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The Influence of Cultural Identification and Gender-Linked Characteristics on the Body Satisfaction of African American Men

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The Influence of Cultural Identification and Gender-Linked Characteristics
On the Body Satisfaction of African American Men

A thesis presented to
The Faculty of the Department of Psychology
Western Kentucky University
Bowling Green, Kentucky

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
The Degree of Master of Arts

By
Amy Lynn Baird

August 2008

THE INFLUENCE OF CULTURAL IDENTIFICATION AND GENDER-LINKED
CHARACTERISTICS ON THE BODY SATISFACTION OF AFRICAN AMERICAN MEN

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Table of Contents

List of Tables	vi
List of Figures	vii
Abstract	viii
Introduction	1
Gender Differences in Body Image Ideals	2
The Role of the Media	4
Cultural Beliefs and Body Image	5
Black Racial Identity.....	8
Cross' Original Nigrescence Model.....	9
Cross' Revised Nigrescence Model.....	10
Recycling	14
Parham and Helms Racial Identity Model	15
Black Racial Identity and Body Dissatisfaction	16
Gender-Linked Characteristics	16
The Present Study	18
Method	19
Participants and Design	19
Measures	19
Demographics	19
Body Assessment	19
Body Shape Questionnaire	19
Physical Appearance Comparison Scale	20

Physical Attractiveness Scale	20
Cross Racial Identity Scale	20
Bem Sex Role Inventory	21
Procedure	22
Results	23
Descriptive Analyses	23
Hypothesis Testing	24
Hypothesis 1 & 2	25
Hypothesis 3	27
Discussion	30
Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research	32
Conclusions	33
References	35
Appendix A- Demographic Form	48
Appendix B- Body Assessment	51
Appendix C- Body Shape Questionnaire	54
Appendix D- Physical Appearance Comparison Scale	58
Appendix E- Physical Attractiveness Scale	60
Appendix F- Cross Racial Identity Scale	62
Appendix G- Bem Sex Role Inventory	65
Appendix H- Informed Consent	68
Appendix I- Debriefing Statement	70
Appendix J- Human Subjects Review Board Approval	72

List of Tables

Table 1: Means, Standard Deviations, Intercorrelations, and Reliabilities for all Study Variables.....	24
Table 2: Multiple Regression Analysis Examining CI and Masc-D on BA.....	26
Table 3: Multiple Regression Analysis Examining CI and Masc-D on BSQ.....	26

List of Figures

Figure 1: Interaction of CI, Masc-D, and BA.....	28
Figure 2: Interaction of CI, Masc-D, and BSQ.....	29

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The goal of the present study was to examine the relationships between gender schema, level of cultural identification, and body dissatisfaction in African American men. The first hypothesis under study was that men with a low identification to African American culture would report higher dissatisfaction with their body than those with a high cultural identification. Secondly, it was hypothesized that men with a large discrepancy from their culture's description of an "ideal man" would also report higher body dissatisfaction than those with low or no discrepancy. Lastly, it was hypothesized that an interaction between variables would occur and that men who were less identified with their African American culture and reported themselves as not matching their culture's masculine ideal would have higher levels of body dissatisfaction than men who were highly identified with their African American culture and reported themselves as strongly matching their culture's masculine ideal.

Participants were 42 college and post-graduate African American males that were recruited from a Southern university. Participants were assessed using the Body Assessment (BA), Body Satisfaction Questionnaire (BSQ), Physical Appearance Comparison Scale (PACS), Physical Attractiveness Scale (PAS), Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS), and the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI). Results supported all three hypotheses: men lower in cultural identification with a high masculine discrepancy reported higher body dissatisfaction than those higher in

cultural identification with a lower masculine discrepancy. The importance of these findings is that, as the idealized physical image of masculinity becomes more ubiquitous, it is likely that men who measure themselves against this ideal will have greater difficulty achieving self-acceptance and struggle for an unrealistic (and often unhealthy) level of control. Such a struggle for control could lead to engagement in behaviors that could potentially contribute to poor health such as pathological or disordered eating, excessive exercise, and abuse of performance-enhancing substances including food supplements and anabolic steroids. Limitations and suggestions for continued research are also discussed.

Introduction

The core focus of body image research has been on the relationship linking the Western or Euro-American female ideal body image of thinness to eating disorders and body dissatisfaction. For the purpose of this discussion, body dissatisfaction is defined as the negative subjective evaluation of one's physical body such as figure and weight, and has been found to be a prominent risk factor in the development and maintenance of eating disorders (Stice & Shaw, 2002). There is a great body of literature indicating that the majority of those who experience body dissatisfaction or have an eating disorder are women (e.g., Anderson & Holman, 1997; Crow, Praus, & Thuras, 1999; Jung & Forbes, 2007; Miller & Pumariega, 2001; Pawluck & Gorey, 1998; Striegel-Moore, Garvin, Dohm, & Rosenheck, 1999; Striegel-Moore, Silberstein, & Rodin, 1986; Wildes, Emery, & Simons, 2001). In addition, it has been suggested that identification with a non-Western (i.e., non-Caucasian) culture acts as a defense for women of color against body dissatisfaction caused by comparing one's body against the Western ideal (Greenberg & LaPorte, 1996; Lovejoy, 2001; Molloy & Herzberger, 1998; Parker et al., 1995).

With the spotlight remaining on women, the body image issues of men have remained mostly unexamined (Mills & D'alfonso, 2007; Philpott & Sheppard, 1998). Yet, research has shown that male body dissatisfaction has increased dramatically over the past 30 years, from 15% to 43%, resulting in rates that are comparable to those of women (Garner, 1997; Grieve, Wann, Henson, & Ford, 2006). However, researchers have recently begun to investigate body concerns and disordered eating in males (Hallsworth, Wade, & Tiggemann, 2005).

Nevertheless, the relationship between cultural identification and the body image of men has remained untouched (Mills & D'alfonso, 2007). Body image research on men of all

ethnicities is deficient; however, the African American population was the most available non-Caucasian group to examine. African American men were also selected as the subject of this study due to the plethora of research on Black racial identity for the use of exploring cultural identification. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to examine the effect of the Western male ideal body image of muscularity on men's body satisfaction, as well as how this effect is moderated by cultural identification, race, and beliefs on gender role characteristics of African American men.

Gender Differences in Body Image Ideals

Recently, male body image development, distortion, and dissatisfaction have become the focus of researchers (Baird & Grieve, 2006; Grieve, 2007; Pope, Phillips, & Olivardia, 2000). Previously, the focus has been on women's body image, with the assumption that men are unaffected by societal expectations concerning physical appearance. This assumption relies on the belief that men have areas other than appearance upon which to base their self-opinion (Crandall, 1994), such as social status, wealth, and successful achievements. In addition, statistics suggest that, in the U.S., women are the greater targets of diet products and represent approximately 90% of those with eating disorders (Striegel-Moore et al., 1986). Furthermore, the stigma for obesity is greater for women than men (Hebl & Turchin, 2005).

The stigma for obesity is reflected in the ideal body shape for women (thinness) (Leone, Sedory, & Gray, 2005; Morris & Katzman, 2003; Rodin, Silberstein, & Striegel-Moore, 1984) which coincides with behaviors related to eating disorders, such as restrictive eating and excessive exercise. Conversely, the ideal body shape for men is one of muscularity (Cohane & Pope, 2001; Grieve, Newton, Kelley, Miller, & Kerr, 2005; Leone et al.; Morris & Katzman; Yelland & Tiggemann, 2003). The male ideal coincides with behaviors related to eating and/or

body dysmorphic disorders, such as compulsive exercise and the use of anabolic steroids (Goldfield, Blouin, & Woodside, 2006). The ideal body type provides certain cultural and social benefits that could lead men, as well as women, who do not meet that ideal to experience body dissatisfaction (Wienke, 1998). Furthermore, others view those who possess the culturally ideal body more positively and, for men, this means maintaining body characteristics that are associated with strength and dominance (Chen & Swalm, 1998; Jackson, 2002; Wienke).

Further exploring this preoccupation with characteristics associated with male potency, Pope, Olivardia, Gruber, and Borowiecki (1999) examined children's popular action figures and discovered that men are conditioned at a young age to prefer mesomorphic figures (e.g., characterized by a solid torso, low fat levels, and wide shoulders with a narrow waist). The researchers found a 30-year trend of an increase in the muscularity of male action figures, even to the extent of exceeding the limits of actual human ability. Furthermore, a study by Ferron (1997) showed that boys continue to aspire towards this ideal mesomorphic image throughout adolescence and evaluate themselves negatively if they perceive their bodies as comparing unfavorably to the ideal. This raises the question of how these unattainable models in childhood affect further body image development throughout adolescence and adulthood.

