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# Table of Contents

Page

---

<b>Impact of COVID-19 on Food Insecurity and Resiliency in College Students</b> by Kiera Alexander; Ashley Licata, Ph.D. (Mentor); and Michael Lipscomb, Ph.D. (Honors Program Director)	2
<b>The Effect of Political Culture on Voter Personality Preferences for Political Leaders: A South Carolina Case Study</b> by Kalin Bennett and Michael Lipscomb, Ph.D. (Mentor)	9
<b>Latinidad and Portrayals of Second- and Third-Generation Latinx Immigrants in <i>One Day at a Time</i></b> by Yashuri Del Rosario Rodriguez and Nathaniel Frederick, Ph.D. (Mentor)	29
<b>Undergraduate Students' Perceptions, Knowledge, and Attitudes Toward Human Trafficking</b> by Katrina A. Gainey and Anthony J. Hill, Ph.D. (Mentor)	36
<b>Race Predicts Perceptions of Significant Learning Before and After COVID-19</b> by Gabrielle McGee and Donna Webster Nelson, Ph.D. (Mentor)	46
<b>Celebrity Influence on Black Men's Constructions of Masculinity</b> by Savannah Stinson and Mike Sickels, Ph.D. (Mentor)	56
<b>State Sexual Education Policies and Sexual Risk in Sexual Minority Youth</b> by Victoria Sulak and Brandon Ranallo-Benavidez, Ph.D. (Mentor)	63
<b>Knowledge, Practices, and Perceptions of Screening Adults for Childhood Trauma in Primary Care Settings</b> by Aimée Sykes and Kori Bloomquist, Ph.D. (Mentor)	68
<b>Acknowledgments</b>	75

# Impact of COVID-19 on Food Insecurity and Resiliency in College Students

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Honors Thesis  
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## ABSTRACT

**Background:** Research has assessed food insecurity and its impact on college students. However, previous research has not determined the impact of a global pandemic on food insecurity levels and resilience in college students. Research is needed to assess the correlates of food insecurity and levels of resilience within this population before and during a pandemic. **Objective:** To assess the relationship of food insecurity and resilience among college students and compare the relationships of these factors prior to and in the midst of COVID-19. **Participants:** Students attending a postsecondary institution in the southeastern region of the United States. **Methods:** A cross-sectional questionnaire including a self-administered survey on Qualtrics consisting of 27 items distributed to a sample of university students. **Results:** 284 students completed the survey and statistical significance was found for food insecurity ( $p=0.002$ ), levels of anxiety ( $p=.049$ ), and hours slept ( $p=0.006$ ). Before COVID-19 (Round 1), 56.1% of the participants were food secure while 34.2% were low food insecure and 9.6% were high food insecure. Comparably 74.7% of the participants were food secure, 22.1% were low food insecure and 3.2% were high food insecure during COVID-19 (Round 2). Resilience data showed a decrease in feelings of stress (80.7% to 70.5%) and an increase in feelings of depression (48.2% to 53.6%), anxiety (65.7% to 77.6%), and hours slept (66.3% to 76.9%). **Conclusion:** Food insecurity is a major issue that has decreased significantly among college students during the COVID-19 pandemic. Students reported feeling less stress and an improvement in number of hours slept but their feelings of depression and anxiety worsened. Future studies are needed to assess the causes for the changes in food insecurity and resilience factors during the global pandemic.

## INTRODUCTION

### Review of Literature

Over the past decade, food insecurity among US households has decreased from 18% to 11%, but with the pandemic of COVID-19 surfacing, food insecurity has been on the rise (average of 30%).<sup>1</sup> While the pandemic has affected food insecurity in many different populations, college students have been put at an even greater risk. Many cross-sectional studies have been previously conducted assessing food insecurity and its impact on college students. Studies have also been conducted regarding resilience and coping mechanisms within this

population. Studies conducted between 2011 to 2019 have identified food insecurity rates averaged from 29.6% to 44.3% in college students.<sup>2,4,6,8</sup> Resilience studies concluded factors such as academic performance, physical and mental health status, and overall life experiences are all impacted by college students' ability to overcome the negative and/or traumatic experiences they have faced.<sup>2,4,12,15</sup> Therefore, the purpose of this cross-sectional study was to: (1) assess the impact of a pandemic on food insecurity and resiliency in college students, (2) describe the correlations between food insecurity and resilience, and (3)

identify predictors of food insecurity during a pandemic.

Food security exists when all persons or individuals at all times have access to adequate, safe and nutritious food to meet their personal preferences and dietary needs to live healthy and active lives.<sup>2</sup> According to Anderson, food insecurity is defined as “the limited or uncertain availability of nutritionally adequate and safe foods or limited or uncertain ability to acquire acceptable foods in socially acceptable ways.”<sup>3</sup> The United States Department of Agriculture (USDA), which focuses on policies regarding food, agriculture, nutrition, and other related issues, has characterized food insecurity by four ranges that include: high food security, marginal food security, low food security, and very low food security. High food security is when there are no reported limitations or problems with access to foods. Marginal food security is when there are a few reported indications that focus on food sufficiency or shortage of food within the household, but there’s no impact on the diet and an individual’s intake. Low food security is when reports are made regarding reduced quality, variety, or desirability of food within the diet with no reduced food intake reported. Very low food security involves multiple reports of disrupted eating patterns and reduced food intake.<sup>4</sup> This continuum includes those who do not face issues accessing satisfactory or acceptable foods as well as those who suffer largely in adequately meeting their nutritional needs and obtaining access to foods.<sup>4</sup>

As of 2018, the national average of food insecurity (low food insecurity and very low food insecurity) in the United States was 11.5% affecting over 37 million.<sup>5</sup> In the US, food insecurity disrupts populations causing poor nutrition and negative health outcomes.<sup>6</sup> College students appear to be even more susceptible to food insecurity. Within the US, 48.5% of students attending community or four-year institutions experienced food insecurity and 22.5% of them were deemed very low food secure.<sup>7</sup> In several research studies involving college students, the range of food insecurity was between 29.6% and 44.3%.<sup>4,6,8,9</sup> In a systematic review it was found that from the 58 studies assessed that food insecurity was high among the

sampled students; food insecurity was commonly linked to being financially secure and independent, poor health outcomes, and resulted in poor academic progress.<sup>10</sup> Food insecurity has been linked with the following factors: minorities (by race), Pell Grant recipient, first generation college student, employed full-time, no meal plan, and living off campus.<sup>4,13</sup> The college students who reported being food insecure reported consuming less food and faced higher levels of depression, stress, disordered eating, poor sleep quality, and negative academic performance.<sup>4,6,8,11,12,14</sup> Therefore, data suggests some college students are unable to manage the additional stressors brought on by food insecurity.

Resiliency is “the process of, capacity for, or outcome of successful adaptation despite challenging or threatening circumstances.”<sup>15</sup> A high level of resilience is a resource for positive health outcomes, a better quality of life, and mediation of stress.<sup>15,16</sup> Ahern and Norris<sup>11</sup> reported that students with moderate levels of resilience were able to alleviate the toxicity that comes from stress. Campbell-Sill et al.<sup>12</sup> suggests that resilience directly changes with traits and coping mechanisms, and it lessens the impact of hardships dealing with an individual’s emotional state. When individuals experience low levels of resilience, they are prone to more stress, trauma, fatigue, and depression.<sup>13</sup>

Research on food insecurity and resiliency has been conducted internationally. According to Wen Peng et al.<sup>17</sup> food insecurity within households and individuals is heavily impacted by stressors that can either increase or decrease one’s levels of resilience and their ability to cope. While this topic has been studied in other places, little research has been done in the United States, and none has been done within the population of college students, leaving a gap in literature. Therefore, the purpose of our study is to assess the relationship of food insecurity and resilience among college students and compare the relationships of these factors prior to and in the midst of COVID-19.

## **METHODS**

### **Study Design**

This study employed a cross-sectional survey to assess factors influencing quality of life and food insecurity among students enrolled at a southeastern university. The study was submitted to and approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) for Human Subjects at Winthrop University in Rock Hill, South Carolina. Informed consent from all participants was obtained prior to taking the survey.

### **Participants and Recruitment**

Participants included students from Winthrop University during the month of October 2019 (as a pilot study) and post COVID-19 in Summer 2020. Recruitment of these students occurred through university daily student announcements, faculty and student emails, and in-person class announcements. In addition, hard copy handouts of the survey were given in selected classes with faculty approval. To be eligible, participants had to be enrolled at the university as a college student and be at least 18 years old. The criteria were selected with the objective of assessing food insecurity.

### **Measures**

A questionnaire was developed using Qualtrics. It contained 27 items and took approximately 10 minutes to complete. This survey focused on the students' food experiences and habits in relation to food insecurity. Food insecurity measurement items were derived from the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) 27-item United States Household Food Security Survey Module: Six-Item Short Form (HFSSM) used to determine food insecurity status over the previous 12 months. Respondents rated items following the coding of the HFSSM which include: high/marginal food security, low food security, and very low food security.

Thirteen questions were derived from the six core powers of resilience from the subsection "the power of life quality". These questions assessed the respondents' perception of stress, depression, irritability, anxiety, risky behavior, counseling, spiritual guidance and religiosity within the last 12 months. Respondents rated these items on a five-point scale from "very often" to "not at all." Follow-up answers included the respondents ranking their severity on a 10-point Likert scale from 1 ("not severe at all") to 10 ("extremely severe").

One question obtained information about hours slept per night. The resilience factor of hours slept was reported on a scale from 1-3; 1 being less than 6 hours, 2 being 6-8 hours, and 3 being more than 8 hours.

Eight questions collected demographic characteristics. Respondents selected options to report their gender, race, ethnicity, residency status, GPA, and employment status. GPA response options were based on a 4.0 grading scale.

### **Data Analysis**

Data were analyzed using SPSS (LLC software 2019). Descriptive statistics for frequency of responses and correlations were computed using Chi square tests. Food security status was compared with resilience scores and was manually computed in Microsoft Excel by creating a score based on the 13 quality of life questions that were converted to values of 1 through 3. These scores were ranked 1 ("less often") to 3 ("most often") impacted by the object of measure. An average of these scores were computed and rounded to whole numbers to run the Chi square test against food security levels. Confidence was set at 95% and significance is ( $p < 0.05$ ).

## **RESULTS**

### **Participant Demographics**

At initial collection (Round 1) the sample consisted of 187 students (84.5% female, 37.1% non-white). The sample consisted of 95 students during Round 2 (82.8% female, 30.5% non-white). Additional demographics are shown in Table 1.

### **Prevalence of Food Insecurity**

Analyses showed students were significantly more likely to report food security during Round 2 ( $p < 0.05$ ; Table 2) than Round 1. The report of low food insecurity and high food insecurity decreased significantly from Round 1 to Round 2 ( $p < 0.05$ ; Table 2).

### **Prevalence of Food Insecurity among Demographics**

T-tests were used to assess food insecurity prevalence based on race, ethnicity, and GPA. No statistical significance was found between race and food security status with no difference in scores between white and black

participants ( $p=0.603$ ). Statistical significance was indicated between ethnicity and food security status ( $p=0.049$ ). Hispanics reported a higher level of food insecurity with an average score of 2.33 (higher risk of being food insecure) as compared to 1.30 for non-hispanics. No statistical significance was found between GPA and food security status ( $p=0.116$ ).

### **Resilience Characteristics**

T-tests were run to evaluate the differences between the two rounds and resiliency totals. No statistical significance was found between the resiliency factors of stress and depression by round; however, there was a statistically significant difference in anxiety ( $p=0.039$ ). The anxiety score was measured out of 10; the average score of anxiety before COVID-19 was 5.8 and the average score during COVID-19 was 6.5.

### **Food Insecurity and Resiliency**

As the college students reported higher feelings of stress, they were more likely to face food insecurity, indicating a statistically significant positive relationship between food insecurity and stress ( $p=0.000$ ). The mean reported for hours slept in Round 1 was 1.095 and for Round 2 was 1.884, which indicates most respondents averaged 6 hours of sleep ( $p=0.006$ ). The data showed an inverse relationship between food insecurity and the amount of sleep per night ( $p=0.000$ ). As students reported being more spiritual, their levels of food insecurity decreased indicating an inverse relationship between food insecurity and spirituality ( $p=0.008$ ). When students reported feelings of being more irritated, they experienced higher levels of food insecurity indicating a positive relationship between food insecurity and irritability ( $p=0.000$ ). The average scores of depression for rounds 1 and 2 were 4.465 and 4.893, respectively. There was a statistically significant positive relationship between food insecurity and depression ( $p=0.000$ ). The average scores for anxiety for rounds 1 and 2 were 5.823 and 6.539, respectively. There was a statistically significant positive relationship between food insecurity and anxiety ( $p=0.000$ ).

## **DISCUSSION**

Forty-four percent of the student sample was food insecure (34% low food insecure and 10% high food insecure) during Round 1 (before COVID-19). Twenty-five percent was food insecure (22% low food insecure and 3% high food insecure) during Round 2 (during COVID-19). The food insecurity rates for both rounds among the sample population are dramatically higher than the food insecurity prevalence for the general population within the United States where 11.5% of individuals are deemed food insecure.<sup>5</sup> The food insecurity rates in Round 1 were comparable to rates found in previous studies of 29.6-48.5% in college students.<sup>4,6,7,8</sup> However, food insecurity rates in Round 2 were lower than those reported in previous research. This finding suggests that the sampled population may be experiencing higher levels of food insecurity than the general U.S. population but lower levels than other higher education institutions. This finding also suggests that the prevalence of food insecurity decreased substantially during COVID-19 which may be due to the increase in financial support as evidenced by the CARES act funds given to students, the familial support since most students were back home over the summer, and the increase in unemployment funds.

The present study found that stress was significantly associated with food insecurity among the college students in the sample. This is in accordance with studies that have shown students who experience higher levels of stress are more likely to be food insecure than those who do not.<sup>4,11,12</sup> This study also found that students reported lower levels of stress during the pandemic (Round 1= 6.735, Round 2= 6.421) which could be explained by the different time points collected. The first round was collected during the school year while the second round was collected during the summer when students were being less affected by their academics.

