educating health professionals and the public about appropriate use, implementing prescription-drug monitoring programs, and taking enforcement and regulatory

actions to eliminate pill mills (Compton et al. 2017). Restricting access was a major factor in the availability of OxyContin for abuse. Policy approaches that did this included the reduction of pill mills in Florida and across other states that limited the supply to illicit resale markets, forcing many addicted individuals to seek elsewhere to satisfy their cravings.

The most significant change to address the abuse of OxyContin was in 2010 when Purdue Pharma released an “abuse-deterrent” reformulation of OxyContin. This tablet was formulated with physiochemical barriers that made it more challenging to extract oxycodone and “difficult to solubilize or crush, thus discouraging abuse through injection and inhalation” (Cicero et al. 2012, 1). However, the potency of the drug did not change, preserving the efficiency for patients. This reformulation of the drug did have impacts on abuse of the drug, with the rates of mortality, overdose, abuse, diagnosed opioid use disorder, and doctor-shopping declining (Coplan et al. 2016). However, this abuse-deterrent reformulation lead to an outcome that creates a more concerning public health issue. As the rates of OxyContin abuse and overdoses decreased, a trend of rising heroin abuse has been observed around the same time (Cicero et al. 2015). Interviews with patients revealed the previous version of OxyContin was heavily preferred and that “24% found a way to defeat the tamper-resistant properties of the abuse-deterrent formulation, 66% indicated a switch to another opioid, with “heroin” the most common response” (Cicero et al. 2012, 189).

The National Survey on Drug Use and Health reported that 79.5 percent of new heroin initiates reported their initial drug was a prescription opioid (Dart et al. 2015). Heroin is pharmacologically similar to most prescription opiates and attracts many with its cheaper costs. Heroin and prescription opioids produce a number of similar events in the brain that increase the release of dopamine, which is typically strongly coupled with the subjective “high” that is caused by drugs of abuse. And although these have similar pharmacologic mechanisms, different opioids have different withdrawal-syndrome patterns, often influencing the drug of choice for users. At first, many addicted individuals are drawn to oxycodone products as the withdrawal effects are not as severe as other substances, showing a possible reason why oxycodone has a stronger potential for abuse than the potential for abuse with heroin (Compton et al. 2016; Dart et al. 2015). However, with the development of the reformulated OxyContin, restrictions on access

to the prescription, and the low-cost of heroin, many were forced to alter their drug of choice in order to avoid the negative consequences of withdrawal without access to the drug they first abused. Increasing rates of heroin usage when restrictions were placed on OxyContin reveals how the solutions put in place to prevent abuse and diversion pushed illicit users to search elsewhere and the public health issue of addiction continued.

CONCLUSION

Drug addiction is often cast as the individual's fault, as if they are making the choice to become dependent on substances. But, as the case of OxyContin demonstrates, many social actors and influences help perpetuate the high rates of drug abuse and the start of the disease for many in the United States. For OxyContin, Purdue Pharma played the most significant role, creating the market for OxyContin abuse through their promotion and misrepresentation at launch. Though a number of solutions have been put in place to address the issue that Purdue created, the

market was already booming and failed to completely remove OxyContin addiction in the US. Instead, many found ways to work around these methods and still divert OxyContin, or turned to cheaper and easier to access drugs like heroin.

To address the issue of OxyContin addiction, and the addiction to illicit drugs as well, a treatment-oriented approach would need to be fully adapted. By focusing on public health instead of criminalizing substances, and making the goal rehabilitation and sobriety for drug abusers, we would likely see a decrease in the abuse of OxyContin. To make this possible, government regulatory agencies, like the DEA and FDA, will have to shift their perspectives on drugs. This shifts the responsibility for finding a solution to the problem from Purdue Pharma, to the government. This move of accountability is necessary because Purdue Pharma will always have a financial conflict of interest, impacting the potential scope of solutions they could create. Paired with regulating access to the drug from the legitimate doctors, this would be the best chance to attempt a solution to this epidemic.

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Attention Deficit Disorder: Contemporary Analysis of Diagnosis and its Social Control

Natalie Menicucci

INTRODUCTION

ADD is a behavioral disorder that primarily occurs in children and includes symptoms such as hyperactivity, impulsivity, and poor concentration— symptoms that all appear as deviant behavior. Although people use the diagnosis freely, this is a complicated condition requiring careful diagnosis. Despite being a recognized disorder, originally Attention Deficit Disorder was described as a problem of defects in moral character around 1902 during a meeting of the Royal College of Physicians. Wolraich writes that George Still, a well-known physician at the time, “described a disease he characterized as resulting from a defect in moral character. He noted that the problem resulted in a child’s inability to internalize rules and limits, and in addition manifested itself in patterns of restless, inattentive, and over-aroused behaviors” (Wolraich 2006:86-93). Later, scientists believed the condition to be a resulting complication of influenza. Then, in the late 1950s and early 1960s, the American Psychiatric Association developed a syndrome of behaviors that became the diagnostic criteria (Wolraich 2006:86-93). The disorder became medicalized as a result of the research done in the 1960s. According to Burns, “Medicalization refers to a process whereby previously non-medical problems become defined and treated as a form of illness which properly belongs under the care of a physician” (Burns, “Medicalization” Handout). The medicalization of a disorder grants physicians greater authority to determine what is ‘normal’ and ‘deviant’, and to determine appropriate ways to control deviant behavior. Since the medicalization of the disorder, ADD became a serious condition requiring precise diagnosis and treatment. The 2016 National Survey of Children’s Health (NSCH), found that approximately 6.1 million children (ages 2-17) have been diagnosed with AD/HD in the U.S (Danielson et al. 2018). This paper will show how the medicalization of Attention Deficit Disorder created multiple challenges for those with the disorder, particularly school age children, including misdiagnoses, the use psychoactive drugs as a

form of social control, and negative stigma of the ADD label.

DIAGNOSIS AND CRITERIA

As a result of the medicalization of ADD, a strict criteria for diagnosing a person with the disorder has evolved. Since both normal growth patterns and the symptoms of ADD consist of similar criteria, such as being energetic and impulsive, it can be easy to mislabel a child. Furthermore, teachers and parents often want to find a reason to excuse their child’s disruptive behaviors either in a classroom or at home. The ADD diagnosis can be used to explain a range of behaviors from exuberance to defiance. While the criterion at first glance may match the socially acceptable growth patterns of a child, one must look past the first layer of criteria in order to appropriately diagnose ADD.

From 1967 to 1994, psychiatrists debated the behaviors that a person needed to exhibit in order to be diagnosed with Attention Deficit Disorder. Psychiatrists carefully considered normal development in order to distinguish the boundaries of the disorder. The fifth edition of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-5)* describes three categories of the condition: inattention, hyperactivity and impulsivity, or combined. Researchers note that Attention Deficit involves the following criteria, and an individual must exhibit six or more of the following symptoms of inattention, which “persist(ing) for at least 6 months to a degree that is maladaptive and inconsistent with developmental level”; the criterion are:

1. Often fails to give close attention to detail, makes careless mistakes.
2. Often has difficulty sustaining attention in tasks or play.
3. Often does not seem to listen when spoken to directly.

4. Often does not follow through and fails to finish tasks.
5. Has difficulty organizing tasks and activities.
6. Avoids or dislikes tasks requiring sustained mental effort.
7. Often loses things necessary for tasks or activities.
8. Is often easily distracted by extraneous stimuli.
9. Is often forgetful in daily activities (“Attention-Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder” 2013).

This checklist for inattention is extremely helpful for examining an individual who may have the disorder. The criterion for ADD requires that an individual must have trouble with, “close attention, difficulty organizing, and easily distracted,” (“Attention-Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder” 2013). People within the inattentive subcategory may be unfocused, however they do not experience the hyperactivity element.

Attention Deficit Hyperactivity or Impulsive Disorder (ADHD) is defined very carefully. A person must show six or more symptoms of hyperactivity-impulsivity, “persisting for at least 6 months to a degree that is maladaptive and inconsistent with developmental level,” and the criterion are:

1. Has difficulty remaining seated when required to do so.
2. Often runs about or climbs excessively in inappropriate situations.
3. Has difficulty playing quietly.
4. Is often “on the go,” acts as if “driven by a motor.”
5. Often talks excessively.
6. Often blurts out answers to questions before they have been completed.
7. Has difficulty waiting turn.
8. Often interrupts or intrudes on others.
9. Onset of some symptoms before the age of 7.
10. Symptoms occur in two or more settings (home and school, for example).
11. Clear evidence of significant impairment in social or academic functioning.

12. Not caused by a pervasive development disorder or another other psychological disorder, including anxiety or depression (“Attention-Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder” 2013).

Similar to ADD, individuals with ADHD also struggle with sustaining focused attention. However, these individuals can be excessively impulsive and hyperactive. They, “blurt out, interrupt, and have trouble waiting their turn” (“Attention-Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder” 2013). It is important that an individual with this category of Attention Deficit Disorder is carefully examined in more than one environment, for example school and home. If a child exhibits symptoms of both ADD and ADHD, the condition is known as Combined Type. This individual will not only show six or more of the symptoms of ADD, but also demonstrate six or more symptoms of hyperactivity and impulsivity. To summarize these three categories, “Attention Deficit Disorder (ADD) is a condition in which sufferers generally appear restless or distracted and have difficulty focusing on even simple tasks,” (“Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder” 2013). The criterion for this behavioral disorder primarily focuses on a person in a social setting or school environment. All of these symptoms must be evaluated both in terms of how long they are present as well as the degree to which the symptoms are disruptive to the person’s development. However, the majority of these symptoms can be easily associated with normal childhood development patterns. In a New York Times article about childhood psychiatric conditions, Benedict Carey writes that diagnosing what is actually wrong is “more of an art than a science. Psychiatrists have no blood tests or brain scans to diagnose mental disorders. They have to make judgements based on interviews and checklists of symptoms” (Carey 2006).

MEDICALIZATION OF THE DISORDER

As the research clearly demonstrates, ADD is a specific disorder that requires cautious diagnosis and physician care. But how did children’s deviant behavior come to be a medicalized problem? According to Peter Conrad’s article *The Medicalization of Deviance*, treatment through medication was available long before the disorder was actually recognized and labeled. Conrad writes that twenty years after the discovery of

the “paradoxical effect”, meaning the effects stimulants had on deviant behavior, Laufer labeled ADHD and described its symptoms. Then, the “pharmaceutical revolution in mental health and the increased interest in child psychiatry provided a favorable background for the dissemination of knowledge about the new disorder” (Conrad 1992:40). Pharmaceutical companies put effort into promoting stimulant medication to treat ADD and ADHD; they created advertisements for Ritalin and Dexedrine which urged physicians to prescribe these medications to children with the disorder. Pharmaceutical firms also handed out packets containing information about ADHD diagnoses and treatments to physicians, which included the importance of medical treatment for their patients. These corporations and firms had a clear and vested interest in the labeling and treatment for ADD and ADHD. The humanitarian trend was an additional factor in the medicalization of ADD. The trend was that with medicalization, people could now say that a child had an illness, rather than just being viewed as disobedient and disruptive; “They are not as likely to be the ‘bad boy’ of the classroom-- they are children with a medical disorder” (Conrad 1992:42). The advancement of pharmaceutical technology, and its application related to the humanitarian trend in the conception and control of deviant behavior led to the medicalization of the behavioral and cognitive disorder.

Conrad argues however, that there were many negative consequences of medicalizing deviant behavior such as ADHD that are still present in today’s time. First, medicalizing deviant behavior highlights the fact that any decisions related to medical diagnoses and treatments are controlled completely by medical professionals. Some conditions in the medical field are in fact not actually medical problems, particularly deviant behavior such as alcoholism. If a condition becomes medical, it is removed from the public realm of discussion, thus giving medical professionals a monopoly on anything that could be labeled as an illness. The second problem of medicalizing deviant behavior is medical social control. Conrad states that “defining deviant behavior as a medical problem allows certain things to be done that could otherwise not be considered; for example the body may be cut open or psychoactive medications could be given” (Conrad 1992:42) A well-known and extreme example of this is what happened to Rosemary Kennedy. She struggled in school and was seen as “slow” and was ultimately diagnosed with “mental retardation”, which allowed physicians to perform a lobotomy

on her to “fix her problems.” If Rosemary was never diagnosed with a medical illness, then doctors and physicians would never have been allowed to perform such an extreme surgery. Thirdly, the medicalization of deviant behavior allows for the individualization of social problems; instead of looking at deviant behaviors as a problem in the social system, medicalization focuses on the individual’s diagnosis and treatment. By labeling a disruptive child with ADD or ADHD, parents and teachers may ignore the possibility that problems could lie within the structure of the social system. Giving psychoactive medications to children allows people to support existing systems and does not allow deviant behavior to be reason for change in a given social system. And lastly, deviant behavior is depoliticized when it is turned into a medical problem. When people label a child who is restless, disruptive, or inattentive with ADD or ADHD, they ignore the meaning of behavior in the context of a classroom setting. Perhaps if analyses were focused on a school system, one would see that a child’s deviant behavior was simply a symptom of some defect in the school situation, rather than a symptom of an individual’s cognitive disorder (Conrad 1992:42-43). Despite these four negative consequences of medicalizing deviant behavior, medical treatment of ADD and ADHD has become the most prominent and effective means of the disorders’ social control.

SOCIAL CONTROL

There are two primary methods through which society attempts to control ADD: building social skills and meta-cognitive strategies, and medication. According to the 2016 National Survey of Children’s Health (NSCH), “approximately two thirds of children with current ADHD (62.0%) were currently taking medication for their ADHD, and slightly less than half (46.7%) had received behavioral treatment for ADHD during the previous 12 months” (Danielson et al 2018). Drug treatment is clearly the more common way to control the disorder because medication helps the brain sustain attention however, it does not teach the habits needed to conform to societal norms.

There are several instructional techniques to help an individual cope with Attention Deficit Disorder. Metacognitive strategies teach a patient to think about what they are doing; these are strategies that help a student understand the way he or she learns.

LABELING AND STIGMA

For example, graphic organizers help an individual layout his or her ideas on paper (See appendix one, Dawson 2009:152). This technique, and others like it, address the issues of organization and forgetfulness. In addition, learning how to set goals is important for an individual with ADD. Metacognitive strategies include learning to think aloud, or finding specific strategies for taking notes. Another technique is forming new habits. Students with ADD may not have experienced the feeling of being organized and staying on task. Helpful strategies might include learning to manage time, creating mnemonics, knowing how long one can sit at a task, and taking breaks between assignments. Lastly, learning how to form friendships is extremely important for a person with ADD. Treatment in this area might include joining a social skills group where kids learn the language of social exchanges, and how to manage their emotions (Miller 2010). Despite the fact that cognitive and social skill building as a form of social control of ADD is critical, drug treatment is the still most common way to combat the disorder.

Conrad writes, “Psychoactive drugs, especially those legally prescribed, tend to restrain individuals from behavior and experiences that are not complementary to the requirements of the dominant value system” (Conrad 1992:19). The different medications given to patients with ADD, such as Adderall, Vyvanse, and Ritalin, fall within the stimulant category. Stimulant drugs speed up the brain’s neural activity and increase the speed of bodily functions. While it may seem paradoxical to give an already unfocused and hyperactive person more stimulation, the medication helps balance the individual’s mind. Persons with ADD have increased levels of dopamine. The medication helps the area in the brain of activated dopamine to fill in gaps in the neurotransmitters. Stimulant medication allows an individual to receive the right amount of neurotransmitters. Although medication is one way to help calm and keep an individual focused, some difficulties have been reported. For example, people who take the medication may experience negative side effects such as headaches, difficulties going to sleep, and loss of appetite. Another negative consequence of using medication as a means of social control is the stigma that is generated for those taking psychoactive drugs, as well as the stigma that is generated for those labeled with the medical disorder of ADD.