Mishkind, Rodin, Silberstein, and Striegel-Moore (1986) have proposed the "threatened masculinity" theory as another explanation for why body image issues are increasing in men. This theory speculates that the growing equality of women in Western culture has forced men to define their masculinity through their bodies. Women are seen as trying to *attain* power and status within society, while men are trying to *retain* their power in society. Mishkind et al. propose that when men are faced with failure it threatens their masculinity, leading men to overcompensate physically by engaging in activities that foster their sense of masculinity.

Through compensatory activities, men gain recognition, approval, and love, as well as resolve internal conflicts and reinforce their ego (Laughlin, 1970). Any perceived personal shortcomings are offset through redirecting their attention towards their body, resulting in involvement with muscle-related activities to regain feelings of superiority. Therefore, the drive for a muscular body is an attempt by men to establish dominance and to reassert gender roles (Castillo, 1997; Gillet & White, 1992; Klein, 1993; Leit, Pope, & Gray, 2000; Tager, Good, & Morrison, 2006; Yang, Gray, & Pope, 2005).

The Role of the Media

The media is another essential outlet in society for the promotion of ideal body images for men, as it emphasizes the link between muscularity and masculinity (Hargreaves & Tiggemann, 2004; Hatoum & Belle, 2004; Labre, 2005; Mills & D'alfonso, 2007; Morrison, Kalin, & Morrison, 2004; Ricciardelli & McCabe, 2004). Sociocultural ideals, as evidenced in the media and popular culture, play a complex role in body dissatisfaction by dictating and reflecting the social desirability of certain body types (Mills, Polivy, Herman, & Tiggemann, 2002; Soulliere & Blair, 2006). In recent decades, men have been bombarded with images in society that depict the "ideal" male: strong, muscular, and lean (Schooler & Ward, 2006; Stout, & Frame, 2004).

Popular men's magazines include more content geared towards weight gain than weight loss, consistent with Western societal norms for the male physique (Grieve & Bonneau-Kaya, 2007). Pope, Olivardia, Borowiecki, and Cohane (2001) found a 30% increase in undressed male models in magazine advertisements since the 1980s with these male models becoming increasingly more muscular over time. An examination of male centerfold models from all issues of *Playgirl* magazine from 1973 to 1997 revealed a similar increase in muscularity,

especially in the most recent issues, with models losing an average of 12 pounds of fat and gaining an average of 27 pounds of muscle in the past two decades (Leit et al., 2000; Pope, Phillips, et al., 2000). Further, research has shown that exposure to idealized masculine images in the media result in decreased body satisfaction (Agliata & Tantleff-Dunn, 2004; Baird & Grieve, 2006; Barlett, Harris, Smith, & Bonds-Raacke, 2005; Duggan & McCreary, 2004; Lorenzen, Grieve, & Thomas, 2004; Morry & Staska, 2001) and increased drive for muscularity (Murnen, Smolak, Mills, & Good, 2003) in men.

Cultural Beliefs and Body Image

As previously mentioned, the relationship between cultural identification and the body image of men has been neglected. For this discussion, although often used interchangeably, culture and ethnicity are distinct constructs. By definition, culture is a term used to define a group of people who share a common set of beliefs, values and behaviors. This common understanding is learned and shared by a group of people or an identifiable segment of a population and includes knowledge and ways of life that are passed from one generation to another (Betacourt & Lopez, 1993). In contrast, ethnicity is not a psychological construct, but a way to categorize people. Further, ethnic categories are not reliably determined; they are socially constructed and have no truly objective (e.g., biological) basis (Kato, 1996). Thus, understanding culture—individuals' experience as members of a larger social group and their values and beliefs—is potentially most important in attempting to understand eating-related behaviors. For issues of clarification, when the term “African American” is used throughout this discussion, it refers to individuals of the African American/Black culture in the United States of America, and is not used just as a racial identifier.

Different cultures may proscribe distinct gender-specific idealized standards (Pope, Gruber, et al., 2000; Rucker & Cash, 1992; Yang et al., 2005). Research by Lake, Staiger, and Glowinski (2000) revealed that cultural factors influence attitudes towards eating as well as perceptions of body shape. The extent to which cultural messages about body image are internalized may negatively affect satisfaction with one's own appearance (Chen & Swalm, 1998). The greater the discrepancy between one's self-evaluation and the cultural ideal, the greater one's body dissatisfaction (Jackson, 2002). High identification with one's culture or ethnicity may act as a buffer or defense mechanism against Western ideals of physical attractiveness (Greenberg & LaPorte, 1996; Molloy & Herzberger, 1998; Parker et al., 1995; Lovejoy, 2001). Frisby (2004) suggests that similarity may play a vital role in how African Americans are affected by idealized images: the more similar an image is to the idealized images of African Americans, the more their body satisfaction is affected, and vice versa. Patricia Hill Collins (2000), bell hooks (1994), and Rubin, Fitts, and Becker (2003) assert that mainstream culture's identification and propagation of aesthetic ideals as "White" simultaneously identifies them as "not-Black," resulting in popular tastes and values that fundamentally oppress people of color.

For example, the African American culture associates larger, fuller figures with wealth and social status because of a cultural history of famine or scarcity of resources (Brown & Konner, 1987; Greenberg & LaPorte, 1996; Ofose, Lafreniere, & Senn, 1998; Powers, 1980; Rudofsky, 1972). On the other hand, Ofose, Lafreniere, and Senn assert that Euro-American cultures associate thin, slim figures with wealth and social status based on a cultural history of "freedom from want" (1998, p. 314), the belief that restraint from eating reflects abundance. It is important to note that the thin body ideal is a recent phenomenon in Euro-American cultures;

cross-cultural studies indicate that, in the past, in the majority of societies, larger body sizes have been preferred over slender physiques as they reflected abundance (Castillo, 1997; Gordon, 2000).

Continuing with the influence of social and cultural factors, Pope, Gruber et al. (2000) examined men in Austria, France, and the U.S. The researchers found that, in all three countries, men chose an ideal body for themselves, and what they viewed as most attractive to the opposite sex, as approximately 30 pounds more muscular than their current physique. Additionally, Ferron (1997) asserts that societal and cultural factors in areas such as attitudes toward sexuality, perceptions of health, and elements of body image associated with gender affect adolescents who live in different countries. As an example, Ferron affirms that boys globally express more satisfaction and pride in their changing body than girls do, related to basic differences in the way genders experience puberty. Boys evaluate themselves on such factors as body efficiency and physical ability, resulting in a positive adjustment to the changes occurring with their body. On the other hand, girls assess changes in their body based on whether they are becoming more or less physically attractive.

On a more specific note on culture, Ofose, Lafreniere, and Senn (1998) address the special considerations for the experience of African Americans, with a focus on women, in relation to body image. First, African American women may feel like “tokens” or “test cases” in a predominantly Caucasian environment, uncertain of the standards by which they are being judged in their potentially racist environment. Additionally, they may feel responsible for counteracting negative stereotypes about African Americans and feel obligated to succeed on behalf of their culture. As a result, the pressure on persons of color to look and act “perfect” may be increasing in the context of upward mobility in which acceptance is desired from the

larger mainstream culture (Ofosu et al.; Silber 1986). Furthermore, researchers suggest that women of color may be at increased risk for disordered eating patterns due to increased body dissatisfaction and/or the stress accompanying acculturation (Katzman & Lee, 1997; Miller & Pumariega, 2001; Robinson, Killen, Litt, & Hammer, 1996). For African Americans, class, awareness of mainstream norms of attractiveness, and personal characteristics (e.g., self-confidence) influence the extent to which Euro-American standards are internalized (Harris, 1994). Therefore, African Americans may adapt their physical appearance to conform to the standard presented by the popular Euro-American culture (i.e., thinness for females and muscularity for males) because it may seem like the easiest route to gaining acceptance.

In opposition, Lovejoy (2001) suggests that, in African American culture, standards of beauty emphasize self-expression in multiple domains, rather than relying exclusively on physical appearance. The African American aesthetic may be seen as a defense mechanism, reflecting the need to counteract oppressive, hostile messages from a larger society that devalues people of color. Therefore, it is not surprising that Wildes, Emery, and Simons (2001) found lower rates of body dissatisfaction among African Americans. However, other research on African American women have found that, as they acculturate economically and socially, they, like Caucasian women, face strong normative pressures to diet and be thin (Ofosu et al., 1998). Although there is little known about African American men in this regard, it is assumed that they will likely experience similar acculturation issues; however, their normative pressure is to be muscular and to “bulk up” rather than to be slim.

Black Racial Identity

Research from past studies reveals that there are various models for identity formation and racial identity development (RID) (Carter & Helms, 1988; Lockett & Harrell, 2003;

Thomas & Speight, 1999; Vandiver, Fhagen-Smith, Cokley, Cross, & Worrell, 2001). The different versions of a Nigrescence model postulated by Cross (1971; 1991; 1995) were selected as the theoretical framework for this study because they provide a comprehensive overview of African American/Black RID. In addition, these models are most appropriate for use with individuals in their late teens and adult years. Consequently, it is suitable to assess African American college students' stages of RID using this model.