This study found that hours of sleep obtained was statistically significant in regards to food insecurity. According to El Zein et al.<sup>4</sup> the students who experienced food insecurity were more prone to being “poor” sleepers as indicated by the Pittsburgh Sleep Quality Index (PSQI). During the pandemic, the sampled students

reported more hours of sleep (Round 1= 1.095, Round 2= 1.884) which may be in response to the pandemic forcing individuals to quarantine which also led them to having more time in their schedules to acquire more sleep at night.

Within the student sample, findings also showed that depression and anxiety were statistically significant in reference to food insecurity. Previous research on food insecurity among college students showed that respondents who experienced food insecurity more were more likely to face bouts of depression along with anxiety.<sup>8,10</sup> During the pandemic, the respondents reported higher levels of depression and anxiety (**depression:** Round 1=4.465, Round 2=4.893; **anxiety:** Round 1=5.823, Round 2=6.539). These increases may be explained in part by the fear and uncertainty brought about by the pandemic.

### LIMITATIONS

This study has several limitations regarding student sampling and data. First, the study was conducted at a small four-year institution, which limits generalizing the results to all similar college students. Second, there was a low participation of males, which is not representative of the student body. Last, the students who volunteered for the survey may be very different from those who did not participate in the survey, making it more difficult to generalize the findings of this study to all the students on this campus.

### CONCLUSION

This study provides evidence of the existence of a positive relationship between food insecurity and resiliency among the students sampled at a four-year institution in South Carolina. The results of this study suggest that in the presence of a pandemic the areas most influenced were stress, anxiety, depression, and sleep. While the factors of stress and sleep showed a decrease in the presence of COVID-19, depression and anxiety showed an increase. However, having students at home during the summer versus on campus did improve their levels of food insecurity. The results of this study call for further and more detailed research on

food insecurity and resiliency among the college student population while on campus in the presence of the pandemic and in the future during a non-pandemic world. This progress is essential for accurately determining the negative consequences of food insecurity and finding ways to mitigate its effects on college students.

## TABLES AND FIGURES

**Table 1. Participant Demographics**

	Round 1 <i>n</i> =187	Round 2 <i>n</i> =95
<b>Gender</b>		
Male	27 (14.4%)	15 (16.1%)
Female	158 (84.5%)	77 (82.8%)
Other	2 (1.0%)	1 (1.1%)
<b>Age</b>		
18 or older	19 (10.2%)	10 (10.5%)
19-22	122 (65.2%)	63 (66.3%)
23-25	16 (8.6%)	9 (9.5%)
26 and older	30 (16.0)	13 (13.7%)

Race		
Black	54 (29.0%)	21 (22.1%)
White	117 (62.9%)	66 (69.5%)
Asian or Pacific Islander	5 (2.7%)	1 (1.1%)
Native American	0 (0.0%)	1 (1.1%)
Other	10 (5.4%)	6 (6.3%)
Ethnicity		
Hispanic	11 (6.0%)	7 (7.4%)
Non-Hispanic	173 (94.0%)	87 (92.6%)
Residency Status		
On Campus	79 (42.5%)	36 (37.9%)
Off Campus	97 (52.2%)	54 (56.8%)
Commuter (>45 miles)	10 (5.4%)	5 (5.3%)
Employee Status		
Full Time	31 (16.6%)	9 (9.6%)
Part Time	106 (56.7%)	53 (56.4%)
Unemployed	50 (26.7%)	32 (34.0%)
GPA		
2.0 and below	2 (1.1%)	0 (0.0%)
2.0-2.9	36 (19.5%)	7 (7.4%)
3.0-3.9	121 (65.4%)	67 (70.5%)
4.0 and above	26 (14.0%)	21 (22.1%)

**Table 2. Food Insecurity Levels**

	Round 1	Round 2	<i>p</i>
Food Secure	56.1%	74.7%	0.002*
Low Food Insecurity	34.2%	22.1%	0.036*
High Food Insecurity	9.6%	3.2%	0.038*

*p* values followed by an asterisk (\*) are statistically significant (<0.05)

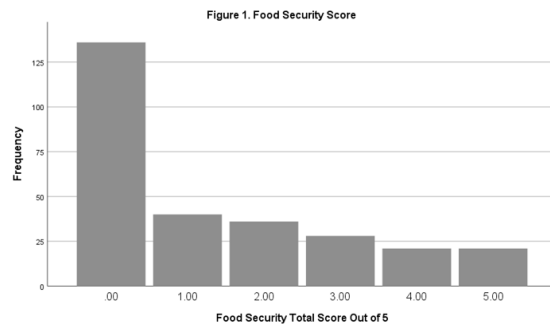
Food secure: score of 1  
 Low food insecurity: score of 2  
 High food insecurity: score of 3

**Table 3. Resilience characteristics assessed by frequency and t-test**

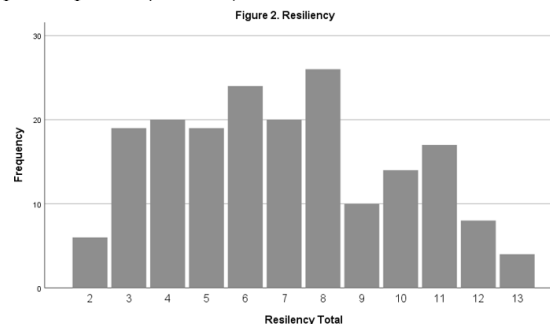
		Mean	SD	Min.	Max.	<i>p</i>
Stress	Round 1	6.735	2.192	1	10	0.243
	Round 2	6.421	1.998	1	10	
Anxiety	Round 1	5.823	2.933	1	10	0.049*
	Round 2	6.539	2.541	1	10	
Depression	Round 1	4.465	2.848	1	10	0.244
	Round 2	4.893	2.657	1	10	

Values for stress, anxiety, and depression were calculated using a scale from 1-10

*p* values followed by an asterisk (\*) are statistically significant (<0.05)



**Figure 1.** Average food security total score for both rounds 1 and 2 versus the number of participants (*N*=283)



**Figure 2.** Average resiliency total for both rounds 1 and 2 versus the frequency or number of student participants that fell within each score (*N*=283)

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# The Effect of Political Culture on Voter Personality Preferences for Political Leaders: A South Carolina Case Study

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## ABSTRACT

This paper set out to analyze the personality traits that South Carolina voters look for in political candidates within the framework of the traditionalistic political culture through survey research. Which—if any—personality traits do South Carolina political leaders need to exhibit in order to attract constituents? Likewise, are constituent preferences for certain personality attributes in their leaders shaped by differences in political cultures across regions? This research study predicts that in a comparison of voters, those who are exposed to a traditionalistic political culture versus those who are exposed to a moralistic political culture are: (1) more likely to desire political leaders with high levels of extraversion; (2) more likely to desire political leaders with high levels of agreeableness; (3) more likely to desire political leaders with moderate levels of conscientiousness; (4) more likely to desire political leaders with low levels of neuroticism; and (5) more likely to desire political leaders with low levels of openness to experience. The main methodological approach used to pursue these research questions and hypotheses will be multiple regression analysis in order to examine the relationship between voters' preferences regarding political leaders' personality traits and political culture. The results of the study found a statistically significant relationship between participants exposed to a moralistic political culture and their preferences for openness to experience candidate personality traits and a statistically significant relationship between participants exposed to the individualistic political culture and their preferences for conscientiousness candidate personality traits when holding control variables constant.

## INTRODUCTION

Imagine that you are attending a political science conference. You are talking amongst your colleagues when suddenly the room grows quiet. A political leader struts to the podium—with a gait resembling a tiger—to perform a speech. His smile exudes charm, his posture radiates confidence, his attire conveys competence, his hand gestures beam even-temperedness, and his eyes express curiosity. He starts his speech with a personal anecdote, one that makes the entire room chuckle. Once he finishes his speech, the crowd erupts with applause. In that moment, you think to yourself, “I see why he is a political leader; I would vote for him.” Political leaders often exhibit an ability to command an audience and gain a massive crowd of supporters. Successful political candidates have the ability to gain enough supporters to win elections and stay in power. Yet one question remains regarding political

leaders: what personality attributes do constituents look for in political leaders? This research considers the impact of regional political culture on constituent personality preferences for South Carolinian political leaders.

This research seeks to answer the following questions:

1. Which—if any—personality traits do South Carolina political leaders need to exhibit in order to attract constituents?
2. Are constituent preferences for certain personality attributes in their leaders shaped by differences in political cultures across regions?

In order to begin examining these questions, this research examines a total of five hypotheses:

1. In a comparison of voters, those who are exposed to a traditionalistic political culture are more likely to desire political leaders with high levels of extraversion

than those exposed to a moralistic political culture.

2. In a comparison of voters, those who are exposed to a traditionalistic political culture are more likely to desire political leaders with high levels of agreeableness than those exposed to a moralistic political culture.
3. In a comparison of voters, those who are exposed to a traditionalistic political culture are more likely to desire political leaders with moderate levels of conscientiousness than those exposed to a moralistic political culture.
4. In a comparison of voters, those who are exposed to a traditionalistic political culture are more likely to desire political leaders with low levels of neuroticism—or emotional instability—than those exposed to a moralistic political culture.
5. In a comparison of voters, those who are exposed to a traditionalistic culture are more likely to desire political leaders with low levels of openness to experience than will those exposed to a moralistic political culture.

This research will use The Big Five Trait Personality test by the Berkeley Personality Lab as a model for understanding leadership qualities preferred by South Carolina eligible voters (Robinson, 2020). The Big Five Trait Theory is a personality test that analyzes individualized personality traits and was conceptualized by a multitude of psychologists who refined the theory into five main traits in the mid-1900's (John & Srivastava, 1999, pp. 2-45). The main five factors within the theory are Openness to Experience, Conscientiousness, Extraversion, Agreeableness, and Neuroticism. To elaborate, openness to experience refers to the extent to which one is curious and creative, conscientiousness refers to responsibility characteristics, extraversion refers to the extent to which one is outgoing, agreeableness refers to trustworthy characteristics, and neuroticism refers to emotionally unstable characteristics. The Big Five Trait Theory is a common psychological test and has been configured to find correlations between personality traits and

leadership qualities. It has also been used by psychologists for decades, and can be empirically tested through using ordinal variables in multiple regression models. Subsequently, this research study will use political culture as a model for understanding the impact of regional political culture on leadership candidate quality preferences of eligible voters. The main methodological approach used to pursue these research questions and hypotheses will be a multiple regression analysis approach—an experimental method used in political science and political psychology—in order to examine voters' preferences regarding political leaders' personality traits. The survey research will be performed through a survey formulated on the website Qualtrics. All participants in the research study will be volunteers who are invited to participate in the survey through social media outlets (such as Facebook posts) as well as through class listservs, departmental student listservs, and faculty and staff listserv outlets.

#### **A Counterargument to the Five Factor Model of Personality**

Some psychologists have critiqued the Big Five Factor Model as a means for examining personality traits. Specifically, Block (1995) (p. 187) states that the manner in which scientists wish to analyze personality traits should stem from previous theories rather than on “societal evaluations,” and that personality determinants should be based on constructs that are explicitly elaborated, easily performed by psychological scientists, plentiful in numbers, and accurate in prediction (Block, 1995, p. 188). Likewise, the author questioned the basis as to why agreeableness, openness to experience, conscientiousness, extraversion, and neuroticism were chosen to be the main five factors of personality traits (Block, 1995, p. 188). Block (1995) asserts that the Big Five Trait theory is structured to be variable-centered, but claims that the theory cannot explain personality structure because it does not interpret the internal mental process of a “motivation-processing, system-maintaining individual” (p. 188). Block (1995) suggests that advocates of the Big Five Factor Theory should intensely analyze and alter the structure of the theory, and advocate for changes around the field of

personality psychology (p. 209). The author notes that psychologists should analyze other forms of testing methods in evaluating personality traits and refrain from the fixation that the Big Five Trait Theory is the all-important solution for examining personality traits (Block, 1995, p. 209). Finally, Block (1995) urges the “field of personality psychology to resolutely confront its severe, even crippling, terminological problems” (p. 209).

In response to Block’s claims, I assert that the Big Five Trait Theory is an excellent starting point for analyzing the intricacies of personality traits. Every social and political theory begins with an original idea that is conceptualized, tested, and finalized as a theory. The Big Five Trait Theory effectively works for this study, as the empirical structure and organization of the Big Five Trait Theory test can be implemented in multiple regression analyses against independent ordinal variables of political culture. The Big Five Factor Theory serves as a strong foundation for understanding personality traits, and it can be revised as new research from personality psychology emerges. The main goal of research is to discover new concepts and/or factually accurate descriptions about social, psychological, and political phenomena, and the Big Five Trait Theory provides an initial, orienting tool in pursuit of that goal.

#### METHODOLOGY

For this research project, a survey questionnaire will be administered to participants who wish to partake in the research experiment. Prospective survey participants will be sent an invitation that includes the web address link to the survey. Participants who navigate to the website will receive the informed consent form, which details the content of the survey. Second, questions regarding the residency, birth date, level of schooling, race, ethnicity, sex, income, and political affiliation of the participant will be asked in the demographics section of the survey. Third, questions regarding the participants’ regional political culture candidate preferences will be asked in the political culture section of the survey. Lastly, questions which will be altered to test for constituent personality preferences for political leaders from a revised test of the Big

Five Factor Theory Test will be asked in the last section of the survey. Additionally, participants will take the revised version of the Big Five Trait Theory using Likert-scale measures. Multiple regression analyses will be used to analyze the results of the survey.

#### Understanding Daniel Elazar’s Political Culture

Political scientist Daniel Elazar (1984) defines political culture as “the particular pattern of orientation to political action in which each political system is embedded” in the fifth chapter of his book titled *American Federalism: A View from the States* (p. 109). To elaborate, political culture is the historical origin of dissimilarities in customs, viewpoints and attitudes that impact political activity in different states (Elazar, 1984, p. 110). According to Elazar, the national political culture is made up of three subcultures—referred to as individualistic, moralistic and traditionalistic (Elazar, 1984, pp. 114-115). These three subcultures emerged during the period known as the rural land frontier, which was the westward migration of the American rural population who were intent on residing on, as well as profiting from, the land, and sought to develop “a socioeconomic system based on agricultural and extractive pursuits in both its urban and rural components” (Elazar, 1984, p. 123).