Some people believe that if a child’s disruptive behavior is labeled as a medical problem, there is less condemnation of the deviant (i.e. they have a illness, it is not their fault) and thus less social stigma, however that is not always the case. For instance, *ADHD & Me*, by Blake Taylor, is the first book of a young person’s account of what it’s like to live and grow up with ADHD. He writes, “Those of us with ADHD may have an undeserved reputation for being the cause of all trouble, and so we are often the scapegoats” (Taylor 2008:126). Once a person is diagnosed with ADD, he or she is labeled by the deviant characteristics of his or her behavioral disability. According to Becker’s labeling theory, being labeled as deviant causes a drastic change in one’s public identity; he or she becomes viewed as a different person than the one he or she is expected to be, and then is treated accordingly (Becker 2012:44). Several studies surrounding people’s perceptions about students labeled with ADD and ADHD support Becker’s theory.

The article “Stigma in Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder” finds that “ADHD-diagnosed children are overall less favored as friends by peers and acknowledged as highly disturbing in the class environment, making it likely that prejudices associated with the diagnostic label increase” (Mueller et al. 2012). It is common for people who are hyperactive to have difficulty in making and maintaining friendships. These children have difficulty managing and modulating their emotions; they tend to become easily frustrated and over-reactive. They are often ostracized or rejected from groups, which in turn starts a downward cycle of acting out to get attention or being a class clown; consequently, they miss out on learning how to develop long lasting friendships. In Blake Taylor’s personal account of ADHD he writes that, “Everyone wants to have friends, but making friends is hard for kids with ADHD....I was so insecure about my ADHD that I had a hard time making friends. I was afraid that my ADHD behaviors would get in the way, and they did” (Taylor 2008:73). Unfortunately, kids with ADD exhibit deviant behaviors that make it hard to get along with others. A study conducted by Stephen Hinshaw, a UC Berkeley professor and researcher found that, “those with ADHD were lower on social preference, higher on social impact, less well liked, and more often in the rejected social status category; they also had fewer dyadic friends” (Hinshaw 2005:411-423).

Parents of school aged children typically have negative views of children labeled with ADD/ADHD. A study cited in Mueller et al. found that “around 25% of the respondents [adults] did not want ‘their child to make friends with a child with ADHD’ and around 20% expressed clearly that they do not want to engage with a child presenting behavior typically seen in ADHD” (Mueller et al. 2012). This is because of the negative stigma associated with ADD; they are viewed as disruptive, inattentive, oftentimes aggressive, disobedient, and lacking in willpower. With these negative behavioral characteristics, it is not uncommon for parents to treat those with the disorder differently and have negative biases towards them. Unfortunately, a child’s public identity can easily become defined by their deviant behavior. Consequently, public-stigma frequently results in negative self-stigma.

As a result of being labeled with a medical disorder, not only does one’s public identity change, but one’s self-identity often changes as well. Researcher Rüsçh and colleagues suggest that, “individuals diagnosed with a mental disorder may begin to share in the negative stereotyping that accompanies the disorder, leading to increased emotional impairment and negative self-image (i.e., self-stigma)” (Rüsçh et al. 2005). In particular, the fact that ADD and ADHD can cripple academic performance tends to lead to more negative self-stigma. For example, students who have the disorder might say things such as, “I am not cut out for school” or “I just can’t make it.” The stigma that is then created around their lower school performances often corrupts their motivation to the point that they want to entirely give up on being successful. Research has also shown that medical control plays an enormous role in the self-perceptions of those with ADD. Muller et al. discuss that the stigmatizing belief surrounding the long-term and immediate consequences of ADD medication. The researchers state that taking ADD medication can lead to feelings of being different from peers; *Why am I taking medication and my friends are not?* The study also states, “As revealed by Clarke (1997), ADHD-diagnosed children expressed stigmatizing beliefs concerning negative side effects of ADHD medication that clearly contributed to discomfort and dysfunctional self-perceptions (low self-esteem)” (Mueller et al. 2012). Research shows that alarmingly high numbers of children with ADHD report personality changes due to their medication intake. These changes can include being less interested in social interactions or not feeling like oneself when

being on the medication. As a result, these experiences can lead to negative emotional and personal development, including isolation from peers.

CONCLUSION

The ever growing diagnosis of Attention Deficit Disorder, resulting from medicalizing the problem of inattention, has generated stigma for those labeled with ADD. Treatment is not simple. Medication alone is not a complete answer. Through an evaluation, it is important to understand which areas of attention are impacted. Students need to learn how to live with their disorder and not let it impair their quality of life. However, that is not easy when one has a disorder which is based on their deviant behaviors. Blake Taylor writes, “I’m afraid that I won’t be accepted for who I am. Being afraid of not being accepted keeps me from going out there to begin with” (Taylor 2008: 97). Despite some of the consequences of medicalizing a child’s deviant behavior as a mental illness, the medicalization of ADD has created a careful diagnosis of the disorder which has been extremely helpful for many reasons. Being diagnosed with ADD assists individuals because they have an explanation for their problems, they can seek treatment, and learn how to utilize their strengths and overcome their challenges. A diagnosis helps teachers and family members to better understand the person’s full set of challenges rather than labeling him or her as lazy or lacking in motivation. By diagnosing an individual accurately, society can be enriched by the talents of people who might otherwise dropout from endeavoring to fulfill their dreams. Doctors Edward Hallowell and John Ratey, renowned experts on ADHD say that, “the best way to think of ADHD is not as a mental disorder but as a collection of traits and tendencies that define a way of being in the world” (Hallowell et al. 2005:5). Hallowell and Ratey go on to say, “ADHD is common among creative and intuitive people in all fields and among highly energetic, interesting, productive people” (Hallowell et al. 2005). The traits that make it difficult for a child can also become a gift as an adult.

DAILY HOMEWORK PLANNER						
Date:						
Subject/assignment	Do I have all the materials?	Do I need help?	Who will help me?	How long will it take?	When will I start?	Done (✓)
	Yes No <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	Yes No <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>				
	Yes No <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	Yes No <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>				
	Yes No <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	Yes No <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>				
	Yes No <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	Yes No <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>				
	Yes No <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	Yes No <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>				
	Yes No <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	Yes No <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>				

From *Smart but Scattered* by Peg Dawson and Richard Guare. Copyright 2009 by The Guilford Press.

Daily Homework Planner (Dawson & Guare 2009)

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Who Screams for Ice Cream? The Influence of Class, Gender, and Nutrition on the History of Ice Cream

Kristine Dizon

A simple blend of velvety cream, an array of flavorings, and a touch of sweetener churns up the ever popular, frozen dessert, ice cream. It has its own distinct name and style depending on where you are located in world, from gelato in Italy to Roomijis in the Netherlands to helado in Mexico. American ice cream in its own right was created from European influences along with American technologies and methods for ice cream making. American ice cream culture, as with any booming industry, had many social and cultural effects on society and its consumers. Through the perspectives of class, gender, and nutrition, I will examine how ice cream has served as a marker of social identity over time, a commodity as a result of the industrialization of sugar, and as a contested object regarding health claims.

HISTORY

The base to many sweets, especially ice cream, is sugar. In 1689, the first American sugar refinery was constructed in New York City (Woloson p 3). This contributed to the growing demand for refined sugar in the 18th century as, “even the most humble substance was transformed into a special treat by adding sugar” (p 2). Sugar was seen as a rare, expensive substance at the time, and special confectioneries made treats for only the wealthy to indulge in.

This industry continued to grow and by 1840, there were over 40 refineries across the country. Technological advancements like steam power, granulating machines, and vacuum pans refined sugar more efficiently (p 4). However, the majority of raw sugar had to be imported from other countries as the US was not at the same level of advancement in terms of growing sugar. It was not until “the United States’ growing involvement with the Sandwich Islands that helped provide sugar sources that were closer to home,” which in turn fed the sweet tooth Americans had developed, and helped increase the consumption of sugar (p 7, see Figure 1, Appendix). As refined sugar became inexpensive and more easily accessible, ‘America’s fun food’ had “the

ability to stimulate fantasies and satiate appetites which was fairly unique among the commodities of the time” (p 11). This history of sugar in the United States is essential in understanding the emergence and cultural significance of one of America’s guilty pleasures.

The earliest form of an ice cream-like, frozen dairy product is argued to be traced back to China as early the 12th century AD. European countries including Italy, Germany, and France began experimenting with these desserts when Marco Polo carried recipes over from Asia in the 13th century (Marshall p 2). After discovering that salt helped rapidly freeze liquids with ice and that dairy could be sweetened with honey, different manuscripts describing the process of making ice cream were published. A French manuscript titled, *The Art of Making Frozen Desserts*, not only gave simple recipes but included “theological and philosophical explanations for phenomena such as the freezing of water,” and called frozen desserts as ‘food fit for the gods’ (Marshall p 3). This was one of the first points that suggested a link between class status and dessert, as only the wealthy could afford foods thought to be worthy enough for the gods. There are many stories and urban legends argued to be the creation of American ice cream, such as Martha Washington eating a bowl of frozen sweet cream she had originally left outside on her porch for stray animals. In reality, the first documented account of eating ice cream in the US dates back to May 19, 1744. William Black, a Scottish colonist who arranged land deals with Thomas Bladen, the governor of Maryland, wrote in his journal about the lavish meals he had while visiting in America (Funderberg p 3). Black recounted the scene as he remembered it,

“a table in the most splendid manner set out with great variety of dishes, all served up in the most elegant way, after which came a dessert no less curious; among the rarities of which it was composed, was some fine ice cream which, with the strawberries and milk, eat most deliciously” (Funderberg p 4).

This historical point further supports the concept of ice cream as a luxury as it was served at a governor's estate and was depicted as a top tier commodity.

At the end of the 18th century, the popular London-style pleasure gardens emerged in American cities starting with New York City. These were places for the working class to have refreshments and take a break from the summer heat. Ice cream was the perfect treat that was reminiscent of the heavens – light, airy, and cool, which fit the atmosphere of the beautiful garden scenery (see Figure 2&3, Appendix). Guests that reveled in the dessert saw it as a “form of human ambrosia,” which further referenced the gods (Woloson p 134). The spaces were also popular because it gave the working-class access to the well-loved dessert. Most of them could not afford to buy ice cream from a fancy confectioner's shop, but one did not need to be well-off to enjoy a scoop at a garden. In contrast to the luxurious ice cream previously mentioned, this point shows that cheaper ice cream options were available to cater to the cravings of the public at all incomes. One pleasure garden owner, Joseph Delacroix, saw his space as an area for men and women to socialize. He decorated the site with an array of flowers, hired musicians play to live music, and included areas for children to play in hopes of attracting more women to come to the usually male-dominated public place (Funderberg p 9). Other businessmen followed Delacroix's lead to open ice cream parlors and shops that encouraged women to frequent, which was difficult as women were expected to stay inside the church or their private homes at all times, and were often shamed for eating out in public (p 10).

As their efforts persisted, “it took years to change society's attitudes about women eating in restaurants, [but] pleasure gardens were instrumental in this change because they created a wholesome atmosphere that welcomed the entire family” (p 10). This marked a shift in what was considered culturally acceptable regarding who ate ice cream and the freedom women gained in the social sphere.

Near the end of the 19th century, wholesale manufacturing of ice cream was a booming business. Many of the companies formed at this time continue to be some of the most notable ice cream companies today. William Breyer of Breyer's Ice Cream opened a small shop in Philadelphia in 1882 (Marshall p 4). After much success, he established his first plant in 1896

to keep up with the demands. By 1914, Breyer's sold over one million gallons of ice cream and continued to expand their plants throughout the East Coast. In 1993, Unilever, an Anglo-Dutch company giant bought Breyer's Ice Cream, and combined it with the Gold Bond-Good Humor Ice Cream Company to create what is known today as the Good Humor-Breyers Ice Cream Company (Marshall p 4). They were the number one selling ice cream and frozen dessert company in 2000 and continue to be one of the top-selling firms in the present. Another best-selling brand, Dreyer's, also named Edy's Grand Ice Cream - East of the Rocky Mountains in honor of co-founder Joseph Edy, became the top seller of packaged ice cream in 1994 (Marshall p 5). Their best-selling flavor is their creation of the well-loved classic, Rocky Road – luscious chocolate ice cream with crunchy walnuts and mini marshmallows. These were only a couple of the prominent businesses that formed around this time whose impacts are still made known today.

By the start of World War II, ice cream made its presence as an American symbol. The creamy, cold satisfaction of the dessert made US soldiers yearn for it everywhere they went, boosting spirits as they were stationed for long period of time (Funderberg p 2). Some may even find it surprising that, “Dictator Benito Mussolini of Italy thought ice cream ‘too American’ and banned its sale in Italy” to prevent associating with the US (Marshall p 6). American ice cream was known worldwide, and other forms of the frozen dessert became popular too, like individual ice cream sandwiches, cones, and other frozen novelties. The demand has continued today with the rise of Dairy Queen and Tastee Freez's low-fat, soft serve, in addition to the success of chains such as Baskin Robbins, Haagen-Dazs, and Ben & Jerry's. Throughout the history of American ice cream, the growth and demand for the frozen goods reflected and influenced the change in social norms.

ANALYSIS

In early American ice cream culture, it was clear that there were class distinctions of who had the privilege to eat it. While sugar was scarce and the frozen product was primarily sold by elaborate shops, only wealthy families and prominent figures, such as those with government roles, were able to enjoy it. It was not until the rise of the manufacturing industry and the creation of packaged

products that the urban poor were able to “buy cheap, often unsanitary ice cream from street vendors and consumed it on the spot while the more affluent classes ate fancy molded ice cream at home” (Funderberg p 1). In the present, cheap, frozen novelties like the Eskimo Pie and the Good Humor Bar are just as popular today as they were when they were first introduced.

However, today’s ice cream culture also includes what is called artisanal or craft ice cream. Common traits of craft ice cream are small batch, handmade, and high quality in terms of ingredients. When ice cream is marketed this way, it is often attached to a higher price per scoop, often \$4–\$5 for a single scoop. One New York Times article called this type of ice cream “an affordable luxury” that is justified because “people understand that things done by hand cost more” (Moskin). It is fairly easy to comprehend why ice cream was costlier in the early years of ice cream making because of the lack of equipment, inefficient technology, and shortage of ingredients. However, when there is more advanced equipment now than ever before, is it still worth the high price? Current ice cream makers debate over the how these prices should be determined as,

“Dairy technology has advanced to a point that consumers often can’t tell the difference. Expensive ice cream is often described as ‘artisanal’ or ‘house-made,’ but neither term has a meaningful definition as relates to ice cream. An ‘artisanal’ gelato shop might only be adding water to a dry dairy mix somewhere on the premises” (Moskin).

This brings up an important point about the way ice cream is marketed to the public. Because these terms started associating with the frozen treat, it became trendy and ‘hip’ as people automatically assumed it must be better than plain-old ice cream from Baskin Robbins. However, if ice cream shops truly claim to be hand-made and offer superior ice cream, it highlights how much emphasis is placed on the quality of ingredients today compared to a couple centuries ago. Old ice cream recipes stated that cream could be flavored with whatever fruits, syrups, and spices one had on hand, just like how any small-batch shop works with local dairy farms for their milk and cream (Funderberg p 31). Artisanal shops go even further and are often dedicated on sourcing fair trade coffee and cocoa, as well as creating unique flavor combinations to excite the masses. The popular Portland-based ice cream shop, Salt & Straw, stresses the importance of ‘farm-to-cone’

products and brags about using ingredients located close to its many shops that have expanded to Los Angeles, San Diego, and San Francisco, meaning each location’s flavors varies based on the ingredients available locally. Whether consumers purchase craft ice cream because it exudes a taste of the high life or because it simply tastes that great, it speaks about how social identity has changed over time and how it has been marketed towards society.

The role that ice cream played in defining and changing what groups can eat in the public sphere is also an important area of analysis. Women could not eat in restaurants or have social lives outside of the home and church prior to the growth of the dessert. When James Thompson opened an ice cream parlor ran by his sisters in hopes of making it a female-friendly environment, it was still difficult to attract women to come in “because it was not considered ladylike to eat in public,” unless accompanied by a man (Funderberg p 9). They were confined to the domestic sphere, where they assumed the position of housekeeper, caregiver, and head of the household. While there are no doubts women have long been treated subordinately to men in US history, many did not know something as trivial, or seen as trivial in present society, such as eating in public, was socially forbidden. Women today do not have to think twice about going to a restaurant, or feel like they need to order food to-go and take it to the privacy of their home in fear of being judged. The welcoming atmospheres of ice cream shops and pleasure gardens contributed to these changing outlooks about women being liberated and free to eat where they want.