Cross' original Nigrescence model. For a number of decades, researchers have worked to formulate comprehensive models that describe the journey a person makes along the road to racial identity development. Cross posited his Nigrescence theory that outlined the RID for African Americans (Cross, 1971). Cross (1991) speculated that, "Nigrescence is a resocializing experience; it seeks to transform a preexisting identity (a non-Afrocentric identity) into one that is Afrocentric (p. 190)." His Nigrescence model maps the process of racial identity for assimilated, deracinated, deculturalized, or miseducated adults as they become Afrocentrically connected. The original Nigrescence model details five stages through which a person progresses: Pre-Encounter, Encounter, Immersion - Emersion, Internalization, and Internalization - Commitment (Cross, 1995; Helms, 1999; Worrell, William, & Vandiver, 2001).

The Pre-encounter stage of Cross's (1971) model depicts traits for an individual to whom race is of limited significance. Often, a person exhibiting Pre-Encounter qualities denies their "Blackness," views the Caucasian culture as ideal, and seeks to assimilate Caucasian beliefs and values as their own (Abrams & Trusty, 2004; Cross, 1995; Tatum, 2004). Cross (1971) proposes that the person will remain in this Pre-encounter stage until a significant, usually racist, event occurs, causing dissonance and prompting a re-evaluation of their view of

race. After the event, the individual moves to the Encounter stage and displays an increased regard for race. Additionally, the Encounter stage is marked by decreased denial of oneself as being Black. As a result, a person in the Encounter stage denounces formerly accepted stereotypes regarding the inferiority of African Americans and is able to negotiate their race and worth in society (Cross, 1995; Helms, 1999). Following an encounter with a significant event, they progress into the next stage, Immersion - Emersion. During this time, they experience a need to exhibit characteristics that are considered opposite of Caucasian protocols (Abrams & Trusty; Cross, 1995; Helms). They become completely immersed in an idealized view of the world of Blackness and search for occasions to learn more about Black history and culture while rejecting those aspects considered White (Tatum; Vandiver, Fhagen-Smith, Cokley, Cross, & Worrell, 2001). Once they acquire information that provides security in their own racial group, they become more objective regarding race. These qualities characterize the Internalization and Internalization - Commitment stages of Nigrescence (Cross, 1995; Tatum). When they are able to internalize their own race, they are able to seek relationships with those from different racial groups while continuing to involve oneself with Black cultural activities and organizations (Cross, 1995; Tatum). At this level, self-actualization is reached: the acceptance of a positive African American identity (Vandiver et al., 2001).

Cross' Revised Nigrescence Model. In his revised Nigrescence model, Cross (1991) accounted for varying identity clusters that manifest during the different stages of RID. The new model outlined four stages of African American RID: Pre-Encounter (the identity to be changed), Encounter (point during which person is compelled to change), Immersion - Emersion (vortex of identity change), and Internalization and Internalization - Commitment (habituation and internalization of the new identity) (Cross, 1991).

The Pre-encounter stage of the revised identity model encompasses a number of diverging attitudes and characteristics, such as limited racial salience, race neutrality, and anti-Black conceptions. Cross (1991) referenced these attitudes as low-salience, social-stigma, and anti-Black. Those exhibiting low-salience views do not necessarily deny their Black race; however, they do not view race as being a significant factor in their daily lives. For these individuals, their Blackness does not influence their happiness and well-being (Cross, 1991). Those demonstrating social-stigma attitudes may accept the low-salience ideals, but also view race as a dilemma or problem. As Cross (1991) described, “Thus, by default, some significance is attributed to race, not as a proactive force or cultural issue, but as a social stigma that must be negotiated from time to time” (p. 191). Those expressing social stigma conceptions identify their Blackness in relation to social discrimination and oppression rather than Black history and culture. In comparison to low-salience and social-stigma Pre-Encounter attitudes, anti-Black notions are extreme. Individuals exhibiting anti-Black ideals envision race as an important factor, but in a negative manner. One can liken their views to those of White racists; they loathe other Blacks and do not see them as a people or community with positive potential (Cross, 1991). Additionally, anti-Black attitudes embrace negative stereotypes of African Americans.

Characteristics expressed by the Pre-Encounter population include issues of miseducation, possession of an Eurocentric cultural perspective, problems with spotlight anxiety, approaches to assimilation – integration, and differences in value structures (Cross, 1991). A number of African Americans have been educated to assume a Western cultural and historical perspective. As a result, Pre-Encounter African Americans experience degrees of miseducation concerning the impact and significance of Black history. Those expressing anti-Black attitudes may develop self-hatred because of a distorted interpretation of Blacks. In

addition, because Pre-Encounter African Americans have often developed a Eurocentric cultural perspective, conceptions of beauty, art, and music are viewed from a Caucasian framework. Finally, Pre-Encounter African Americans may also demonstrate spotlight anxiety: an increased sensitivity to issues of race and negative portrayals of Blacks, and anxiety about being “too Black” (Cross, 1991). A third aspect, assimilation – integration, refers to how one approaches society. Pre-Encounter individuals look to other African Americans to learn how to assimilate into mainstream arenas, but do not expect change from White America. Finally, people reflecting Pre-Encounter attitudes may exhibit different value structures in comparison to those with a more internalized racial identity. Pre-Encounter individuals have strong memberships with secular, political, and religious organizations, but have low racial salience (Cross, 1991).

As found in the original model, the Encounter stage occurs when an individual is confronted with a positive or negative event, which prompts him/her to re-evaluate previously held beliefs regarding race (Lockett & Harrell, 2003; Parham & Williams, 1993; Vandiver et al., 2001; Worrell, William, et al., 2001). Two aspects mark the Encounter stage: experiencing the event and personalizing it. When people experience the event and dissonance occurs, individuals must determine their course of action. Some individuals will have an encounter episode, will not be effected by it, and will continue in the Pre-Encounter direction. In contrast, others will experience the event, become traumatized by it, and re-evaluate their original conceptions of race and their willing assimilation into White society (Cross, 1991). Cross (1991) indicated that when the latter occurs, “The Pre-Encounter person is dying; the Black American, or ‘Afrocentric’ person, is beginning to emerge” (p. 201). Consequently, re-evaluation of one’s attitudes following an encounter event often leads to Immersion - Emersion.

The third stage of Cross's (1991) revised Nigrescence model was found to be one of the most prominent stages of African American RID. Cross (1991) commented that this stage, "...represents the vortex of psychological nigrescence" (p. 201-202). At this level of RID, a person has decided to commit to change, often resulting in an attraction for symbols of his/her new identity as indicated by hairstyles, flags, national colors, jargon, etc. The Immersion – Emersion stage represents a period of dichotomy during which individuals simultaneously demonize and reject Whites while glorifying and praising Blacks. This stage outlines two phases, Immersion and Emersion. The Immersion phase of the third stage depicts people who engross themselves into the African American world. They seek to join organizations, attend seminars, and read literature related to African Americans. After individuals' emotions and actions level off, they enter the Emersion phase and may seek to develop a substantive understanding of and commitment to their Black race. Such progression leads them closer to an internalized identity (Cross, 1991).

One must note that several negative outcomes may result during the third stage of RID. Individuals may experience regression, fixation, or "dropping out" as they transition their racial identity (Cross, 1991). When people experience a racial identity process that is negative and disappointing, they may elect to reject their Blackness. As a result, they may regress toward their former identity as expressed in their Pre-Encounter conceptions. In addition to regression, there are people who experience fixation during stage three. Fixation involves those who concentrate on their hatred for White people. These attitudes may manifest themselves in their future interactions with others. Those newly immersed in their African American RID often fixate on the rejection of Whites. Finally, instances of dropping out are also observed, referring to people electing not to be involved in African American affairs. While dropping out does not

regress back to Pre-Encounter convictions, it does involve two different aspects: those who view the race problem as insurmountable and may elect to participate sometime later or those who become depressed and express no identity (Cross, 1991). Despite the markers of transition and conflict observed at the Immersion – Emersion stage, individuals who progress toward and personalize their African American racial identity reach Internalization.

Regarding Internalization, Cross (1991) commented, “For the ‘settled’ convert, the new identity gives high salience to Blackness, with the degree of salience determined by ideological considerations” (p. 210). As a result, three varying ideologies were defined: Nationalism, Biculturalism, and Multiculturalism (Vandiver et al., 2001). Nationalists express only a concern for race regarding their approach to life. Biculturalists embrace at least two aspects (e.g., race, gender, religious, sexual orientation), while multiculturalists encompass several areas of significance. Ultimately, an internalized racial identity functions in people’s lives on three levels: 1) protection against psychological insults that result in a racist society; 2) membership and affiliation with others; and 3) foundation for interactions with others (Cross, 1991).

The final stage, Internalization - Commitment, indicates those individuals who sustain their interest in developing their African American identity and commitment to helping others. This commitment occurs over an extended period of time and, in some cases, over a lifetime. While the Internalization – Commitment stage does not differ psychologically from the Internalization stage, the commitment to and duration of nigrescence is highlighted.

