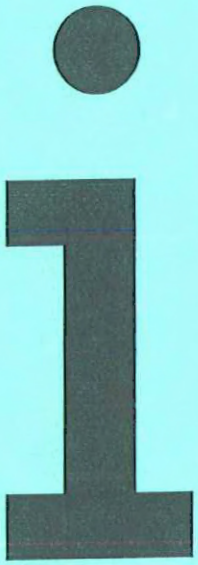
Spring 2014

# The Sociological Eye 2014

Loyola Marymount University, Sociology Department

The Sociological



2014

# THE SOCIOLOGICAL EYE

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## Journal of the Sociology Department

## Loyola Marymount University

The Sociological Eye is a student edited journal. Sociology majors and minors, as well as other LMU students, are encouraged to send in short essays (about 2500 words) to expose their own scholarly work on topics of sociological interest. The journal is an excellent medium to contribute your research endeavors to students, alumni, and faculty. Please contact either of the co-editors or Dr. Muraco for more information.

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# PREFACE

Each year, the Sociological Eye publishes some of the finest student work to be produced in the Sociology Department at Loyola Marymount University. This year some key themes from the manuscripts include connections between social identities, social structures, and empirical implications. Much as sociologists like to discuss how social identities like race, gender, and religion are socially constructed, these characteristics shape the way we navigate and experience the world around us. The first piece in this year's Eye addresses how mass incarceration affects family life and gender (Vaughn). A more historical glimpse examines the lives of female prostitutes during the Gold Rush (Chobanian). Gender is also at the center of the paper that addresses how body image affects adolescents (Cervantes), as well as in the more personal pieces about struggling against gender expectations (Zamora) and socialization into Korean-American girlhood (Kim). The issue concludes with a study of how native and transplanted individuals visualize and perceive of Los Angeles (Webb).

**Anna Muraco**

**Sociological Eye Faculty Advisor**

# PAIGE VAUGHN

Paige Vaughn is a senior at LMU majoring in Sociology and Psychology. She currently works as a volunteer for both the Los Angeles District Attorney's Victim-Witness Assistance System and the Francisco Homes, the first transitional housing program available to former male inmates who were sentenced to life in prison and have recently been sentenced to parole. She is a member of the International Honor Society in Sociology (Alpha Sigma Nu) and the International Honor Society in Psychology (Psi Chi). After graduation, Paige plans on serving for a year as an Jesuit Volunteer for the South Alabama Volunteer Lawyers Program. She then plans on pursuing prison reform through the implementation of restorative justice policies and practices. Paige would like to thank her professors and family for providing her with knowledge of important social justice issues and encouragement to follow her dreams.

## The Impact of Mass Imprisonment on the Institution of Marriage

### I. INTRODUCTION

During the past several decades, African American marital timing and prevalence rates have changed dramatically and more than any other racial group in the United States. Compared to other racial groups, African American individuals, and African American women in particular, are less likely to get married and are more likely to delay entry into marriage (Tucker & Mitchell-Kernan, 1995). Although stark associations have been found between historical and modern African American marital trends in regard to mate availability, health care disparities, economic disparities, and sociopolitical disparities, recent literature has also examined the relationship between mass incarceration and African American marital trends. Social scientists' interests have shifted from a focus on the crime-inhibiting effects of marriage to the effects of imprisonment on the institution of marriage. Research has demonstrated that prison institutions perpetuate marital

disparities by largely determining African Americans' entry into marriage and the stability of their marital relationships (Wakefield & Uggen, 2010). Women are being affected by changes in male availability, inmates' families are systematically being broken apart, prisoner marriage rates have become surprisingly low, and former prisoners are much less likely than non-institutionalized individuals to become married (Western & Wildeman, 2009; Wakefield & Uggen, 2010).

## II. MASS INCARCERATION

Since 1973, mass incarceration in the United States has been systematically creating and upholding discrimination by imprisoning large amounts of people, targeting members from particular social groups, and shaping individuals' access to and success in social institutions outside of prison. Determinate sentencing laws, economic disparities, and severe public policy changes ultimately began the systematic process of incarcerating groups of lower socioeconomic status, racial minorities, and ethnic minorities, which in turn has largely perpetuated racial and economic disparities. The United States currently has the highest population of jail and prison inmates in the world, and, although female imprisonment is rapidly increasing, African American men are still more likely than any other social group to be felony convicts (Wakefield & Uggen, 2010). Structural inequalities, such as conviction and sentencing disparities, partially determine whether or not an individual will be incarcerated during his or her lifetime and the social consequences that incarceration entails (Wakefield & Uggen, 2010). Research suggests that the prison boom has had a profound impact on minority labor access, educational opportunities, health, and family processes, including that of marriage (Wakefield & Uggen, 2010).

## III. THE IMPACT OF MARRIAGE ON INCARCERATION

Throughout history, social scientists have typically been interested in measuring the impact of marriage on incarceration and the crime-inhibiting role that marriage plays in relationships. Findings suggest that marriage and family attachment have a profound effect on criminal behavior and incarceration. For instance, strong marital attachment has been found to inhibit adult crime, particularly because stable marital relationships lower the likelihood that men will surround themselves with deviants who engage in criminal activity (Sampson & Laub, 2003). Repeat offenders have discontinued criminal activity as a result of strong marital ties and supportive relationships (Sampson & Laub, 2003). Inmates who hold positive perceptions of their marital history and marital quality tend to have low levels of loneliness high levels of marital commitment, even when their imprisonment restricts communication with their significant others (Sagrin & Flora, 2001).

## IV. THE IMPACT OF INCARCERATION ON MARRIAGE

During recent years, researchers have begun observing the effects of imprisonment on social structures and specific social groups. Mass incarceration has both directly and indirectly affected family life for those who have entered the criminal justice system and for the families of the imprisoned (Western & Wildeman, 2009). When an individual is imprisoned, his or her life course is largely affected in several ways. Low-educated young prisoners essentially lose their ability to undergo important life events that are expected during periods of young adulthood (Western & Wildeman, 2009). Upon release from prison, an individual finds it more difficult to obtain an education, become employed, and form a stable marriage union (Western & Wildeman, 2009). Four major marital trends have

been found to exist among individuals, and African Americans in particular, who are affected by imprisonment, and these include low levels of marriage among women, the prevalence of broken families due to incarceration, low levels of inmate marriage rates, and low levels of marriage among former inmates (Western & Wildeman, 2009; Wakefield & Uggen, 2010). Imbalanced sex ratios, male unemployment patterns, and the negative stigma attached to prisoners have particularly affected marriage rates and the desirability of marriage in communities affected by crime, but further research needs to be conducted in order to gain a better understanding about the impact of incarceration on marriage (Pinderhughnes, 2002; Tucker & Mitchell-Kernan, 1995; Wakefield & Uggen, 2010).

## A. THE IMPACT OF INCARCERATION ON FEMALE MARRIAGE

In 1999, one-third of low-educated and middle-aged African American men had been incarcerated, and high levels of imprisonment have largely affected married men and women living in disadvantaged urban areas (Western & Wildeman, 2009). Between 1970 and 2000, female African American marriage rates fell from 60% to 30%, and the severe decline in marriage among African American women has been attributed to changes in male availability that have largely resulted from mass incarceration (Western & Wildeman, 2009). Since high crime rates are associated with increased mortality rates and incarceration rates, finding men to marry has become very challenging, especially for female black women living in disadvantaged urban communities with high levels of crime. Women have begun to outnumber men in several cities around the United States due to incarceration, and the imbalanced sex ratio had become especially prominent in inner cities, where women can outnumber men by nearly 50% (Western & Wildeman, 2009).

B. BROKEN MARRIAGES RESULTING FROM IMPRISONMENT

Not only do imprisoned men have to deal with an undesirable and difficult separation from their loved ones, but prisoners' wives have also been forced to quickly adapt to the absence of their partners. Prisoners find it difficult to fulfill their marital roles and their communication with family members is severely restricted. Many, but not all, prisoners' marriages are negatively affected by this separation (Western & Wildeman, 2009).