While the ice cream industry rapidly grew and evolved, automated equipment and increased efficiency gave rise to a new kind of low-fat, soft serve ice cream. Soft serve was the star for chains such as Dairy Queen, Carvel, and Tastee Freeze. It offered a lighter, lower-calorie alternative to ice cream that was just as creamy and cold. By 1950, almost 1,500 Dairy Queen locations were established across America (Marshall p 6). While they continue to sell millions of “Blizzards” every year, the industry for low-calorie, frozen dairy replacements for full fat ice cream is in growing demand in today’s market. Michael Shoretz, the CEO for Enlightened ice cream, says that their ‘better for you’ sloganed bars “have one-third the calories, 75% less sugar, and twice the amount of protein of regular ice cream” (Morrissey). He argues that consumers today are looking at nutrition labels and watching out for their health more than ever

before, which is why he thinks ice cream alternatives are the future of the ice cream industry. Similar brands like Arctic Zero and Halo Top also market their products with the notion that people can eat an entire pint of their ice cream for the same number of calories as a single serving of traditional ice cream, such as Haagen-Dazs or Ben & Jerry's. However, many consumers agree that low-fat, high-protein dairy products do not taste as rich and creamy as full fat ice cream. One article that studied consumer's perception of seven different ice cream concepts, traditional, light, zero fat, zero sugar, fiber-enriched, protein-enriched, and omega 3-enriched, found that light, zero fat, and zero sugar ice creams were associated with the loss of sensory quality like taste and texture (Da Silva p 165). Traditional ice cream was associated with being sweet, high calorie, and seen as a guilty pleasure. These thoughts on classic versus light ice cream raises the argument whether or not it is better to be able to eat more of a low-calorie product or simply eat full fat products in moderation. Halo Top's marketing of being able to eat a whole pint in one sitting without feeling 'food-guilt' may contribute to American culture of eating larger portions of food instead of teaching society that you can indulge and consume high-calorie food every once in a while, all while living a healthy lifestyle overall. In the study, fiber, protein, and omega 3-enriched ice creams were associated with improving health and having a higher

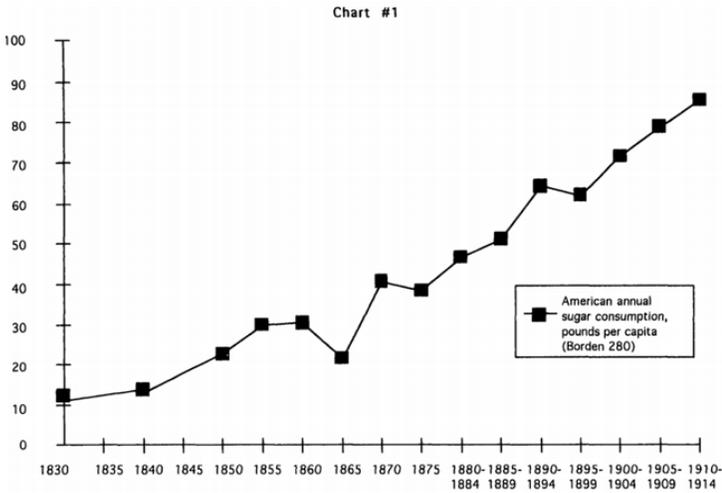
price tag (Da Silva p 167). While these 'healthy' alternatives use their added vitamins and nutrients as their selling points, consumers often do not fully understand why they need fiber, protein, or omega-3. Even if they do have an understanding, why not consume these nutrients from whole fruits, vegetables, and protein instead of from processed frozen dairy products? This is a contested issue that continues to raise debates as even classic ice cream brands such as Breyer's and Ben & Jerry's start to enter the alternative ice cream competition (see Figure 4 & 5 Appendix). Another common marketing angle for low-calorie ice creams are that they are dairy-free, which can be debated as another 'foodie' trend to attract consumers.

The impact ice cream has had as a marker of social identity, a commodity out of the sugar business, and as a contested subject among foodies contributed to the significance the dessert has had in American history. These concepts and ideas help to better understand the subjects we have learned as it gives concrete examples to how class and gender relations impacted the who, where, and what in regard to ice cream. Next time you enjoy a dollar Choco Taco or treat yourself to a \$5 scoop of craft ice cream on a freshly-made waffle cone for a dollar extra, savor in what events led up to make that moment possible, and how different it would have been to enjoy ice cream in the 18th or 19th century.

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APPENDIX



Camden, June 11th, 1819.
VAUXHALL GARDEN.
 THE PROPRIETOR OF THIS GARDEN,
 MR. JOSEPH LETOURNO,

HAS the honor to return his thanks for the many favors which he has received, from the Ladies and Gentlemen of the city of Philadelphia and Camden, and hopes by strict attention, to merit the patronage of a generous public. He informs them that the Garden has been fitted up, this spring, in a very neat and handsome style.

Ladies and Gentlemen can be accommodated with the best COFFEE, CHOCOLATE, TEA, and all sorts of RELISHES, including OYSTERS, cooked to order; also, CAKES and ICE CREAM of every kind — DINNERS for parties will be served up at any hour, at a short notice.

He also informs them that the Steam Boat *Monette*, has commenced running from Market street, Camden, to Heppord's ferry, a few doors above Market street, Philadelphia, and will continue running every day until 10 o'clock in the evening.

Those who wish to avail themselves of the advantage of quarterly tickets, either single or for their families, will please to apply at the bar in the garden, or at Spark's, on the wharf, or the captain on board.

Single ferrage at 6½ cents.

June 16



(From upper left) Figure 1: Woloson. Figure 2: An English pleasure garden. Figure 3: Woloson - an ad for Vauxhall in Philadelphia. Figure 4: Ben & Jerry's Light Ice Cream. Figure 5: Breyer's DeLights "20g of protein per pint"

Gendered Divorce Adjustment: Increased Mental Health in Women

Kristi Mikami

INTRODUCTION

Since the 1970's divorce has been a major part of American society. Today, over half of all first marriages now end in divorce. This has created a categorical group of people in the United States – the divorced. Scholars have studied the divorce phenomena for quite some time now, however there is still much to be learned and understood about the effects of divorce. One such area that needs further study is the post-divorce adjustment outcome differences between men and women. Many scholars have found that women objectively fair worse after a divorce due to traditional gender roles where the husband is the breadwinner. Scholars have argued: the loss of this financial support, the loss of health care that is attributed with her ex-husband's work, along with women traditionally being given full custody of their children, and forced relocation after divorce all work together to disenfranchise many divorced women. However, recent studies have found conflicting views to this previously widely held view that women are worse off after divorce. Taking research from many studies on divorced individuals, this article presents and analyzes the theories that attempt to answer the question, why are there gendered differences in divorce adjustment with regard to mental health? In the struggle with the loss of a marriage and the change in roles and status after divorce, research shows that due to gender role socialization and the traditional gender roles present in American society, women are equipped with better social and emotional capital to fair better overall in divorce adjustment. Although the aforementioned immediate stressors such as income loss, health insurance loss, and forced relocation often cause acute stress in women's lives, men's lack of social capital and positive emotional coping mechanisms can severely undermine their ability to adjust as positively long term as women after a divorce.

BACKGROUND ON DIVORCE

There has been a steady increase of divorces in the US starting around 1910. The high number of marriages ending in divorce and the at times alarming rate at which divorces have risen has been a topic of research for quite some time now. Although recent divorce numbers have slowly decreased since their peak in the 1980s, the United States still has an extremely high divorce rate when compared to other developed countries. There are a few factors that scholars have attributed to the rise of divorce in the US. The first being the legalization of Family Court, prior to the 1950's any couple seeking a divorce was required to go through the traditional federal legal system. Second and possibly the change that is most attributed to the high divorce rates in the US, was the creation of unilateral no-fault divorce law, or what is often referred to as divorce due to "irreconcilable differences." Starting in 1969, California paved the way for unilateral divorce law, with the rest of the US following suit in the 1970's and early 1980's. Prior to the enactment of unilateral divorce law, marriages could only be terminated for reasons such as bigotry, adultery, and impotence. These changes to the overall process of getting a divorce, along with a changing education landscape where women increasingly attend college and go on to masters and doctoral programs, and women's large entrance into the workforce provide insight into the US's extremely high divorce rate. Additionally, some scholars have noted that the changing societal landscape of western countries such as the US may have added to the increasing divorce rates. Amato (2012) explains this Second Demographic Transition (SDT), as the demographic changes such as the prevalence of divorce in the US are seen as the manifestation of a long-term shift in culture. With the major theme underlying this shift being an increase in individualism, or the freedom to seek happiness and self-fulfillment outside of traditional norms and existing social structures. Thus, the growth of individualism and egalitarianism can be understood as one of the reasons leading to the growth of divorce (Amato

2012).

It should not be overlooked that divorce is a major life change. Aside from the death of a partner or serious illness, divorce can be the biggest stressor for an individual in adulthood (Steenbergen Richmond & Hendrickson Christensen 2001). Also, along with divorce often come many negative effects such as a decrease in overall health and psychological health. Studying the differences in adjustment to divorce is important because of the large number of Americans going through the process yearly. Although not definitive numbers, in the 21st century, the Center for Disease Control (CDC) had recorded no less than 800,000 divorces in a year until 2016, and as many as 955,000. In 2017, the government census recorded 999,845 males getting divorced, and 1,117,499 females getting divorced. With close to a million divorces annually, a large group of individuals are left susceptible to poor mental health. With one of the most common effects of divorce being depression, the top cause of disability in the US, looking at the differences in mental health outcomes between genders, and understanding why the differences arise, helps give people the information they need to take the necessary steps to deter negative mental health after divorce.

EFFECTS OF DIVORCE

Differences in divorce outcomes are heterogeneous both between the sexes and within the sexes; however overall, there are female typical and male typical effects of and ways of coping with divorce. In the short-term, women often lose income and or housing. Women also often go through immense mourning after the dissolution of a marriage. Many studies have found that women are usually the initiator of divorce, or at least indicate that the woman was the one who wanted the divorce. Sayer et al. (2011) and England et al. (2016) find that women are the one who want and initiate divorce in two of three marital dissolutions. Since women are the majority of divorce initiators, it has been found that they can go through immense stress and depression in the short term due to where they are in the mourning process. As initiators they are aware that there are problems with their marriage, and in most cases have been working on finding a solution to their problems before they initiate the divorce. If they cannot find a solution, women often begin the mourning of their

divorce before their marriage officially ends. Additionally, since women often initiate divorce, they go through separation guilt more. Women often feel guiltier about the damage of their divorce on their children and/or about their own abandonment of societal definitions of being a good parent or spouse (Baum 2006). On a positive note, women also report an increase in autonomy immediately after divorce. They are starting a new life, with a new identity in which they are in charge. Bevvino and Sharkin (2003) find that women frequently characterized a positive consequence of their divorce as the change in their identity, and the new opportunities they had for growth and development.

Men also experience varying effects of divorce in the short-term. One common effect is that males go into shock due to being blindsided by divorce (Baum, 2003). With more females initiating divorce, this effect is understandable, however it can have extremely negative implications for their mental health. In the short-term after divorce many men experience depression, disbelief, and denial. Diedrick (1991) finds that after divorce men report an increase in suicidal thoughts. To cope with the depression symptoms and to mourn their marriage, men also tend to respond post-divorce with an increase in activity, somatization, and or self-medication with alcohol and drugs (Baum, 2003). Along with this, many men replace their spouse quickly with other sexual partners, and engage in frantic social activity (Baum 2003). These negative coping mechanisms along with the denial of an individuals situation may also intensify the awareness of the loss of a male's main social support, his spouse. Further, McManus and DiPrete (2001) find that in the short-term many men report higher per capita income as the size of their household usually decreases after a divorce.

Varying gendered effects of divorce also continue in the long-term. Women tend to focus on decreasing attachment from their marital partner and increase their communication and friendship networks. Diedrick (1991) finds that women prefer greater distance in interactions with their former spouse, are less apt to profess any love or longingness for their former spouse, and want decreased contact with their former spouse over time. Women also tend to utilize social supports and friendship networks to communicate their emotions on their divorce. Further, after a divorce women are thrust into a new role, where they pick up an additional masculine identity as sole provider. Diedrick (1991) finds that this masculine identity may lead to higher

self-esteem for women; as they see their new role as providing them with an improved quality of life and can add to their overall familial involvement as they are no longer only head of household. Along with this, women often report an increased life satisfaction and autonomy. For example, Sheets and Braver (1996) found that even women who only received satisfactory divorce settlements still report high satisfaction in all five areas of the study. They attribute this to the greater perceived control women gain after divorce. Lorenz et al. (2006) study how the crisis model and the chronic stress model may affect overall health after divorce. The crisis model of stress views divorce as a disturbance that most people recover from and the chronic stress model views divorce as causing a major role change that ushers in new levels of chronic stress that impedes healthy divorce adjustment. With women reporting increased health in the extended period after divorce (lower than married women, but higher than initial period after divorce) Lorenz et al. (2006) conclude that more women appear to follow the crisis model during divorce rather than the chronic stress model.

On the other hand, the long-term effects of divorce for males do not appear to be as positive. In the long-term most males struggle to find social support. Most males do not turn to other males for emotional support during difficult times, and thus the absence of their spouse is greatly intensified. Diedrick (1991) finds that men sometimes experience a decrease in self-esteem after divorce because the new roles they take on are more feminine in nature such as head of household. As head of household they gain no social status and have more typically feminine tasks to do such as cooking and cleaning. This new role and the tasks that it entails run directly contrary to the historically valued patriarchal ideal of masculinity. Some men also report an increase in financial satisfaction (Sheets and Braver 1996). On the other hand McManus and DiPrete (2001) find evidence that suggests the financial burden after divorce is slowly increasing for men. The majority of men after divorce are “losers” with a core of a few “winners.” Additionally, many men report depression and chronic illness after divorce. Diedrick (1991) reports that men may have more suicidal thoughts and low self-esteem compared to married men, with these effects possibly having a lasting effect. The fact that men perceive the institution of divorce as unequal and unfair may also add to their negative mental health (Sheets and Braver 1996).

ADJUSTMENT THEORIES

Adjustment to divorce can be a long and extremely difficult process. Studies have found that divorce adjustment starts before an individual has even filed for divorce, with evidence that most people contemplate divorce on an average of five years prior to actually leaving (Bevino and Sharkin 2003). Wang and Amato (2000) propose a model that divorce should be seen as a process that unfolds over months and even years. “Divorce also means the loss of benefits associated with marriage. For many people, marriage provides emotional support, companionship, a regular sexual partner, and economic security,” (Amato 2012, p. 10). Thus, many of the disadvantages of being divorced reflect the absence of a stable and satisfying intimate relationship. How is it then that people adjust to divorce, what are the factors that lead to a successful adjustment after divorce?

One theory of divorce adjustment is coined the “escape hypothesis.” Kalmijn and Monden (2006) explain that the hypothesis assumes that in people with poor marriages, divorce will have less of a negative, or even a positive effect on well-being. The hypothesis posits that people who divorce from unsatisfactory or unfair marriages, experience smaller increases in depression than those who divorce from more satisfactory and more fair marriages. Kalmijn and Monden (2006) use this approach to ask whether the type of marriage one divorces from, can lead divorce to have both negative and positive effects on health? Although there is a considerable amount of heterogeneity in the effects of divorce, the researchers focus on quality of marriage as a predictor of divorce outcomes. Their research question was, “are the consequences of divorce for a person’s well-being less negative when the quality of the (preceding) marriage was low?” (Kalmijn and Monden 2006, p. 1198).