First, Elazar (1984) states that individualistic cultures emphasize “the conception of democratic order as a marketplace” and “the centrality of private concerns” (p. 115). As a result, the government is responsible for managing and maintaining economic order within the country (Elazar, 1984, p. 115). Within this political culture, politics is structured as a businesslike organization in which professionals dominate leadership positions - there is no place for novice politicians (Elazar, 1984, p. 116). The conception of the individualistic political culture originated from ethnically diverse communities, “primarily from non-Puritan England and the interior Germanic states,” who began to settle in the middle sections of the country, like New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland (Elazar, 1984, p. 127). These communities each shared a similar interest in how they all sought to achieve individualistic prosperity—pertaining to business

pursuits—within the New World, thus contributing to the individualistic political culture that is prevalent within those states in the modern era (Elazar, 1984, p. 127). Likewise, some of these communities migrated westward all the way to Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois and were joined by immigrants from western Europe and the lower Germanic states (Elazar, 1984, p. 130). Elazar (1984) states that a pluralistic political culture emerged within these territories—a result of the culturally diverse population—where “the individualistic political culture became dominant at the state level...while the other two retained pockets of influence in the northern and southern sections of the state” (p. 130). Furthermore, some of these communities migrated westward all the way to northern California in search of jobs related to the gold rush—where some settled in Nebraska, North Dakota, Missouri, and Nevada—and helped populate territories in the Midwest (Elazar, 1984, p. 130).

Secondly, Elazar (1984) notes that moralistic culture emphasizes “the commonwealth conception as the basis for democratic government” and that politics is considered “one of the greatest activities of humanity in its search for the good society” (p. 117). Consequently, the government is responsible for maintaining the public good of the society and ensuring that leaders who are assigned to govern constituents exhibit traits such as sincerity, humility, and a dedication toward the public welfare of their constituents (Elazar, 1984, p. 117). Compared to individualistic political cultures, there is “considerably more amateur participation in politics” in moralistic cultures (Elazar, 1984, p. 118). Primarily, Elazar (1984) states that the moralistic political culture was developed by the groups known as the Puritans and the Yankees where they settled in the territory of New England (p. 127). Later on, the Yankees decided to migrate westward across the American frontier—where some Yankees settled all the way in Arizona—and were joined or followed by Scandinavians and other northern Europeans and “in each they established the moralistic culture to the extent that their influence enabled them to do so” (Elazar, 1984, p. 127).

Finally, Elazar (1984) comments that the traditionalist culture “is rooted in an ambivalent attitude toward the marketplace coupled with a paternalistic and elitist conception of the commonwealth” and that this culture demands for the social elite to have a role within the government (p. 118). In a traditionalistic culture, the government should adhere to the public’s needs and concerns, but still comply with the existing elitist social order (Elazar, 1984, pp. 118-119). Elazar (1984) states that governmental bodies in traditionalistic cultures “function to confine real political power” to the “established elite who often inherit their right to govern through family ties or social position” (p. 119). The government is also responsible for reaffirming long-established societal patterns (Elazar, 1984, p. 119). Likewise, social and familial relationships are highly valued within traditionalistic cultures (Elazar, 1984, p. 119). Like individualistic cultures, communities that settled in southern states sought individualistic prosperity, but in the form of an agricultural system that was centered around the plantation system and slavery (Elazar, 1984, p. 130). This economic system produced the traditionalistic political culture where the “new landed gentry progressively assumed ever greater roles in the political process at the expense of the small landowners” (Elazar, 1984, p. 130). Furthermore, Elazar (1984) states that elitism reached its pinnacle in Virginia and South Carolina because settlers continuously worked to cultivate pockets of aristocracies within those states, generation after generation (Elazar, 1984, p. 130).

#### **Empirical Measures for Elazar’s Political Culture on a State-Wide Basis**

Political scientists have questioned whether Elazar’s political culture model can be experimentally tested. In the article titled, “Daniel Elazar, Bogus or Brilliant: A Study of Political Culture Across the American States,” Todd Zoellick examines if Daniel Elazar’s political culture model has the potential to be empirically measured on a state-wide basis. The author posits a total of eight hypotheses. Zoellick predicts that “moralistic and traditionalistic political cultures will be more likely to have divided governments than individualistic political cultures” and that “individualistic and

traditionalistic political cultures are more likely to vote for Republican presidential candidates” and are more likely to be conservative, compared to the moralistic political culture (Zoellick, 2000, p. 2). Subsequently, the author predicts that voters in “moralistic political cultures are more likely to vote on election day” and “have higher welfare spending” compared to individualistic and traditionalistic political cultures; the author also hypothesizes that “moralistic and individualist political cultures are more likely to have higher per capita education spending than traditionalists” among two other hypotheses (Zoellick, 2000, p. 3). First, the author used correlation matrices—data tables that show correlation coefficients between independent variables—in order to examine the relationship between Republican presidential vote and conservative ideology, conservative ideology and income, Republican presidential vote and per capita welfare spending, percent metropolitan and income, and Republican partisan control of the states’ House of Representatives and Republican presidential vote (Zoellick, 2000, p. 4). Next, the author used means tests—which compare the means of each dependent variable across the three types of political culture—in order to examine the relationship between voter turnout, income, education spending, welfare spending, innovativeness, ideology, presidential vote, senate partisanship, house partisanship, percent metropolitan, and education enrollment on each type of political culture (Zoellick, 2000, pp. 4-5). Lastly, Zoellick empirically tested his hypotheses using regression analysis—which examined the relationship between independent and four dependent variables of voter turnout, education spending, welfare spending, and innovativeness (Zoellick, 2000, p. 6). The results of the study show that Elazar’s model of political culture cannot be empirically measured because his model cannot be replicated and is not testable (Zoellick, 2000, p. 7). Instead, the author notes that Elazar’s model of political culture is best suited for classifying political culture (Zoellick, 2000, p. 7). Additionally, Zoellick mentions that this research can allow for other researchers to develop empirically measurable models of political culture in future years (Zoellick, 2000, p. 7).

### **Sharkansky’s Empirical Measurement of Political Culture**

Overall, Elazar’s political model cannot be empirically measured. As a result, other political scientists—like Ira Sharkansky—have designed alternative political culture methodologies in order to analyze the effect of various dependent variables on political culture. In the article titled, “The Utility of Elazar’s Political Culture: A Research Note,” Ira Sharkansky alters Daniel Elazar’s model of political culture in order to empirically measure each political sub-culture (Sharkansky, 1969, p. 66). The author defines—in regards to political participation—moralistic culture to be the extent to which citizens are involved in politics to protect the commonwealth, individualistic culture to be the extent to which citizens are involved in politics to pursue their own political interests, and traditionalistic culture to be the extent to which citizens are involved in politics to preserve the elite social order (Sharkansky, 1969, pp. 68-69). Sharkansky predicts that an inverse relationship will occur between the traditionalistic political culture and the measures of political participation, the “size and perquisites of the government bureaucracy” and the “scope, magnitude or costs of government programs” (Sharkansky, 1969, p. 70). The author states that a series of simple correlations, partial correlation, and analysis of covariance were used to empirically analyze the relationship between political culture and political participation (Sharkansky, 1969, p. 73). Sharkansky mentions that the results of the study found an inverse relationship between traditionalistic political cultures, political participation, and lenient suffrage regulations, as well as a direct relationship between moralistic political cultures, political participation, and lenient suffrage regulations (Sharkansky, 1969, p. 85). The author also states that the empirical political culture scale that was implemented within the study was able to effectively predict political traits (Sharkansky, 1969, p. 81).

Overall, the empirical measurements of Sharkansky’s study provide the conceptual and operational foundation for this study. In reference to conceptual definitions, this research study will use Sharkansky’s conceptual

definitions as a starting point for creating conceptual definitions with reference to individual—not aggregate—political participation. To elaborate, for this research project, the concept of moralistic political culture is defined as the extent to which the citizens' motivation for political participation draws from the enhancement of the public good; the concept of individualistic political culture is defined as the extent to which citizens' motivation for political participation is to serve individual interests; and the concept of traditionalistic political culture is defined as the extent to which citizens believe that political participation is reserved for the elite.

### **Personality Preferences in the Midwest**

The first region discussed in this literature review is the Midwest. Judge and Bono (2000) conducted a study that examined the correlation between leadership personality and transformational leadership behavior (p. 751). Burns (1978, as cited in Judge & Bono, 2007) defined transformational leadership as individuals “who obtain support by inspiring followers to identify with a vision that reaches beyond their own immediate self-interests” (p. 751). The authors professed five hypotheses. Judge and Bono (2000) predict—in regards to the participants' personality attributes—that neuroticism is negatively akin to transformational leadership, extraversion is positively akin to transformational leadership, openness to experience is positively akin to transformational leadership, and agreeableness is positively akin to transformational leadership (pp. 753-755). Participants of the study were students enrolled or formerly enrolled in community leadership organizations—associated with the National Association for Community Leadership—in the Midwest (Judge & Bono, 2000, p. 755). The students were given survey packets—which contained a personality survey to be filled out by the participant, another survey to be filled out by the participant's supervisor, and a survey to be filled out by subordinates, which evaluated the participant's leadership abilities (Judge & Bono, 2000, p. 755). The average age of the participants was 39 years old; the majority had a bachelor's degree or higher, and 57% of the participants were women (Judge & Bono, 2000, p. 756). Collectively, the results of the study showed that

agreeableness and extraversion showed significant correlations with transformational leadership (Judge & Bono, 2000, pp. 757-758). Likewise, the results of the study showed that there was a significant simple correlation between openness to experience and transformational leadership, and no significant correlation between neuroticism and conscientiousness with transformational leadership (Judge & Bono, 2000, p. 758).

Overall, the results of Judge and Bono's study conclude that community leaders within the Midwest seek transformational leaders that exhibit qualities associated with extraversion and agreeableness rather than neuroticism, conscientiousness and openness to experience. The combination of individualistic and moralistic political cultures within the Midwest could potentially be the cause for high preferences of extraverted and agreeable personality traits compared to other traits within the Big Five Trait Theory. Constituents in moralistic political cultures seek political leaders who are concerned about the public welfare of the community. Constituents in traditionalistic political cultures seek leaders that can create economic prosperity within their community. As a result, Midwestern citizens yearn for leaders that are extroverted and agreeable because they will consider the needs of the public welfare and exhibit social skills associated with business networking. In turn, this study predicts that South Carolinian constituents will desire leaders with extraverted and agreeable character traits because leaders with those traits will uphold traditionalist social values created by the elite. Furthermore, Judge and Bono comment that the results of their study showed that the character traits referred to as neuroticism and openness to experience showed a simple to no correlation with transformational leadership. The minimal correlation between neuroticism and openness to experience and transformational leadership occurs because politicians with unpredictable emotional states and curious personality characteristics cannot efficiently preserve traditionalistic and moralistic political obligations. In turn, this study predicts that South Carolinian constituents will desire low levels of openness to experience and neuroticism among political leaders because politicians that are

curious and emotionally unstable will not preserve the common socio-political structure established by elite officials that is already prevalent within the state. South Carolinian constituents will prefer political leaders who display low levels of openness to experience and neuroticism like Midwestern constituents, but for two disparate reasons that originate from the political culture to which each constituent is exposed.

### **Understanding the Psychological Typography of America**

This section is intended for readers to understand the political and psychological typography of the United States, which will provide a context for the ways in which citizens desire certain personality preferences among political leaders. Rentfrow et al. (2008) conducted a study that examined personality traits of constituencies within all 50 states of America (p. 339). The researchers proposed seven hypotheses. In regards to geographic variation in state-level personality, the researchers predicted that participants would display higher levels of neuroticism in Eastern states compared to Western states and predicted that participants would display the highest levels of openness to experience in Northeast and West Coast states (Rentfrow et al., 2008, 346). In regards to external correlates of state-level personality, Rentfrow et al. (2008) predicted that state-level extraversion would “be expressed geographically on variables related to participation in social activities, proportions on individuals working in social and enterprising occupation, and longevity” (p. 346). Additionally, the researchers predicted that state-level agreeableness would be “positively related to social involvement, religious participation, and longevity and negatively related to crime rates” and predicted that state-level conscientiousness to be connected to religious participation, alleviative behavior, longevity, and low criminal misconduct (Rentfrow et al., 2008, p. 347). Lastly, the researchers predicted that state-level neuroticism would be related to “markers of crime, health behavior and mortality” and predicted that state-level openness to experience to be “represented on indicators of liberal values and artistic and investigative occupations”

(Rentfrow et al., 2008, p. 347). Rentfrow et al. (2008) collected data by implementing a personality test that was a part of a larger study of personality (p. 348). Specifically, the experimenters employed the Big Five Inventory—created by John and Srivastava (1999, as cited in Rentfrow et al., 2008)—in which participants rated the extent to which they strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, or strongly agree to 44 statements based on personality characteristics related to the Big Five Trait Theory (Rentfrow et al., 2008, pp. 348-349). Additionally, the study included questions related to the participant’s demographic makeup and state of residence (Rentfrow et al., 2008, p. 348). Quantitatively, the study consisted of 619,397 participants, and each participant volunteered to partake in the study after they clicked on a personality test icon, which led the participant to the online personality survey (Rentfrow et al., 2008, p. 348). Rentfrow et al. (2008) obtained population statistics from the 2000 U.S. Census Bureau, crime statistics from the 2003 Uniform Crime Reporting Program at the Federal Bureau of Investigation, data for the social involvement, religiosity, values, and health behavior from the 1998 DDB Needham Life Style survey, occupation statistics from the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and mortality statistics from the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention’s (CDC) *Healthy People 2000 Final Review* for the purpose of their study (p. 349).

In reference to geographic variation in state-level personality, the researchers state that extraverted characteristics were the highest “in the Great Plain, Midwest and South-eastern states and lowest in the Northwest and most of the Mid-Atlantic and East Coast states” (Rentfrow et al., 2008, 350). Furthermore, the researchers mention that state-level agreeableness was “higher in the Midwest, South Central, and Southeastern states and lowest in the Northeast,” state-level conscientiousness was highest in the “Southwest, Midwest, and Southeast states and lowest in the Mid-Atlantic and the New England states,” state-level neuroticism was “highest in the Northeast and Southeast states and lowest in the Midwest and West Coast states,” and that state-level openness



to experience was high in “New England, Mid-Atlantic, and West Coast states and low in the Great Plain, Midwest, and South Central states” (Rentfrow et al., 2008, 350). Likewise, the experimenters ranked each state on extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness, neuroticism, and openness to experience; South Carolina was ranked the 26<sup>th</sup> state in extraversion, the 20<sup>th</sup> state in agreeableness, the 16<sup>th</sup> state in conscientiousness, the 16<sup>th</sup> state in neuroticism, and the 26<sup>th</sup> state in openness to experience (Rentfrow et al., 2008, 351).