C. INMATE MARRIAGE RATES

Male prisoners, and African American men in particular, have significantly low marriage rates compared to individuals who have not been imprisoned (Western & Wildeman, 2009). Imprisoned men in their twenties are half as likely to be married than non-institutionalized men in their twenties (Western & Wildeman, 2009). Young black inmates have a low marriage rate of 11% and only 25% of non-institutionalized young African American men are married (Western & Wildeman, 2009).

D. FORMER INMATE MARRIAGE RATES

Former prisoners are also less likely than their non-institutionalized counterparts to become married, and this is largely a result of lowered economic and marital opportunities (Western & Wildeman, 2009; Tucker & Mitchell-Kernan, 1995). Since inmates' educational and social lives become largely disrupted by imprisonment, they become much less likely to obtain stable employment upon release from prison. Poor unmarried men have found it increasingly difficult to find marriage partners due to the negative stigma that is attached

to prison sentences (Wakefield & Uggen, 2010). Women are less inclined to marry economically unstable men and fear that crime would get in the way of producing legitimate sources of income, would interrupt family stability, and would cause exposure to violence (Western & Wildeman, 2009). Lack of rehabilitation, employment, and marriage opportunities has caused former prisoners to engage in repeat offending (Western & Wildeman, 2009).

## IV. CONCLUSION

Prison institutions have become powerful life-altering structures through which inequalities are created and maintained. Although slavery and discrimination have significantly decreased in the United States, African Americans continue to have higher mortality rates, health care problems, exposure to violence, and incarceration rates than white citizens (Wakefield & Uggen, 2010). The associations between powerful societal institutions are complex and are largely shaped by historical and social factors, but researchers are beginning to critically analyze the impact of imprisonment on social institutions and have acknowledged the importance of identifying and explaining the large array of social consequences that result from incarceration. Findings suggest that the prison institution is largely influencing the prevalence, timing, and maintenance of marital relationships among inmates and ex-inmates, but explanations for such phenomena are inconclusive and need to be further examined. Incarceration has influenced sex ratios, economic stability, and the overall perception of criminals, which have in turn altered marital trends and expectations. Researchers should investigate the causes of different marital trends among incarcerated inmates, and particularly marital trends among African

Americans from low-income urban cities. Public policy solutions should be investigated because they have the potential to lessen or alter the impact of imprisonment on social life.

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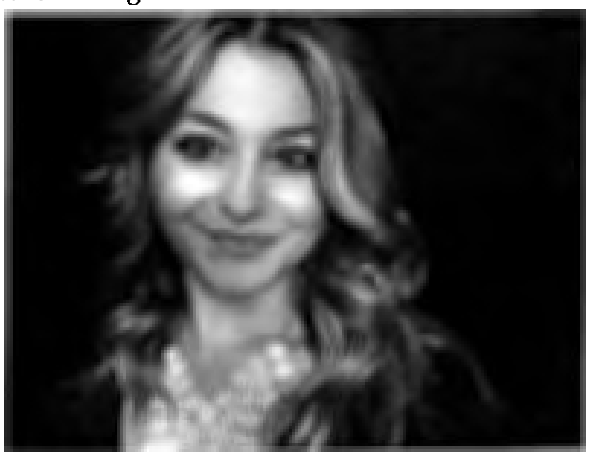
# TALEEN CHOBANIAN

Taleen Chobanian is a junior transfer student majoring in Sociology at Loyola Marymount University. She is set to graduate in 2015 and plans to attain a Master's degree soon after. Taleen was born and raised in the San Fernando Valley to Armenian parents. Her parents taught her the importance of preserving her ethnic background and staying true to her identity. Taleen was raised to question what seemed wrong and to fight for what was morally just. Focusing her interests on human rights and the significant influence of women on society has become a growing passion for Taleen.



Having worked as a teacher's assistant for two years, her passion for teaching children grew into an interest into how society shapes our growing minds. After graduation, she plans on becoming a therapist for children and teens. She strongly believes counseling and early intervention for struggling youth is crucial to their success in life. When she is not working on school papers and studying, she is involved in an Armenian youth organization and its grassroots projects. Taleen is thankful that Loyola Marymount University provides her with the best educators in the field to help her further understand and learn about all aspects of society.

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**The Prostitution of Women during the Gold Rush**

From 1848 to the late 1850s, prostitutes experienced an increase in power followed by a harsh fall from grace in San Francisco. The women were indentured Chinese, oppressed Latinas, European immigrants, or kidnapped and enslaved white women. However, there were white women who also sought financial independence through prostitution willingly. A hierarchical system between women in California was formed at this time in which women of different races began to be seen as commodities. Through this paper I will explore this often forgotten part of San Francisco's Gold Rush history. Hegemonic U.S representations of the Gold Rush only portray men panning for gold; I want to know where and what the women were doing during this time. This paper will try to describe how prostitution evolved in San Francisco and what affect prostitution

and the Gold Rush had on California women's identities and lives. First, I will discuss the increase in migration of white women to San Francisco and how that affected Native American, Mexican and other "exotic" women who inhabited the area. Next, I will investigate the surge in prostitution in San Francisco beginning in 1848 and how it differently affected women of different races and classes. Finally, I will examine the fall of prostitution and what consequences it had for women in the late 1850s and on.

It is important to first discuss the Gold Rush society and culture to better understand the roles, treatment and hierarchy existing amid women during this time. The Gold Rush "most boldly dramatized the increasingly global nature of American society in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries" (Starr 4). This important event was not an American event, but rather an international event. Although the Forty-niners came from all around the world, the majority were white men from the Northern United States. After the initial discovery of gold in 1849, the immigration of non-white men became to be seen as a problem by white Americans. They viewed these immigrants as a threat and sought to establish hegemony over all miners. White Americans began taxing non-European American miners, promoting racism, committing mass murders against all people of color, and using cruel intimidation tactics to drive out non- white miners. As Kevin Starr declares, " The Gold Rush shows us clearly for what we were, a nation with strong racist and ethnic prejudices in its heart" (Starr 7). White Americans felt exposed and threatened; this was not just affecting white men, but also white women who found themselves following the trend to move to the West. This pattern of discrimination against minorities and immigrants has continued throughout the history of the United States.

San Francisco had been a multicultural frontier even before the Gold Rush began. In this multicultural environment, a mix of different views on sexuality and gender existed. However, this multiculturalism did not lead to unification; instead, it led to hierarchy and extreme divisions, not only between men, but also between women. It is important to note that white women and men who migrated to the west from the states were not always the majority in the West. Before the Gold Rush, a significant amount of "exotic" women were present in the area. However, due to the sudden rush of people to the west during the Gold Rush, there was a failure on the part of census takers to account for how many women and men immigrated to San Francisco. Records indicate that women, predominantly white women, came to California later and in smaller numbers than men. These women would often arrive to California to find that their husbands bad been cheating on them with women of color. Besides the already present racist aversion towards women of color in America, this betrayal triggered a lot of hostility from white women towards women of color, leading to the formation of a social hierarchy against women of color in California.

The original inhabitants of California were the Native Americans and Californios. Archives of women native to California are very scarce because there are no written records. However, according to Albert L. Hurtado's book, *Sex Gender and Culture in Old California*, premarital sex was not a big deal in most native tribes, though after marriage spouses had to remain loyal to their partners. Adultery was cause for divorce and even punishment for some Native American women. Even though it seems men had tbe power, women could also divorce their husbands if they felt mistreated, or if their husbands committed adultery. Some marriages had been arranged from youth, so if the man or woman in the marriage felt attracted to someone else, it was sometimes ignored if they

kept a lover on the side, just to keep coherence in the family. It can be assumed that Native Americans did not need prostitution since they had open ideas on sexuality and relationships.

Also In Hurado's book, we get a small insight into the lives of Spanish Mexican women before the arrival of white Americans. These women were often forced into arranged marriages they had no control over. Men and women were not allowed to participate in premarital sex, extramarital sex was not allowed and divorce was difficult to attain. For California women, there were strict rules and expectations set by men. Spanish- Mexican men believed that women would seek sex and were eager to please men. This caused families to chaperone young couples so that their daughters remained pure before marriage.