The three effects of divorce they look at are: the crisis effect, divorce as the end of a supportive partner relationship and a loss of a resource, and the notion that divorce can be a relief from marital problems. The third effect was the most relevant to their study, based on the theory that if problems in marriage can have a negative effect on health, the ending of a problematic marriage should alleviate some of those negative effects, bringing some sort of emotional or physical relief. Relief after a divorce can have a lasting effect because people can

remain removed from the problematic relationship. Additionally, the researchers discuss the interaction effect, the situation in which all three effects interact with each other. Explaining:

For people who are in a good marriage, a divorce means a crisis and a loss of a resource, adding up to a decline in well-being. For people who are in a poor marriage, however, there will be both negative and positive effects of divorce. On the one hand, they will experience the negative crisis and loss effect, but they will also experience a relief effect. If the relief effect is relatively weak, the overall decline in well-being will be less negative. If the relief effect is strong, the change in well-being can be positive... (Kalmijn and Monden 2006, p. 1199).

The researchers refer to the interaction effect as the escape hypothesis, and make distinctions between strong and weak versions of the hypothesis. The researchers also consider the role of gender in the escape hypothesis, and expect that the interaction effect will be stronger in women. The study cited that women more often escape from unhappy marriages than men. However, this does not imply that the interaction effect will be different for women than for men. They used this understanding on the effects of divorce to measure well-being in terms of depressive symptoms.

Using national panel data, and analyzing 550 respondents who experienced a divorce or separation from a marriage, the results of the Kalmijn and Monden (2006) study imply that the overall evidence for the escape hypothesis is weak. The interaction effect of marital satisfaction and divorce is significant only for females and the full sample, with the greater the degree of marital satisfaction, the greater the increase in depressive symptoms. However, the results for males were not statistically significant. This is also the case for fairness toward the respondent, the fairer the marriage was, the more depressive symptoms people experienced after divorce. The interaction for men was similar, however not statistically significant. For the negative indicator marital conflicts, there was no statistical significance. Interestingly, for verbal marital aggression the interaction effect was positive, indicating that people who divorce from a marriage plagued with verbal aggression experience a stronger increase in depressive symptoms than people who divorce from marriage without the presence of verbal aggression. This runs in direct contrast to the escape hypothesis. Accordingly,

the interaction of marital physical aggression was also positive, however it was significant only for women. Women who divorce from a marriage where physical aggression was present experience a greater increase in depressive symptoms than women who divorce from a marriage not characterized by physical aggression. This result also runs in contrast the escape hypothesis. Thus, although the evidence suggests women may be more susceptible to depression after divorce, there is not sufficient evidence to use the interaction effect as an explanation for the gender differences in well-being after divorce. One possible explanation for this is that there are still conflicts that affect well-being that linger after a divorce.

Another theory that attempts to explain the gender differences in divorce adjustment is based on gender role socialization and how this plays into self-esteem after divorce. The gender roles that American society likens each gender with affect the self-esteem of individuals after divorce. Firstly, the higher value society has placed on the expectation for altruism and more emotional sensibility for females from a young age, leaves men vulnerable to a lack of emotional awareness and possibly can lessen their ability to be aware of the state of their relationship compared to women. This often manifests itself in the differential awareness of the breakdown of marriage, where women tend to be aware that their marriage is in trouble long before their husbands (Baum 2003). Diedrick (1991) finds that prior to divorce women desperately try to hold together their marriage but at the same time note the hopelessness of their efforts. This may reflect the degree to which men are unaware of marital problems and is exacerbated by the fact that many men are unaware of even the possibility of divorce prior to the decision being made. Further, when listing reasons for divorce, women point to more specific problems, while men commonly report a lack of knowledge concerning reasons for the divorce, or that their wives left to gain freedom. The same emphasis on altruism and emotionality that helps women to be aware of the state of their marriage, may mislead men to believe that divorce is not an option. With women traditionally assuming the expressive role in the family, the misconnection between men and women may also be due to a conflict women face between altruism and emotional honesty in marriage, while simultaneously expressing the emotional distress that her husband is also going through. With two thirds of divorces initiated by women, men may not actually know that

there are problems in their marriage, or women may be so primed to make their marriages work, that men's lack of emotionality is only partly to blame for the misconnect or misunderstanding on the state of their marriage.

Going along with this, initiator status is also associated with better overall divorce adjustment. There is a general consensus that the divorce experience is more difficult for non-initiators than initiators. Wang and Amato (2000) suggest that holding positive views about a divorce is more common in the initiator than in the spouse who is left behind. Baum (2006) explains:

non-initiators tend to feel victims in a life change they did not want or were unsure they wanted, that they had little or no control over the change; and that they tend to feel rejected. It also shows that non-initiators have greater difficulty accepting the divorce and handling its losses than initiators. Several scholars suggest that non-initiators may find it especially difficult to fully terminate the relationship and to redefine their identity as a divorced person... (p. 47).

With men initiating far fewer divorces, it makes sense that they would fare worse overall in divorce adjustment. Additionally, Sayer et al. (2011) find that a contributing factor to the initiation of divorce is employment. Explaining that while a wife's employment has no significant effect on whether either spouse will leave; a husband's employment reduces the risk that either spouse will leave. If a man is more likely to be divorced when unemployed, this could take a huge effect on his self-esteem, as he may have to adjust to two negative events, unemployment and divorce. Moreover, since women are often the initiators of divorce, they have often already emotionally withdrawn from the marriage and are prepared to act in ways that decrease attachment soon after divorce.

Detachment is another predictor of divorce adjustment, as those who detach from their previous spouse or disentangle their relationship frequently fare better in adjustment. Studies have found that when it comes to detachment; men sometimes find this difficult, and tend not to take a detachment approach to divorce. Diedrick (1991) shares that men report feeling a greater degree of attachment to their spouse and desire to reconcile compared to women. While women take measures to increase detachment such as preferring greater physical distances from their former husbands and not professing love or longing for their former spouse. These actions

may be attributed to the traditional gender roles in American society that dictate male initiation of contact in relationships (Diedrick 1991).

Moreover, one coping mechanism associated with divorce adjustment is an individual's social activity post divorce. Women tend to seek out social support; separated women are inclined to seek out support from parents and siblings (Baum 2003). Diedrick (1991) explains that women are more likely to find social satisfaction in their friendships, and to seek out social support if they need help after divorce. Steenbergen Richmond and Hendrickson Christensen (2000) find that there is a significant linear relationship between the acquisition of social support and measures of health and psychological health for women — the more women use social support as a coping strategy, the fewer psychological and health problems they report. On the other hand, men have been found to isolate themselves socially and manifest their grief in activity rather than in emotional expression or help seeking. Baum (2003) shares in some instances, "divorced men used appetite loss as a means of obtaining care and nurturance from their parents without necessarily discussing their distress over the loss of their wife," (p. 41). They add that men tend to deny feelings of loss, and distance themselves from the feelings of sadness, pain, and sorrow, and instead turn to workaholicism, somatization, and the use of drugs and alcohol as means of escape, "when overt expression of psychological stresses is not culturally approved," (Baum 2003, p. 41). This lack of healthy culturally approved ways for men to grieve has an effect on their ability to adjust after divorce. For example, when confronting dependency related to their former spouses, many men associate this with weakness and femininity, subsequently, they choose to ignore it, and may quickly replace their spouse with a new sexual partner or engage in frantic sexual activity.

Consequently, the gender roles that individuals in American society take on may greatly disadvantage divorced men as their identity assumes mainly "feminine" roles such as head of household, which brings with it socially devalued tasks like cleaning, cooking, and familial care. Men must deal with loss without showing emotion. Baum (2003) discusses the effects of gender socialization on males, stating that socialization teaches them to hide their feelings of pain and sorrow and fails to teach them a language that allows them to express their emotions. Another way that gender role socialization becomes apparent post-divorce is in the way

that women find meaning in divorce. Finding meaning in divorce is a predictor of divorce adjustment and is correlated with a higher level of well-being (Bevino and Sharkin 2003). Yet, only women tend to find meaning in divorce, reporting positive changes in self-identity, or new opportunities for growth and development as some of the consequences of divorce. Contrarily, men often report the only positive consequence of divorce as finding a new partner, or they report divorce as having no positive consequences. This could be due to the fact that women frequently gain the traditionally masculine role as sole provider after divorce, which correlates with higher status and self-esteem. Interestingly, financial satisfaction, a factor that has traditionally been deemed in favor of men's adjustment may no longer contribute to the long-term adjustment of men as much as it previously was believed to. McManus and DiPrete (2001) find evidence that suggests the financial burden for men after divorce is slowly increasing due to the changing tax laws and the involvement of more women in the job force. A majority of divorced men end up with lowered finances, which has been typically associated with a feminine outcome of divorce.

A supplementary factor to divorce adjustment is age. With the average life span ever increasing, there has been an increase in individuals dealing with the divorce in older age. Wang and Amato (2000) explain that divorce adjustment may be more difficult for older people because divorce has been relatively uncommon in later life, and older divorcees have less potential options when forming new relationships than their younger divorced counterparts. Additionally, England et al. (2016) assess how the relative age of a spouse affects whether men or women will initiate a divorce. Asking the questions, "how the relative age of two spouses affects whether one partner leave the other, and whether having an older partner affects men's divorce decisions differently than it affects women's decisions?" (England et al. 2016, p. 1184). There tends to be slight hypergamy in American marriages with husbands being on average two years older than wives. The findings of the study suggest that men's exits are consistent with male preference for hypergamy, while women's exits showed no preference for hypergamy, as women are more likely to leave an older spouse. This result could indicate a partial explanation for why so many more women initiate divorce than men. An additional age factor that effects divorce is the period leading up to and when women go through menopause. Statistics

show that women initiate over 65% of divorces after age fifty (Brizendine 2006). Brizendine (2006) attributes much of the female-initiated divorce in later life to the altered reality of postmenopausal women. Stating that what had been important to women — connection, approval, children, and making sure the family stayed together — no longer is the first thing on their minds. The changing chemistry of their brains is responsible for a shift in their daily lives. This, along with menopause often coinciding with children leaving home for college or work, can cause women to see their marriage in a less positive light. While these social and psychological changes are happening for a woman, they are not happening for her husband, who may be blindsided and unable to understand or empathize with her sudden shift in demeanor or care for her marriage.

CONCLUSION

An immense amount of research has been done on divorce as an institution. With the extremely high number of divorces occurring in the United States each year, understanding the gendered consequences of divorce and why they occur are imperative in helping the millions of new divorcees each year adjust to their new lives. That being said, women tend to have better mental health adjustment than men after divorce. In studies looking at mental health adjustment in terms of well-being, self-esteem, and coping mechanisms women have better long-term adjustment outcomes than men. This has been attributed to higher emotional awareness and social capital in women, along with other factors such as age, as women are often the younger partner. Additionally, being the initiator of the divorce often allows women to cope better after divorce as they start the adjustment period much sooner than men. Following divorce, women often gain a more masculine role and have more autonomy, which can lead to a more positive self-image due to traditional masculine roles holding more status in American culture. Men on the other hand, often take on a more feminine role after divorce. This along with a lack of social capital and an increase in unhealthy coping mechanisms such as seeking out unhealthy sexual relationships and increased alcohol and drug intake often leave men vulnerable to poor mental health and depression post divorce. This is due to gender role socialization, which limit a male's ability to express himself in the same emotional ways as females. Males are only allowed to express negative

feelings in socially acceptable ways that may not aide in positive mental health adjustment. Thus, American society's greater recognition on the impact of divorce on women is problematic, as both genders suffer greatly. With the lack of social resources and the presence of gender role stigmas that men often face post divorce, they are vulnerable to poor mental health and the inability to positively move on from a divorce.

FURTHER AREAS OF RESEARCH

The findings in this paper are somewhat generalized, and will not hold true for every divorced individual, because every marriage and divorce are not homogenous. Therefore, one limitation of this research is that it may not apply to some individuals with children, as it does little to account for the impact the presence of children may have on divorced individuals. More research needs to be done to look at the mitigating role children may have in the dissolution of a marriage and the effects of divorce on parents. Another

possible area of further exploration is remarriage and recoupling, and how the two may effect divorce adjustment. Studies suggest that they can deter most, or all of the negative effects of divorce in certain individuals. However, this effect may also be gendered. Additionally, further exploring Kalmijn and Monden's (2006) escape hypothesis theory of divorce, to see if it has merit could provide substantial new information to understanding the effects of marital quality on divorce adjustment. Lastly, researching the selection perspective, or the understanding that many individuals bring traits to their marriages that increase the risk of marital disruptions such as divorce as well as personal problems (Amato, 2012). For example, in people with antisocial personality traits, neurotic personalities, and a tendency to depression the problems they face with psychological adjustment may be the cause of divorce rather than the consequence.

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Street Harassment: The Sexual and Racial Objectification of Women in the United States

Katherine Krol

INTRODUCTION

Street harassment is defined as behaviors from strangers ranging from verbal comments, unwanted physical contact, ogling, catcalling, and stalking in public spaces, like the streets. The idea of sexual harassment has become a major phenomenon because it happens in most cities, suburbs, and urban living environments, where street hassling is condoned due to the presence of street pornography and construction sites. However, men use street harassment as a way to demonstrate their dominance and control over a perceived vulnerable, weak woman. Street harassment instills fear and anger within women due to the inability to walk the streets in peace without being approached by a stranger or called out based on their sexual appearance. There are various categories in which a woman can be a probable victim of street harassment ranging from a woman who is developing sexually to a woman who is perceived as “too old” to be sexual. Therefore, the concept of street harassment ignites the objectification of women, the degradation of female status, and the recurring image of slavery due to the continuance of patriarchy within society.

TOPIC INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH QUESTION

What are the gender, racial, and class connotations and effects of street harassment in the United States and why does it persist? In my research paper, I want to discuss the nature of street harassment specifically the gender roles, the objectification theory, the racial context, and its effects on women. Through the research I have conducted, it becomes apparent victims become susceptible to street harassment due to the institution of heterosexuality. They endure feelings of disempowerment, anger, fear, humility, embarrassment, and vulnerability due to being stripped down to a sexual object instead of a human being. This paper will explore three key issues that will break down these repercussions

of street harassment. First, I want to address this idea of sexual objectification of women through street harassment by discussing the types of sexual harassment experienced in public arenas along with using the objectification theory as evidence for this dominant behavior. Secondly, I will address the idea of domination, exclusion, and oppression developed as a gender role for men on the streets to express their hegemonic masculinity, which in the end, degrades, dehumanizes, and sexualizes women in a public space. Thirdly, the idea of racial inferiority is a major category in street harassment specifically experienced among African American women. Street harassment for African American is not only sexualized but also racialized by bringing back the ideologies of slavery into street harassment. I will discuss the recurring images of slavery, the correlation to sexual harassment, and the victimization of African American women based on their race alone.

RESEARCH ANALYSIS

Street harassment has become a prevalent issue in the United States through the Second Wave of the Women’s Movement in the 1970s and 1980s. This is prevalent in women documenting their personal accounts in popular journals, which showed that street harassment became more frequent and offensive starting during this time. The increase of street harassment of women is attributable to:

Entry into the workforce in record numbers, the rise both in the age of first marriage and in the divorce rate, the delay of childbirth on the part of working women, public acceptance of unchaperoned women; and the outdoor nature of the physical fitness movement (Bowman 1993, pg. 528).

As women gained more independence and equality among men, they were seen as threatening the hegemonic masculinity within society and became more visible in public. However, as their presence increased

in the public sphere occurrences of street harassment rapidly increased, especially in urban areas and United States cities where street pornography and construction sites promote the ideal of street hassling. Street harassment is seen as one of the earliest and defining lesson for young girls because it teaches them that their sexuality implies vulnerability and disempowerment (Bowman 1993, pg. 531). They are pointed and laughed at only based on their gender, which promotes this demeaning action committed by men. Therefore, girls at a young age are taught their status, treatment, and strength among men through the different types of street harassments conducted by men.