Recycling. Originally, Cross (1971; 1991) postulated that nigrescence occurred once in life and involved the completion of four or five stages. In contrast, work by Parham and Helms (1985) noted that recycling may result. If individuals complete the cycle during an early stage in life (i.e., adolescence or early adulthood) they may recycle through the process at later

periods in life (e.g., middle age) or as a result of life events (e.g., marriage). Nevertheless, these authors speculate that it is unlikely that individuals would recycle back to the Pre-Encounter stage. Additional life circumstances would present themselves as new encounters in people's lives (Cross, 1991; Parham & Helms).

Parham and Helms' Racial Identity Model. Stemming from Cross's work with the Nigrescence model, Parham and Helms (1985) continued the research for Black RID. In their definition, the authors noted that racial identity is based on an individual's ideals and involvement in sharing a common racial heritage with a particular reference group. Therefore, RID determines the relationship a person expresses relative to Black culture or the majority culture (Moreland & Leach, 2001). From their work, Parham and Helms proposed identity attitude "statuses", parallel to Cross's, which characterize Black RID: Pre-encounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization (Helms, 1990; Moreland & Leach; Parham, 1989; Parham & Helms; Vinson & Neimeyer, 2000). The term "status" was used to reflect the dynamic nature of RID as opposed to the term "stage," which denotes definable markers in time (Helms; Parham; Parham & Helms).

An individual in the Pre-Encounter status of RID exhibits ideals that the White worldview is dominant and correct and denounces the Black worldview (Moreland & Leach, 2001). The Encounter status represents a person who experiences either a personal or social event, which is upsetting and challenges his or her perceptions of identity. Following this encounter, the person moves to the Immersion - Emersion status, which prompts the individual to develop his or her pride in being Black and also results in the minimizing of White culture. Finally, the Internalization status reflects the view of a person who values his or her own racial

group and culture while also accommodating diversity (Helms, 1990; Moreland & Leach; Vinson & Neimeyer, 2000).

Black Racial Identity and Body Dissatisfaction. When taking the stages of Black RID into consideration, it is theorized that certain patterns will emerge in relation to cultural identification and body dissatisfaction. First, those African Americans who report being in the Pre-Encounter or Encounter stages will be more highly identified with White, Western, and Euro-American ideals of physical attractiveness, and will therefore possess higher levels of body dissatisfaction for not meeting those ideals. In addition, African Americans who report being in the stages of Immersion, Emersion, Internalization, or Internalization - Commitment will be more highly identified with African American cultural ideals of physical attractiveness and less identified with White, Western, and Euro-American ideals of physical attractiveness. As a result, these individuals will possess lower levels of body dissatisfaction since their African American cultural identification will act as a defense against the Western ideal.

Gender-Linked Characteristics

Differences in gender role orientation (masculinity/femininity) might account for differences in body dissatisfaction for men. Research examining the relationship between body image and gender roles has utilized self-report attribute questionnaires, concentrating on women's perceptions of gender-linked characteristics (Borchert & Heinberg, 1996). The Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI; Bem, 1974) is used to classify participants into masculine, feminine, androgynous, and undifferentiated groups, but has produced mixed results in relation to body image research. Jackson, Sullivan, and Rostker (1988) found that women who rated themselves as feminine or masculine reported less satisfaction with their bodies than those who rated themselves as androgynous. In contrast, women who rated themselves as masculine

reported a greater desire to change their overall physical appearance as compared to both feminine and androgynous women (Jackson, Sullivan, & Hymes, 1986). In addition, Hospers and Jansen (2005) found that, in men, body dissatisfaction was related to low masculinity scores, but was unrelated to femininity scores. Mixed findings from the use of gender categories may be the result of how these groups are created-by using a median split. This method may identify artificial boundaries, resulting in different groups who may possess similar scores, and individuals within these groups who may vary greatly in their scores.

Another method examines femininity and masculinity subscales of the BSRI as separate entities and assesses their relationship to body image; however, this method has also produced conflicting results when compared to body image research using the masculine and feminine scales of the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ; Spence & Helmreich, 1978). For example, Hawkings, Turell, and Jackson (1983) found that men and women who scored higher on masculine traits using the PAQ expressed more satisfaction with their weight-related physical appearance. However, women who scored higher on the masculine subscale of the PAQ also reported more disordered eating (Timko, Striegel-Moore, Silberstein, & Rodin, 1987). Therefore, the use of femininity and masculinity subscales as separate entities does not provide a consistent picture of their relationship to body image.

A final approach, as discussed by Borchert and Heinberg (1996), involves the comparison of actual and ideal self-ratings of masculinity and femininity. Research on gender-schemas supports the idea that self-perceptions are motivated by actual/ideal gender role discrepancies (Bem, 1981b). Gender schemas may be integrated into self-concept and serve as an ideal against which the self is evaluated. It is possible that “feminine” men (homosexual as well as heterosexual) might experience a conflict between their feminine role orientation and

the society's view of men as physically strong and masculine (Strong, Williamson, Netemeyer, & Greer, 2000), and that "masculine" men feel the pressure to conform to the mesomorphic body ideal. A negative self-concept may be the result of a failure to meet the standards of this ideal and lead to distorted thinking and coping behaviors (Borchert & Heinberg). As a result, the discrepancy model asserts that it is the degree to which people fail to meet their gender ideals, rather than the degree of femininity or masculinity, which results in body dissatisfaction.

The Present Study

The purpose of the current study is to examine the effect(s) of gender schemas and cultural identification on male body satisfaction of African American men. Gender schemas are examined using self-reported discrepancies between actual and ideal feminine and masculine traits. A main effect is hypothesized for cultural identification: those who report high cultural identification will report higher body satisfaction than those who report low cultural identification. Furthermore, it is expected that, overall, men who rate themselves as less than ideal (actual < ideal) on masculine traits will report lower levels of body satisfaction than those who rate themselves as ideal (actual = ideal) or exceeding (actual > ideal) in masculine traits. Lastly, an interaction between cultural identification and gender schema is hypothesized, predicting that African Americans low in cultural identification who report high gender role discrepancies will experience lower body satisfaction than African Americans high in cultural identification who report low gender role discrepancies.

Method

Participants

Participants were 42 African American men (M age = 25.12, SD = 9.75) with a minimum age of 18 and the maximum age of 58. The average educational level of the participants was a college junior: 10 freshmen in college, 11 sophomores, four juniors, four seniors, two graduate students, and 11 post-graduate or professionals. The majority of participants (93%) identified themselves as heterosexual. Participants reported their engagement in weight-lifting exercises (50%) versus aerobic exercises (30-40%). In addition, the average exercise frequency of participants was approximately three times a week (M exercise = 2.62, SD = 1.01).

Measures

Demographics. Participants completed a demographic survey (see Appendix A), in which they reported their age, ethnicity, educational level, exercise participation, sexual orientation, and past and present SES.

The Body Assessment (BA; Lorenzen et al., 2004). The BA is a 25-item questionnaire that assesses participants' attitudes towards various parts or aspects of their bodies, including appearance (i.e., body shape, weight, and stomach) and body performance (i.e., agility, physical stamina, and energy level) (see Appendix B). Items are scored on a five-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly positive*) to 5 (*strongly negative*), with higher scores indicating greater dissatisfaction with one's body. The BA has been shown to have good internal consistency, Cronbach's alpha = .94 (Lorenzen et al.).

The Body Shape Questionnaire (BSQ; Cooper, Taylor, Cooper, & Fairburn, 1987). The BSQ consists of 34 items that assess body shape concerns such as, "Have you felt ashamed of

your body” (see Appendix C). The items are rated on a six-point Likert-type scale that ranges from 1 (*never*) to 6 (*always*), with higher scores indicating dissatisfaction or preoccupation with body shape. For the current study, items 9, 12, and 25 were changed by replacing comparisons to women with men and/or thinner to muscular. Cooper et al. tested the concurrent validity of the BSQ, finding significant ($p < .001$) correlations with the Body Dissatisfaction subscale of the Eating Disorder Inventory (EDI; Garner, Olmstead, & Polivy 1983) and with the total Eating Attitudes Test (EAT; Garner & Garfinkel, 1979). Furthermore, the BSQ produced a test-retest reliability coefficient of .88 ($p < .001$) (Rosen, Jones, Ramirez, & Waxman, 1996).

Physical Appearance Comparison Scale (PACS; Thompson, Heinberg, & Tantleff, 1991). This scale contains five items (e.g., “In social situations, I compare my figure to the figures of other people”) that are rated on a five-point Likert-type scale from 1 (*never true*) to 5 (*always true*) (see Appendix D). Higher scores indicate a greater tendency to compare one’s physical appearance to that of others. Thompson, Heinberg, and Tantleff found the PACS to have a coefficient alpha of .78 and a test-retest coefficient of .72.