Before the arrival of the conservative northern white women, non-conservative white women from the states arrived to San Francisco searching for money. Most of these women were inexperienced, illiterate and lost. Most were forced out of pure necessity to become prostitutes. The arrival of white women to a very male dominated area was very stimulating for the men. This arrival of white women reminded white men of home and established a sense of comfort for them. Not only would they have sexual companions, but also they now had feminine companions who formed emotional relationships with them. White women thrived during the Gold Rush; through sex work and other paid work, a select few were able to buy property and achieve independence. This newfound independence was a great accomplishment for white women during this time in U.S history, and they were proud no matter what service they were providing. Since white women were

so scarce in the mining communities, they were highly valued and sought after. The scarcity of white women even raised their social standing in California, making them more appreciated by men even if they worked as prostitutes.

According to Nancy J. Taniguchi's article, "Weaving a Different World: Women and the California Gold Rush", "This gold-rush multi-ethnicity and internationalism worked to the disadvantage of some of the women, but opened new possibilities for others, at least until the moral civilizers that the men recognized- their own Yankee women arrived in force" (Taniguchi 144). White women who first arrived to the frontier, started to feel the pressure of a hierarchal system once the conservative white women from the north slowly started to arrive. By the mid 1950s, the "good" classy northern women had arrived. These women tried to "save" the prostitutes by attempting to reform them; however, this did not catch on in the communities. Money was still rolling in, and businesses were growing. In light of the prospering economy, white prostitutes picked up and settled outside the city limits where prostitution was legal. Not all of them migrated together; many moved on to other towns where northern ideas of morality had not crept in or moved back to the cities they came from.

As prostitution grew, a hierarchy was established which trapped many of these inexperienced girls into a profession that had no escape. According to Nancy J. Taniguchi, at the top of the hierarchy were the courtesans or mistresses who had "parlor houses" or "boarding houses". The courtesan was usually a force to be reckoned with. She had beauty, charm, brains and sophistication. Men of great power and wealth often visited these institutions. Their high status in society called for respect from the community for their

mistresses. The establishments themselves were the second step in the hierarchy. The girls in the boarding houses were called "boarders", whose ages range from 18 to 30 years old. These boarders did not dress how you imagine a prostitute to dress like; they wore the latest fashions and always looked put together. The ladies would dress in their most extravagant clothes and would earthier walk or ride in a carriage through the park. Sometimes, madams would send out invitations to men to attend lavish parties at the boarding homes. However, the most effective advertising was in a form of a written directory that could be found in saloons, hotels and restaurants throughout the city. This advertising tactic displayed just how much influence and prominence prostitutes had in San Francisco during this time. Many parlors required men to bring a letter of recommendation or business card before they entered. The dominance and authority of prostitutes during the 1940s and 50's was impressive.

As much as these women were thriving, they still were under the rule of their madam. The clothing, makeup, perfumes, and other essential items were charged to the madams' accounts because the girls had no credit, causing them to always be in debt to their madam. The madam also had the role of paying fees to the city and donating to the local charities and churches to allow her parlor to thrive. Most of these madams were prostitutes who had lost their youth and had decided to gain upward mobility and a chance to become wealthy without having to please men themselves. Although the prostitutes were controlled financially, they were well looked after. They all ate proper meals, gardened, read and took up sewing. Even though these women seemed to have a power and dominance over men in the outside world, when it came to the bedroom men were in charge. According to the book *Soiled Doves,* these women were forced to do as the men wished, and had to pretend to

enjoy it no matter how painful the experience. This was their income and source of power outside of the bedroom, no prostitute wanted to give that up no matter how degrading the bedroom experience was.

As the Gold Rush began to expand so did the need for more girls. In the 1850's, young French, Chinese and Latina girls were being shipped to America to please the growing number of men. Some of these ethnic women of color were able to find husbands while others were forced into prostitution. A new breed of prostitutes had sprung up in the west: ethnic women of color. A new level in the hierarchy began to spring up around town: brothels. These new, less glamorous madams were often less discrete. Now prostitutes ages ranged from 16- 35. As more women arrived to please the growing population, high volume, less selective brothels popped up in the city, hiring prostitutes by the week. Those who once thrived in the booming economy and spent their money freely without saving now found themselves struggling to find money and even shelter. The days of the content prostitute were now over; many prostitutes were depressed and turned to drugs and alcohol to numb their loneliness toward the end of the Gold Rush boom.

Primary sources from the time accurately depict how both prostitutes and women of all colors were perceived. A man by the name of John Paul Dart described the arrival of 300 French women to California as "worth their weight in gold" ("Sex, Gender, Culture, and a Great Event: The California Gold Rush" 9). His observation clearly implied that he viewed these women as a commodity. These French women may have been deemed habitually as prostitutes because of the sexual image that shadowed French women. Besides the French, prostitutes from around the world flooded to the Gold Rush towns. A Methodist missionary

reported about prostitutes to his family saying there were, "Nearly one thousand and there are no villages of any size in the country where they are not to be found- they are the aristocracy" ("Sex, Gender, Culture, and a Great Event: The California Gold Rush" 9). Even though many white women willingly turned to prostitution, for many Chinese women it was far from a choice. During the gold rush many Chinese women were slaves, brought for prostitution. Chinese women culturally were valued less than men and could not inherit money; many families sold their daughters to pay family debts or to receive income from their daughter's prostitution. The increase of Chinese men to California during the Gold Rush along with American men's fascination with exotic women caused Chinese prostitutes to be in high demand. Ah Toy was one of San Francisco's most famous prostitutes. She was the exception to the forced prostitution other Chinese women were suffering. Ah Toy arrived to America in 1849 to "better her condition" (Taniguchi 153). She filed a lawsuit against those who paid her in brass shavings instead of gold. This was unheard of for a Chinese woman to do; she was a free woman however she also spoke English. Even though Chinese men looked down upon her, she maintained her independence. She ended up in court two more times, once in 1850 for public nuisance and in 1851 to resist an effort by Chinese leaders to control her and the two Chinese prostitutes she employed.

U.S hegemonic narratives concerning the Gold Rush predominantly portray men in history. We have always been taught that during the Gold Rush, rugged white men in caravans migrated to the West seeking adventure and gold. However, it is evident through the depiction of Gold Rush history in the U.S, that hegemonic masculinity has placed men into the dominant position and women into a subordinate role. Women had a great influence on the economy, growth and sustainability of businesses in California. However,

because they were placed into subordinate roles by hegemonic narratives, their importance is overruled in U.S history. This second-class status, has kept the story of women in U.S history for the most part an unknown.

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# MARISA CERVANTES

Marisa Cervantes is a graduating senior, with a double major in Sociology and Spanish. Her interest in Sociology began her freshman year and has been increased every year since. After graduation, she will be participating in post-grad service with City Year Los Angeles for one year. She plans on pursuing a Masters in Sociology beginning in Fall 2015, with an emphasis in family and/or gender. Eventually, she will pursue a doctorate and hopes to become a professor of Sociology. Nearing the end of her undergraduate career, she is happy with all that she has accomplished during her time at LMU. As an active member of the First to Go Program and Sigma Lambda Gamma National Sorority, Inc., she knows that her experience at LMU would not have been as great without these two organizations. Having had the opportunity to study abroad in Bonn, Germany for the Fall 2013 semester was a highlight of her career and has given her a greater desire to travel the world. She would like to thank the professors in the Sociology department for sharing their knowledge and love of the discipline. She hopes to be able to inspire students in the same way that they have inspired her.

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**The Pressures of Body Image and their Effects on Adolescents' Mental Health**

Adolescence, a developmental stage of the life span, is characterized by the dramatic transformation that occurs in all aspects. From the beginning of the teenage years up until early adulthood, adolescents experience physical, cognitive, and emotional changes, among others. Though it is a normal part of life that everyone experiences, not all adolescents go through it the same way. Depending on the resources available, some encounter more difficulty than others throughout the duration of this life phase. These resources, known as risk and protective factors, play a major role in how the changes will affect their overall wellbeing.