In reference to external correlates of state-level personality, the experimenters conclude that state-level extraversion was “positively related to indicators of social involvement, such as attending club meetings, spending time in bars, and entertaining guests at home” (Rentfrow et al., 2008, p. 354). For state-wide agreeableness, the experimenters found that agreeableness was related to “several indicators of social involvement” and religiosity and was negatively related to mortality (Rentfrow et al., 2008, 356). For state-wide conscientiousness, the experimenters discovered that the characteristic was related to similar social indicators such as accountability and willpower and negatively related to criminal conduct and death (Rentfrow et al., 2008, 357). Next, in reference to state-level neuroticism, the experimenters determined that the characteristic was related to misconduct, health-promoting behavior, and death (Rentfrow et al., 2008, 358). The experimenters conclude that openness to experience is related to similar social indicators in connection to inquisitiveness, intelligence, and inventiveness (Rentfrow et al., 2008, 359).

Overall, the results of Rentfrow et al.’s study lay out a psychological typography—in regards to personality characteristics—of the United States constituency on a state-by-state basis. Understanding the political and psychological typography of the United States provides context for the ways in which citizens desire certain personality preferences among political leaders. This article provides insight about personality characteristics that American constituents exhibit and could potentially predict common constituent personality preferences for political leaders, dependent upon the political

culture that constituents reside in. As previous studies suggest, constituents have the tendency to desire or prefer leaders that share similar personality traits to their own. This research project will seek to verify or discredit this claim by analyzing constituent characteristic preferences among political leaders and comparing the results of this study to South Carolina constituent personality traits—as found from Rentfrow’s study. Additionally, this study includes the use of the multiple regression analysis approach, which will analyze the relationship between constituent personality preferences for political leaders and political culture. Overall, this research project will further provide insight into the discussion of constituent groups’ preferences for candidate personality traits.

### **The Link between Psychological and Political Culture Typography**

This section is intended for readers to understand the relationship between regional political culture and The Big Five Trait Theory, which will provide insight and perspective into the purpose of this study. Mondak and Canache (2013) conducted a study that examined the correspondence between the Big Five Trait Theory and sequences in political culture—specifically citizen ideology, political culture, and civic culture (p. 26). The researchers predicted that states with high levels of conscientiousness would display traditionalistic and possibly individualistic political culture characteristics and that states with high levels of agreeableness would display moralistic and possibly traditionalistic political culture characteristics (Mondak & Canache, 2013, p. 29). Likewise, Mondak and Canache (2013) analyzed the relation between personality and state-level civic culture (p. 29). The researchers collected data through online personality surveys that are based around the Big Five Inventory (Mondak & Canache, 2013, p. 30). The study included “more than 600,000 respondents who completed the survey between December 1999 and January 2005,” and the median age of the participants was 24 years old (Mondak & Canache, 2013, p. 30). The experimenters state that two versions of models—pertaining to citizen ideology and political culture—will be analyzed and estimated;

specifically, the two versions of models in reference to citizen ideology and political culture will entail one model “in which the factor in question is regressed only on the Big Five measures, and one that includes the personality variables and the covariates” (Mondak & Canache, 2013, p. 31). In order to measure state ideology, the experimenters analyzed the state-level citizen ideology measure created by Berry et al. (1998, as cited in Mondak & Canache, 2013) and the Cooperative Congressional Election Study (CCES) by Ansolabehere (2006, as cited in Mondak & Canache, 2013) and implemented both measures into their study (Mondak & Canache, 2013, p. 31). In order to examine political culture, the experimenters implemented two separate scales—the first scale involved Sharkansky’s (1969; as cited in Mondak & Canache, 2013) recoding of Elazar’s data and the other involved scales in reference to Elazar’s classification of political culture—specifically traditionalistic, moralistic, and individualistic political cultures—and models through the use of multinomial logistic regression (Mondak & Canache, 2013, p. 31). In order to examine civic culture, the researchers used Rice and Sumberg’s (1997; as cited in Mondak & Canache, 2013) civic culture scale and used tests that contained updated versions regarding a few of the components of their scale (Mondak & Canache, 2013, p. 32).

The results of the study reveal that there is a solid connection between the Big Five Trait theory and a plethora of politically related variables—specifically state-level ideology, civic culture, and political culture (Mondak & Canache, 2013, p. 38). With reference to state-level ideology, the results of the study showed that—like individual-level personality—there was a relation between openness to experience and conscientiousness to state-level ideology (Mondak & Canache, 2013, p. 33). In reference to political culture, Mondak and Canache (2013) found that—when using Sharkansky’s unidimensional measures—increased values regarding openness to experience and extraversion is related to a moralistic culture environment and deviates from traditionalistic culture environments (Mondak & Canache, 2013, p. 34). Furthermore, the experimenters

found that increased values regarding conscientiousness and neuroticism is related to a traditionalistic culture environment and deviates from moralistic culture environments (Mondak & Canache, 2013, p. 34). Additionally, Mondak and Canache (2013) discovered that collectively, “these coefficients signal a pronounced link between state political culture and collective personality” (Mondak & Canache, 2013, p. 34). When the researchers added certain covariates—like minority diversity, ethnic diversity, and high school graduation rates—the results revealed that collectively, “variation in the Big Five traits across states corresponds with variation in the unidimensional variant of the Elazar political culture” (Mondak & Canache, 2013, p. 34). Mondak and Canache (2013) also found that—when using multinomial logistic regression—states with high values of conscientiousness and neuroticism had a high probability of being a part of traditionalistic cultures and a low probability of being a part of moralistic political cultures (p. 35). However, the researchers of this study mention that they found disparities between Elazar’s multinomial logistic regression and Sharkansky’s unidimensional measures as the significant relationship between openness to experience and extraversion and moralistic political cultures did not appear in the multinomial regression model (Mondak & Canache, 2013, p. 35). Likewise, the researchers found that agreeableness displayed a null effect in Sharkansky’s unidimensional measures but exhibited a significant effect in the multinomial regression model (Mondak & Canache, 2013, p. 35). In other words, certain personality traits—such as openness to experience and extraversion—exhibited a relation to the moralistic political subculture in Sharkansky’s model but failed to show significant relations with moralistic political subcultures in Elazar’s model (Mondak & Canache, 2013, p. 35). Furthermore, the agreeableness personality trait exhibited a significant relation to the moralistic political subculture in Elazar’s model, but showed a null result in Sharkansky’s model (Mondak & Canache, 2013, p. 35). Lastly, with reference to civic culture, the results of the study—from the OLS regression model—showed a negative relation between civic culture

and conscientiousness and neuroticism, but the experimenters found that the “effects for conscientiousness and neuroticism wash out” once they added control variables—which was examined in a separate model (Mondak & Canache, 2013, p. 35).

Overall, the results of Mondak and Canache’s study may provide insight about certain personality traits that constituents may desire among political leaders. They found a relationship between political culture and the Big Five Trait theory. Subsequently, this study seeks to continue the discussion with reference to the relation between political culture and the Big Five Trait theory by examining whether the effect of candidate leadership traits varies by the political culture that voters are exposed to. Furthermore, the implementation of the multiple regression analysis approach in this survey project will analyze the relationship between political culture and the Big Five Trait Theory from a different methodological perspective.

#### **Survey Design and Procedure**

The independent variables within this study are the regional political cultures—traditionalistic, moralistic, and individualistic—within America. The dependent variables within this study are constituent personality preferences—specifically extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness, neuroticism, and openness to experience personality characteristics—for political leaders. Certain covariates within this study include the region where the study is conducted, the state where the study is conducted, and the gender, race, ethnicity, political affiliation, income, and the level of schooling of the participant.

This research project uses quantitative measures—implementing multiple regression analysis by using RStudio—in order to analyze constituent personality preferences for South Carolinian political leaders. Multiple regression analysis separates the effect of one independent variable on one dependent variable, while controlling for the effects of other independent variables. Multiple regression analysis is a common empirical measure used in the political science field and is useful in modeling multiple independent variables upon one dependent variable, as well as analyzing the strength of the

relationship between independent variables and dependent variables.

The process of operationalizing terms, defining the unit of analysis, and compiling data through nominal, ordinal, and interval variables as well as using numerical scales for this quantitative research study allows for explicit and precise comparability between this study and others. Additionally, this quantitative research study can be replicated by other researchers in an effort to ensure reliability regarding the investigation. The data assembled in this study was collected through the website Qualtrics and analyzed through Microsoft Excel. The data details the income, race, sex, political culture preference, and constituent personality attributes for political leaders. The process of collecting quantitative data through Qualtrics is a good fit for this research project as Qualtrics can weigh survey responses, set the confidence level of the survey, and adjust its sampling level—thus enhancing the replicability of the study and reducing random measurement error.

#### **RESULTS**

This study was conducted using a convenience sample of 334 eligible voters around the country. The convenience sample contained 69% female and 31% male participants. Secondly, the racial makeup of the convenience sample contained 72% Caucasian, 21% African American, and 4% multiracial participants. Thirdly, the median income category of the convenience sample is \$70,000 to \$79,999. Approximately 96% participants in the convenience sample completed the survey between October 13<sup>th</sup> and November 3<sup>rd</sup> of 2020. Approximately 4% of participants in the convenience sample completed the survey between November 3<sup>rd</sup> and November 14<sup>th</sup> of 2020. It is important to note that the 2020 United States presidential election was held on November 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2020. Lastly, 76% of the convenience sample size contained participants who currently live in South Carolina. In order to test the hypothesis and analyze the research questions for this study, a series of multiple regression analyses were performed in order to examine the relationship between political culture and constituent personality preferences

for political leaders. In the first stage of the multiple regression analysis, dummy variables for nominal questions that tested for moralistic, individualistic, and traditionalist culture were examined in relation to the dependent variables (extraversion, conscientiousness, agreeableness, neuroticism, and openness to experience) of the Big Five Trait Theory. Dummy variables are defined as a variable where cases that fall into a particular category are defined as 1 and the rest of the cases are defined as 0. In this case, for each multiple regression model, this study isolated the effect of one independent variable on one dependent variable, while controlling for the effects of other political culture independent variables. Next, control variables like dummy-coded sex, dummy-coded race, and income were held constant in the second stage of the multiple regression analysis. Results of the regressions for relationship between the dummy independent variable and The Big Five Trait Theory are shown across Table 1 through Table 5. The following is a list of interpretations of the slope coefficient for each multiple regression analysis when holding controlled variables constant—which is the second regression model in Table 1 through Table 5:

1. On average, the average extraversion score for those who had moralistic values was 0.00 ordinal scale higher compared to those who did not have moralistic values.
2. On average, the average conscientiousness score for those who had moralistic values was 0.04 ordinal scale lower compared to those who did not have moralistic values.
3. On average, the average agreeableness score for those who had moralistic values was 0.06 ordinal scale higher compared to those who did not have moralistic values.
4. On average, the average neuroticism score for those who had moralistic values was 0.08 ordinal scale higher compared to those who did not have moralistic values.
5. On average, the average openness to experience score for those who had moralistic values was 0.23 ordinal scale

higher compared to those who did not have moralistic values.

6. On average, the average extraversion score for those who had individualistic values was 0.05 ordinal scale higher compared to those who did not have individualistic values.
7. On average, the average conscientiousness score for those who had individualistic values was 0.03 ordinal scale higher compared to those who did not have individualistic values.
8. On average, the average agreeableness score for those who had individualistic values was 0.10 ordinal scale higher compared to those who did not have individualistic values.
9. On average, the average neuroticism score for those who had individualistic values was 0.03 ordinal scale higher compared to those who did not have individualistic values.
10. On average, the average openness to experience score for those who had individualistic values was 0.02 ordinal scale lower compared to those who did not have individualistic values.
11. On average, the average extraversion score for those who had traditionalistic values was 0.18 ordinal scale lower compared to those who did not have traditionalistic values.
12. On average, the average conscientiousness score for those who had traditionalistic values was 0.25 ordinal scale higher compared to those who did not have traditionalistic values.
13. On average, the average agreeableness score for those who had traditionalistic values was 0.02 ordinal scale lower compared to those who did not have traditionalistic values.
14. On average, the average neuroticism score for those who had traditionalistic values was 0.04 ordinal scale lower compared to those who did not have traditionalistic values.
15. On average, the average openness to experience score for those who had traditionalistic values was 0.31 ordinal

scale higher compared to those who did not have traditionalistic values.

Overall, the regression coefficient for the relationship between the dummy variable for moralistic culture and openness to experience is statistically significant after holding control variables constant. All control variables in the second regression model for Table 5 are not confounders. With reference to the second

regression model in Table 5, one cannot conclude that the dummy variable for moralistic culture is causally significant as it is almost impossible to control for all potential confounders. If all confounders are controlled for, we can conclude that the dummy variable for moralistic culture is causally significant for the second regression model on Table 5 as well.