Physical Attractiveness Scale (PAS; Davison & McCabe, 2005). The PAS measures how attractive an individual perceives him or herself (see Appendix E). It consists of five items (e.g., “When it comes to my looks, I am...”) that are rated on a five-point Likert-type scale from 1 (*extremely unattractive*) to 5 (*extremely attractive*), with higher scores indicating that the individual rates himself, and believes that others would also, as attractive.

The Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS; Vandiver et al., 2000). The CRIS (see Appendix F) assesses six attitudes proposed in the expanded nigrescence model (Cross & Vandiver, 2001; Vandiver, Cross, Worrell, & Fhagen-Smith, 2002; Worrell, Cross, & Vandiver, 2001). Of these six attitudes, Internalization Afrocentricity (IA) was used in this study as the measure for

cultural identification. The IA items (e.g., “Black people cannot truly be free until our daily lives are guided by Afrocentric values and principles”) focus on Black empowerment and success. There are a total of 30 items divided into six subscales (five items each), and the items are randomly distributed among 40 items (30 CRIS items and 10 filler items). Respondents rate CRIS items on a seven point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Subscale scores are obtained by summing across the five items and dividing by five, with total scores ranging from 1 to 7. For the purpose of this study, the higher the IA subscale score, the higher a respondent’s cultural identification, and vice versa. There is considerable psychometric information available on the CRIS. Numerous studies provide support for the instrument’s six-factor structure in college (Vandiver et al., 2001; 2002), and adult samples (Worrell, Vandiver, Cross, & Fhagen-Smith, 2004). Construct reliability estimates for CRIS subscale scores are typically in the .7 to .9 range (Worrell & Gardner-Kitt, 2006).

The Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI; Bem, 1974). The BSRI (see Appendix G) measures self-reported masculine and feminine characteristics and was used to assess “actual” and “ideal” masculinity and femininity. This measure consists of 60 items that contain different personality characteristics (e.g., ambitious, understanding, and conceited) that are rated on a seven-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*never or almost never true*) to 7 (*almost always true*). Bem (1981a) reported internal consistency estimates between .75 and .87, and test-retest correlations between .76 and .94 for the Femininity and Masculinity scales of the BSRI. Additionally, coefficient alphas of .88 were found for both the Femininity and Masculinity scales (Bryant & Fuqua, 1997). As used by Borchert and Heinberg (1996), discrepancy scores will be created by subtracting ideal from actual scores for each subscale. These discrepancy

scores could be positive (indicating an excess of masculinity) or negative (indicating a lack of masculinity), and a score of zero indicates no discrepancy.

Procedure

Participants were recruited from Psychology and African American studies classes by offering class extra credit. The administration of the questionnaires was either computerized where the participants accessed the online questionnaire through the Psychology Department study board system, or through questionnaire packets. Informed consent was obtained from participants (see Appendix H). Participants completed the demographics form, BSRI (actual characteristics they believe they possess), BA, BSQ, PAS, PACS, CRIS, and the second BSRI (ideal characteristics they believe they should possess). After completing the computerized or packet questionnaires (approximately 30 to 40 minutes), the participants received a debriefing statement (see Appendix I).

Results

For the purpose of this study, the discrepancy on only the masculine characteristics were used in the analysis because of the expectation that not meeting ideal scores on masculine characteristics will have more of an effect on men's body satisfaction than their discrepancy scores on feminine characteristics. Gender role discrepancy scores were determined by first calculating totals for the masculinity subscale for both "actual" and "ideal" ratings from the BSRI. Next, the "ideal" scores were subtracted from the "actual" scores to produce a discrepancy score (Masc-D for masculine discrepancy). Scores for cultural identification (CI) were determined by finding the mean score for participant's responses on the IA scale items of the CRIS (1 [*low identification*] to 7 [*high identification*]). Furthermore, scores were determined for each of the body dissatisfaction (BD) measures (BSQ, BA, PACS, and PAS) by finding the mean score for participant's responses. For the BSQ, BA, and PACS, higher scores indicate higher body dissatisfaction. However, for the PAS, lower scores indicate higher body dissatisfaction. Scores for these measures are collectively referred to as BD.

Descriptive Analyses

Table 1 shows the means, standard deviations, correlations, and scale reliabilities for all variables in the present study. The BSQ was positively correlated with the PACS and Masc-D; the more body dissatisfaction reported by participants, the more masculine discrepancy reported. The BSQ was also negatively correlated with the PAS; the more body dissatisfaction reported by participants, the less physically attractive the participants rated themselves. Finally, the BA was negatively correlated with the IA scale of the CRIS; the more body dissatisfaction reported by participants, the lower the participants' cultural identification with African American culture.

Table 1

Means, Standard Deviations, Intercorrelations, and Reliabilities for all Study Variables

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. BA ^a	3.03	1.22	(.98)					
2. BSQ ^b	1.76	1.00	-.08	(.98)				
3. PACS ^c	2.97	.83	.32	.45**	(.62)			
4. PAS ^d	3.60	.90	.19	-.51**	-.06	(.95)		
5. CRIS (IA) ^e	3.20	1.45	-.46**	-.10	-.12	.14	(.82)	
6. BSRI (Masc-D) ^f	.46	.99	.28	.50**	.19	-.18	-.23	NA

Note. Scale reliabilities (alphas) are along the diagonal. ^aBody Assessment: 1 = *strongly agree* to 5 = *strongly disagree* response scale. ^bBody Satisfaction Questionnaire: 1 = *never* to 6 = *always* response scale. ^cPhysical Appearance Comparison Scale: 1 = *never true* to 5 = *always true* response scale. ^dPhysical Attractiveness Scale: 1 = *extremely unattractive* to 5 = *extremely attractive* response scale. ^eCross Racial Identity Scale: 1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree* response scale. ^fBem Sex Role Inventory: 1 = *never or almost never true* to 7 = *always or almost always true* response scale. * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$.

Hypothesis Testing

Hypotheses were tested using a series of hierarchical regressions. To adjust for multicollinearity that often accompanies testing moderating relationships, the CI and Masc-D variables were centered before computing interaction terms (Aiken & West, 1991). Interaction terms were computed by multiplying the predictors.

Hypotheses 1 and 2. Hypothesis 1 stated that men who report higher cultural identification (CI) will report lower levels of body dissatisfaction than those who report lower cultural identification. Hypothesis 2 stated that men who rate themselves as less than ideal (actual < ideal) on masculine traits will report higher levels of body dissatisfaction than those who rate themselves as ideal (actual = ideal) or exceeding (actual > ideal) in masculine traits. To test these hypotheses, scores from the BA, PAS, PACS, and BSQ were submitted to a linear regression analysis. For these analyses, CI and Masc-D were used as independent variables and scores on the BA, PAS, PACS, and BSQ were used as dependent variables. As shown in Table 2, there was a significant interaction between the CI and Masc-D. This will be discussed under Hypothesis 3. In support of Hypothesis 1, there was a significant main effect for CI on scores on the BA: men's body dissatisfaction increased as their cultural identification decreased. As shown in Table 3, there was also a significant interaction between the CI and Masc-D. This will be discussed under Hypothesis 3. Supporting Hypothesis 2, there was a significant main effect for Masc-D on scores on the BSQ: men's body dissatisfaction increased as their masculine discrepancy increased.

Results from the PAS and PACS did not support Hypotheses 1 and 2. CI scores ($\beta = .07, t = .63, p = .53$) and Masc-D scores ($\beta = -.14, t = -.88, p = .39$) did not influence scores on the PAS. There were also no interactions ($\beta = -.15, t = .88, p = .39$) between CI and Masc-D on PAS scores. In addition, CI scores ($\beta = -.05, t = -.49, p = .63$) and Masc-D scores ($\beta = .14, t = .98, p = .34$) did not influence scores on the PACS. There were also no interactions ($\beta = -.10, t = -.61, p = .55$) between CI and Masc-D on PACS scores.

Table 2
Multiple Regression Analysis Examining CI and Masc-D on BA

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Step 1</u>	<u>Step 2</u>
	Beta (β)	Beta (β)
Cultural Identification	-.35 (-.42)*	-.26 (-.31)
Masc-D	.22 (.18)	.22 (.18)
CI X Masc-D		.42 (.33)*
Total R^2	.24*	.34*
ΔR^2	.24*	.10*
ΔF	5.21*	4.70*

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$.