The different types of street harassment, with women as the victims and men as the abusers, can be broken up into two categories: physical and nonphysical. The article *Experiences of street harassment and associations with perceptions of social cohesion among women in Mexico City* discusses the different experiences and types of street harassment experienced by women. Although the women are all located in Mexico City, Mexico, it revolves around the same types of street harassment experienced by all women around the world. For instance, there is the nonphysical which entails whistling sounds, uncomfortable looks, shouting of obscene words, and/or showing some type of a body part, mainly a sexual body part (Campos 2017, pg. 104). Many of these transactions can be defined in the common terms of catcalling and ogling. Catcalling is the most common type of sexual harassment and can be defined by the physical act of whistling and shouting obscene words like “hey pretty girl” or “look at them legs”. Secondly, ogling relates to perpetrators giving uncomfortable looks, such as constantly staring at women’s sexual parts without looking away. The physical category includes touching without consent, touching with a body part without consent, pinching, or being way too close to the girl (Campos 2017, pg. 104). A common example of a physical interaction of street harassment is in the form of stalking, which is the most dangerous type of street harassment. Stalking is when the perpetrator physically invades the personal space of the victim by following in his/her moves in hopes of getting closer to the victim. It is pertinent to understand the different types of street harassment experienced by women in order to see how their sexuality, status, and representation of self is tarnished by men.

Street harassment allows men to degrade the status of women in the public sphere by exemplifying gender roles on the street through the use of exclusion, domination, invasion, and oppression. Exclusion creates the ideal of gendered streets by excluding females and making the public sphere an only male space. It invokes “traditional notions of private” sphere versus public sphere, street harassers create a hostile environment on the street, implicitly informing their targets that they are not welcome” (Deirdre 1994, pg. 142). By excluding females from the street, males are simply reinforcing their masculinity by instilling the concept of male privilege. This means that men receive all the power and authority on the streets, whereas women receive the backlash from the gendered rule. A second means of establishing gender roles on the street is through the act of domination. Domination establishes the roles of male supremacy and female submissiveness. Through street harassment, “men inform women that women are public participants only with men’s permission. Consequently, women must be wholly accessible to men in the street” (Deirdre 1994, pg. 143). The act of male domination allows men to define women’s abilities on the street. They are forced to act cordially towards street harassers and please men whenever partaking in the male-dominated public sphere. By men controlling the abilities of women on the street, they are additionally manipulating their emotional and intellectual growth because women can no longer make decisions for themselves but rather for the pleasure of men. The act of domination in street harassment degrades women by prohibiting them from experiencing the norms of the public sphere without being forced to adhere to the demands of the white male. The third means of establishing gender roles in street harassment is through invasion. Invasion is the act of perpetrating and attacking a woman’s right to privacy within the public sphere. Every individual has a right to privacy; however, it is designated to a specific sphere depending on gender. Therefore, women “are ‘open persons in public spaces’ and, by walking in public, they forfeit any right to privacy” (Deirdre 1994, pg. 144). Once they cross over the gendered spheres, women no longer possess the same rights to privacy as they would in private, where it is very much gendered towards the ideals of a woman. Thus, women’s rights are not respected or represented on the streets or in the public sphere due to the established male privilege and domination. Lastly, the fourth means of establishing gender roles is through oppression. Street harassment “oppresses women by restricting their physical

and geographical mobility, thereby denying women a right guaranteed to all citizens- the power of locomotion, a fundamental liberty of freedom” (Deirdre 1994, pg. 144). The restriction of physical and geographical mobility causes women to alter their normal behaviors such as walking alone or going out at night in order to avoid street harassment. Unfortunately, women can no longer make decisions for themselves but rather make decisions to avoid the potential interactions, threats, and restrictions of street harassment. Therefore, street harassment oppresses women’s authentic choice of self and ability to be free on the streets due to the constant physical and/or non-physical harassment received from the male population.

The gendered roles on the street affect women through both the gender differences in socialization and its degrading effect it has on them. The acts of exclusion, domination, invasion, and oppression cause women to view the streets in fear by being socialized according to their gender. This means that women are socialized to be more passive and dependent while maintaining the warning signs about the potential for sexual victimization (MacMillan 2000, pg. 308). The effects of harassment, based on the perception of safety, causes women to have heightened vigilance and awareness when going out alone or at all in the public sphere in order to avoid the potentiality of stranger harassment. The act of stranger harassment socializes women both in adolescent years and during child development to reduce their perceptions of safety such as walking alone at night, using public transportation, and walking alone in a parking garage (MacMillan 2000, pg. 319). In addition, both environmental and social factors attribute to the perception of safety for women to enter the public sphere due to high crime neighborhoods, unsupervised teenagers, loud noises, and alcohol or drug usage in public spaces. However, men can go out alone at night and walk alone without feeling imminent danger or the potentiality for harassment due to the way their gender is socialized in the public sphere. Men are socialized to be independent and strong within society whereas women are socialized to be vulnerable and submissive. This is evidence how men lack the same risk of sexual victimization as women as seen through their gender roles of domination, exclusion, invasion, and oppression on the streets.

In addition to the socialization effects of street harassment for women, there are additional gender stereotypes that manifest the cultural domination of men and

the degradation of women through street harassment. In the eyes of the male, street harassment is perceived as a way to affirm the attractiveness of a woman, whereas women view it as threatening and unwanted attention. Street harassment depends on a male-defined cultural domination of women, and women submit to this male supremacy. It is the “manifestation of cultural domination because it is a pervasive ‘item’ in everyday life” (Deirdre 1994, pg.148). The cultural domination of women in the public sphere proves how street harassment is a natural and unalterable fact of cultural experience for all, where women cannot change its trajectory due to their degraded status. Thus, women are forced to submit to the patriarchal view of street harassment as a normal part of everyday life instead of challenging the dominant societal view. Women lack the autonomy to separate themselves from the male-defined culture, and rather give in by accepting the street harassments as a societal norm instead of an infringement on their rights, actions, and status.

As evident in the male-defined culture, men tend to act according to their pleasures when harassing women on the streets, which can be seen as either civilized acts by men and uncivilized acts towards women. When men give women comments of endearment as remarks on the street, they are seen as civil in accordance with the physical comment like “Hi beautiful” or “how are you doing today?” However, in the given situation on the streets, the normal civil comment exhibits uncivil behavior through the meaning behind the remark, targeting women, and undermining the social norm of civil inattention, which is when:

One gives to another enough visual notice to demonstrate that one appreciates that the other is present (and that one admits openly to having seen him), while at the next moment withdrawing one’s attention from him so as to express that he does not constitute a target of special curiosity or design (Bailey 2017, pg. 368).

Men disregard this term of civil inattention by singling women passing and give remarks of endearment in an uncivilized manner; thus, it promotes street harassment. Women are singled out in the public sphere by appearing to be “open persons” and receive the remarks from men, which enables status differential. Men tend to have the higher status on the basis of being the speaker and women are held at a subordinated status by being open to receive the remarks by men. By “being harassed on

the street is a vivid reflection of male dominance and an inescapable reminder of the vulnerability of women to harm” (Bailey 2017, pg. 370). Unfortunately, when women do receive the remarks and ignore them, they subject themselves to gender-based violence on account of a male’s dominance on the streets. By negating the comments, women again give the speaker power to subject them to misogynistic, inferior street remarks to degrade their emotional and societal status. Male dominance over vulnerable women is allowed on the streets on the basis of men using normal civil remarks in an intimate conversation and converting to uncivil remarks to display their superior status as the speaker.

Although the negation of civil inattention displays male’s dominance, male’s sexual objectification of women on the streets also asserts male’s dominance over a woman’s body. Men objectify and reduce women to body parts; thus, it produces this sexual objectification on the gendered streets. For instance, when men look and speak to women, they refer to the women by their sexual body parts by saying “nice legs”, “nice butt”, and “nice boobs”. This ideal causes men to see women only as sexual body parts instead of an equal human being (Deirdre 1994, pg.150). Women lose their identity and representation of self by submitting to the male perception of women, which is through their sexual body parts and their sexuality. Men believe women dress for sexual consumption and for sexual objectification. One man stated that:

How you dress is inevitably going to send messages to the people you encounter... Whores don’t dress like whores just for the hell of it. They dress like whores because it’s enticing and inviting... There are clothes that say it without words (Deirdre 1994, pg.150-1).

This idea asserts the belief that women only engage in the public sphere to please men, especially in the way they dress. However, one critique of the statement above is women dress for themselves, not to please men, despite the beliefs of male dominance. A second critique is women, no matter how they are dressed, are still harassed on the streets. The sexual objectification of women creates a psychologically oppressive environment for women. The harassing words on the street “fragment a woman’s body parts from her mind, psyche, and self, leaving a woman with a representation of herself as a collection of sexual parts without a core” (Deirdre 1994, pg.151). The act of sexual objectification

on the streets reduces a woman’s ability to self-represent and slowly but surely reduces her self-esteem; they yield their self-representation by being subjected to visual, sexual consumption. Therefore, men’s sexual objectification of women affects both a woman’s ability to possess an authentic choice of self and ability to display their true identity without thinking of the potential street harassment when entering the public sphere.

The effects of sexual objectification and subordination of women, based on gender inequality, raises the likelihood of structural inequality and oppression affecting women within society. For instance, “the increased likelihood of women from lower socioeconomic groups to use public transportation rather than private means of transportation, thus being more visible in public space” (Fileborn 2017, pg. 221). Women of a lower socioeconomic appear to be more of a viable victim due to increased presence on the streets. The status differential emphasizes both the gender and structural inequalities faced by women in the public sphere. A second type of structural inequality within the public sphere is the devaluation of women at the workplace. Women receive the effects of a subordinated status by “receiving lower (or no) pay, and the persistent gender pay-gap in Western countries” (Fileborn 2017, pg. 221). Women are not only devalued on the streets through street harassment but also devalued in a cultural sense within the workforce due to a status differential. This mistreatment of women affects their physical, mental, and emotional well-being. The subordination and objectification reduces women’s health through limited physical mobility, which inhibits their ability to sustain employment and seek healthcare. To protect their safety whenever they enter the public sphere, women avoid going out alone or at night, arrive late or miss work or school, modify one’s daily route to avoid street harassment, move to another neighborhood, take a gun with them on a walk, wear inconspicuous clothing and headphones, pretend to be talking on the phone, and avoid visual contact (Campos 2017, pg. 103). The street harassment of women impacts their perception of safety, control over one’s body, and sense of connection to their community. This lack of social cohesion links to a woman’s poor health status such as a poor mental health and chronic diseases associated with the stress from entering the public sphere. In addition, the lack of social cohesion has links to gender-based violence and crime, such as intimate partner abuse. The actions of street harassment affect a woman’s safety, health, and

interactions with society on the basis that men dominate the norms established within society.

Although street harassment is gendered towards subordinating and objectifying women, it is also racialized by igniting the recurring image through the treatment of African American women on the streets. In African American communities, men and women engage in sexually oriented banter, which has parallels to street harassment (Bowman 1993, pg. 532). It is similar with the street remarks, but different with the humorous banter and consensual interaction between both the African American woman and man. Even though African American women experience banter in their community similar to street harassment, they still experience distress and pain due to the high frequency of experiencing street harassment from both white and black males. In street harassment, women avoid these interactions due to the nonconsensual component of the banter. Cross-racial harassment appears more common than same race harassment on the basis of white male dominance in society. By experiencing street harassment from white males, it evokes a historical association with the act. For instance, "when African American women are harassed on the street, the experience evokes a long history of disrespect, degradation, and inhumane sexual mistreatment to which Black women have been subjected over the years" (Bowman 1993, pg. 534). Street harassment, for African American women, has a direct correlation to the memory of slavery. Although the symbolism and terminology slavery have been eradicated from society, the patriarchal norm of the white male has submerged into popular culture. Street harassment gives the white male structural authority over African American women by allowing oppressing them through physical and nonphysical remarks without physically labeling it segregation or slavery.

Street harassment ignites the memory of slavery for African American women by having similarities to the act of slavery. For instance, "street harassment denied African American women the ability to make an authentic choice of self [and] slavery denied the female slave the right to define herself independently of a governing standard" (Deirdre 1994, pg. 164). African American women are forced under the dominance of man both on the status of their gender and their race. A second correlation of street harassment to slavery is how white men use the cult of true womanhood to establish societal norms for women. During slavery, slave owners purchased characteristics positive for a

black woman slave versus a white woman in society. For example, "strength and ability to bear fatigue, argued to be so distasteful a presence in a white woman, were positive features to be emphasized in the promotion and selling of a black female field hand at a slave auction" (Deirdre 1994, pg. 165). The role of a woman in society is determined by patriarchal dominant societal ideologies. Therefore, African American woman, especially, fall victim to accepting these norms as their own and represent themselves in society according to male's interpretations. A third correlation to slavery in the form of street harassment is African American women upholding the sexist, dominant ideologies established by men within society. By "completely accepting the female role as defined by patriarchy, enslaved black women embraced and upheld an oppressive sexist social order" (Deirdre 1994, pg. 165). African American women accept the norms identified in slavery by men while they also accept the cultural domination by men in the form of street harassment. Both African American slaves and women accepted the sexist and degrading actions of slavery and street harassment as an acceptable, natural part of everyday life. A last correlation is visible in the Jezebel image, which is seeing African American woman as a white male's temptress. Slave women were "seen as a sexual animal, then she was not a real woman. The hypersexual Jezebel image dehumanized black women and justified their exploitation" (Deirdre 1994, pg. 165). This ideal is upkept in the act of street harassment by dehumanizing and objectifying women. The embodiment of an African American's sexuality and identity is identified by the controlling image of Jezebel. Therefore, street harassment correlates with the ideals established in slavery ranging from sexist structural orders, dehumanization, objectification, and pre-determined representations.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the nature of street harassment deals with gender roles, objectification theory, racial context, and its effects on women. Women fall victim to street harassment due to the institution of heterosexuality and accepted sexist. Thus, they endure the gendered roles of domination, exclusion, and oppression developed by men on the streets to express their hegemonic masculinity and status over women in the public sphere. It causes the degradation, dehumanization, and sexualization women in a public space on the basis of using

women as pleasures and seeing them only as sexual objects. Lastly, street harassment is not only sexualized and gendered, but also racialized by bringing back the ideologies of slavery into street harassment.

Street harassment has become a major phenomenon in the United States. Therefore, women need to counteract a hegemonic society through raising awareness, education, and a prevention plan against the domination, exclusion, and oppression inflicted on women by men. The empowerment of an individual

provides women with the tools to begin to understand and challenge the oppressive acts, like street harassment, that are accepted as a “normal.” In regard to street harassment, women need to seek justice, so they can walk outside without having to be alert or feel unsafe when walking in certain neighborhoods. The gendered nature of the harms of street harassment decreases the status of women to subjects, and therefore, women need to counteract the patriarchy that endorses the negative effects of street harassment.

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Gender in Hip Hop

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Hip hop culture has transcended its genre and become a powerful force in popular culture today. With its extreme popularity and presence in popular culture, it has given a voice to those who have long been silenced. Specifically, it has given black men a platform to express their struggles, but with it has come many controversial aspects. Hip hop in some ways has challenged traditional narratives of black men and people in America, but it is also been a platform that has demonstrated and perpetuated social inequality, specifically relating to gender. Hip hop is indicative of societal norms regarding gender, specifically norms of black masculinity, and encourages the objectification of black women, as well as the demonization of black female sexuality.

Hip hop was born on August 11, 1973, at a party in the Bronx, New York, with Clive Campbell being credited at the founding father. It began as an outlet for Black and Latino men to express their struggles of being marginalized in America. On hip hop's original purpose, one scholar stated "Hip-hop was conceived as an affirmation of collective self against a society that denigrated the black and brown poor (Rose 2005)" (Rodriguez, 2017). It was, and still is, an outlet for young men of color to express their hardships and to connect with others through shared struggles.

Hip hop is arguably one of the most diverse genres of music. It has evolved over time into many different sub-genres, such as Gansta rap in the 1990s, and recently, British Grime, trap, and even Soundcloud rap. Each region has its own sound that is unique to that area, with the most prevalent ones being LA, the Bay Area, New York, Atlanta, Chicago, Toronto, and London.

Hip hop culture is far-reaching and has a large effect on popular culture. Many of the songs at the top of the charts are hip hop tracks, and popular culture is practically ruled by hip hop artists. This includes artists like Beyonce, Kendrick Lamar, J. Cole, Migos, Cardi B, Drake, and the list goes on. Discourses presented in hip hop are important because they have an effect on societal norms. On this topic, one author writes, "Hip-hop culture, as does much of popular culture,

strongly informs the behaviors of those everyday people who see themselves as participating in the culture by living it—not merely performing it" (Hernández, et al). Because of the internet, we are constantly consuming media and popular culture, and since the majority of pop culture is dictated by hip hop, we are continually surrounded by it. It is human nature for people's views to be swayed by what they see. If people are constantly consuming media that has specific messages in them, it is inevitable that people will internalize those messages and norms.