Adolescence is a time when teenagers begin to think more about themselves and how they compare to others, especially in regards to their physical appearance. The innumerable

messages concerning body image that adolescents receive from the media, family, and friends force them to compare themselves to the perceived ideal body and make them believe that is how they should look. Although issues with body image are most commonly associated with females, research has shown that males also feel pressure to change their bodies to be more in line with the ideal body from these external influences.

The pressures that adolescents feel about body image lead to an immense effect on their mental health, such as the development of eating disorders, depressive symptoms and overall poor perceptions about themselves. This paper will show how the various social influences about body image affect adolescents and how the different risk and protective factors aid in the development or reduction of disordered eating and depressive symptoms.

Risk factors such as economic hardship, multiple transitions, disabilities, and limited social or cultural exposure, are aspects of life that most adolescents have no control over, but can have large impacts on their lives. They have an effect on the lifestyle one has, the number and quality of resources available, and they have implications on one's future opportunities, or lack thereof. Given that most people have several risk factors, the presence of protective factors is crucial to diminish and soften the impact that risk factors have on one's life. Protective factors include economic resources, relationship quality, and access to a good education. They are not uniform across adolescents, but can be related to other socio/economic statuses.

In regards to the body image pressures that adolescents receive, research has found that the most effective protective factor is that of social support, or the experience that one is loved, cared for and valued by others (Ferreiro et al, 2012). Social support is expected to

protect against many undesirable outcomes and is especially effective in protecting us from ourselves. For adolescents experiencing depressive symptoms related to pressures about body image and the messages they receive about what is ideal, social support is one of the main factors that can help deter the negative outcomes that come from constant rumination.

Ferreiro and colleagues (2012) found that the three biggest risk factors for adolescents' perception of body image are low self-esteem, perfectionism, and body dissatisfaction. Self-esteem is a person's overall appraisal of their own value and is one of the most important parts of an individual's self-concept and identity. Low self-esteem contributes to high levels of depression and is a predictor of depressive symptoms more than disordered eating. Perfectionism is usually studied as a negative characteristic in which one strives for unrealistically high standards.

Perfectionism, both self-oriented and socially prescribed, are related to disordered eating and are the core feature of both anorexia nervosa and bulimia nervosa because it is when one demands perfection of oneself and has the belief that others are demanding perfection of them as well.

Finally, body dissatisfaction is the negative evaluation of one's body overall or of particular body parts. It plays a substantial role in predicting both depressive symptoms and disordered eating in adolescents. Since adolescence is a period of immense change both physically and cognitively, teenagers begin to think about themselves much more and have a preoccupation with their own attractiveness, which leads them to a higher level of vulnerability to how they think others perceive them, (Ferreiro et al, 2012).

All three of these risk factors have been proven to be present when looking at the predictors of depressive symptoms and eating disorders for both male and female adolescents. However, it has been shown that they have a more detrimental effect on girls because they are more prone to be self-conscious and have higher risks of disordered eating than boys, and girls are at an overall greater risk for developing depressive symptoms as they grow older.

Since women are most commonly associated with eating disorders and depression, the studies done on the effects of body image pressures have been primarily focused on females. Recently, however, it has been found that males also experience issues with their body image due to the many external influences depicting the ideal body type. Although males and females are not at the same level in regards to the severity or amount of risk for depression or eating disorders, it is important to note that males are not exempt from the social influences concerning weight and body image. Family, friends and media influences all have a role in how male and female adolescents develop eating behaviors and perceive their bodies during this time period, (Ata et al, 2007). It has been found that adolescents of both genders are dissatisfied with their bodies, where males are concerned with increasing their upper body and females want to decrease the overall size of their body.

Along with the risk factors of perfectionism, body dissatisfaction and low self-esteem, this study looked at how the pressures from the media and teasing from family and friends also affects adolescents. Females reported higher peer support, teasing from family about weight, pressure from friends and family to lose weight and pressure from the media, where males reported higher self-esteem and more pressure from family and friends to

gain muscle, (Ata et al, 2007). The disparity between the genders alone shows how females are more vulnerable to developing eating disorders and depressive symptoms as a result of the number of external pressures they feel.

The media is a source that adolescents tend to use to get information to help them deal with issues related to their identity and changing bodies. Often times, it is simply because they do not want to ask an adult for fear of embarrassment or self-consciousness, which is why it is important to notice what types of messages the media is sending out. According to Levine and Smolak (2002), adolescent girls who look to magazines and advertising as a way of defining and attaining the ideal body are more likely to experience body dissatisfaction due to the obvious inconsistency between what they see in the images and what their actual bodies look like.

The focus of the media for women is on thinness, whereas for males it is focused on muscularity. Therefore, though it is not as apparent or prevalent, males also experience pressures from the media to be muscular and take measures such as increased exercise and the use of food supplements to try to achieve the ideal body, (McCabe and Ricciardelli, 2003). As expected, positive social support has been shown to buffer some of the negative social influences and help adolescents develop and maintain a healthy body image over time. However, this unfortunately does not always happen.

The study by Ata and colleagues (2007) has proven that family and friends can also have a negative impact when it comes to body image perceptions. Friends that are less focused on appearance and weight can be associated with providing a more protective environment for females who have a higher risk of developing eating disorders, whereas friends who

encourage dieting habits or other weight loss strategies can increase the potential for a woman to develop anorexia or bulimia.

Teasing and criticism by family and friends can also increase the feelings adolescents have of body dissatisfaction by emphasizing the desirable physical attributes that the media portrays. Even if the teasing about weight and body image is seen to be lightweight and trivial, which often occurs within families, especially among siblings, it has long term implications that have been shown to affect women later in life in terms of their body dissatisfaction and other depressive symptoms.

Given that the numerous external influences adolescents receive about body image lead to negative perceptions about their own bodies, it is crucial to emphasize the importance of the social support protective factors. Having positive influences from family and friends helps diminish the impacts that low self-esteem, perfectionism, body dissatisfaction and pressures from the media have on adolescents.

Furthermore, to help combat the development of depressive symptoms and disordered eating, it is important to be aware and notice if adolescents, especially girls who are more prone to it, are experiencing difficulty with accepting their bodies. Along with that, it is important not to ignore adolescent males who may also experience any sort of body dissatisfaction or pressure to make their bodies more muscular. The ideal body images that are displayed in the media are not realistic; therefore it is the responsibility of the social support groups to reduce the chances that adolescents will believe what they see in magazines or on television to be accurate portrayals of men and women.

Adolescence is already a period of dramatic transformation where teenagers begin to experience an influx of new ideas and feelings, so it is up to their support groups to serve as protectors and help guide them through this phase in the healthiest way possible, starting with learning to accept themselves for how they are, imperfections and all.

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# MONICA ZAMORA

Monica Virgen Zamora is a Sociology major and Spanish minor at LMU. She currently serves as an editor for the Sociological Eye, volunteer at Ability First, and office manager of a private medical clinic. Monica lives for unravelling the mysteries of gender and sexuality, but dies for the thrill of horror and gore; if she is not reading up on women in the workforce, she is reading up on the latest Stephen King novel. Monica also enjoys live music, creative writing, and creatively working with animal bones. She hopes to one day be free of student debt and become a professor of sociology, passionately instilling in students her passion for social justice, just as her professors did to her.

**My Story**

I can never seem to remember basic events that most people do and, as time keeps marching forward and I grow older, I find I remember less and less of my past self. I could never remember much before I was seven, then nine, and now I do not remember much before eleven/twelve. I just have quick snapshots of events—sometimes a few minutes of something, but more often just a few seconds, a smell, a sound, or perhaps feelings. It becomes a bit unsettling when others tell me about something I said or did that I have absolutely zero memory of, not just from my childhood, but from any point in time; sometimes as recently as a few months ago. As such, this makes the few strong memories I do have much more valuable and worth reanalyzing when I think back to them.