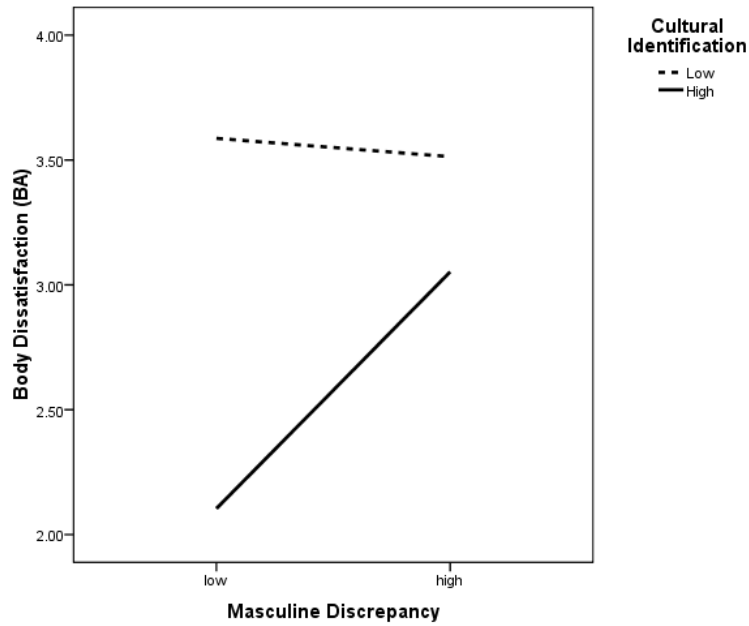
Table 3
Multiple Regression Analysis Examining CI and Masc-D on BSQ

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Step 1</u>	<u>Step 2</u>
	Beta (β)	Beta (β)
Cultural Identification	.01 (.02)	-.08 (-.12)
Masc-D	.51 (.50)**	.51 (.50)***
CI X Masc-D		-.46 (-.43)**
Total R^2	.25**	.42**
ΔR^2	.25**	.17**
ΔF	5.28**	9.05**

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$.

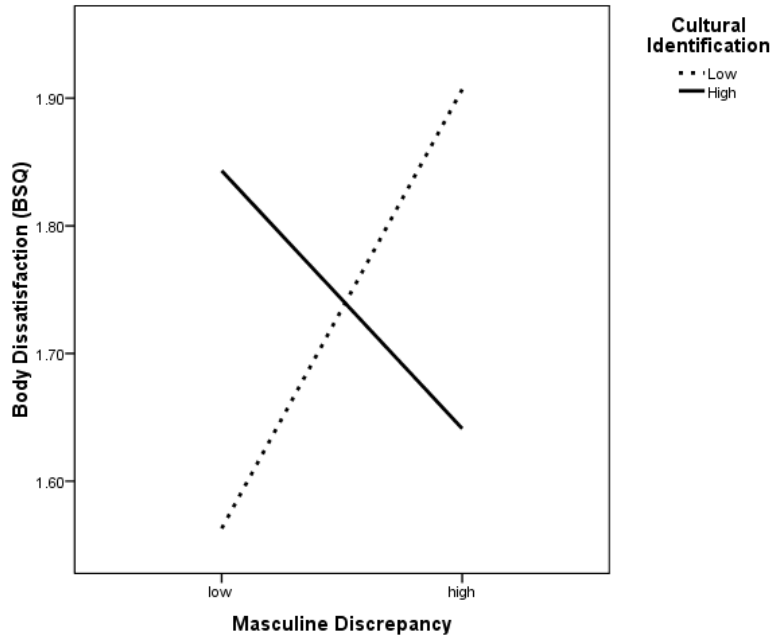
Hypothesis 3. It was hypothesized that African Americans lower in culture identification who report higher masculine discrepancy will report higher body dissatisfaction than African Americans higher in cultural identification who report lower masculine discrepancy. To evaluate this hypothesis, a median split was performed on the CI measure and the scores from the BA and BSQ for each level were graphed. Scores from the PAS and PACS were not included because no significant interactions or main effects were found for either measure in regards to the CI and Masc-D scores. Consistent with Hypothesis 3, Figure 1 and 2 show that those with low CI and high Masc-D scores reported higher body dissatisfaction (BA and BSQ) than participants with high CI and low Masc-D scores. For men with low cultural identification and low masculine discrepancy, scores on the BA were high. For men with high cultural identification and low masculine discrepancy, scores on the BA were low. For men with high cultural identification and high masculine discrepancy, scores on the BA were high, but not as high as those with low cultural identification. For men with high cultural identification and high masculine discrepancy, scores on the BA were moderate.

Figure 1
Interaction of CI, Masc-D, and BA



For men low in cultural identification and low in masculine discrepancy, scores on the BSQ were low. For men low in cultural identification and high in masculine discrepancy, scores on the BSQ were high. For men high in cultural identification and low in masculine discrepancy, scores on the BSQ were high. Lastly, for men high in cultural identification and high in masculine discrepancy, scores on the BSQ were low.

Figure 2
Interaction of CI, Masc-D, and BSQ



Discussion

The goal of the present study was to examine the relationships between gender schema, level of cultural identification, and body dissatisfaction in African American men. The first hypothesis under study was that men with a low identification to African American culture would report higher dissatisfaction with their body than those with a high cultural identification. The second hypothesis was that men with a large discrepancy from their culture's description of an "ideal man" would also report higher body dissatisfaction than those with low or no discrepancy. The third hypothesis under study was that an interaction between variables would occur and that men who were less identified with their African American culture and reported themselves as not matching their culture's masculine ideal would have higher levels of body dissatisfaction than men who were highly identified with their African American culture and reported themselves as strongly matching their culture's masculine ideal.

Results supported the first hypothesis; men's body dissatisfaction increased as their cultural identification decreased. As African Americans acculturate economically and socially, they, like Caucasians, face strong normative pressures to conform to the idealized gender images (Ofosu et al., 1998). Therefore, African Americans with a low cultural identification may adapt their physical appearance to conform to the Western ideal because it may seem like the easiest way to gain acceptance by Western Caucasian culture. In addition, these results strongly reinforce the idea that, for minorities, identifying with one's own culture may act as a buffer against Western body ideals and result in lower body dissatisfaction (Greenberg & LaPorte, 1996; Lovejoy, 2001; Molloy & Herzberger, 1998; Parker et al., 1995).

Hypothesis 2 predicted that men who rate themselves as less than ideal on masculine traits associated with their culture's masculine ideal would report higher levels of body

dissatisfaction than those who rate themselves as ideal or exceeding in masculine traits. The results also supported this hypothesis, with men reporting higher body dissatisfaction as their masculine discrepancy increased. Wienke (1998) asserted that those who are similar to their culture's ideal image for their gender receive social and cultural benefits; however, those who do not meet this ideal are likely to experience higher levels of body dissatisfaction as they do not receive these societal incentives. The results bolster the theory that gender schemas may be integrated into self-concept as well as body image, serving as an ideal against which the self is evaluated. As theorized by Jackson (2002), high body dissatisfaction may then be the result of a failure to meet the standards of this ideal. In addition, the results also coincide with previous research by Hawkings, Turell, and Jackson (1983) and Hospers and Jansen (2005) who found that, in men, low masculinity scores were related to body dissatisfaction.

Lastly, Hypothesis 3 predicted an interaction between variables so that men lower in cultural identification with a high masculine discrepancy would report higher body dissatisfaction than those higher in cultural identification with a lower masculine discrepancy. This hypothesis was also supported by the results; as men's cultural identification decreased, their masculine discrepancy and body dissatisfaction increased, and vice versa. The interaction discovered between cultural identification and a masculine discrepancy implies that cultures possess gender-specific idealized standards that govern people's views towards appropriate gender behaviors. When these standards are followed, individuals are viewed more positively by their culture; however, when these standards are not met an individual will likely experience dissonance and body dissatisfaction (Wienke, 1998). Past research has discovered that men, in an attempt to meet these cultural standards, may experience an increased drive for a muscular

body (Castillo, 1997; Gillet & White, 1992; Klein, 1993; Leit, Pope, & Gray, 2000; Tager, Good, & Morrison, 2006; Yang, Gray, & Pope, 2005) that may not be realistically attainable.

Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

Possible limitations for this study are that those that inherently come with self-report measures (Schwarz, 1999). Schwarz asserts that behaviors and attitudes assessed through self-reports are influenced by the features of the research instrument. The measures are designed to evaluate research constructs through generalized questions, resulting in the possibility that the wording, format, or context of questions can result in major changes to the results.

Furthermore, when using Likert type scales additional issues must be accounted. For example, some participants tend to respond to Likert scales by “sitting on the fence” or selecting the neutral response if given the possibility (Hodge & Gillespie, 2003). Moreover, some researchers suggest constructing a Likert scale using an odd number of choices to “force” the respondents to have an opinion on an issue. Unfortunately, doing so may result in a participant responding to an opinion that he did not possess (Hodge & Gillespie).

Additionally, existing research on body image is limited in that the majority of participants are Caucasians from Western cultures where these idealized images originated (Baird & Grieve, 2006; Soh, Touyz, & Surgenor, 2006; Wildes, Emery, & Simons, 2001). Research that has examined diverse races/ethnicities focused mainly on groups in the United States (e.g., Latino, African American, ect.), which restricts the generalizability of the findings to other ethnic groups outside of the U.S. or in Non-Western cultures (Mintz & Kashubeck, 1999). The participants of this study were limited to African American males from the U.S., which limits the relevance of the findings to other ethnic groups outside of the U.S. or in Non-Western cultures, as well as to women.