	Extraversion (1)	Extraversion (2)
Dummy Variable for Moralistic Culture	-0.01 (-0.07)	0.00 (0.02)
Dummy Variable for Individualist Culture	0.09 (0.72)	0.05 (0.43)
Dummy Variable for Traditionalist Culture	-0.07 (-0.26)	-0.18 (-0.63)
Dummy Variable for Female Category		-0.05 (-1.02)
Dummy Variable for Multiracial Category		-0.37 (-1.98)
Dummy Variable for AA Category		-0.12 (-0.72)
Dummy Variable for White Category		-0.27 (-1.77)
Income		0.00 (0.28)
Post-Election		
Constant (y-intercept)	3.51	3.77
Number of observations	334	334
Adjusted R-square	-0.01	0.01

**Note: t-values are in parentheses**

**Table 1. Regression Outputs for Political Culture Exposure and The Big Five Trait Theory**

	Conscientiousness (1)	Conscientiousness (2)
Dummy Variable for Moralistic Culture	-0.03 (-0.40)	-0.04 (-0.54)
Dummy Variable for Individualist Culture	0.03 (0.42)	0.03 (0.37)
Dummy Variable for Traditionalist Culture	0.26 (1.51)	0.25 (1.36)
Dummy Variable for Female Category		0.01 (0.30)
Dummy Variable for Multiracial Category		-0.01 (-0.04)
Dummy Variable for AA Category		-0.05 (-0.50)
Dummy Variable for White Category		-0.05 (-0.53)
Income		0.00 (0.43)
Post-Election		
Constant (y-intercept)	3.27	3.30
Number of observations	334	334
Adjusted R-square	-0.00	-0.02

**Note: t-values are in parentheses**

**Table 2. Regression Outputs for Political Culture Exposure and The Big Five Trait Theory**

	Agreeableness (1)	Agreeableness (2)
Dummy Variable for Moralistic Culture	0.03 (0.33)	0.06 (0.63)
Dummy Variable for Individualist Culture	0.10 (1.00)	0.10 (0.90)
Dummy Variable for Traditionalist Culture	0.14 (0.57)	-0.02 (-0.07)
Dummy Variable for Female Category		-0.07 (-1.51)
Dummy Variable for Multiracial Category		-0.14 (-0.88)
Dummy Variable for AA Category		-0.12 (-0.83)
Dummy Variable for White Category		-0.18 (-1.33)
Income		0.01 (-2.07)
Post-Election		
Constant (y-intercept)	3.22	3.52
Number of observations	334	334
Adjusted R-square	-0.01	0.02

**Note: t-values are in parentheses**

**Table 3. Regression Outputs for Political Culture Exposure and The Big Five Trait Theory**

	Neuroticism (1)	Neuroticism (2)
Dummy Variable for Moralistic Culture	0.08 (0.93)	0.08 (0.86)
Dummy Variable for Individualist Culture	0.07 (0.66)	0.03 (0.29)
Dummy Variable for Traditionalist Culture	0.00 (0.02)	-0.04 (-0.16)
Dummy Variable for Female Category		-0.10 (-2.08)
Dummy Variable for Multiracial Category		0.07 (0.39)
Dummy Variable for AA Category		-0.10 (-0.72)
Dummy Variable for White Category		-0.05 (-0.40)
Income		0.00 (0.14)
Post-Election		
Constant (y-intercept)	2.91	3.04
Number of observations	334	334
Adjusted R-square	-0.01	0.00

**Note: t-values are in parentheses**

**Table 4. Regression Outputs for Political Culture Exposure and The Big Five Trait Theory**

	Openness to Experience (1)	Openness to Experience (2)
Dummy Variable for Moralistic Culture	0.23* (2.51)	0.23* (2.48)
Dummy Variable for Individualist Culture	0.02 (0.21)	-0.02 (-0.21)
Dummy Variable for Traditionalist Culture	0.30 (1.18)	0.31 (1.18)
Dummy Variable for Female Category		-0.02 (-0.38)
Dummy Variable for Multiracial Category		-0.01 (-0.06)
Dummy Variable for AA Category		0.16 (1.06)
Dummy Variable for White Category		-0.05 (-0.37)
Income		-0.00 (-0.09)
Post-Election		
Constant (y-intercept)	3.72	3.75
Number of observations	334	334
Adjusted R-square	0.02	0.05

**Note: t-values are in parentheses**

**Table 5. Regression Outputs for Political Culture Exposure and The Big Five Trait Theory**

In the third stage of the multiple regression analyses, the average ordinal variable for political culture was tested in relation to the dependent variable of The Big Five Trait Theory. The average ordinal variable for political culture was calculated by finding the sum of each respective variable that tested for each political culture (moralistic, individualistic, and traditionalistic). Next, the sum of the respective variables was divided by the number of variables within the equation altogether. In each table, the average ordinal variable for political culture is referred to as the political culture index. In this case, for each multiple regression model, this study isolated the effect of one independent variable (political culture index) on one dependent variable (The Big Five Trait Theory), while controlling for the effects of other political culture independent variables. Next, control variables like dummy-coded sex, dummy-coded race, and income were held constant in the fourth stage of the multiple regression analysis. Results of the regression coefficients for the relationship between the average ordinal variable of the IV and The Big Five Trait Theory are shown on Table 6 through Table 10. The following is a list of interpretations of the slope coefficient for each multiple regression analysis when holding controlled variables constant—which is the second regression model in Table 6 through Table 10:

1. On average, a one-unit ordinal scale increase in the moralistic culture index is associated with a 0.05 unit ordinal scale increase in voters' preference for political leaders who display extraversion personality characteristics when holding all other independent variables constant.
2. On average, a one-unit ordinal scale increase in the moralistic culture index is associated with a 0.00 unit ordinal scale decrease in voters' preference for political leaders who display conscientiousness personality characteristics when holding all other independent variables constant.
3. On average, a one-unit ordinal scale increase in the moralistic culture index is associated with a 0.02 unit ordinal scale decrease in voters' preference for

political leaders who display agreeableness personality characteristics when holding all other independent variables constant.

4. On average, a one-unit ordinal scale increase in the moralistic culture index is associated with a 0.04 unit ordinal scale increase in voters' preference for political leaders who display neuroticism personality characteristics when holding all other independent variables constant.
5. On average, a one-unit ordinal scale increase in the moralistic culture index is associated with a 0.12 unit ordinal scale increase in voters' preference for political leaders who display openness to experience personality characteristics when holding all other independent variables constant.
6. On average, a one-unit ordinal scale increase in the individualistic culture index is associated with a 0.04 unit ordinal scale increase in voters' preference for political leaders who display extraversion personality characteristics when holding all other independent variables constant.
7. On average, a one-unit ordinal scale increase in the individualistic culture index is associated with a 0.05 unit ordinal scale increase in voters' preference for political leaders who display conscientiousness personality characteristics when holding all other independent variables constant.
8. On average, a one-unit ordinal scale increase in the individualistic culture index is associated with a 0.04 unit ordinal scale increase in voters' preference for political leaders who display agreeableness personality characteristics when holding all other independent variables constant.
9. On average, a one-unit ordinal scale increase in the individualistic culture index is associated with a 0.03 unit ordinal scale increase in voters' preference for political leaders who display neuroticism personality



- characteristics when holding all other independent variables constant.
10. On average, a one-unit ordinal scale increase in the individualistic culture index is associated with a 0.00 unit ordinal scale increase in voters' preference for political leaders who display openness to experience personality characteristics when holding all other independent variables constant.
  11. On average, a one-unit ordinal scale increase in the traditionalistic culture index is associated with a 0.01 unit ordinal scale increase in voters' preference for political leaders who display extraversion personality characteristics when holding all other independent variables constant.
  12. On average, a one-unit ordinal scale increase in the traditionalistic culture index is associated with a 0.00 unit ordinal scale decrease in voters' preference for political leaders who display conscientiousness personality characteristics when holding all other independent variables constant.
  13. On average, a one-unit ordinal scale increase in the traditionalistic culture index is associated with a 0.02 unit ordinal scale increase in voters' preference for political leaders who display agreeableness personality characteristics when holding all other independent variables constant.
  14. On average, a one-unit ordinal scale increase in the traditionalistic culture index is associated with a 0.03 unit ordinal scale increase in voters' preference for political leaders who display neuroticism personality characteristics when holding all other independent variables constant.
  15. On average, a one-unit ordinal scale increase in the traditionalistic culture index is associated with a 0.03 unit ordinal scale increase in voters' preference for political leaders who display openness to experience personality characteristics when holding all other independent variables constant.

Collectively, the regression coefficient for the relationship between the moralistic culture index and openness to experience is statistically significant after controlling for potential confounders like income and dummy-coded race and sex. Likewise, the regression coefficient for the relationship between the individualistic culture index and conscientiousness is statistically significant after controlling for potential confounders like income and dummy-coded race and sex. All control variables in the second regression model for Table 7 and Table 10 are not confounders. With reference to the second regression model in Table 7, one cannot conclude that the individualistic culture index is causally significant as it is almost impossible to control for all potential confounders. With reference to the second regression model in Table 10, one cannot conclude that the moralistic culture index is causally significant as it is almost impossible to control for all potential confounders. If all confounders are controlled for, we can conclude that the individualistic and moralistic culture index is causally significant in the second regression model in Table 7 and Table 10 as well. Likewise, the regression coefficient for the relationship between the individualistic culture index and conscientiousness is statistically significant after holding control variables constant. It is important to note that the results for the relationship between the dummy variable for individualistic culture and conscientiousness is not statistically significant individually, but is statistically significant when analyzing the relationship between the individualistic culture index and conscientiousness.

Since the survey dataset contained respondents who completed the survey before and after the November 3<sup>rd</sup> United States presidential election, concerns arose as to whether the results could be influenced by the post-election observations. The results remain robust to excluding the post-election observations from the regression analyses.

	Extraversion (1)	Extraversion (2)
Moralistic Culture Index	0.01 (0.26)	0.05 (0.92)
Individualistic Culture Index	0.03 (1.02)	0.04 (1.24)
Traditionalist Culture Index	0.01 (0.29)	0.01 (0.25)
Dummy Variable for Female Category		-0.08 (-1.52)
Dummy Variable for Multiracial Category		-0.37 (-2.00)
Dummy Variable for AA Category		-0.09 (-0.59)
Dummy Variable for White Category		-0.28 (-1.84)
Income		0.00 (0.35)
Post-Election		
Constant (y-intercept)	3.33	3.41
Number of observations	334	334
Adjusted R-square	-0.01	0.03

**Note: t-values are in parentheses**

**Table 6. Regression Outputs for Political Culture Exposure and The Big Five Trait Theory**

	Conscientiousness (1)	Conscientiousness (2)
Moralistic Culture Index	-0.00 (-0.02)	-0.00 (-0.05)
Individualistic Culture Index	0.04* (2.35)	0.05* (2.53)
Traditionalistic Culture Index	0.00 (0.03)	-0.00 (-0.06)
Dummy Variable for Female Category		0.01 (0.20)
Dummy Variable for Multiracial Category		-0.09 (-0.72)
Dummy Variable for AA Category		-0.14 (-1.30)
Dummy Variable for White Category		-0.13 (-1.31)
Income		0.00 (0.49)
Post-Election		
Constant (y-intercept)	3.08	3.16
Number of observations	334	334
Adjusted R-square	0.01	-0.00

**Note: t-values are in parentheses**

**Table 7. Regression Outputs for Political Culture Exposure and The Big Five Trait Theory**

	Agreeableness (1)	Agreeableness (2)
Moralistic Culture Index	-0.05 (-1.22)	-0.02 (-0.45)
Individualistic Culture Index	0.04 (1.49)	0.04 (1.57)
Traditionalistic Culture Index	0.03 (1.15)	0.02 (0.97)
Dummy Variable for Female Category		-0.08 (-1.60)
Dummy Variable for Multiracial Category		-0.17 (-1.04)
Dummy Variable for AA Category		-0.13 (-0.95)
Dummy Variable for White Category		-0.19 (-1.49)
Income		-0.01 (-1.69)
Post-Election		
Constant (y-intercept)	3.33	3.49
Number of observations	334	334
Adjusted R-square	0.01	0.03

**Note: t-values are in parentheses**

**Table 8. Regression Outputs for Political Culture Exposure and The Big Five Trait Theory**

	Neuroticism (1)	Neuroticism (2)
Moralistic Culture Index	0.01 (0.27)	0.04 (0.91)
Individualistic Culture Index	0.03 (1.29)	0.03 (1.25)
Traditionalistic Culture Index	0.04 (1.60)	0.03 (1.43)
Dummy Variable for Female Category		-0.11 (-2.27)
Dummy Variable for Multiracial Category		0.06 (0.33)
Dummy Variable for AA Category		-0.11 (-0.74)
Dummy Variable for White Category		-0.07 (-0.50)
Income		0.00 (0.41)
Post-Election		
Constant (y-intercept)	2.76	2.74
Number of observations	334	334
Adjusted R-square	0.01	0.02

**Note: t-values are in parentheses**

**Table 9. Regression Outputs for Political Culture Exposure and The Big Five Trait Theory**

	Openness to Experience (1)	Openness to Experience (2)
Moralistic Culture Index	0.09 (1.93)	0.12* (2.44)
Individualistic Culture Index	-0.00 (-0.13)	0.00 (0.04)
Traditionalistic Culture Index	0.02 (1.03)	0.03 (1.07)
Dummy Variable for Female Category		-0.02 (-0.35)
Dummy Variable for Multiracial Category		-0.05 (-0.27)
Dummy Variable for AA Category		0.09 (0.59)
Dummy Variable for White Category		-0.12 (-0.86)
Income		-0.00 (-0.07)
Post-Election		
Constant (y-intercept)	3.49	3.42
Number of observations	334	334
Adjusted R-square	0.00	0.03

**Note: t-values are in parentheses**

**Table 10. Regression Outputs for Political Culture Exposure and The Big Five Trait Theory**

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The main purpose of this study was to analyze South Carolinian constituent personality preferences for political leaders. The results of the study found a statistically significant relationship between participants exposed to the moralistic political culture and their preferences for openness to experience candidate personality traits and a statistically significant relationship between participants exposed to the individualistic political culture and their preferences for conscientiousness candidate personality traits when holding control variables constant. The results of the study contradict previous postulations mentioned earlier in the paper which stated that constituents will not desire politicians with curious personality characteristics as they cannot efficiently preserve traditionalistic and moralistic political obligations.

Additionally, the results of the study provide perspective to the findings in Mondak and Canache's study in which the researchers found that increased values regarding openness

to experience and extraversion is related to a moralistic culture environment and deviates from traditionalistic culture environments (Mondak & Canache, 2013, p. 34). However, it is important to note that this research study analyzed the relationship between constituent personality preferences for political leaders and political culture, whereas Mondak and Canache's study analyzed the relationship between constituent personality traits—with reference to the Big Five Trait Theory—and political culture. Subsequently, the findings in the Rentfrow et al. study suggest that constituents have the tendency to desire or prefer leaders that share similar personality traits to their own. As a result, participants exposed to a moralistic political culture may prefer candidates who display openness to experience personality traits because the participant exudes curious and imaginative personality traits themselves. There may be extraneous confounding variables that influence the statistically significant relationship between moralistic culture exposure and constituent openness to experience personality preferences

for political leaders and individualistic culture exposure and conscientiousness personality preferences for political leaders—those of which have not been tested within this particular study.