It is often said that the way you come into this world (in birth) will predict your path in this world. Some are born without problem or complaint, others with great strife and struggle; some surgically removed and others naturally born; some will come upside-down; some will come seemingly too large and heavy, while others will come in far too small and sickly. Me? I came at the wrong time.

I was a scheduled C-section. Unfortunately, I was scheduled at a Los Angeles hospital, April 29th, 1992—the exact beginning of the LA Riots. My parents were told to remain calm and patient, to wait until it was safe to be out on the streets, and so I was held captive until May fourth. I feel this is a constant theme within my life: I'm always a little too early, the world is not quite ready for me, the key events in my life happen in an unanticipated order and I always seem to enter into things at the wrong time.

Let us commence with just a few key facts and figures about who I am: I was born and raised in the city of Los Angeles (they call me a "unicorn" as nobody is really from L.A.); I am the third and last child of my parents, both of whom were launching into their professional careers when I was born, so that I am the only child mostly raised by my grandparents; my mother is a family practice physician who used to do obstetrics (deliver babies) and my father was a public high school teacher and administrator; both of my parents came to the US from Mexico (illegally and in a stereotypical fashion) and maneuvered into the upper middle class, therefore, perfect examples of The American Dream; I went to a public pre-school at Hollenbeck Park in East LA (essentially, Mexico) from ages 3-5, but would spend the next 17 years going to overpriced, private, Catholic schools (but not the kind with nuns); I was always the kid who got to school twenty minutes late (a tradition I uphold to this very day) and was always picked up from school last (every legally liable and under-paid teacher's dream); I was "raised" Catholic, but do not actually believe in any organized religion or particular set of beliefs; I currently live with my mother and brother in the WASP (White Anglo-Saxon Protestant, in case you forgot) nest known as Los Feliz.

I have never been much a fan of marriage or children. As far back as I can remember, I always said that I never ever wanted to have kids or get married and my parents always had the same response: then you are going to have to become a nun. So I would barter and say I would maybe get married, but never have any kids, in which case they would explain that if I got married, I would necessarily have to have kids. I was always frustrated by this conversation, because it never made any sense—why did I HAVE to be married with kids or single and a nun? My final response was always the same: I don't care; I am just going to do whatever I want. My parents constantly reminded me of this strange sub-cultural ideal; perhaps because we are Mexican, so we have to be super Catholic, or perhaps a combination of being part of both the Mexican and Catholic subcultures.

My parents were never even religious or traditional and, to this day, I have no idea why they insisted upon this very traditional idea of single/married for so long. Perhaps it was merely an adult joke that I could not understand, but it was a joke that lasted until I was about ten years old; quite a long running gag. This role conflict between who I should be, who my family thought I should be, and who Catholicism thought I should be was just always very perplexing; 'Mija, get good grades so you can get into a good college and become successful, become someone, become anyone or anything you want!' except single with no kids (unless you want to be a nun).

It did not seem that any of my peers had the same dilemma, but I am quite certain that is because my peers had no question that they were one day to be happily married with children. Of course, as all children do, there is a short phase of the opposite gender

being "gross" or some insinuation of their being lesser, but at the same time, every child knows one day they will become parents.

I have always been different, but this basic difference of values and expectations I have for myself versus the ones everyone else has seems to be a continuing theme in my life. I am only now, at twenty-one years old, starting to meet or find other people who share my ideas of marriage/kids. However, these encounters are still few and far between, and are more often outnumbered by encounters with people who tell me that I "don't know what [I'm] talking about" or that I am "going to change [my] mind," and then my personal favorite "But [I] would be such a great mom!" I simply have much greater aspirations for myself and who I am to become rather than simply Tired Mom. For this, I am most contrite, World; not because I do not match up to the World's expectations, but rather because the World has such limited ones.

Adding on to my peculiar development, I also used to have mostly boys as friends; I always had a girl best friend and tried playing in groups of girls, but I always got along better with boys. This added to the married/single dilemma because anytime I started to become closer to a boy, he automatically became my "boyfriend," someone more than a friend merely because he is a 'he'; a love interest or crush. In all honesty, this gave me a serious complex that I still have today; I never tell my family anything too personal about what is going on in my world outside them and absolutely NOTHING about my romantic life... but we will get back to that later, I suppose.

I had my friend Joshua in pre-school who I had to stop playing with because I did not want him to be my 'boyfriend;' my friend Brian in kindergarten; my friend Victor in first

grade. In second grade I made everyone much happier because I pretty much only hung out with two girls, but continued my pattern in third grade and beyond, constantly struggling with the "no, I don't like him!" "He's not my boyfriend!" "Stop calling him my boyfriend!" Of course it was all teasing "in good fun," but it also always kept me from sharing anything about my friends, boys (whether I did or did not like them more than platonically), and eventually anything remotely personal.

I became so good at "editing" myself that my family did not even know until very recently that, from fifth to seventh grade, I always played basketball with the boys during breaks and lunch, that I was really good at it, and that the school always tried to recruit me to the basketball team (I always said no; I hate being part of organized sports or religion and/or commitment). They have given me less grief over the boy-friend/boyfriend dilemma in the last four or five years, but I am unsure if it is an effect of being more open-minded, or an effect of my becoming even more closed off.

I have also managed to maintain a strong, dominating, controlling and bossy personality my entire life; as far back as I can remember and as long as anyone has ever known me. I struggle with these (as I consider) quirky characteristics of my personality. I know I am terribly controlling and I try my hardest to just chill out and let people do what they are going to do. However, realistically speaking, that simply does not always happen; not without me putting up a fight. While I personally do not remember it, I am told that I always made critiques on my peers' work that made them cry, resulting in my parents getting phone calls at work. My sister swore up and down that I used to put the boys in the

trashcan; however she has always been just a tad overdramatic, which makes me skeptical of such information.

I remember being a bit of a bully through second grade, however I do not remember why I felt the need to exert my power over others; the girls feared me and the boys feared, respected, and wanted to be me. Just a power hungry child I suppose; or perhaps some weird defense mechanism to my parents' looming divorce.

I remember demanding Leah give me some (or all) of her beef jerky that her mother cut up for her in little squares; I can remember things I said upsetting other kids and other kids being annoyed by my presence; I remember (and have some photographs of) trying to grab Angela's face and neck so she would face the camera for our Twin Day photo, because she kept turning her head down or to the side; I have many memories of trying to control others with money—two sad conclusions from this, the first being that I did not totally realize and understand that this is what I was doing until I was twelve or thirteen and the second being that I did not realize it, because it ALWAYS worked until I was twelve or thirteen.

However, knowing what I know now, I cannot help but wonder if the problems and judgments I have received over my life course thus far come from these characteristics of myself being out of control and undesirable, or if they are sanctions stemming from these behaviors considered predominantly male/masculine and therefore incorrect and unacceptable because of my designated role and status as a girl/woman. My suspicion is that it is a little bit of both, but as I get older and mature (therefore, more calm and

controlled) it is mostly about my rebellion and failure to meet my gender's role expectations.

Further fueling this fire of sanctions was my overall more tomboyish presence. Not only did I get along (and continue to) better with boys and was considered "one of the boys," but up until fifth grade, I wore shorts and a shirt every day; at home, usually shorts and a Disney shirt and at school, uniform shorts and a button down or P.E. Shirt. I do not know why I insisted on dressing this way other than it was comfortable. Teachers, peers, family friends, etc. always questioned why I never wore dresses or skirts (or the uniform jumpers); it was clearly an unfathomable way of being that no one understood. In fifth grade, however, they introduced skorts (the female waist-mullet) to the uniforms at school and I wore that every day at school instead.