The majority of participants in this study were heterosexual. Research has found that homosexual men have a higher incidence of eating disorders and body image problems than heterosexual men (Andersen, 1999; Lakkis, Ricciardelli, & Williams, 1999; Strong, Williamson, Netemeyer, & Geer, 2000). Yellend and Tiggemann (2003) assert that there is an increased pressure within the gay community to attain the ideal muscular body shape. Therefore, further examination into the role of sexual orientation as a moderating factor in levels of body image and eating disturbances is warranted.

The geographic region in which the study occurred and the small number of participants were other limitations. Data collection was limited to African American college students and professionals in one region of the United States at one university setting. Because the study took place in the southern area of the country, specifically at a predominately Caucasian university in a small community, findings may not be indicative of the rest of the country. For future exploration, researchers should expand the study beyond the south to other regions as well as different academic settings, and increase the number of participants.

Conclusions

Unquestionably, our society appears to increase stress in individuals of both sexes by emphasizing restrictive, physical ideals as markers of masculine and feminine status. As the idealized physical image of masculinity becomes more ubiquitous, it is likely that men who measure themselves against this ideal will have greater difficulty achieving self-acceptance and struggle for an unrealistic (and often unhealthy) level of control. Such a struggle for control could lead to engagement in behaviors that could potentially contribute to poor health such as pathological or disordered eating, excessive exercise, and abuse of performance-enhancing substances including food supplements and anabolic steroids (Goldfield, Blouin, & Woodside,

2006). Further research into connections between body image, different facets of psychological well-being, unhealthy behaviors, masculinity, sexual orientation, cultural identification, peer influence and media influence will undoubtedly contribute to greater knowledge about how male identity and self-worth are influenced by and interact with perceptions of physical appearance.

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APPENDIX A

Demographic Form

1. Age: _____
2. Number of years I have resided in the United States: _____

For the following questions, please circle which one applies to you:

3. Gender: Male Female
4. Education level (circle one):
- Freshman Sophomore Junior Senior
- Graduate Student Other: _____
5. When I exercise, I spend ____% performing aerobic exercises (please circle your choice).
- | | | |
|-----|----|----|
| 100 | 60 | 20 |
| 90 | 50 | 10 |
| 80 | 40 | 0 |
| 70 | 30 | |
6. When I exercise, I spend ____% performing weight lifting and muscle building exercises (please circle your choice).
- | | | |
|-----|----|----|
| 100 | 60 | 20 |
| 90 | 50 | 10 |
| 80 | 40 | 0 |
| 70 | 30 | |
7. I am currently in a serious, romantic relationship. (Please circle your answer)
- Yes No

For the following questions, please put an X beside your choice:

8. How do you define your sexual orientation?
- _____ Completely homosexual, lesbian, or gay
- _____ Mostly homosexual, lesbian, or gay
- _____ Bisexual
- _____ Mostly heterosexual
- _____ Completely heterosexual
- _____ Other (please specify: _____)

9. How would you describe your family's financial situation when you were growing up (0-16 years old)?
- Very poor, not enough to get by
 - Barely enough to get by
 - Had enough to get by but not many "extras"
 - Had more than enough to get by
 - Well to do
 - Extremely well to do
10. How would you describe your current financial situation?
- Very poor, not enough to get by
 - Barely enough to get by
 - Had enough to get by but not many "extras"
 - Had more than enough to get by
 - Well to do
 - Extremely well to do
11. On average, I exercise ____ many times per week.
- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 0 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5-7 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 8+ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 3-4 | |

APPENDIX B
Body Assessment

INSTRUCTIONS: The following are some areas in which people tend to be concerned about their bodies. Please rate how you feel about the areas of your body (negatively versus positively). Please answer the following questions honestly, and remember that there are no “right” or “wrong” answers. **Answer by circling the number (1-5) that corresponds to your choice.**

APPENDIX C

Body Shape Questionnaire

We should like to know how you have been feeling about your appearance over the PAST FOUR WEEKS. Please read each question and circle the appropriate number to the right. Please answer all the questions.

OVER THE PAST *FOUR WEEKS*:

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very Often	Always
1. Has feeling bored made you brood about your shape?	1	2	3	4	5	6
2. Have you been so worried about your shape that you have been feeling that you ought to diet?	1	2	3	4	5	6
3. Have you thought that your thighs, hips or bottom are too large for the rest of you?	1	2	3	4	5	6
4. Have you been afraid that you might become fat (or fatter)?	1	2	3	4	5	6
5. Have you worried about your flesh not being firm enough?	1	2	3	4	5	6
6. Has feeling full (e.g., after eating a large meal) made you feel fat?	1	2	3	4	5	6
7. Have you felt so bad about your shape that you have cried?	1	2	3	4	5	6
8. Have you avoided running because your flesh might wobble?	1	2	3	4	5	6
9. Has being with muscular men made you feel self-conscious about your shape?	1	2	3	4	5	6
10. Have you worried about your thighs spreading out when sitting down?	1	2	3	4	5	6
11. Has eating even a small amount of food made you feel fat?	1	2	3	4	5	6
12. Have you noticed the shape of other men and felt that your own shape compared unfavorably?	1	2	3	4	5	6
13. Has thinking about your shape interfered with your ability to concentrate (e.g., while watching television, reading, listening to conversations)?	1	2	3	4	5	6
14. Has being naked, such as when taking a bath, made you feel fat?	1	2	3	4	5	6

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very Often	Always
15. Have you avoided wearing clothes which make you particularly aware of the shape of your body?	1	2	3	4	5	6
16. Have you imagined cutting off fleshy areas of your body?	1	2	3	4	5	6
17. Has eating sweets, cakes, or other high calorie food made you feel fat?	1	2	3	4	5	6
18. Have you not gone out to social occasions (e.g., parties) because you have felt bad about your shape?	1	2	3	4	5	6
19. Have you felt excessively large and rounded?	1	2	3	4	5	6
20. Have you felt ashamed of your body?	1	2	3	4	5	6
21. Has worry about your shape made you diet?	1	2	3	4	5	6
22. Have you felt happiest about your shape when your stomach has been empty (e.g., in the morning)?	1	2	3	4	5	6
23. Have you thought that you are the shape you are because you lack self-control?	1	2	3	4	5	6
24. Have you worried about other people seeing rolls of flesh around your waist or stomach?	1	2	3	4	5	6
25. Have you felt that it is not fair that other men are more muscular than you?	1	2	3	4	5	6
26. Have you vomited in order to feel thinner?	1	2	3	4	5	6
27. When in company have you worried about taking up too much room (e.g., sitting on a sofa or a bus seat)?	1	2	3	4	5	6
28. Have you worried about your flesh being dimply?	1	2	3	4	5	6
29. Has seeing your reflection (e.g. in a mirror or shop window) made you feel bad about your shape?	1	2	3	4	5	6

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very Often	Always
30. Have you pinched areas of your body to see how much fat there is?	1	2	3	4	5	6
31. Have you avoided situations where people could see your body (e.g., communal changing rooms or swimming baths)?	1	2	3	4	5	6
32. Have you taken laxatives in order to feel thinner?	1	2	3	4	5	6
33. Have you been particularly self-conscious about your shape when in the company of other people?	1	2	3	4	5	6
34. Has worry about your shape made you feel you ought to exercise?	1	2	3	4	5	6

APPENDIX D

Physical Appearance Comparison Scale

	Never true	Seldom true	Sometimes true	Often true	Always true
At parties or other social events, I compare my physical appearance to the physical appearance of others.	1	2	3	4	5
The best way for people to know if they are overweight or underweight is to compare their figure to the figure of others.	1	2	3	4	5
At parties or other social events, I compare how I am dressed to how other people are dressed.	1	2	3	4	5
Comparing your “looks” to the “looks” of others is a bad way to determine if you are attractive or unattractive.	1	2	3	4	5
In social situations, I compare my figure to the figures of other people.	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX E

Physical Attractiveness Scale

	extremely unattractive		of average attractiveness		extremely attractive
Compared to other males of my age, I am	1	2	3	4	5
Girls usually think I am	1	2	3	4	5
When it comes to my looks, I am	1	2	3	4	5
I feel that my face is	1	2	3	4	5
If people had to rate my appearance, they would probably say I am	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX F

Cross Racial Identity Scale

We should like to know about your ethnic beliefs. Please read each question and rate yourself on each item, on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). Please answer all the questions.