Contingent upon hypothesis testing, the results of the study do not align with the predicted hypothesis as there were not any regression analyses that showed a statistically significant relationship between traditionalist political culture and candidate preferences for extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness, neuroticism, or openness to experience personality traits. Some reasons as to why the results of the study are not consistent with the predicted hypothesis consist of the makeup and skewness of the survey dataset. First, the makeup of the data sample showed that there were fewer than five participants who had traditionalistic values—out of 334 observations. Secondly, the dataset of the study was incredibly skewed towards participants who held moralistic values rather than traditionalistic or individualistic values. Therefore, the skewness of the dataset greatly affected the empirical outcomes of the regression analyses with reference to the relationship between the constituent personality preferences for political leaders and traditionalistic political culture. As a result, additional quantitative research is needed where a representative and equal sample size of the South Carolina population should be used in order to analyze the potential statistically significant relationship between The Big Five Trait Theory and constituent personality preferences for political culture. Subsequently, additional empirical studies will be conducted in the future in order to analyze South Carolinian constituent personality preferences for political leaders. The end goal of this study seeks to continue the discussion with reference to the relationship between political culture and the Big Five Trait theory by examining whether the effect of candidate leadership traits varies by the political culture that voters are exposed to using a representative sample of the South Carolinian constituency and possibly implementing the conjoint-experiment approach—which will estimate the causal effects of each leadership trait, specifically extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness, neuroticism, and openness to

experience, on voter preferences—in future research projects.

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# Latinidad and Portrayals of Second- and Third-Generation Latinx Immigrants in *One Day at a Time*

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## ABSTRACT

*One Day at a Time* (2017) chronicles the experiences of a Cuban-American family living in Los Angeles. This sitcom allows the researcher to observe and evaluate portrayals of Latinidad and the Latinx experience in the first two seasons of the show. As the largest minority group in the United States, Latinx people have been underrepresented in the media, particularly entertainment media. Entertainment media has not reflected the multi-dimensional identity of the second- and third-generation Latinx immigrants. Latinidad, a concept that incorporates the shifting attributes of Latinness, is the changing notion that the Latinx experience goes beyond the stereotypes and incorporates Latinx individuals through the intersectionality of race, sexual orientation, gender, and more.

The researcher used narrative analysis to examine a modern-day interpretation of the Latinx identity and experience in Netflix's *One Day at a Time*. Using the qualitative method, the researchers found and examined three major themes that reinforce the issues and changes that affect the Latinx experience of second- and third- generation immigrants. This study hopes to contribute to media studies and the manner in which underrepresented minority groups are portrayed—as individuals and their overall experience—in entertainment media.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

Hispanic individuals (those from Central and South America and other Spanish-speaking areas) have a long and intensive history involving immigration to the United States. According to the Pew Research Center (2019), 44.4 million immigrants (13.6 percent of the population) were living in the States in 2017. Mexican (25.3 percent) and Latin American (25.1 percent) immigrants comprised a little more than half of the immigrant population. First-generation immigrants (those born abroad) birthed 12 percent of the U.S. population (second-generation immigrants) in 2017.

As immigrants, both first- and second-generation immigrants face acculturation within their two cultures: their heritage and their destination culture (Schwartz et al., 2019). According to Berry (1992, 1997), there are four approaches in his model of acculturation: assimilation, separation, marginalization, and integration. Assimilation is the abandonment of cultural identity for the maintenance of relationships with other groups; separation maintains the cultural identity, but not relationships with other groups. Marginalization

is the failure to retain relationships with other groups and personal cultural identity. Lastly, integration (or biculturalism) is the attempt to maintain both relationships with other groups and cultural identity, and it is considered the best approach of acculturation. Integration may be achieved by immigrants as well as hosts of the destination culture with the latter accommodating to the immigrants' presence, which may result in new norms (Evanoff, 2006).

Second-generation Hispanic immigrants (i.e., those born to at least one foreign-born parent) oftentimes face identity issues, particularly in their young adulthood (Arnett, 2000). Because second-generation immigrants share the cultural experiences of their parents and those of their new homeland, they develop a complex ethnic identity, one that never seems to fit into either world. In a study conducted by Garcia (2019), the author found that intergenerational cultural dissonance (e.g., clashing between immigrant parents and their children over cultural values) and pressure to maintain one's cultural identity and values were two consistent themes throughout the interviews. This challenge arises especially for

those going through the college experience, which fuels and encourages the development of identity (Thompson, 2013). Consistent with the emphasis of biculturalism as the encouraged approach of acculturation, a number of studies suggest the approach yields desirable results (Bulut and Gayman, 2020; Schwartz et al., 2019). Schwartz et al. (2019) found that Hispanic college students seek to mix both heritage and destination cultures to form a compatible cultural self that results in well-being. In their study regarding Latino immigrants and mental health, Bulut and Gayman (2020) suggest good mental health amongst this group may be attained through social and immigration policies that work towards maintaining families together. Children of undocumented first-generation immigrants oftentimes face anxiety and other side issues (e.g., sleeping difficulties, clinginess, crying) especially after one or both parents are deported (Chaudry et al., 2010).

Kumashiro (2000) refers to marginalized groups (e.g. students of color, female students, students identifying as LGBTQ+) as the “Other.” For the purpose of this study, second-generation Hispanic Americans are the “Other” due to their conflicted position between their two cultures—oftentimes being described as being “too Hispanic” or “too American” for either the destination or heritage culture.

As associated with the “Other,” their portrayals—or representation—across media has largely been negative or limited despite the high viewership Hispanic Americans bring to streaming services. According to CivicScience, Hispanic Americans are known as Hispanic Netflix Power Users (HPNUs) due to their usage (68 percent) of the streaming platform as compared to the rest of the U.S. population (62 percent).

Representation in Hollywood is limited due to the fact that the Hispanic roles are oftentimes written for white actors, and Hispanic actors must take on white roles in order to be worthy of leading movies (Larson, 2005). As a result, negative stereotypes have surged in which oftentimes Hispanic men are depicted as violent and aggressive. It is not uncommon to depict them as gang members. Hispanic women are heavily sexualized whether pure and desirable, or

sexy and aggressive (Valdez & Halley, 1999; Rodriguez, 2008).

According to Larson (2005), Hispanic films that reinforce these tropes also depict two different worlds—whites and Hispanics. The latter adheres to their uni-dimensional roles that result in stereotypes and unsubstantial characters (Valdivia, 2000). Hispanics become the “ethnic Other” (Rodriguez, 2008). White characters are allowed an elevated status; and Hispanics must adhere to their place below their white counterparts.

As stated by José Estaban Muñoz (2000), “How is it possible to know *Latinidad*?,” *Latinidad*—a term coined by Felix Padilla (1985)—is an umbrella term intended to include all Latinx individuals (i.e. anyone that is Latinx but does not fit the bill of what *Latinidad* should look like). In this, “Latino-ness” is an elastic term; despite this, *Latinidad* has surged as contradictory and layered. While it is oftentimes considered a label that homogenizes Latinx individuals from a heterogeneous culture and history, it is also the inclusion of Afro-Latinx and mixed-race Latinx individuals (Mora, 2014). Some scholars prefer the term “*Latinidades*” to compensate for the multi-layered experiences and cultures and agency that Latinx Americans experience, particularly in America. Due to their dual nature, “Latino” and “*Latinidad*” risk homogenization, but they also allow scholars to highlight both commonalities and differences of these groups (Caminero-Santangelo, 2013).

## METHODS

This study utilizes narrative analysis to uncover and identify the messages regarding second- and third-generation Latinx immigrants in the show *One Day at a Time*. In this study, the primary purpose is to highlight resurging themes throughout the first two seasons about the cultural issues between three generations of the Alvarez family in *One Day at a Time*. Representation goes beyond the frequencies and percentages of a traditional content analysis. Rather than determining how many Latinx are showcased, representation focuses on how the portrayals are being made and the repercussions of those portrayals (Valdivia, 2010). Media studies are utilizing textual analysis to analyze

representation as opposed to a content analysis (Valdivia, 2010); this allows the researcher to focus on explicit and implicit ideological and cultural assumptions of a text. Thus, the decision to conduct this study in this specific manner was deliberately chosen due to the stated reasons.

The show *One Day at a Time* was chosen as the primary unit of analysis due to its focus on a Cuban American family as the main characters as they navigate new circumstances from those of the original 1975 television sitcom of the same name. Due to time constraints, the study is limited to the first two seasons of *One Day at a Time*. Both seasons consist of 13 episodes each; the total being 26 episodes. According to Mittell (2015), contemporary television storytelling is a collaboration between actors and screenwriters that can invoke *alignment*, or connection between viewers and characters that develops a relationship between both parties (p. 129). Alignment intensifies as the characters become better-developed as the seasons continue beyond the first one. The first season of any series establishes characters without going in-depth; therefore, the second season is important in order to provide a deeper comprehension of the characters and their context. Thus, we focused on the first two seasons of *One Day at a Time* to allow the characters to become established and developed.

In order to conduct this narrative analysis, I gathered my writing materials and watched all 26 episodes of the first and second seasons twice. The first time watching the first two seasons was to become familiar with the characters in their respective world, in their establishment of America. I would take handwritten notes about the characters' personalities, significant plotlines, and scenes that stood out to me. The second time watching the show was to focus on dialogue and scenes that aligned with the themes that stood out to me from the first viewing. At the same time, I would note themes that interconnected broader themes. At this stage of the study, I also focused on character development and potential connections. From there, I began my narrative analysis by grouping the scenes into their respective themes and noted overlaps.

## RESULTS

### Culture vs. Change

In 28 scenes of 16 episodes, there were multiple conversations and rising conflicts regarding a clash between traditional Cuban values and expectations with perceived American ideals and values. This is most prominent in the main character Penelope (portrayed by Justina Machado) as she clashes the most with her mother, Cuban-born Lydia. If they are symbols of their respective roles, Lydia represents tradition and a Cuban mindset, while her first-generation Cuban American daughter Penelope is further away from those roots. While this is most visible within the aforementioned pair, Penelope's children, Alex and Elena, also hold a similar juxtaposition that is both influenced by their position as second-generation Cuban Americans as well as differences such as skin color, Spanish language skills, etc.

For Penelope, this clash is most prominent during two issues: depression and divorce. While she has separated from Victor (her first husband), her mother continuously brings him up with comments such as:

LYDIA: It's not like he cheated on you.

PENELOPE: It's not the only thing that matters.

LYDIA: We are Cuban. We don't get divorced, we die.

Thus, it reinforces an ideal, heavily influenced by Catholicism, that marriage should be a pact that lasts until death do them part. Due to Victor's post-traumatic stress disorder (which stems from his time in the army) and his alcoholism, Penelope made the decision to separate from her husband despite the love she continued to feel and the fond memories she carried as seen in the throwback episode titled "What Happened" (Season 2, episode 8). Stuck between her decision and her mother's berating comments about her failed marriage and inability to maintain a husband, Penelope struggles to find footing in dating once again and defending her decision:

LYDIA: No, you're a married woman, who is going out on a date with a man who is not your husband. What is the right word? Let me see. Uh, *sucia*? Tramp? No. Ah, of course, *hoochie*.



PENELOPE: I am separated. And I'm not having this conversation. And keep your voice down because the kids can't know.

Similarly to Penelope's struggle with divorce and marriage, she goes through a second struggle - her depression and anti-depressants. While she admits that she would be happy to advise a patient to take the anti-depressants if it would benefit them, she is also well-aware of her own limitations that have been imposed by her mother's opinion of the matter:

PENELOPE: Fine. They're anti-depressants that Dr. Berkowitz thought I might need, but he doesn't know what he's talking about, so...

SCHNEIDER: Yeah, it sounds like he really cares about you. What a dick!

PENELOPE: I don't need them, and I have to get them out of here because if my mom finds 'em, it'll be, "Ay, diós mío, she's a junkie like the Amy Winehouse."

While she eventually decides to take the pills for the sake of her depression and anxiety, Penelope is still ashamed and it becomes her dirty little secret when she begins dating Max. In "Hello, Penelope" (Season 2, episode 9), Penelope stops taking her anti-depressant pills in order to avoid telling Max that she needs medication. This mentality is reinforced and encouraged by Lydia, who tells her that it is embarrassing.

Throughout the show, Elena's feminist ideology oftentimes clashes with her grandmother's view on misogyny and tradition. While Lydia respects and maintains structure through her Catholic faith and Cuban values, Elena challenges her with her identity as an American, member of the LGBTQ+ community, and her feminist rhetoric in particular with the topic of quinceañeras:

LYDIA: She has to have a quinces. How else will we know the day that our little girl becomes a woman?

ELENA: You missed it. I was 12, I was in gym, and, ironically, it happened during first Period.

LYDIA: You are throwing away your Cuban heritage.

ELENA: Yeah, the bad part. I don't want to be paraded around in front of

the men of the village like a piece of property to be traded for two cows and a goat.

Eventually Elena agrees to celebrate her quinceañera but only when it is framed for her outside of the context of misogyny and womanhood. It demonstrates her desire to participate in traditional Cuban rituals as long as it fits her ideology, which is an implication of the changing importance and significance of traditions.

### Discussion of Immigration

Elena, played by Isabella Gomez, embodies the newest wave of feminism. The fourth wave of feminism, as stated by Ealasaid Munro (2013), has shifted from the prior wave through the resurgence of the internet and has developed a culture of 'call out' culture, where sexist or misogyny is challenged by feminists (p. 23). The self-aware character is foiled by her at-times misogynist but well-intended relatives. Politics—through the lenses of feminism—play a central role in Elena's ability to interpret the world around her.

The first two seasons explore the topic of deportation, immigration, and citizenship. Lydia, played by Rita Moreno, repeatedly shares her story of immigration when she was forced to flee to America from Fidel Castro's Cuba. She escaped in a secret mass exodus known as Operation Peter Pan.

LYDIA: Pedro Pan was a program that started during the revolution to fly children out of Cuba and give them safe haven in the United States until Castro left.

ALEX: Okay... so you were put on a plane to a new country where you didn't know the language?

LYDIA: Oh, yes.

ALEX: Without your parents?

LYDIA: Yes.

Operation Peter Pan guaranteed Lydia residential status and a green card. The legality of her status is a sense of comfort for the family particularly when Elena is faced with the deportation of her friend Carmen's parents. The situation occurs near the end of the first season. For context, it was aired at the end of the Obama administration and as the fear regarding the

Trump administration fueled within the Latinx community as well as the general American public.

LYDIA: *¿Pero, qué pasó?*

CARMEN: My dad got sick, and they heard of this doctor that helps undocumented people. But... he was south of the checkpoint.

ELENA: Her parents got picked up coming back.