With regard to hip hop, the main messages being displayed and internalized are those portraying black masculinity.

Black masculinity is important to analyze in this context because the majority of hip hop artists are black males, and their masculinity is what is typically portrayed through their music and imagery. Even when artists are not black, they still reflect norms and actions of black masculinity. The most important thing to acknowledge when analyzing this concept is that it is a performance. More broadly, gender is a performance; by the way people dress, speak, display body language, and how they generally present themselves. Furthermore, "Gender has constantly to be reaffirmed and publicly displayed by repeatedly performing particular acts in accordance with the cultural norms which define "masculinity" and "femininity" (Cameron, 1997). That being said, black masculinity is the unique way that black men portray themselves and the values they hold. This includes things like hyper-masculinity, hyper-sexualization, violence, homophobia, effeminophobia, and obsession with money and material items, and is tied to cultural expectations of both masculinity and blackness. For example, it is expected that black males are violent, so they are violent in their songs. They are hyper-sexualized and so they sexualize [black] women (Belle, 2014). Hip hop is a performance of black masculinity and all that it represents.

Black masculinity in hip hop is often tied to money and the accumulation of material items. This can be attributed to the fact that many artists come from low-income families and could not afford a lot of nice

things or material items when they were growing up. Being successful and able to have money, cars, clothes, jewelry, etc., is a way of asserting one's masculinity. Being able to afford these items signifies that they "made it" and is a way to measure one's success. Many lyrics in hip hop surround the accumulation of money and material wealth and even make fun of other people for being broke or not being able to afford things as nice as them.

A common expectation of [black] masculinity is that men are supposed to be the breadwinners of the household and provide for their families. This gender role is reinforced in T.I.'s song "Whatever You Like." The lyrics depict T.I. buying a woman whatever she wants, including expensive alcohol, clothes, jewelry, shoes, expensive food, and trips on private jets. This is a way of displaying his masculinity, by showing her that he can provide for her, and especially that he can afford nice things, which reinforces traditional gender roles and the idea that men should be the breadwinners. Generally in society, one of the main expectations of masculinity is that men should not show emotion, often even in romantic relationships. These song lyrics are a way for him as a man to show affection and romance while still holding traditional gender roles, through him buying her gifts and providing for her. This notion is expanded upon, stating "Romance is described through a series of expensive items that he purchases for her and the new life of luxury that she gets to experience with him" (Hunter, 2011). Furthermore, the song reflects greater themes in hip hop, with the sexualization of women's bodies. The lyrics imply that the woman in the song will have sex with T.I. in exchange for him buying her these material items. The woman's body is essentially being treated as a commodity. The act of providing for a woman is an act of gender performance, because men are performing tasks that traditionally represent masculinity.

Black masculinity is a performance, and a way of defining oneself. On this idea, Crystal Belle comments, "This is often an act, a performance of sorts that asserts a manhood that is dominant and deviant, attempting to define itself in a world that has often tried to deny the very existence of Black men" (Belle, 2014). Black masculinity is somewhat a form of rebellion against a society that has demonized, outcast, and defined black men for so long. For example, one of the main aspects of black masculinity is hyper-masculinity. This comes from the fact that black men are emasculated and

treated as less-than human, and hyper-masculinity is a way to reclaim their masculinity and make up for what was once lost.

White men have a large hand in the construction of Black masculinity in hip hop. White men are the executives at record labels and essentially control the music industry. Everything that an artist does, (assuming they are signed to a record label, and not independent), has to be approved by higher-ups in the label, most of whom are white men. Therefore white men have a large hand in creating and controlling the narrative of black men in hip hop.

Many argue that the white men controlling the music industry intentionally perpetuate the stereotype that black men are aggressive, violent, uneducated, and do drugs, (as seen in popular music), on purpose. Feminist author bell hooks commented on this topic, stating "At the center of the way Black male selfhood is constructed in white-supremacist capitalist patriarchy is the image of the brute, untamed, uncivilized, unthinking and unfeeling (bell hooks, 1994)" (White, 2013). The idea is that these executives want to portray black people, and especially black men, in a negative and stereotypical light as a way to keep oppressing them. The logic is that if all that is portrayed of black men is the news are these oppressive stereotypes, people will continue to believe that that behavior is reflective of the rest of black culture, and will continue to oppress black people in this country. An example of this would be Migos' music. Before they became extremely popular around the start of 2017, their lyrics had more variety and deeper meanings. Once they started to become very main stream, their music features almost exclusively themes of drug and alcohol use and glorification, sexualization of women, use of guns, and obsession with money (Hunter, 2011). Their lyrics have become dumbed-down as they have become more popular, which I don't see as a coincidence, now that their music is reaching a wider audience.

"Authentic" Black masculinity in hip-hop culture promotes homophobia and effeminophobia. Effeminophobia is the dislike of things or people that are associated with femininity, like women, and usually gay males. Authentic Black masculinity is associated with sexuality, aggression, and physical strength, which are qualities usually seen in as opposing femininity. An example of this is in the show *Empire*, which showcases a black family that owns and operates a hip hop and

R&B record label. One of the main characters, Jamal, is gay, which is one of the main storylines of the show. While analyzing the show's themes of homophobia and authentic masculinity, Rodriguez states "Because he is gay, Jamal is stereotyped as the antithesis of a black masculine man and is seen as inauthentic, thus stripping him of his masculinity" (Rodriguez, 2017). Black gay men are not seen as "real" men if they are effeminate. This is because in society at large, femininity is associated with weakness, and weakness is seen as the antithesis of black masculinity.

One of the main insults that artists use in hip hop is emasculation, which is a way to showcase one's heterosexuality and masculinity. Taking away a man's masculinity and manhood is seen as the most disrespectful thing you can do to a [black] man. Many male artists' lyrics include emasculating lyrics, "More recently, prolific, high-grossing artists such as Eminem, Nelly, Ja Rule, Jay-Z, 50 Cent, DMX, and Nas have all incorporated the words 'fag,' 'gay,' and 'homo' into their lyrics to emasculate and insult their musical enemies" (Rodriguez, 2017). These homophobic slurs used by male hip hop artists equate homosexuality with femininity and therefore weakness and negativity, which reaffirms the notion that black masculinity and homosexuality are mutually exclusive.

In hip hop, violence is normalized, encouraged, and glorified. There exist countless amounts of song lyrics that portray violence, whether that be gun, gang, domestic, or sexual. There are even rappers who have names pertaining to guns, such as Machine Gun Kelly, Killer Mike, and Gunplay. Black masculinity is associated with violence because many hip hop artists are black or people of color who come from low-income communities where violence is a normal occurrence. To many of them, violence is normal. Plenty of song lyrics encourage violence and even call other men "weak" or "pussies" because they do not want to commit acts of violence. In hip hop culture, if you are not violent, you are often seen as weak, and committing these acts gains a person respect and legitimacy (Hernández, et al).

Another common theme in hip hop is misogyny and gender-based violence. Many violent song lyrics depict instances of domestic violence and rape. One lyric from Kool G's song "Hey Mister Mister" states "I punched her in the ribcage and kicked her in the stomach" which clearly depicts domestic violence. Another lyric from Rick Ross' song "U.O.E.N.O"

states "Put Molly all in her champagne, she ain't even know it. I took her home and enjoyed that, she ain't even know it" which insinuates that he drugged and raped a girl. Additionally, Rihanna is one particular artist who seems to have many songs that depict and glorify domestic and sexual violence. She does this in songs such as "Russian Roulette," "S&M," and "Love The Way You Lie," which features Eminem, who is also known to have many lyrics depicting violence against women. The fact that Rihanna has continually glorified violence in her music is particularly concerning considering the fact that she was very famously a victim of domestic violence at the hands of her then-boyfriend Chris Brown (Jones, 2013). Many hip hop artists have song lyrics containing themes of gender-based violence, but they are often overlooked or disregarded, which is indicative of society's general lack of concern towards the issue.

Women in hip hop have historically been the minority, and have continually been doubted, discredited, and not taken seriously because of their gender. Hip hop has always been dominated by men and is seen as a man's world, because it is heavily tied to expectations of [black] masculinity. Women have to work especially hard to gain credibility and respect for their work. Up and coming female artists will usually have a male sponsor, who guides them throughout the beginning of their career. Some of the more notable male-female sponsor relationships are Nicki Minaj and Lil Wayne, Iggy Azalea and T.I., Missy Elliott and Timbaland, and Jermaine Dupri and Mariah Carey, as well as many other female artists that he has mentored (Emerson). This male sponsor is also there to give female artists a cosign so they will receive legitimacy and respect.

In addition, a principle symptom of black masculinity is the degradation of women. This is a common symptom of masculinity in general, but hip hop culture has a unique way of degrading and oppressing women. Many lyrics call women demeaning terms such as "bitch" and "hoe." Most importantly, women, specifically black women, are treated as objects that are only there for the sexual pleasure of men.

One of the main themes and problems in hip hop is the sexualization and objectification of women's bodies. Objectification theory states that this occurs when a woman's body is being treated as an object, separate from her persona, and is only there to be seen and acted upon. White explains the implications of objectifica-

tion, stating “The portrayal of women as mere decorative objects in advertising, which reproduces the stereotypical gender roles related to physical appearance, may influence women’s experience and feelings about their bodies” (White, 2013). In many hip hop videos, women are seen in the background wearing little clothing, usually dancing in a sexual manner, or just standing there to look pretty and to be admired. Having women being viewed and treated as objects only enforces this notion, and encourages the devaluation of women’s bodies in general. Furthermore, it perpetuates the stereotypical and oppressive ideal that women’s value is in their body and nothing else. Furthermore, this message is bound to effect on the way women view themselves. If all that is being portrayed is that their bodies are the only thing of value, it is inevitable for women to internalize and begin to believe this.

It is important to note that the majority of female artists are heavily sexualized when they first begin their careers. Although many of them do not particularly want to portray themselves in a sexual way, they are forced to in order to be given recognition. In addition, most female singers and artists portray themselves as a sexual object; someone who is submissive and there to be acted upon. Although, as many female artists mature and progress in their careers, they start to portray themselves as the sexual subject; the initiator and aggressor.

Although in hip hop, there is a prevalent and overarching theme of women as submissive sexual objects, this is not always the case. Some women in hip hop have challenged these traditional gender roles by becoming the sexual subject and aggressor. This idea is further explained, stating “The modernization of femininity over the last decades in the wake of the ‘sexual revolution’ . . . has given rise to a new and contradictory subject position: the sexual entrepreneur . . . [which] constitutes a hybrid of discourses of sexual freedom for women (White, 2013).” There is somewhat of a sexual revolution taking place, where more female hip hop artists are becoming more popular, and are using their platform to challenge traditional gender roles. They are taking power away from the [men] who traditionally sexualize women, and are reclaiming their sexuality in a positive way. Many women are using their own sexuality to empower themselves, as well as other women, instead of it being used by other people to devalue and demean them.

Nicki Minaj is one of the main female artists who has used her own sexuality to empower herself and other women. She portrays herself as sexually dominant and aggressive, which is the opposite of what women are typically viewed as and expected to be. Women are usually expected to be submissive, in almost all aspects of life, but especially physically and sexually. Women are portrayed as sexual objects instead of sexual subjects, and Nicki challenges this notion. Theresa Renee White proposes that she “May constitute a clear break with representations from the past in which women were passive and objectified, now showing them as active, desiring and taking charge sexually in a way that clearly reflects feminism’s aspiration for female sexual self-determination” (White, 2013). Almost every song or featured verse of hers showcases sexually explicit lyrics that often portray her as the aggressor. Many of her music videos contain explicit imagery, specifically in her song and video, “Anaconda.” Nicki Minaj is one of the most visible female hip hop artists who showcases her sexuality in a positive and empowering way, and encourages other women to do the same.

Missy Elliott is another popular female rapper whose career has spanned over three decades. She is different from Nicki Minaj in the sense that although she has sexually explicit lyrics and portrays herself as the sexual aggressor, she has not allowed her body to be sexualized. Although she experienced a significant weight loss in recent years, she has still maintained that she does not want her body to be viewed as a sexual object, and that the focus should be on her music. Both Missy and Nicki disrupt traditional ideas of black female sexuality and challenge discourses and norms of hegemonic masculinity. They do this by using their sexuality as a tool to empower themselves and other women. They reclaim sexuality which has been and continues to be used as leverage to have power over women. Hip hop was born out of resisting societal norms, stereotypes, and oppression, and that is what Nicki Minaj and Missy Elliott do with the assertion of their sexuality (White, 2013).

Black female sexuality is an important aspect in the discussion of women in hip hop, because the majority of female artists and women who appear in music videos are black. Black female sexuality, similarly to black masculinity, is portrayed as abnormal, excessive, or extreme. Black women are sexualized in a negative way, with their sexuality being especially demonized. This notion is especially important for women in hip hop

such as Nicki Minaj, Beyonce, Rihanna, Missy Elliott, etc., who reclaim their own sexuality and represent black female sexuality in a positive light, rather than a negative one that is displayed in popular discourse. Beliefs about black female sexuality are perpetuated by stereotypes about race and sexuality. The implications of this sexualization are further examined, stating,

Many black women singers [and performers], irrespective of the quality of their voices, have cultivated an image which suggest they are sexually available and licensed. Undesirable in the conventional sense, which defines beauty and sexuality as desirable only to the extent that it is idealized and unattainable, the black female body gains attention only when it is synonymous with accessibility, availability, and when it is sexually deviant (hooks, 1994)" (White, 2013).

Black female sexuality centers on the sexualization of black women's bodies. Women's bodies are the main focus especially in music videos, where they are very clearly objectified. It is women of color, but specifically black women, who are seen in these music videos in the background, in small amounts of tight clothing, usually shaking their butts, and are there for the purpose of looking pretty. Again, they are there to be objectified for the sexual pleasure of men. The whole purpose of having beautiful and sexualized women not only in videos, but also as performers and artists, is to give off the impression that they are sexually available. This represents the aforementioned expectation of femininity, that women, and more specifically their bodies, are only valuable if they are sexually attainable.

In addition, objectified and sexualized women in music videos are placed there to confirm the artist's masculinity. The accumulation of multiple women, as well as the domination of women in general, are tied to societal expectations of [black] masculinity. Elaine Richardson explains this sentiment, stating "Often dressed in lingerie, swimsuits, or other equally revealing clothing, the video dancers function to enhance the heteronormative masculinity of the male rappers in the video (Richardson, 2007)." As mentioned previously, one of the expected standards of masculinity is the ability to "get" girls, and subsequently dominate them, while women are supposed to be submissive.

Furthermore, the way that black women are typically portrayed in music videos is very one-dimensional. Again, they are only viewed for their bodies and to

be sexually desired and pursued. Lane explains this idea, stating "Typical, commercial depictions of Black women's bodies in rap music, offer a body with no agency. We see Black women whose rear ends are either the theme of the song or the star of the music video, but rarely do these women get to express anything outside of a sexuality that is already shaped by the desire of the male artist" (Richardson, 2007). Many rap song lyrics and videos are about women's butts, specifically. The women in the video are sexualized and are only there to be seen and not heard. Because women are treated as sexual objects, it takes away from their legitimacy and value, and are not taken seriously.

It is also important to note that the black women who are often shown in the background of these music videos are darker-skinned. They usually appear as dancers or models, and are almost always in the background, while the main love interest is often a woman with lighter skin, which is indicative of societal beauty standards that favor lighter skin and "whiter" features. White women have always been the standard of beauty; European features have been deemed the most beautiful, and therefore something to aspire to. These standards have been heavily ingrained into people's minds and are especially prevalent in the black community (Makkar and Strube, 1995). The pattern of devaluing darker-skinned women and featuring lighter-skinned women as more acceptable and beautiful is not just reflected in music videos for male artists. As previously mentioned, it is almost always the lighter-skinned women up front. Women like Beyonce, Nicki Minaj, Rihanna, Mariah Carey, and Cardi B, to name a few, are all very prevalent in hip hop, and all have lighter skin. This idea of valuing lighter skin is not exclusive to black women or men, but is reflected in nearly all races, ethnicities, and cultures. This standard reflects greater societal norms regarding the intersection of race and gender (Richardson, 2007).