1. As an African American, life in America is good for me.
2. I think of myself primarily as an American and seldom as a member of a racial group.
3. Too many Blacks “glamorize” the drug trade and fail to see opportunities that don’t involve crime.
4. I go through periods when I am down on myself because I am Black.
5. As a multiculturalist, I am connected to many groups (Hispanics, Asian-Americans, Whites, Jews, gays & lesbians, etc.).
6. I have a strong feeling of hatred and disdain for all White people.
7. I see and think about things from an Afrocentric perspective.
8. When I walk into a room, I always take note of the racial make-up of the people around me.
9. I am not so much a member of a racial group as I am an American.
10. I sometimes struggle with negative feelings about being Black.
11. My relationship with God plays an important role in my life.
12. Blacks place more emphasis on having a good time than on hard work.
13. I believe that only those Black people who accept an Afrocentric perspective can truly solve the race problem in America.
14. I hate the White community and all that it represents.
15. When I have a chance to make a new friend, issues of race and ethnicity seldom play a role in whom that person might be.
16. I believe it is important to have both a Black identity and a multicultural perspective, which is inclusive of everyone e.g., Asians, Latinos, gays and lesbians, Jews, Whites, etc.).
17. When I look in the mirror at my Black image, sometimes I do not feel good about what I see.
18. If I had to put a label on my identity, it would be “American” and not African American.
19. When I read the newspaper or a magazine, I always look for articles and stories that deal with race and ethnic issues.
20. Many African Americans are too lazy to see opportunities that are right in front of them.
21. As far as I am concerned, affirmative action will be needed for a long time.
22. Black people cannot truly be free until our daily lives are guided by Afrocentric values and principles.
23. White people should be destroyed.
24. I embrace my own Black identity, but I also respect and celebrate the cultural identities of other groups (e.g., Native Americans, Whites, Latinos, Jews, Asian-Americans, gays & lesbians, etc.).
25. Privately, I sometimes have negative feelings about being Black.
26. If I had to put myself into categories, first I would say I am an American, and second I am a member of a racial group.
27. My feelings and thoughts about God are very important to me.

28. African Americans are too quick to turn to crime to solve their problems.
29. When I have a chance to decorate a room, I tend to select pictures, posters, or works of art that express strong racial-cultural themes.
30. I hate White people.
31. I respect the ideas that other Black people hold, but I believe that the best way to solve our problems is to think Afrocentrically.
32. When I vote in an election, the first thing I think about is the candidate's record on racial and cultural issues.
33. I believe it is important to have both a Black identity and a multicultural perspective, because this connects me to other groups (Hispanics, Asian-Americans, Whites, Jews, gays & lesbians, etc.).
34. I have developed an identity that stresses my experiences as an American more than my experiences as a member of a racial group.
35. During a typical week in my life, I think about racial and cultural issues many, many times.
36. Blacks place too much importance on racial protest and not enough on hard work and education.
37. Black people will never be free until we embrace an Afrocentric perspective.
38. My negative feelings toward White people are very intense.
39. I sometimes have negative feelings about being Black.
40. As a multiculturalist, it is important for me to be connected with individuals from all cultural backgrounds (Latinos, gays & lesbians, Jews, Native Americans, Asian-Americans, etc.).

APPENDIX G

Bem Sex Role Inventory

Rate yourself on each item, on a scale from 1 (never or almost never true) to 7 (almost always true).

	Almost never true		Undecided			Almost always true	
1. self reliant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. yielding	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. helpful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. defends own beliefs	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. cheerful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. moody	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. independent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. shy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. conscientious	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. athletic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. affectionate	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. theatrical	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. assertive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. flatterable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15. happy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16. strong personality	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17. loyal	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18. unpredictable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19. forceful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20. feminine	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21. reliable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22. analytical	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23. sympathetic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24. jealous	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25. leadership ability	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
26. sensitive to other's needs	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
27. truthful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
28. willing to take risks	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
29. understanding	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
30. secretive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
31. makes decisions easily	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
32. compassionate	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
33. sincere	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
34. self-sufficient	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
35. eager to soothe hurt feelings	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
36. conceited	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
37. dominant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
38. soft spoken	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
39. likeable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
40. masculine	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

41. warm	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
42. solemn	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
43. willing to take a stand	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
44. tender	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
45. friendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
46. aggressive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
47. gullible	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
48. inefficient	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
49. acts as a leader	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
50. childlike	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
51. adaptable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
52. individualistic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
53. does not use harsh language	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
54. unsystematic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
55. competitive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
56. loves children	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
57. tactful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
58. ambitious	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
59. gentle	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
60. conventional	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

APPENDIX H
Informed Consent

Informed Consent Document

Project Title: An Investigation into Cultural Beliefs

Investigator: Amy Baird, Psychology Department, 745-4417

You are being asked to participate in a project conducted through Western Kentucky University. The University requires that you give your signed agreement to participate in this project.

The investigator will explain to you in detail the purpose of the project, the procedures to be used, and the potential benefits and possible risks of participation. You may ask him/her any questions you have to help you understand the project. A basic explanation of the project is written below. Please read this explanation and discuss with the researcher any questions you may have.

If you then decide to participate in the project, please sign on the last page of this form in the presence of the person who explained the project to you. You should be given a copy of this form to keep.

1. **Nature and Purpose of the Project:** The purpose of this study is to examine how people feel about various aspects of their body, gender roles, and identification with their culture/ethnicity.
2. **Explanation of Procedures:** For this study you will be asked to fill out several questionnaire that will ask for demographic information, how you feel about your appearance, your cultural identification, and beliefs about gender roles. The questionnaires should take approximately 30 minutes to complete.
3. **Discomfort and Risks:** There are no anticipated risks to participation in this study.
4. **Benefits:** You may be able to receive extra credit or research participation credit for your psychology courses, if your instructor offers such credit (be sure to check with your instructor).
5. **Confidentiality:** name will not be associated with the data collected on your particular test results. If you would like a copy of the completed study, we will be happy to send one to you if you supply your name and address. Once we have sent out the copies, we will delete these names and addresses from our files.
6. **Refusal/Withdrawal:** Refusal to participate in this study will have no effect on any future services you may be entitled to from the University. Anyone who participates in this study can quit at any time with no penalty.
7. **Questions:** Can be directed to the researchers collecting data or to Dr. Rick Grieve. Dr. Grieve can be reached in his office (TPH 258) during his office hours (see posted times on his door) or at (270) 745-4417.

You understand also that it is not possible to identify all potential risks in an experimental procedure, and you believe that reasonable safeguards have been taken to minimize both the known and potential but unknown risks.

Signature of Participant

Date

Witness

Date

THE DATED APPROVAL ON THIS CONSENT FORM INDICATES THAT
THIS PROJECT HAS BEEN REVIEWED AND APPROVED BY
THE WESTERN KENTUCKY UNIVERSITY HUMAN SUBJECTS REVIEW BOARD
Sean Rubino, Compliance Manger
TELEPHONE: (270) 745-4652

APPENDIX I
Debriefing Statement

We would like to thank you for your participation in this research. This study was conducted to examine what effect cultural identification, race, and beliefs about gender role characteristics have on men's body satisfaction. If you would like to have a copy of the final research project, please contact Dr. Rick Grieve after Jan 1, 2008, at (270) 745-4417. His office is located at TPH 258, Department of Psychology, Western Kentucky University, Bowling Green, KY 42101. If you have questions regarding this study, please contact Dr. Grieve at any time.

APPENDIX J

Human Subjects Review Board Approval

WESTERN KENTUCKY UNIVERSITY
Human Subjects Review Board
Office of Sponsored Programs
301 Potter Hall
270-745-4652; Fax 270-745-4211
E-mail: Sean.Rubino@wku.edu

In future correspondence please refer to HS07-185, April 26, 2007

Amy Baird
c/o Dr. Rick Grieve
Department of Psychology
WKU

Dear Amy:

Your revision to your research project, "An Investigation into Cultural Beliefs," was reviewed by the HSRB and it has been determined that risks to subjects are: (1) minimized and reasonable; and that (2) research procedures are consistent with a sound research design and do not expose the subjects to unnecessary risk. Reviewers determined that: (1) benefits to subjects are considered along with the importance of the topic and that outcomes are reasonable; (2) selection of subjects is equitable; and (3) the purposes of the research and the research setting is amenable to subjects' welfare and producing desired outcomes; that indications of coercion or prejudice are absent, and that participation is clearly voluntary.

1. In addition, the IRB found that you need to orient participants as follows: (1) signed informed consent is not required as participation will imply consent; (2) Provision is made for collecting, using and storing data in a manner that protects the safety and privacy of the subjects and the confidentiality of the data. (3) Appropriate safeguards are included to protect the rights and welfare of the subjects.

This project is therefore approved at the Expedited Review Level until December 31, 2007

2. Please note that the institution is not responsible for any actions regarding this protocol before approval. If you expand the project at a later date to use other instruments please re-apply. Copies of your request for human subjects review, your application, and this approval, are maintained in the Office of Sponsored Programs at the above address. Please report any changes to this approved protocol to this office. A Continuing Review protocol will be sent to you in the future to determine the status of the project.

Sincerely,

Sean Rubino, M.P.A.
Compliance Manager
Office of Sponsored Programs
Western Kentucky University

cc: HS file number Baird HS07-185

-- Sean Rubino, MPA
Compliance Manager
Office of Sponsored Programs
Western Kentucky University
(270) 745-2129
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