PENELOPE: *Ay, niña.*

LYDIA: *Dios mío.* So... the immigration project?

CARMEN: I am the immigration project.

The second season takes place at the beginning of the Trump administration. Elena becomes visibly agitated when Lydia reveals she has been hiding a secret from the family for years; Lydia never became a citizen after finding out she would have to give up her Cuban citizenship. Her security blanket has always been the comfort of her Cuban heritage and pride while knowing she was a permanent resident and green card holder. Having dealt with the aftermath of the deportation of Carmen's parents' deportation, Elena has developed an anxiety and awareness of the importance of citizenship and what Lydia's lack of citizenship could mean in Trump's America.

ELENA: Things keep changing. I mean, it's way worse for some other groups, but still. Carmen lost her parents. I lost my best friend. I just don't want to lose you. What if one day they decide to send all non-citizens back to where they came from?

Immigration is discussed in fourteen scenes of six episodes. In the show, the family's white Canadian landlord Pat Schneider (played by Todd Grinnell) considers himself an "illegal immigrant" as he had stayed in America past the expiration date of his student visa. As opposed to Lydia's situation, he is a green card holder, which he was able to obtain by pulling strings with his lawyer and wealth. He is able to take his situation lightly due to the nature of his privilege as a white man, a privilege that the Alvarez family cannot experience due to the limitations imposed by their heritage. The implication is that second-

and third-generation Latinx immigrants worry and think more about issues such as deportation and immigration than other groups.

### **The Makings of a Latinx**

In 22 scenes of 12 episodes, Latinx identity is touched upon mainly through the foil of the two siblings, Alex and Elena. Their differences, both physical and in ability, highlight and emphasize their different experiences as second-generation immigrants, Cuban Americans, and teenagers in America.

Elena is a white-passing Latinx—a fact that shocks her when she is mistaken as Schneider's daughter by a fellow Latinx man. In a few occasions, she has been compared to WonderBread and Anne Hathaway, a popular white American actress. She has limited Spanish speaking and comprehension ability as she has rejected the language in the past. As well, she is a feminist to her core and constantly challenging the ideals and morals of her grandmother and mother.

On the other hand, Alex is darker in complexion with dark brown hair and brown eyes—a set of features that are oftentimes representative of what a Latinx should look like and a nod towards the Latin lover—and he is flirty in nature. In "The Turn" (Season 2, episode 1), Alex reveals that he has been the victim of racial slurs (such as "beaner") and told to "go back to his country"—an experience his white-passing sister is unable to relate to. Unlike Elena, he is fluent in Spanish and is able to communicate and bond with his grandmother through the language. As a result, Elena oftentimes becomes the butt of many Spanish jokes due to her inability to understand them.

Despite their physical differences and abilities in skill, Elena and Alex are continuously portrayed as products of their grandmother's Cuban pride. They often refer to themselves as Cuban or Cuban Americans. In an attempt to connect further with her identity, Elena begins learning Spanish alongside Schneider, who speaks and understands more Spanish than she does. The show highlights their separate ranges of qualities that stretch beyond the stereotypes (e.g. skin color, Spanish-speaking ability). These qualities do not make them less latino/a/x; they do not make them white.

## DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

*One Day at a Time* brings to the forefront relevant and modern issues that affect Latinx second- and third-generation immigrants through racial and everyday life humor. It develops and introduces in-depth characters that aren't caricatures and unsubstantial stereotypes. They lightly poke fun at Lydia's telenovela dramatic antics, but it plays into the comedy rather than place her in a box. The show helps broaden the diversity and inclusion of the different Latinx experiences and identities. Future research may explore more themes, incorporate remaining seasons of the show (to better examine their character development) and look at other shows from the past and this particular wave of Latinx-created, produced, and written shows.

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# Undergraduate Students' Perceptions, Knowledge, and Attitudes Toward Human Trafficking

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## ABSTRACT

Human trafficking is a violation of human rights because the victims are stripped of their dignity, abused, and forced to work. There is a dearth of research on human trafficking because it is an insidious business, and victims are reluctant to come forward. Human trafficking happens on America's college campuses at alarming rates. Human trafficking permeates all segments of society because it can happen in our backyards. With human trafficking happening on college campuses around America, additional research is needed to understand undergraduate students' perceptions, knowledge, and attitudes about the topic. The study's results can inform programs and other interventions to increase understanding of the warning signs, impact, and safeguards to lessen the effects of human trafficking.

The researcher distributed a survey electronically using social media to measure undergraduate students' perceptions, knowledge, and attitudes toward human trafficking. The researcher measured the relationships or correlations between human trafficking and students' perceptions, knowledge, and attitudes. This research will contribute to the body of knowledge because it helps to reveal undergraduate students' perceptions, knowledge, and attitudes on human trafficking, which could serve as the foundation for programs and other interventions that endeavor to decrease the prevalence of human trafficking. Equally important, this research will heighten researchers' understanding of the topic.

## Undergraduate Students' Attitudes Toward Human Trafficking

There has been research on professionals that work with human trafficking victims, but there is not enough information on the attitudes of undergraduate students. This is a rising issue in the United States; therefore, more research should cover students' perspectives. They should be able to understand their perspective on this topic. Undergraduate students should be exposed to human trafficking earlier, so they can be knowledgeable about the subject. It is crucial that the students are exposed to this topic early so that they can know the signs. Human trafficking is everywhere, including college campuses; therefore, it is essential to know about this topic. This issue needs to be talked about more often on campus, so there could be more research readily available for researchers.

Human trafficking is an issue that continues to rise in the United States. It is also known as the modern form of slavery. One of

the most inherent aspects of an American citizen's life is their human rights. These rights are guaranteed by a milestone document called "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights" that was proclaimed at the United Nations General Assembly in Paris on December 10, 1948. Human trafficking is one of the ways their rights are limited because they are stripped of their dignity, forced to work, and abused.

## LITERATURE REVIEW Define Human Trafficking

The crime of human trafficking affects every country. Human trafficking is when victims are compelled into labor or sex trafficking through fraud, coercion, or exploitation. There are two common forms of human trafficking, which includes sex trafficking and forced labor. Sex trafficking is when people are forced to engage in commercial sex, whether they are under or over the age of 18 (What is Human Trafficking?, 2019). According to Polaris (2018), labor trafficking is a form of modern-day

slavery in which individuals perform labor or services through the use of force, fraud, or coercion. There are different types of labor trafficking, which includes Bonded Labor, Involuntary Domestic Servitude, and Child Labor. Bonded Labor is when a victim is kept forced to work because of a debt or bond that they owe. The U.S. Department of State (2019) adds:

Involuntary domestic servitude is a form of human trafficking found in distinct circumstances—work in a private residence—that create unique vulnerabilities for victims. It is a crime in which a domestic worker is not free to leave his or her employment and is abused and underpaid, if paid at all. Many domestic workers do not receive the basic benefits and protections commonly extended to other groups of workers—things as simple as a day off. Moreover, their ability to move freely is often limited, and employment in private homes increases their isolation and vulnerability.

Child Labor is when a child is forced to work and does not attain any financial gain, neither does their family, while not having the option to leave. These are some ways in which human trafficking occurs, but there may be much more.

#### **Foreign Internationals Trafficked into America**

There is not much data available on foreign internationals being trafficking into America. Although there are statistics out there, estimates have changed significantly. Heather J. Clawson, Nicole Dutch, Amy Solomon, and Lisa Goldblatt Grace, the authors of *Human Trafficking Into and Within the United States* (2019) adds,

In the 2006 U.S. According to a State Department report, it estimated that approximately 600,000 to 800,000 victims are trafficked annually across international borders worldwide, and approximately half of these victims are younger than age 18. Additionally, in the 2005 U.S. State Department report, it estimated that 80 percent of internationally trafficked victims are

female, and 70 percent are trafficked into the sex industry. (Clawson et al., 2019)

These statistics are not surprising because trafficking foreign nationals into America is one of the ways traffickers make money. Unfortunately, these numbers do not represent all of the foreign nationals trafficked into America because all of them do not come forward for numerous reasons such as fear, abuse, and more.

#### **Americans Trafficked Nationally**

The United States is a growing business for human trafficking. There are many Americans trafficked nationally every single day. In 2018, The National Human Trafficking Hotline (2018), one of the most extensive publicly available data sets on human trafficking in the United States, adds there were 10,949 human trafficking cases (*Hotline Statistics*, 2018). Out of the 10,949 cases, 7,859 were sex trafficking, 1,249 were labor trafficking, 639 were sex & labor trafficking, and 1,292 were non-specific. According to the National Human Trafficking Hotline, California had the most cases, which were at 1,656 cases. Females were trafficked at alarming rates, according to The National Human Trafficking Hotline. Unfortunately, these were the most up to date statistics that were found; therefore, the estimates might have changed significantly over the last two years. We need more fundamental research regarding Americans being trafficked nationally.

#### **Demographics Affected**

**Children.** Children are trafficked at alarming rates. Girls and boys are both victims of human trafficking. The U.S. Department of Justice (2011) adds, "As many as 300,000 children are at risk for sexual exploitation each year in the United States" (*OJP Fact Sheet: Human Trafficking*, 2011). These children are at risk of being trafficked because of the many traffickers in the United States. Erase Human Trafficking (2016), a U.S. based organization with global impact, states, "Every year, over 17,000 children are taken in the U.S. and sold into trafficking. Forty-six children are taken every single day from our own backyard" (*Child Trafficking in the U.S.*, 2016). Hepburn and Simon (2010), authors of *Hidden in Plain Sight: Human Trafficking in the United States*,

reports "children constitute 40–50% of the overall forced labor population" (Hepburn & Simon, 2010). Children are vulnerable, which makes them an easier target for traffickers. Many forms of human trafficking impact them although we may not see it.

**Women.** Women are affected by human trafficking as well. Hepburn and Simon (2010) add, "Women and girls make up 56% of persons trafficked for the purposes of forced labor while men and boys make up 44%. In terms of those trafficked for the purposes of forced commercial sexual exploitation, women and girls make up 98%, and men and boys comprise 2%" (Hepburn & Simon, 2010). Women tend to be forced to engage in commercial sex. There are numerous ways in which women are lured into human trafficking, which can include pimps showing romantic interest, offering necessities, offering important opportunities, and more. Women tend to be targets because they are of consensual age, and traffickers tend to be less scared. In general, women and girls can make a trafficker more money, which makes them an asset in the human trafficking business.

**Men.** Anyone can be a human trafficking victim, whether they are male or female. The United States only shows footage of women victims in the news, which is not fair. We need to change our perceptions and show more coverage regarding men being victims as well. The National Human Trafficking Hotline (2018) adds 545 human trafficking cases consisted of men. These cases could have been with engaging in commercial sex or labor, but it was not specified. Banks and Kyckelhahn (2011) adds, "Confirmed victims of labor trafficking were more likely to be male, older, and foreign than confirmed victims of sex trafficking." Men are valuable in the forced labor sector of human trafficking because their pay rates tend to be lower, and they can lift heavier objects. Not only are men affected by human trafficking, but they are also less likely to report it. The stigma behind this crime deters men from reporting, which can limit the amount of research we have on them. Whether men are affected by sex exploitation or labor trafficking, it still affects them; therefore, we need to shed more light on this population.

**Race.** Race does play a role in human trafficking. Based on the statistics, the majority of sex trafficking victims were Black (Banks & Kyckelhahn, 2011). This could affect minorities the most because, in the United States, many of them live in poverty, which lures them to traffickers. Banks and Kyckelhahn (2011) adds "confirmed labor trafficking victims were more likely to be identified as Hispanic (63% of victims with known race) or Asian (17%) compared to sex trafficking victims, who were more likely to be white (26%) or black (40%)." In general, data has shown minorities are more likely to be trafficked in many ways, whether it is sex or labor.

**Urban and Rural Areas.** Human trafficking can happen anywhere, whether it occurs in urban or rural areas. Urban areas are the hot spots for traffickers for numerous reasons. In urban areas, there are so many ways that victims can be lured in. There are many opportunities in urban areas, and this can be one of the ways traffickers can lure in victims. Today so many people want to be models and social media influencers, thus making the job easier for traffickers to get the victims' attention. The National Human Trafficking Hotline (2018) reports there were 287 human trafficking cases in North Carolina.

On the other hand, rural areas have fewer resources, such as jobs and opportunities. The lack of resources in rural areas can make victims more prone to human trafficking because they may need money and a way to get out of the rural area. In rural areas, buildings and homes are distant from each other, which could make it difficult for others to be active bystanders. Whether traffickers are in urban or rural areas, they continue to impact the communities either way. Human trafficking is prevalent in both areas, and it continues to rise as well.

### **Recent Studies**

**Methodology and Findings.** Busch-Armendariz et al. (2017) created a study that "consists of 32 items to assess social work students' knowledge of and perceptions and attitudes toward human trafficking." The instrument that was used to measure and assess the psychometric properties of this survey was the PKA-HTQ, a newly developed instrument designed to measure the perceptions, knowledge,

and attitudes of social work students regarding human trafficking and human trafficking victims. This 32-item questionnaire consisted of 6 items regarding demographics and 26 items on a Likert scale. In this section of the instrument, participants indicated their level of agreement or disagreement with 26 statements. This two-site cross-sectional survey was distributed to graduate and undergraduate students in the United States (Nsonwu et al., 2015). The first site consisted of social work students at a predominately White institution with 327 participants, while site two consisted of 214 participants from a historically Black university (Nsonwu et al., 2015). The majority of the participants for this study consisted of females; many of the participants in the initial validation sample were graduate students, and a slight majority of participants in the cross-validation sample were undergraduate students (Nsonwu et al., 2015). The EFA and Cronbach  $\alpha$  estimates were conducted to examine the initial validity and internal consistency of the PKA-HTQ (Nsonwu et al., 2015). Findings from the initial EFA conducted on data from the initial validation sample revealed a three-factor structure which includes self-appraisal of knowledge/skills, worldview, and help-seeking behavior/personal beliefs (Nsonwu et al., 2015). The first factor was the social work students' knowledge of human trafficking as well as their ability to help victims. The second factor is to see how the student views human trafficking as a global issue. The last section looks at help-seeking behavior/ personal beliefs (Nsonwu et al., 2015).