There is a reason that women of color, specifically black women, are most often portrayed in mainstream media, especially hip hop, as sexual objects. Hurt expands on this trend and its reasoning, explaining "I contend that the images of women in mainstream contemporary hip-hop are purposefully women of color, and overwhelmingly black. Constant images of white women 'on the pole' or sexually servicing black men with oral sex would surely garner national outrage, especially by white audiences. But whites comprise the largest segment of the buying public and their desires for racialized sexual spectacle drive the mainstream

hip-hop industry” (Richardson, 2007). Society already marginalizes, sexualizes, and demonizes black women, so having those very things done to them in their portrayal in music videos should not come as a shock. Sexuality and objectification is what society expects of black women, and these expectations are further perpetuated in hip hop music videos. If white women were being sexualized for the pleasure of black men the same way that black women are in music videos, it would not be tolerated. As previously mentioned, white men are the ones controlling the narratives and stereotypes that get perpetuated in the media and in hip hop. This is why you don’t see white women being compromised or objectified the same way as black women, because to these men, and greater society, white women are more valuable and human than black women. Industry executives have no problem producing negative images of black women [and men] because racism and sexism have been alive and well since the beginning of time. There is a famous quote by Malcolm X that states “The Black woman is the most disrespected person in America.” This sentiment is continually shown to be true through the disrespect and objectifications of women’s bodies in hip hop music videos.

Hip hop is indicative of greater societal norms regarding the expectations of [black] masculinity. Some of these expectations portrayed and perpetuated in hip hop are gun violence, gender-based violence, accumulation of wealth and material items, and the domination, objectification, sexualization, and degradation of [black] women. These are shown through song lyrics, but especially in music videos. Black women are objectified for the sexual pleasure of men, and their sexuality is demonized. Black female sexuality is only accepted when it is men who are doing the sexualizing of them. Female hip hop artists such as Nicki Minaj and Missy Elliott have challenged traditional notions of female sexuality being submissive, and have instead portrayed themselves as sexually dominant and aggressive. They have reclaimed their own sexuality and used it to empower themselves and encourage other women to do the same. Hip hop is a highly impactful genre of music that has its fair share of flaws and controversies. It reflects traditional ideals of gender and race, but has also seen these notions challenged in attempt to turn hip hop into a less misogynistic and more inclusive genre of music.

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Rise of the Chicana Feminist Movement

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All over the world, femininity is deemed to be less valuable than masculinity. In the United States womxn tend to be treated with less respect, depending on their race and social class status, it decreases their “worth” even more. For example, Chicanas face unique obstacles for being part of multiple marginalized communities, facing gender, race and class oppression. The Chicana Feminist movement started around the late 1960’s to combat these specific obstacles. The research question that guided my research was the following: What led to the rise of the Chicana Feminist movement? Throughout this essay I will be looking into how stereotypical Mexican gender roles along with race and class differences among womxn who contributed to the need and social impact of the Chicana Feminist Movement.

Patricia Hill Collins (2000), suggests that it is important to understand how oppressions of gender, race and class are intersecting. This essay employs an intersectional framework to discuss why Chicana womxn had to form their own unique movement that addressed the issues. I analyze why they had to leave their Chicano counterparts during the Chicano movement due to sexism and why Chicanas could not merely merge into the mainstream feminist movement due to social class and racism. Kimber Crenshaw’s (1991) Intersectionality Theory depicts that the experiences of womxn of color (WOC) consist of a combination or intersection of both racism and sexism. According to Aulette (2015), an intersectional analysis focuses on the attributes assigned to members of oppressed communities of gender, race, and class, which are all issues Chicanas face.

The United States’ government has controlled womxn’s bodies through policies and legislation. During the late 1960’s a slogan of student movement and second-wave feminism that emerged was “the personal/private is political”. This meant that “power differences and political relationships exist between individuals, even in the most personal areas of our lives with families, friends, partners, and children.” (Aulette 2015, p. 372). Chicanas are a clear example of individuals whose bodies have been politicized throughout generations. Chicanas were being objectified, dehumanized by society for being brown. As well as being victims of

machismo (male chauvinism) from their male counterparts due to their sex and gender. They decided to form Chicana Feminism to combat since Chicanas could not form part of the mainstream feminist movement which was dominated by white womxn. These womxn gave birth to Chicana feminism which incorporated the idea of intersectionality by combining both gender, race, and class issues together.

The Civil Rights Movement took place during the 1950’s and 1960’s. It was a time where African-American were fighting for social justice, equity, and equal rights. Many people remember this era by discussing Martin Luther King Jr., Malcolm X, and President John F. Kennedy. Few people place importance to the womxn who played a key role to this movement such as Dorothy Height, Diane Nash, and Ella Baker. During this time period several different under represented communities began to protest and organize against racial discrimination. For example, this was when the rise of the second wave of feminism, Chicano empowerment, and the Chicana feminist movement took place. At this point race, sex, gender, and class intersectionality concepts began to become recognized.

Historically the first-wave feminist movement of the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries focused on womxn’s legal rights, such as the right to vote. The problem is that mainstream feminism started off in the United States being led by only white womxn. The movement has historically been portrayed as White and Eurocentric based which left WOC out. This is because some white womxn suffragists believed it was acceptable to argue that white womxn should not be given less power than black men (Eisentein 2009, p.10). These sentiments continued through the second-wave of feminism because in United States there is a racial ethnic order hierarchy in which whites have more power than people of color (POC). Not all womxn suffer oppression in the same way because white womxn have more privilege than WOC. Many Chicanas felt that they could not be allies to white feminists because they were part of the oppressors they were trying to combat against.

Calls for gender equality by white womxn began to emerge around the middle of the twentieth century during the time of the civil rights movement. This is historically discussed by scholars as the Womxn's Liberation Movement, which is sometimes called the "second-wave" of feminism (Aulette 2015, p.10). The second-wave of feminism touched on multiple areas of womxn's experiences such as family, sexuality, and work. However, second-wave white feminists were still ignoring needs of WOC, thus fighting two completely different battles. Although both groups of womxn are oppressed, white womxn are ultimately privileged by their skin pigmentation.

Womxn's autonomy depends on their ability to control their reproductive rights. The focus for many white women at the time included access to safe contraception and abortion, which is not inclusive of the needs of all womxn. This narrative is limited because "most of the women who participated in the Abortion Counseling Service and those active in the movement nationally were white, college-educated, and middle class. They believed that abortion rights were they key to control woman's control over their own bodies," (Aulette 2015, p.356). This left out those who wanted to have children, but were denied the opportunity. White womxn were fighting for reproductive rights, while WOC were advocating for reproductive justice. The white activists who focused on abortion did not make it a central issue to discuss the sterilization abuse practiced on WOC that had been going on for many decades.

The United States has a long history of coercive sterilization practiced on WOC. The practice of nonconsensual sterilization was a key issue within the platform of Chicana feminists. WOC were "pressured to consent to be sterilized or ... sterilized without their knowledge or consent" and middle-class white womxn who "had difficulty finding doctors willing to perform the operation on them" (Aulette 2015, p.357). This demonstrates how there are differences among the issues womxn of different races and social class face. It is important to remember that womxn cannot be discussed about or treated as a homogenous group and neither can their issues.

Sterilization and birth control represented freedom and autonomy for white, middle-class womxn. At the same time, they were tools used by the government to control the reproductive lives of WOC. Chicana feminists influenced the reproductive rights

movement by raising awareness of these differences and transformed the abortion rights movement into a more inclusive movement for reproductive freedom (Nelson, 2003). Chicanas fought for womxn to be free of forced sterilization because they believed one should be able to bear as many children as they chose. Through their actions, they expanded the womxn's health movement (Eisenstein 2004). The politics of reproductive rights originated within the second-wave of the feminist movement as womxn sought the right to control their bodies, but it was the work of WOC, who started linking reproductive rights to issues with issues of racism and poverty.

The documentary *No mas bebés* (No more babies), directed by Renee T. (2015) tells the story of Mexican immigrant mothers who were forcibly or unknowingly sterilized during the 1960s and 1970s. It demonstrates how these issues were not talked about by white feminist nor their Chicano counterparts. White womxn were fighting to not have long waiting periods for abortions. At the same time Chicanas and other WOC wanted a waiting period for sterilization for racial issues. Chicanas were concerned about having agency over their own bodies and being able to reproduce.

Chicanas and white womxn experiences issues such as welfare, education, childcare, and how they experience being mothers differently. For example, what white womxn and Chicanas needed from childcare were different because there were additional considerations that Chicanas looked for. According to Adelaida R. Del Castillo (1997), Chicanas needed to think about if the child care provider was "culturally prevalent" and "bilingual". Chicanas were asking for free child care, bilingual child care and bicultural childcare, issues caused by class and race. Secondly, research done on employed womxn often finds that white womxn choose to work for wages and the Latina womxn insist that work and family are not two alternatives (Segura 1999).

The Chicano Movement emerged during the Civil Rights Era. It was cultural and political focused on resistance. The first part of the Chicano Movement began with community organizers such as Oscar Zeta Acosta, and Cesar Chavez. The Brown Berets was a community based social justice organization that emerged during this time. They took a stance on political issues that affected Chicana community such as educational inequality, healthcare access, and police brutality. Although they were active predominantly in

East Los Angeles, they also had a strong presence in Lincoln Heights and Boyle Heights. Both men and womxn wore brown berets as a symbol of unity and resistance, however there was clear division amongst them. I will use the Brown Berets as a key example to how gender roles and stereotypes affected the Chicana womxn. I also explain why many female Brown Berets decided to leave the organization and start Las Adelitas de Atzlan.

The womxn's movement challenged several assumptions about sex and gender that shaped both individual perceptions and social institutions. In her book *The Lenses of Gender*, Sandra Bem (1993) linked these assumptions to "gender lenses" that filter what people see. The lens of "gender polarization" and the "lens of essentialism" can be applied to understanding gender within the Chicano movement. The lens of gender polarization refers to the ways that diverse aspects of human experiences are culturally linked to gender differences, cultural items, emotions, social positions, and needs are either male or female. Many "people believe that the differences in male and female autonomy are decisive and provide the basis for the differences in men's and women's experiences" (Kimmel 2017, p.19). Essentialist scholars view that gender is a fixed biological or psychological trait that does not vary among individuals over time. Gender scholars argue that these polarities in men's and womxn's abilities are socially constructed, not biologically determined.

In different societies womxn and men have different gender roles. What stays consistent is the idea that there is a line between what is feminine and masculine. Specifically, there are clear gender binaries within the United States regarding what is seen as feminine versus what is seen as masculine. According to Aulette, gender "refers to the performance itself, the ways people accomplish being a man or a woman" (Aulette 2015, p.69). Specifically, "doing gender" involves acting appropriately in specific contexts and for specific audiences. The concept of doing gender was a major advance in sociological thinking about gender because it showed how people create gender differences amongst people.

Genitalia, hormones, and genes contribute to, but do not create gender differences. Gender roles are internalized and adopted by individuals through gender socialization. This means that "they are sustained by social expectations, gender categorization, doing gender at the interactional level; and they are shaped

by constraints and possibilities at the structural and institutional levels" (Aulette 2015, p.87). Doing gender reinforces the illusion that there are essential differences between genders, and doing gender is what creates the differences (Zimmerman, 1987). This creates power inequality which can be seen within the Chicano movement by the roles given to men and womxn.

In March 1969, the Denver Youth Conference took place. At this conference a workshop was held discussing the role of womxn in the Chicano movement. The womxn of this workshop stated, "It was the consensus of the group that the Chicana woman does not want to be liberated." (Garcia 1997, p.29). This was one of the principle actions that sparked the Chicana Feminist Movement because many other Chicanas actions rejected that attitude. Womxn became prompt into action due to the "machismo" she encountered in the movement. Chicanas had very important roles but did not get acknowledgement. The effort of Chicanas in the Chicano movement is generally obscured because womxn are not accepted as community leaders.

Within the Latinx community, womxn have been stereotyped and treated as though they are supposed to fall into the role of mothers or objects. Hernandez (1997) states that "there persists a somewhat simplistic view of gender as it applies to Latin American, Mexican, and Chicana societies in which patriarchy is still taken at face value" (Hernandez 1997, p.969). Clear gender roles within the Chicano Movement can be seen by the positions the men and womxn had. While many Chicanas sought to empower themselves and their community, many Chicanos and Chicanas argued that by taking on leadership roles womxn were deviating from the role of mother and nurture therefore betraying their cultural heritage (Dicochea, 2004). According to Chicanos, the roles of Chicanas consisted of being secretaries, cooking, child labor, and nurturing the men. Throughout the Chicano movement Chicana's contributions were diminished.

There was division amongst womxn within the Chicano movement. Chicanas, traditionally have been tortilla-makers, baby-producers, to be touched but not heard. Many Chicanas wanted to continue these roles, while others wanted change. The "Loyalist" viewed the Chicana feminist as anti-family, anti-cultural, anti-man and anti-Chicano movement. This is because they saw these womxn as selfish who were only concerned with themselves at the cost of everyone else. Chicana

feminist work should have always been acknowledged throughout the Chicano movement. However, loyalists felt that by acknowledging the problems Chicanas faced, it divided the movement. It has been argued that the reason that the division existed was because the work of both genders was not being taken seriously by all parties involved.

West and Fenstermaker argue that “sex-role learning produced girls and womxn who were nurturant, child centered, dependent on husbands, and family orientated and boys and men who were work oriented, competitive, aggressive, and ambitious” (Aulette 2015, p.63). Although their research was mainly focused on white and middle-class individuals, these concepts can be applied to the Latinx community. The Brown Berets can be used as a case study to demonstrate specific gender roles that impacted the Chicano movement. Their biggest success projects were their free clinics, however, the men did not take the work seriously. They merely wanted to party there because the founder and creator of the clinics was a female. It was founded and created by the Brown Berets highest ranking female official Gloria Arellanes, who was not respected at the same level as the men.

Chicano men were and are oppressed by the white man. In order to portray masculinity, they were dominating and exerting power over the Chicanas. It appears Chicanos tried to compensate for the lack of power with the use of male privilege. This was a clear double standard that the Chicano men were making. One clear example of this double standard is presented by Anna Nieto Gomez (1997), who stated that if a man was having a meeting he would expect for the womxn to stay at home and take care of the kids, but if she had a meeting it should be at the house, so she could take care of the kids at the same time. Men within the organization should have been giving the womxn the same level of respect as their male counterparts. Since Chicanos understood what it was like to be oppressed, it only made sense that they would not act like their oppressors.

Womxn are constantly doing more work within organizations than they are given credit for. According to Hochschild (1983) and Lopez (2010) in *Gendered Worlds*, “One way that women’s and men’s work differences is in the amount and kind of emotional labor involved in their jobs” (Aulette 2015, p.180). Emotional labor is work that is invisible that involves displaying

certain feelings like attentiveness and caring. For example, ‘sociability work,’ which is the work done by volunteers in the community to help support important activities and institutions is largely done by womxn. This kind of work, housework, and emotion work is invisible because it is seen as ‘women’s work’. Since it is seen as a ‘natural’ thing for women to be nurturing and caretaking, it is something to be expected not recognized nor appreciated when it is done, but instead seen something against their role when they chose to do other things. (Daniels, 1985)

The movement’s foundation relied on the Chicanas doing the groundwork and holding organizations together without getting the credit or respect for their dedication. In the Brown Berets, the womxn were responsible for planning and preparing all events and actions, networking, running the free clinic, and running *La Causa* newspaper. However, the Brown Beret men treated Arellanes like a secretary, undermining her work. Sexism and machismo is so deeply rooted within the society. Within the Chicano movement they denied the basic right of Chicanas to organize around their own concrete issues. According to Vidal (1997), many Chicanas were told by their Chicano counterparts that they should stay away from the womxn’s liberation movement because it was believed to be an “Anglo thing”.