The other seemingly unfathomable characteristic I had (and seemed to miss the lesson on) was that I never quite developed that pretty/neat and rounded handwriting most girls have. I have always had messy handwriting, more concerned with the words than with their physical form. Girls always told me that I wrote "like a boy" and would giggle away at my quaint inability to write in large, curly handwriting. People—family, teachers, peers—have always loved to point out my messy handwriting, up to the point that one of my teachers in high school began to deduct several points on all of my handwritten assignments because they were "illegible." I accepted this (and tried to work at it) until I realized no one else had this teacher deduct points for handwriting, including my male peers whose handwriting was just as terrible (if not worse) than my own.

Additionally (in a different class), one of my female peers and myself had forgotten to write our names on our assignments and the teacher, per usual, had asked who had not received their assignment. The other girl was absent so I was the only one who did not have an assignment and she handed me a neatly written paper with a failing grade. I told her that was not my paper to which she responded that there was one other paper without an owner but that she had "thought it was a boy's paper because the handwriting [was] so messy!"

Finally, I just began asking my male peers (and good friends) if they had ever received formal critique for their poor penmanship; not a single one said yes and all of them gave me weird, incredulous looks, that said "why would that happen?" It was from these three instances in high school that I had realized it was not my handwriting that was so upsetting, but rather the fact that my handwriting was so messy and I was a girl, not a boy who can and is automatically excused from poor penmanship.

Regardless, my tomboyish nature had changed greatly around sixth or seventh grade when I began wearing skirts to school. On one such occasion, in seventh grade, I wore my skirt (which I still played basketball in, by the way) with shorts under it and was super casually sitting in class, legs splayed out comfortably. My literature teacher, so bothered by my violation of the gender norms, interrupted herself and told me that I should sit up and close my legs. While this seems like a universal folkway—'ladies sit with their legs crossed, hands folded'—I had NO concept of this; this was (and I really do not know how) completely foreign to me. I was so baffled and overall completely confused by her negative sanctioning that all I could muster in response was "but I'm wearing shorts

underneath. It's [or should be] fine." However, she could not let this go—mind you, this was in a classroom full of peers and in the middle of a lesson—and she kept insisting that this was insufficient and then told me I 'had' to sit up and close my legs; so I did. I remember feeling befuddled and mildly embarrassed by both the situation and my apparent reprimand for something I considered so trivial.

After that day I felt an extreme need to sit upright with my legs tightly closed. Sometimes I would even test out how tightly I could keep them together, because tighter had to mean more appropriate and less likely to be reprimanded. In fact, I think back to this memory every single time I find myself sitting with my legs tightly closed or whenever I consciously 'correct' my posture. I remember the embarrassment, the reprimand, the building intensity of my teacher's preaching, the eyes of my peers burning into me while it happened, and my desire to never have to face any of those feelings again.

Today, although not as often as when I was younger, I sit up, tighten up, and pretend to be comfortable and "ladylike." I wish that I could stop it, and ignore those thoughts, and the residue of that most unforgettable shame, but I cannot; they are too deeply ingrained to be anything other than unlearned behaviors over a long period of time. So here I am, typing on a public computer, with my head held high, shoulders back, legs tightly closed, and wishing other people were not here with me, so I could just slouch and be comfortable within myself.

# MIN-JUNG KIM

I am Min-Jung Kim, a junior Sociology major with Economics and Asian Pacific Studies minors. After my undergraduate degree at Loyola Marymount University, I plan to attend to a graduate school in Higher Education. Being a scholar is my vocation and I aim to finish schooling with a PhD.

## Korean Socialization

On a very cold, snowy day in Seoul, I was born to a young Korean couple. On January 12, 1994, these two adults became parents. In fact, my parents gave me one of my first statuses (position in society) as their first child. So anxious and yet excited, my parents tried their best to become the best parents to provide, nurture, and take care of me.

Meanwhile, my mom was pregnant with my younger sister. A year later in 1995, she gave birth to my sister in America, where her family was. Thus, I occupied my second status as an older sister. Becoming the older sister made me play a different role than when I was the only child. I had certain behaviors, patterns, obligations, and privileges as the first and older child. For example, my parents favored me over my younger sister. I always had the new, pretty clothes while my sister got most of my older clothes that did not fit me anymore. I always got new toys and material goods than my sister who barely got anything new.

However, in exchange of these privileges, I had to carry out my parents' role expectations (expectations society has for how I play the role) as the older child. These role expectations given to me consisted of: taking care of and play with my sister and becoming a role model. While I enjoyed performing some of the roles my parents gave me, my role performance to actually conform to those role expectations as the older sibling was not consistent. I sometimes fought with my sister by hitting her and telling my parents that I did not want to play with her.

In addition to the role expectations that my parents gave me, they outlined norms, shared roles or guidelines that prescribe the appropriate behavior in a particular situation in a particular culture. As a Korean, my parents told me I always had to put my hands on top of my belly button, bow, and greet people with, "Ahn young ha sae yo." If I forgot to do that, my parents bit their lips with their eyes wide open to negatively sanction me. Immediately after seeing their facial expressions, I usually bowed until I felt my hands pressed to my thighs.

Another norm I learned as a Korean was to use chopsticks at the age of 3. I remember when my parents got me a kid version of chopsticks that were smaller, shorter, and more colorful than normal adult chopsticks. They taught me how to hold the chopsticks and use it to eat my food. In the beginning, I always stabbed my food with the chopsticks. But as time progressed, my parents would negatively sanction me by taking a short breath of air and raising their eyebrows at me.

Also, I learned that, as a child, I had to obey the elders. I even learned how to patiently wait for the adults to start eating their food, so that I could start eating. These

norms were actually folkways, ordinary conventions of everyday life that constitute being polite. It was polite for me to greet others by bowing, to wait for the elders to start eating, and to use my chopsticks instead of my hands.

Similarly, I learned more norms as I was growing up. When I was 4 years old, I was taught my first lesson of mores, strong norms that are considered morally significant violations that are punishable by law. My mom had gone for a second and left me with my younger sister at home. She told me not to leave home and stay put. But during this time, I thought it was a great idea to take my piggy bank, full of money that I have been saving, and buy snacks for my younger sister. My parents always taught me to be a responsible, loving sister. Hence, I justified this reason to leave my house. I took my younger sister to my grandma's house who lived upstairs. Thus, I managed to get my sister a babysitter while I left to go to the supermarket down the street. However, upon arriving, I sat down on the cement railing and thought whether or not it was okay for me to use my money. I concluded that was breaking my mom's rules, so I should return home and wait until she comes back home. I went home, brought my sister back home, and told my mom what had happened when she was not home. She was pretty mad I did not follow her instructions, and asked me where I left the money. Looking around me, I noticed I left my money on the concrete railing. My mom was really upset and took me to look for the money.

We ended up not finding the money, and I got a lesson of my life. My mother took out the "Stick of Love" and hit the palm of my hands to teach the consequences for breaking a norm. My mom told me I was breaking the law by walking around my neighborhood without any adult's supervision.

In May 1999, my family moved to the United States–Los Angeles, California to be exact. I was 5 years old during this time, so my parents decided to enroll me to a local elementary school. Before, my family was the most important agency of socialization in all societies, because it was responsible for socialization during crucial time period (from birth to 6 years old). I learned social norms and values through direct learning, where my parents specifically told me to learn something; imitating, where my parents acted such behaviors and I followed them; and conditioning, where my family members bought me girl toys and clothing, so that I could not help but exhibit girl behaviors.

However, as I started school, another agency of socialization was added. At school, I learned different norms and values from my teachers and peers, since I earned another status as a student. I no longer had to bow to greet people and simply learned how to wave my hand and smile. Immediately, I knew I had to learn English and could not speak Korean. Nobody understood me when I was speaking Korean. Luckily, my kindergarten teacher was Korean American. Thus, I learned English words quickly through my teacher's translation. My teacher also gave us rules through directed learning. She told us to line up in a line, always raise your hand when we had to speak, and to keep our hands to ourselves.

However, as a Korean immigrant studying in America, I was taught contradicting norms.