While feminism was argued to be an “Anglo thing” by the Chicano men, in reality male chauvinism is what should be labeled as an “Anglo thing.” This is because the role of womxn being inferior to men was not always present in society. It is said that “The submission of womxn, along with institutions such as the church and the patriarchy, was imported by the European colonizers, and remain part of Anglo society” (Vidal 1997, p.23). While Chicano men wanted to gain equality from their white counterparts, they were still mistreating the womxn who were fighting alongside with them. Due to the lack of respect and acknowledgment as equal revolutionary sisters, the womxn of the original Brown Berets decided to leave.

In February 1970 a letter was sent to “Aron Manganilla, Minister of Education for the Brown Berets,” that declared that the minister of correspondence and finance for the East Los Angeles chapter of the Brown Berets, Gloria Arellanes, had resigned. Furthermore, it went on to say that all the womxn had resigned because they had been “treated as nothings... which means the

resolutions that our “macho” men voted for have been disregarded. We have found that the Brown Beret men have oppressed us more than the pig system has.” Chicanas then went on to create their own organization called Las Adelitas de Aztlán which was named as a tribute to the female fighters of the Mexican Revolution. According to Vasquez (1997), during the time of Pancho Villa and the revolution of Mexico in 1910, her mother saw womxn march through the village carrying food, supplies, and wearing fully loaded ammunition belts. Las Adelitas de Aztlán helped give birth to Chicana feminism, while honoring the strong womxn from Mexican history. Las Adelitas de Aztlán discussed how they were talked to and treated as womxn. Chicanas’ discussed topics such as: welfare, employment, education, family roles, the movement, and sexuality. (Espinoza, 2001)

Religions teach that womxn and men are separate kind of people. They proclaim that womxn and men have different standards of behavior. Religions emphasize that womxn and men are not only different, but lesser than men, by not allowing womxn to have leadership roles. (Sapiro, 2003) Specifically, the Catholic Church does not allow womxn to become priests, bishops, archbishops, cardinals, or popes. Catholicism provides another example of the way in which not only religious beliefs, but the organization of religious institutions reflect gender inequality. The way that Catholics describe God is gendered since they usually speak of God as the Father, the Lord, and the Son. Since many Chicanos and Chicanas are catholic, these gender inequalities are enforced by their religion within the culture.

Traditionally, Mexican culture has been male-orientated and dominated. Some scholars argue that the close relationship between Mexican culture and Catholicism makes it clear why Chicana womxn were not always supported by their Chicano counterparts. Dicochea (2004) states that “Interrogating the gender relations dictated by machismo and historically rooting machismo in the sanctified image of La Virgen de Guadalupe were critical rhetorical strategies through which Chicanas attempted to reveal the irrationality and injustice of the sexist aspect of Chicano culture” (Dicochea 2004, p.80), this is because La Virgen de Guadalupe is a resemblance of the virgin-whore dichotomy. Men and womxn are often required to behave differently to be considered godly, both participate within Catholicism in different ways either as leaders or followers. Within the bible, men and womxn play different roles that teach that the

a womxn is either a saint and serve to be the nurtures or a slut and be anti-family.

Chicana scholars have stated that Chicana activists forged an autonomous space for womxn’s political participation and challenged the gendered confines of Chicano nationalism in the movement. The article by Dicochea (2004) proposes a Chicana Critical Rhetoric (CCR), which combines Chicana feminist critical studies and critical rhetoric. She argues that early Chicana feminists, a group neglected until recently, created a discursive space that was safe for Chicana feminists, which denaturalized gendered relations of power. There is evidence of clear patriarchal subordination of womxn justified by the Chicano movement as cultural loyalty.

Many of the issues faced by the Chicanas and brought to attention in the 1960’s and 1970’s are extremely relevant today. Today, womxn have been joining men in the paid labor force, but men are often paid better, promoted faster, and employed in different work altogether. The gender gap on unpaid housework exists all over the world and much of contemporary belief about motherhood idealizes mothering and ignores the problems real mothers face when raising children. Men continue to dominate in most places, additionally, for example, “masculinity is more closely associated with the skills many of us associate with being a good political leader: strong, authoritative, decisive, and with a track record in business, law, and the military.” (Aulette 2015, p.404). Since these traits are attached to men, it makes it harder for people within a society to view womxn as leaders, instead they see them as mere followers or helpers within social justice movements.

Chicanas have been discriminated by the white dominant society, also by their Chicano counterparts fighting for “freedom”. However, if one is to speak of freedom, it must encompass all people equally, regardless of gender. This lesson needs to be learned by all community organizers. These issues are extremely prevalent today and we must learn from the past and encompass the lessons taught. Another version of the Brown Berets was created in 2014 as the Los Angeles FOCO Brown Berets, but the womxn from this generation experienced the same misogyny as their predecessors and resigned (Medium, 2016). Even within non-profit organizations today fighting for “justice” such as Undocumedia, had its co-founder pushed to resignation by the community due to his anti-black-

ness and misogynistic comments (Medium, 2018) (Mcsnetwork). Although, sexism is deeply rooted within Chicana culture, the culture itself must also be reexamined.

Chicanas face specific obstacles for being both womxn along with being part of the Chicana community. One cannot talk about the Chicana feminist movement without talking about sexism and racism together. These circumstances created the need and social impact of the Chicana Feminist Movement. The Chicana could not rely on the men in the Chicano Movement or the womxn in the Womxn's Liberation Movement. Each

of the movements wanted the Chicana to sacrifice her needs for the larger movement. Womxn who fought for their rights were often told by both groups that they had to choose between being womxn and being Chicana. Being Chicana as part of the Chicano movement often entailed being less than the Chicano due to stereotypical Mexican gender roles. How could both Chicanas and Chicanos fight against the oppression of racism, when there was sexism involved amongst them. These fights are not over, and it is important to remember that no fight can be fought alone, individuals must be allies to one another and gain true intersectional justice.

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Latin American Immigration: Not a Choice, but a Necessity

Delanie Becerra

Have you ever been separated from your family for weeks, months, or even years at a time? Without knowing if you will ever see them again? Have you ever had to genuinely worry about your safety in your community? Have you ever fled from violence only to be rejected by society in another country? Sadly, these are common occurrences for Mexicans and Central Americans who emigrate to the United States out of necessity due to the devastating violence that occurs in their countries of origin. There is a standard misconception that the influx of immigrants, specifically from Central American countries such as Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras, come to the United States to take jobs. When the reality is, they are emigrating in hopes of a better life and to achieve the American dream. Many people are unaware of the immense amount of violence that is present in these countries that forces people to migrate in the first place. Many Americans believe that Central American immigration is a zero-sum game where whatever is gained by one side is lost by the other. Americans often lack a true understanding of how the treacherous conditions back home affect those who are embarking on the journey in search of a better life. Instead, the hostility with which we receive immigrants, documented or not, creates the same precarious environment that they tried so hard to get away from in the first place.

Leaving home is never easy for anyone, especially when it is not by choice. Central Americans reluctantly leave their families and communities for an unknown amount of time. They feel unsafe and are scared of the growing violence committed by gang members. Some countries are controlled by dictators who have been known to foment political chaos and economic instability. These people live in a constant state of unease and unrest. Leisy Abrego, a sociologist at UCLA, states in her book *Why Parents Migrate*, that “migration and seasonal family separation became a common strategy of survival... for families separated by great distances and multiple national borders” (Abrego 44). Central American immigrants are leaving out of means of survival, not out of desire. In fact, Abrego finds that a

majority of those who emigrate would have preferred to stay in their home country if they had the option. Some are single mothers who do what they have to do for their families. For example, Abrego interviewed a woman named Esperanza, a mother who had to leave her children and migrate to the United States in order to provide them with basic necessities such as food, who recalled the painful goodbye, “My heart was boiling with sadness... One night I put my daughter to sleep and she turned to face the wall. I think she could sense my departure... My little girl wakes up, and she tells me, “Mami, I want milk (crying)...” “There is no milk, baby, but I promise I will get you some” (Abrego 44). The inability to make ends meet causes such immense distress in its citizens that they reluctantly leave their children behind to seek asylum in the United States, where they believe they will be welcomed and protected by the government.

The journey itself is one of the most dangerous and unnerving parts of a person’s migration to the United States. One means of travel is by walking the long expedition, usually with a “coyote,” or a person they pay an exorbitant amount of money to, who will help them cross the border. They simply put their trust in professional smugglers who they do not know and hope and pray they will successfully make it across the border safely. Given the long distance to the United States, however, most Central Americans choose to ride “la bestia,” or “the beast,” in English. This is a freight train that travels from Central America to Mexico, where travelers have to try and match the speed of the train, jump onto it, and hold on with all their might. It is truly as terrifying as it sounds. There have been thousands of deaths and injuries on “la bestia,” such as limbs tearing off and people getting run over. For those that do make it on the train, their struggles are just beginning. Abrego mentions that, “Criminals may hurt or kill unauthorized migrants indiscriminately, but they rape and attempt to claim ownership mostly over women” (Abrego 57). Women have reported being brutally attacked and raped, their families have been robbed, and are in constant fear of getting caught at

police checkpoints along the way. There are innumerable corrupt and unjust police and border control officers that abuse their power and rape vulnerable migrants or send them back as they come. The pain and suffering for undocumented immigrants entering the States ceases to end there.

There is a blurred vision of the American Dream from many migrants who view the United States as a land of opportunity and undying success. Most often, immigrants experience racism and discrimination upon their arrival. This is exacerbated by our current president, Donald Trump, and his administration who are not only unwelcoming to immigrants but want to keep them out by building a wall and are trying to deter immigration by resorting to family separation and legal violence. Take Griselda, a middle-aged woman from El Salvador, who struggled being away from her family. She heartbreakingly says, “I got here, and I had no one... I had relatives, but they couldn’t help me, that’s just how families are here... So, uh, (long silence, she begins to cry), I found this woman, she gave me a place to stay, but just for one night. The next day, I didn’t know where to go” (Abrego 59). Immigrants in the United States are paid a non-livable wage yet work the most demanding jobs and are ridiculed throughout the process of trying to become successful. They surpass innumerable difficulties during their journey, yet are reduced to the worst stereotypes and negative portrayals from Americans who have long viewed and treated those from outside of the States as dangerous foreign invaders.

Leo Chavez proclaims in “Latino Threat Narrative” that, “The historical lesson is that “illegality” is socially,

culturally, and politically constructed. As people move... their status is determined by politics... not by some essential quality inherent in the migrant’s genetic code or person philosophy of life” (Chavez 67). Immigrants are not treated fairly due to the fact that they were not born in the United States and oftentimes do not speak English, along with countless other stereotypes that negatively affect immigrants’ ability to achieve the American Dream. America prides itself as being a diverse country, yet the people who have contributed so much richness to our nation are being blamed as the reason for its downfall. Immigrants are essential to the historical and cultural formation of our greatest cities.

Some Americans believe that those from Central America and Mexico come to the U.S. for the sole purpose of stealing jobs, yet that is far from the truth. No one willingly puts themselves and their family in danger or goes through such difficulties to take a job from someone else. They leave out of necessity to save their lives and their families’ lives because of corrupt governments and constant physical danger. People fail to realize that the United States is a nation of immigrants, they are what make our nation so great and diverse. Wendy Cheng claims in her article, *Is Los Angeles a City of Immigrants?*, “Yes, L.A. is a city of immigrants. It is also a city of indigenous... and settler colonialists; a city of the formerly enslaved; a city of refugees; of migrants, and all kinds of Americans” (Cheng 84)... They immigrate to America in the hopes of a better life for themselves and their families. It is time that citizens of the United States, including the U.S. government, not only welcome the people they consider to be strangers but accept them openly.

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Contributors



KYLE FRIEDLER

Kyle Friedler is a sophomore sociology major, women and gender studies and film studies double minor from Chicago. He is a member of the men's cross country and track and field teams as well as a part of the University Honor Program. He enjoys going to the beach, watching movies, and playing board games. Most of the time, he'll be spending time with friends doing homework or listening to music. Because he runs a lot, Kyle often goes to bed before 9pm and he takes a lot of naps.

SAMANTHA KIM

Samantha Kim is a graduating Sociology and Women and Gender Studies double major with a minor in Asia and Pacific Studies. She is a member of Han Tao, the Chinese-American culture club on-campus, as well as Ignatians Service Organization, and a co-founder of the Korean American Student Association (KASA). She is excited and honored to have her paper published.





ALEX MEEK

Alexandra Meek is a senior Sociology and Women's and Gender Studies double major from Santa Cruz, California. She is also a member of the University Honors Program, Delta Zeta Sorority, and Alpha Kappa Delta. After graduation she plans to remain in California, and take a gap year before attending law school.

EMMA DUNN

Emma Dunn is a graduating Sociology major and Business Administration minor from Los Angeles, California. She has been a member

Alpha Chi Omega sorority since freshman year was inducted into the sociology honors society, Alpha Kappa Delta, last spring.

Throughout her time at LMU, she has spent time at a variety of internships, but is currently working as a Research Assistant for Professor

Limoncelli, assisting her with her research on human trafficking. Emma plans to further her studies by pursuing a law degree, looking towards a career in social justice.





NATALIE MENICUCCI

Natalie Menicucci is a Sociology major with a minor in Environmental Studies. She is also an active member of Alpha Phi Sorority. She currently interns with a consumer, lifestyle and wellness Public Relations and Marketing agency. Post graduation she plans to remain in the Los Angeles area and begin her career in Public Relations and Marketing fields. Her paper on ADD and ADHD is of personal interest as she herself is diagnosed with ADD and hails from a long line of family members with the disorder. This paper is written in hopes to enlighten others on the challenges and gifts that come with it.

KRISTINE DIZON

Kristine Dizon is a senior Sociology major from the South of Market neighborhood in San Francisco, California. She originally came into LMU undeclared, and found her passion for Sociology after taking courses that explored her interests in race, gender, and urban communities. In her free time,

Kristine enjoys photography and going to concerts. While currently interning in social media marketing, Kristine hopes to pursue a career that combines her creativity with building strong communities towards social justice.





KRISTI MIKAMI

Kristi Mikami is a senior sociology major with a minor in psychology. She is from Kaneohe, Hawaii and loves to share the Aloha Spirit with all whom she encounters. In her free time she enjoys volunteering with the LMU Special Olympics club and surfing. She is also a member of the sociology honor society Kappa Alpha Delta. Kristi hopes to take all of the insights about the world and the way it operates that she has learned at LMU and create positive change.

KATHERINE KROL

Katherine Krol is in her fourth year at LMU, and has thoroughly enjoyed her time majoring in Sociology and minoring in Business Administration. She is born and raised in Westlake Village, California. She is a proud member of the sorority Delta Zeta and holds a position as the Guard. In addition, she recently joined the pre-law society Phi Delta Phi in hopes of seeking justice and defending the truth. Katherine is dedicating both her time and education towards a future in a legal career in either Elder Law or Health Law.





MAYA COOPER

As a Sociology major and Women and Gender Studies minor, I am passionate about issues concerning race, gender, and overall social inequality. As a fan of hip hop, I was compelled to write this paper because such issues are often overlooked, and I wanted to take a deeper look at the genre through a sociological lens.

MARIA LOPEZ ZAMUDIO

Maria (Class of 2019) is majoring in Chicana/o-Latino/a Studies with a minor in Sociology. In Fall 2017, she transferred with an AA in Liberal Arts: Arts and Humanities from Santa Monica College, where she excelled as a student leader academically. Maria is involved with organizations that support marginalized communities. She supports immigrant and first-gen students access to higher education through her involvement with the Center for Service and Action, Resilience, MEChA, and the First To Go Program. Her deep passion for justice, creativity and critical thinking is showcased through her search for consistent personal and academic development.





DELANIE BECERRA

My name is Delanie Becerra and I am currently a freshman Journalism major on the women's rowing team at LMU from San Jose, California. As a Latina myself, I have always been interested in learning more about the immigration process and the difficulties that Latin-American immigrants face when coming to the United States. Through my FYS class, Latino LA, I was able to create this op-ed piece which touches on the life of immigrants, along with stereotypes placed on them by Americans.