Through the Korean media and television, I saw the actors in soap operas always slicing their meals with a fork and knife when eating Western cuisine. Hence, I imitated their actions when I was eating pizza during lunch time. I took my plastic Spork and straw and began slicing my pizza. After a few minutes, my peers all glared at me in surprise. They

had negatively sanctioned me by giving me weird looks. Seeing their faces, I knew that I did something wrong. I stopped slicing my pizza and looked around to see how my friends were eating pizza.

Similarly, I learned contradicting norms when I began to act like a student in front of my family. I even remember a time when I called my mom by my teacher's name, Mrs. Lee. Through time, I tried my best to keep my different roles separately from the different situations.

As I grew older, however, I began to notice more discrimination among my peers. Most of my peers were Hispanic and always made fun of my eyes. They even called me, "That Chinese girl." I felt lonely for not being able to fit amongst my peers.

Thankfully, my mom realized this problem and sent me to a more Korean predominant middle school after I culminated from my elementary school. In my middle school, I felt more accepted by my peers. They even liked the fact that I was born in Korea, and always sought out to ask me how to spell certain words in Korean.

During this time, I became the most Korean I could be. Most of my peers acted as though they had been born in and just immigrated from Korea. Their hairstyles, clothes, and language skills all became like the Korean "F.O.Bs," people who recently immigrated to the States and were considered "Fresh off the Boat." Eventually, I gave in and imitated those F.O.Bs. I even got my first straight-bangs to look like them.

My other agency of socialization was my church. I went to a Korean Presbyterian Christian church ever since I immigrated to the United States. I had another status as a

Christian, God's child. I learned to always pray before I ate, pray before I slept, and ask for forgiveness if I did something wrong.

Through church, I had many other friends who were my age. They helped me through my struggles at school by discussing our weekdays in our Bible Study Group. Whenever topics were brought up, everyone seemed to understand what was happening to one another. Because everyone was Korean, they understood what it was like being a minority and different from that of the dominant culture. Whenever I told them I was frustrated with being a minority, they all agreed that they felt the same. Hence, I did not completely feel alone whenever I was going through struggles at school.

As I slowly transitioned to being a middle school student, church became less important to me. After being more accepted by more peers at school, I felt like I no longer needed moral support from my church members. Thus, after the eighth grade, I stopped going to church.

On the other hand, I experienced a little bit of role strain, or contradictory expectations built into a single role. My parents always expected me to be a role model and told me I am the "next parent" if my parents are not around. Hence, as the oldest sister out of three sisters (my mother gave birth to my youngest sister in July 2000) I tried my best to be the responsible, oldest sister.

While I had to be nice to my sisters, I negatively sanctioned my sisters if they did something wrong. For example, I usually sacrificed my time and energy to my sisters when they wanted to play with me. I did not complain and did everything I could to please them. However one day, my sisters fought with each other. So I scolded them not to fight with

each other. I even got the "Stick of Love" and hit my sisters on their palm of their hands like my parents did to me.

However, my mom did not appreciate me when I acted like the "next parent." She told me that I am not responsible to scold and lecture my sisters, and that part was my parents' roles. I was confused and did not understand my role as the oldest sister. I thought I had the power to act like how I did, but my mom directly told me otherwise.

As I grew up, I experienced more role conflicts (a situation in which 2 or more roles have contradictory expectations) than role strains. By the time I was a high school student, I was a student, sister, daughter, friend, girlfriend, granddaughter, cousin, niece, mentor, club president, club member, volunteer, and teacher's assistant. Thus, the more statuses I had, the more role conflicts I experienced. For instance, as the club president, I had to attend all of the meetings, but, at the same time, I had to meet my teachers to talk about my grades and goals. Therefore, I had to decide which meeting I needed to go to. Both meetings were important to me; however I chose to see my teachers instead.

Another time, there was a role conflict when I had to choose either to attend to my uncle's birthday party or to go volunteer to clean up the beach. Although my uncle was more significantly and personally important to me, I did not give up going to volunteer. Volunteering, at that time, was important to me because I needed extracurricular activities for my college applications. I figured I could make up to my uncle by giving him his present another time and decided to volunteer at the beach.

Furthermore, when I had a boyfriend, I had to balance more of my roles. I did not know having a boyfriend would be time consuming. However, my boyfriend wanted to

spend more time with me when I had to take care of other businesses. Therefore, there were many times when we fought, because he thought I was not spending enough time with him.

Throughout my life, I was never the one to decide whether or not I was conforming to the norms and values of society. There always was social control where every society imposed the norms for the individual to follow them. My agencies of socialization always sanctioned me to reward or punish my actions. For example, my parents always positively sanctioned me if I received good grades while they negatively sanctioned me if I fought with my sisters. I was rewarded verbally when my parents said, "Good job," and smiled at me. They even made a chart of good deeds and bought me toys whenever I accomplished a certain amount of good deeds. In contrast, they negatively sanctioned me through hitting my hands with the "Stick of Love."

Schools, in contrast, usually sanctioned me formally. Teachers either wrote a bad letter to my parents if I did something wrong, and had certificates of good deeds if I conformed to the norms and values. In fact, in middle school, I got suspended for beating up another student after school. I unconsciously followed norms, because I knew whenever I violated a norm, I would get in trouble. Also, when I violated a norm, I normally negatively sanctioned myself. I normally would say, "You, stupid, look what you did."

Living as a Korean American has been a puzzle for me. My subculture, a group that shares in overall culture but also has its own distinctive values, norms, & lifestyle, was being an Asian. There were not many Asians in my neighborhood, and the dominant group tended to think I was totally different. They even made faces and only thought of me using

stereotypes. For the longest time, I did not like being Korean and always complained to my parents why I had to be born. I was embarrassed to be a minority. I wanted to be American as part of the dominant group instead of being a Korean American.

Out of all the agencies of socialization, I believe that peers and family were the most effective. I learned the Korean culture, norms, and values in my early childhood which affected my capability to interact with others at school. There were many times where I spoke "weird English," because my mom had pronounced English words in a Korean way. For example, I remember when I read, "Citadel," as "Cee--ta--tel." The media, school, and church did not really impact my life so much because they did not negatively sanction me to the extreme, like what my family members and peers did.

There were many contradictions in the norms taught by my agencies of socialization. For instance, in the Korean culture, I had to take off my shoes before entering peoples' homes. However, in the American culture, I learned it was okay to keep your shoes on when you are in someone else's home. In fact, they would prefer to have you keep your shoes on, because they do not want to see your bare feet. Another example of this occurred when I learned it was okay to call adults by their first names. In the Korean culture, it is forbidden to call any adults by their first names. However, as an American, I learned how to call my adult friends as "Brenda" instead of "Ms. Brenda."

Although it took me awhile, I resolved those contradictions by accepting the fact that there will be many conflicts like these in the future. Hence, instead of being embarrassed by who I am, I need to be confident of my statuses. Also, educating others about being a Korean American is vital for them to accept me for who I am. I now teach

other people how to speak Korean words and introduce them to Korean cuisine. Usually, people are accepting and are more appreciative about Koreans after I educate them. I now know that I need to inform others to change their stereotypical perspectives of Asians.

# JORDAN WEBB

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## A Sense of Place

One of the primary subjects focused upon in the practice and theory of urban sociology is the use of space. Specifically, how physical space is used in order to create and define "places" is essential to how one can understand how cities are defined and maintained. For many, the places that one inhabits frequently help to define a sense of identity and community; where an individual spends their time and the people they come into contact with in these places creates a social network through which the individual not only comes to understand themselves, but the world around them as well. In short, the "places" a person identifies with gives her a lens or framework through which he views the world and urban areas in general. This paper will examine how three different urban backgrounds, native out-of-state urbanite, native Northern Californian urhanite, and lifelong LA inhabitant, come to understand the LA region. These three backgrounds all provide unique insight as to how space and places are identified, as demonstrated in drawn maps of the urban area spanning from Los Angeles International Airport to Santa Monica.

This study was systematically carried out with three different participants from different urban backgrounds. Individuals were told that there would be two parts to the experiment: participants would both be taking a survey and completing a task that may take 30 minutes or longer. Participants were first sat down for a short, 13 question survey (Figures 1, 2, and 3). These questions were a combination of demographic information, open-ended questions, and Likert Scale questions (on a scale of 1-7) that assessed familiarity with the LAX-Santa Monica region and Los Angeles in general. After these data were compiled, participants were then asked to draw a map of the area between the Los Angeles International Airport and Santa Monica while being as detailed as possible (Figures 4, 5, and 6). After all participants were run through the study, survey data and maps were compared across all subjects and compared on a variety of variables important to comprehend an individual's understanding of the urban world.

The participants in this study were carefully chosen in order to examine how different urban backgrounds affect an individual's conception of places and space. Three different participants reflected three specific backgrounds. The first urban background of interest in the study was the out of state student. Increasingly, a large number of individuals moving to large cities are people not from the same state as the destination. An individual who is not from an urban area and not familiar with the specific culture associated with that area may perceive places and space differently than others. Another demographic that was of interest to this study was the Northern Californian resident. Any Southern Californian urbanite is aware of the distinctions between Northern and Southern California; there is supposedly a major difference between the urban mentality in Los Angeles and a Northern Californian urban center such as San Francisco. The purpose of

having a native Northern Californian in the study was to determine if there were any significant differences in how place and space were seen in comparison to Southern Californian residents. The final important demographic was the Los Angeles native. This background is important as a control group to represent how a native urbanite has a conception of local areas of the LA community, in comparison to less typical groups. Before carrying out the study, a tentative hypothesis was created, stating that people from the three demographic groups would have vastly different understandings of "places" in Los Angeles. This hypothesis was evaluated both through an analysis of survey data and an objective evaluation of each map drawn relative to each other.

Interesting differences begin to surface between the three participants through responses to various survey questions asked of them. The first major difference that surfaced came from a question that asked about participants knowledge of the area between LAX and Santa Monica; both the out-of-state individual and the participant from Northern California reported high levels of knowledge of the area (6 and 7 on a 7 point Likert scale), while the L.A. native only reported a 3 on the same scale. This response may demonstrate that native L.A. urbanites may have knowledge of the area that is less centralized and more spread out across Los Angeles County than individuals who have moved to a particular area for a specific reason (in this case, school).

Another fascinating trend appears when participants were asked what their 3 most frequented "places in L.A" are other than Loyola Marymount University and their place of residence. Individuals that were not native to L.A. noted particular, specific places such as Trader Joe's and Target. However, an interesting response came from the L.A. native, who

responded with general areas or neighborhoods of the Los Angeles region, such as Century City, Torrance, and North Hollywood. These cognitive formations of city and place have implications on different theories of urban growth and how "places" are conceptualized. The responses of the out of state resident and Northern Californian are more consistent with a concentric visualization of the area; they view LMU as the "Central Business District" of their life and then base their understanding of other locations based on how far away they are from this base district. However, the locations given by the L.A. resident are more consistent with the Harris and Ulman theory of Multiple Nuclei; many urbanites come to understand their surroundings not with one central area, but with various "urban centers" that have their own distinctions and differences.

Finally, it is important to note just how similarly the out of state resident and Northern Californian native were in terms of responding to the survey. Between the two participants, all responses for Likert scale questions were within 1 point of each other (besides one question regarding the extent to which they travel into the LAX area). From these data, it would be safe to assume that there are no distinct cultural distinctions between the two demographic groups in regards to their knowledge of the Greater Los Angeles area, how they come to perceive the urban areas they frequent the most, and the extent to which they feel comfortable in the area. Essentially, these data have not supported part of the hypothesis that these three demographics would have radically different conceptions of the city. The mindset of the two out of area participants can be effectively combined and examined against the urban conceptions of the L.A. native, as witnessed in the drawing portion of the experiment.

The drawings of the three participants appear to be very different and largely support the notion that natives to urban centers have different conceptions of urban development and place than non-natives to urban centers. The three maps were analyzed with Kevin Lynch's five-source organization of the city and how people conceptualize the city. Strangely, the drawings of the out of state individual and Northern Californian are very similar, even though they drew separately and without knowledge of each other's map. The focus of both maps was clearly on landmarks; the most notable icons on the maps were physical locations that they visited often, such as restaurants, grocery stores, and shops. It became clear that the landmarks participants noted were locations that they frequently visited which significantly contributed to how they view both the area and themselves; for instance, one of the participants, who is working on getting their yoga license, noted a popular yoga studio in their drawing. It would appear that individuals not raised in an urban atmosphere come to understand their surroundings better by first understanding and learning specific locations in the area. There is also a large emphasis on paths, such as streets, freeways, and bike paths. The streets common between the two drawings were Lincoln Boulevard and Manchester Avenue. Since these individuals consciously had to learn how to navigate their urban surroundings at a time in their life in which they became independent and self-sufficient, it is logical to assume that they have a fair understanding of the pathways they frequent, in order to successfully find their way around the city on their own. Due to the time of their life they entered the urban Los Angeles atmosphere, emphasis of "places" for non-native urban residents would appear to be on landmarks and paths.

In contrast to the out of state resident and Northern Californian native, the map drawn by the native Los Angeles resident demonstrates significant differences in what they deem

important to get an accurate understanding of an urban center. The first striking difference between in the L.A. native's map is the distinct lack of detail; in all, only 9 different "places" are listed. While it may appear at first that this reflects a lack of understanding of the area or general laziness, this map is actually quite helpful in highlighting how the typical L.A. resident, or any native urban dweller in general, has a concept of "their" city. Clearly, the emphasis in this map (Figure 6) is on districts; there is only one landmark on the map (In-n-Out Burger), while all other locations on the map can be thought of as distinct "cities" or subsections of L.A., such as Santa Monica, Little Osaka, and Inglewood. For a native Angelino, it appears that having a general understanding of an area is far more important in navigating urban areas than recognizing specific landmarks. The map drawn by the native L.A. resident also distinctly takes advantage of edges, especially in the use of open space; empirically, it is more geographically accurate in terms of locations' position in relation to each other. While the non-natives of Los Angeles put more specific detail in their maps and note more locations, the Angelino reflects a better general understanding of the geography of the area between LAX and Santa Monica though the use of empty space.

The striking differences between the maps drawn by residents not native to the L.A. region and life-long Angelinos reflects inherent differences in how they conceptualize the area between Los Angeles International Airport and Santa Monica; this conceptualization can be further applied to an understanding of urban centers in general. Individuals moving to an urban center later in life come to have a fairly rigid understanding of their immediate surroundings, as evidenced in the maps drawn by the two participants from places outside of L.A. Specific locations and familiar places provide an accurate, concrete framework through which they can build upon their original understanding of the area. It would

appear that these individuals first identify places close to their residence to ground themselves, and then slowly branch out and explore regions further from their place of residence as they gain familiarity and comfort with the urban environment. A native to an urban environment, however, has a much more fluid understanding of their surroundings. For an Angelino, "place" is not necessarily understood in terms of where things specifically are, but rather a comprehension of regions within the urban center, which are given particular identifying characteristics; for instance, Little Osaka is identified as an Asian cultural center, while the Santa Monica region is represented by the pier and ocean.

In conclusion, how urbanites come to understand a "place" can vary in many ways. This paper specifically addressed the background of individuals and how this impacts their concept of a particular region of an urban center in terms of "place." Contrary to the original hypothesis of this study, where a non-native of an urban region was originally from had little to no impact on how they viewed a new urban region. However, these individuals still had a much different concept of "place" in an urban environment compared to a native to the area, which was consistent with the original hypothesis. In general, individuals not native to the region were much more likely to think of place in terms of concrete destinations and paths, which helps provide a framework to help learn and explore the surrounding area. Native residents of an area, however, have a much looser understanding of "places," which are much larger and general in their experience; this gives the native a more malleable concept of the urban environment that leads to a generalization and characterization of particular areas consistent with Multiple Nuclei theory. Regardless of how "place" is thought of, what an individual deems important or memorable for a region

both can be used to empirically study how cities are conceptualized and understood by their residents.