In the next study, researchers "conducted an anonymous survey among a convenience sample of practicing physicians, fellows, residents, and medical students" (Titchen et al., 2017). They used the Research Electronic Data Capture, which is a web-based application software that helped them with their survey. One thousand six hundred ninety-four individuals completed this survey. The survey consisted of 20 items, which included true or false, free answer, and Likert-style questions. Eleven of the questions target demographic characteristics, one of the questions asked about previous sexual harassment experiences, one question asked about the importance of human

trafficking in regards to their field, three items concerned general awareness of trafficking in the person's state(s), three questions were used to assess the knowledge of national trafficking statistics compiled of numerous credible sources, and the last question asked respondents to answer a statement on who they will call if they encounter a victim of human trafficking (Titchen et al., 2017). This survey was disturbed by many medical students and physicians in the United States. According to Table 2, most of the survey respondents were white (72.2%) and female (67.7%) (Titchen et al., 2017). In Table 2, there is data that shows respondents agreed with the statement that, "it is important for me to know about human trafficking," and their knowledge of U.S. Department of Justice statistics about the number of trafficked youth each year and agreement that they knew who to call if they encounter a potential victim of human trafficking (Titchen et al., 2017). Interestingly, practicing physicians were more likely than residents and medical students to correctly estimate the number of trafficked youth in the United States each year (Titchen et al., 2017). This was a cross-sectional survey like Nsonwu et al. (2015) because they both gathered data on different populations regarding human trafficking. This survey was different from Nsonwu et al. (2015) because their goal was to measure medical trainees and practicing physicians' knowledge on child sex trafficking and whether physicians at all levels think it is essential to know about it. In contrast, the other survey was to measure social work students' attitudes on human trafficking in general.

Another study used a participant pool of 223 undergraduate students in an introductory psychology class. The participants were from a large Midwestern University (Silver et al., 2015). Women comprised 58.3% of the sample, and men comprised 41.7% (Silver et al., 2015). The survey was being used to measure the students' opinions on sex work in the United States. This survey was cross-sectional, like the other two surveys: Titchen et al. (2017) and Nsonwu et al. (2015). This survey differed from Nsonwu et al. (2015) because the participants were randomly assigned to read a hypothetical vignette describing a fictitious young woman (Ana)



involved in sex work in some capacity (Silver et al., 2015). Silver et al. points out, "there were four different versions of the vignette with two independent variables: citizenship of sex worker (foreign or domestic) and consensual nature of the sexual activity (voluntary or involuntary)." The vignette's responses were "used to assess the levels of empathy toward women involved in sexual activity" (Silver et al., 2015). Silver et al. found that "sex workers' character and personality were considered significantly more blameworthy than that of trafficked women, despite the women in each condition described as coming from disadvantaged backgrounds characterized by abuse and a father's alcoholism" (Silver et al., 2015). Ironically enough, there were no significant differences between a trafficked U.S. woman and a trafficked foreign woman (Silver et al., 2015). This survey is a similar survey to Titchen et al. (2017) because their participants were both a part of a social science class.

The literature examined above provides a study with a survey that will help when comparing results (Titchen et al., 2017). The information above has helped to explain what human trafficking is and how populations are affected by this crime.

## **METHODOLOGY**

### **Participants**

Participants were undergraduate students from multiple universities and majors. The participants were at least 18 years of age. The participants were from diverse racial backgrounds, genders, and student status. The participation in this survey was on a voluntary basis. Compensation was provided to the participants of this study.

### **Design**

The sampling methodology is non-probability, snowball sampling. The survey was distributed through social media platforms and email. The participants were also asked to distribute the survey to their peers as well. In this survey it measured Undergraduate Students Attitudes, Perceptions, and Knowledge on Human Trafficking. This survey was modified from the Busch-Armendariz (2017). The questionnaire was modified to better fit the purpose of my study.

In the survey there were twenty-one questions, including five demographic items and sixteen Likert style items in perceptions, knowledge, and attitudes regarding human trafficking. The age demographic questions were of different ranges (e.g. 18-22, 23-27, 28-32, 33-37, 38-42, 43-47, and 48-over), but race, classification, and major were more in depth. The question regarding previous course content was the only yes-or-no question on the survey. The last question on the survey was an open-ended question that asked the participant: "As a student, is there anything else that you'd like to know about human trafficking?" A survey which measures attitudes, perceptions, and knowledge concerning human trafficking is the data collection for this instrument.

The survey was administered to participants electronically through either social media or email. This survey was only open to undergraduate students. The research was conducted after the Winthrop University Institutional Review Board (IRB) determined this study to be exempt from IRB oversight. The participants were able to read to the consent form at the beginning of the survey, which discussed the purpose of the research and the content of the survey. The informed consent form explained how all answers are confidential and no harm is expected from the completion of this survey. The form also includes the contact information for the researcher and faculty advisor, if the participant were to have questions or want the results from the research. At the bottom of the informed consent form, the participant is able to click "Yes, I agree to participate" or "no, I do not agree to participate" to confirm they read the information. Participants completed the survey, saw the debriefing form when finished, and then were told "We thank you for time spent taking the survey and the response has been recorded." The entire survey took 10-15 minutes. This research is a mixed-method design incorporating Likert-scale and open-ended questions.

### **Research Questions and Hypothesis**

The research question is: Is there a relationship between human trafficking and students' perceptions, knowledge, and attitudes?

The two-tailed hypothesis for this research are:

**H<sub>1</sub>** There is a relationship between human trafficking and students' perceptions.

**H<sub>2</sub>** There is a relationship between human trafficking and students' knowledge.

**H<sub>3</sub>** There is a relationship between human trafficking and students' attitudes.

**Variables.** Human Trafficking is the independent variable. Human Trafficking is defined as when victims are compelled into labor or sex trafficking through fraud, coercion, or exploitation.

For this research, the dependent variables are the perception, knowledge, and attitudes. Dictionary.com defines perception as "the act or faculty of perceiving, or apprehending by means of the senses or of the mind; cognition; understanding." Dictionary.com (2020) defines knowledge as "acquaintance with facts, truths, or principles, as from study or investigation; general erudition." Dictionary.com (2020) defines attitudes as "manner, disposition, feeling, position, etc., with regard to a person or thing; tendency or orientation, especially of the mind." The variables will be operationalized or measured using a Likert Scale, on the survey the participants were asked to pick one for each question: "1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=neutral, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree, 0= No response" to measure their understanding of human trafficking. The complete survey is presented in Appendix A.

#### **Data Analysis**

This research will be analyzed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). Descriptive and inferential statistics will be used for the data analysis. Because of the sampling method, non-probability statistics will be used to analyze the data.

## **RESULTS**

The purpose of this study was to examine undergraduate students' perceptions, knowledge, and attitudes towards human trafficking. To examine the primary question, what are undergraduate students' perceptions,

knowledge and attitudes towards human trafficking<sup>2</sup>, this research explores differences in perceptions, knowledge, and attitudes towards human trafficking based on demographic characteristics.

To answer the research questions, data was collected and analyzed using the SPSS statistical software. Descriptive statistics and bivariate analysis—a one-way ANOVA was tested to see the relationship between the independent and dependent variables. This statistic was chosen for the bivariate analysis because the data for this research is measured at the ordinal level. These many analyses helped us to see if there were any statically significant differences between undergraduate students' demographics characteristics and perceptions, knowledge, and attitudes towards human trafficking.

**Descriptive Statistics.** Table 1 represents demographic information for the sample. A total of 100 students from numerous universities completed the survey. The survey consisted of 20 males (20.2 %), 76 females (76.8 %), and 3 others (3%). The majority of the participants were between the ages of 18-22 (92%), while 23-27 (5%), 33- 37 (1%), and 48-over (2%). The participants were from numerous racial backgrounds, but most were Caucasian/White (50%), while African-American/Black (40%), Hispanic/Latino (5%), Asian (2%), American Indian/ Alaskan Native (2%), and other (1%). The majority of the participants were seniors (60%), then juniors (26%), sophomores (13%) and freshmen (1%). The participants were from a different range of majors including Accounting (13.4%), Business Administration (4.5%), and Biology (9.8%), Chemistry (2.7%), Elementary Education (4.5%), Psychology (11.6%), Social Work (8.0%) and others (45.5%).

N=115		
Demographic Variables	Frequency	Percentage (%)
<b>Gender</b>		
• Male	20	20.2
• Female	76	76.8
• Other	3	3.0
<b>Age</b>		
• 18-22	92	92.0
• 23-27	5	5.0
• 33-37	1	1.0
• 48-Over	2	2.0
<b>Race/Ethnicity</b>		
• American Indian/Alaskan Native	2	2.0
• Asian	2	2.0
• African American/Black	40	40.0
• Hispanic/Latinx	5	5.0
• Caucasian/White	50	50.0
• Other	1	1.0
<b>Major</b>		
• Accounting	15	13.4
• Business Administration	5	4.5
• Biology	11	9.8
• Chemistry	3	2.7
• Elementary Education	5	4.5
• Psychology	13	11.6
• Social Work	9	8.0
• Other	51	45.5

Classification		
• Freshman	1	1.0
• Sophomore	13	13.0
• Junior	26	26.0
• Senior	60	60.0

**Inferential Statistics.** I chose items from the survey to analyze participant's perceptions, knowledge, and attitudes towards human trafficking. A one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used to determine any statistical differences between the means of two or more independent (unrelated) groups, such as the demographic questions. We used Cohen's d to explain the effect of the significant differences. We developed hypotheses and alternative hypotheses for each of the demographic variables, which were age, major, classification, race, and gender. We did not measure to see if there was a significant difference for age because 92% of the participants were ages 18-22, which was not going to change out data. We did measure to see if there was a significant difference between major and classification, but we did not find one. We did not find a significant difference between gender and attitudes. We did not find a significant difference between gender and perceptions. Although it was not a significant difference, we found it interesting that males and females had the same level of perceptions. Furthermore, we found a significant difference between gender and knowledge. We found that females are more knowledgeable than males regarding human trafficking; the significant effect was small with the Cohen's  $d = 0.55$ . We also found a significant difference between race and knowledge. We found that Black participants had more knowledge about human trafficking than other minorities; the significant effect was large with the Cohen's  $d = 0.96$ . In addition, we found that White participants have the same amount of knowledge as Black participants and other minorities. In the end the white participants were caught in the middle regarding their knowledge. We did not find a significant difference regarding

race and attitudes. On the other hand, we found a significant difference between race and perceptions. As a result, we found that Black and White participants had the same perceptions. While other minorities had lower perceptions than White participants, the significant effect was medium with Cohen's  $d = 0.78$ . While other minorities had lower perceptions than Black participants, the significant effect was large with Cohen's  $d = 0.92$ .

## DISCUSSION

Based on the results, we found that some of the undergraduate students have some form of knowledge on this topic. Furthermore, there were no differences in their attitudes on this topic, which was interesting. Their perceptions were interesting to find out that black and white participants were on the same level, but the other minorities were lower. The current study explored a topic that is not covered a lot in the research literature about undergraduate students' perceptions, knowledge, and attitudes towards human trafficking. Further examination on this topic is needed to fully understand their perceptions, knowledge, and attitudes on this topic. Some of our hypotheses were supported, which helped to further our understanding of undergraduate students' perceptions, knowledge, and attitudes towards human trafficking. The demographic factors that were chosen affected the study, but we found these factors aren't the primary ones shaping their perceptions, knowledge, and attitudes towards this topic. In the future, we plan to modify this survey to add specific questions on the socioeconomic status, media presence, and political views to see if this would make a huge difference. We also plan to add questions that target specific constructs instead of multiple, because in this study that was

one of the other limitations that we plan to fix. We also plan to aim for a higher sample size because this was a limitation in terms of choosing statically tested and finding statistically significant items. Although there were some limitations in this study, we are proud that our hypotheses were supported. With human trafficking happening on college campuses around America, additional research is needed to understand undergraduate students' perceptions, knowledge, and attitudes about the topic. The study's results can inform programs and other interventions to increase understanding of the warning signs, impact, and safeguards to lessen the effects of human trafficking.

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# Race Predicts Perceptions of Significant Learning Before and After COVID-19

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## ABSTRACT

Institutions of higher education are charged with providing quality learning opportunities for all students. Systemic biases that negatively impact the educational experiences of minority students, as well as the recent reliance on remote instruction during the COVID-19 pandemic, present two challenges to meeting this goal (e.g., Han et al., 2018; Stack, 2015). Previous research has assessed the quality of student learning with an emphasis on academic knowledge, thereby overlooking other important learning outcomes (Means et al., 2009; Pathak, 2019). Fink (2013) proposes a taxonomy of significant learning that includes six learning types: *Foundational Knowledge*, *Integration*, *Application*, *Caring about Learning*, *Learning about the Self and Others*, and *Learning How to Learn*. The present study examined college students' reports of these types of significant learning experiences before and after the remote learning period associated with COVID-19. The extent to which race predicted different perceptions of experiences was also examined. Participants were 127 undergraduate students who completed an anonymous online survey. First, they reported the extent to which they had experienced each of Fink's (2013) six types of significant learning while in college. Next, they responded to items intended to measure the effect of COVID-19 on each type of learning in Fink's taxonomy. Specifically, students rated the extent to which COVID-19 impacted learning by responding on a scale ranging from 1 (*very negative impact*) to 5 (*very positive impact*). Results revealed that White students reported experiencing higher levels of significant learning in college than African American and Hispanic/Latinx students. The COVID-19 remote learning period impacted each of the significant learning types in various ways for students overall. Black students, however, experienced a higher increase in the Human Dimension category (i.e., learning about themselves and others) than their White counterparts.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

The quality of the college student learning experience can be assessed in various ways. Most often, there is an emphasis placed on the amount of academic knowledge gained by the student. This knowledge may indeed serve as one indicator of learning; however, many educators recognize that this form of learning is not enough (e.g., Amiran, 1989). Fink (2013) defines significant learning as that which creates lasting change and has an important impact on the learner's life. He proposes a Taxonomy of Significant Learning that encompasses both academic learning (i.e., *Foundational Knowledge*, *Integration*, and *Application*) and learning associated with personal growth (i.e., *Human Dimension*, *Caring*, and *Learning How to Learn*). In contrast to the well-known Bloom's Taxonomy (Bloom, 1965), Fink's Taxonomy (Fink, 2013) extends beyond the cognitive domain. It allows for students to be in more than one category of

learning at once, and the different learning categories work to influence each other. The more learning types the student engages in, the more significant the learning experience (see *Figure 1*)

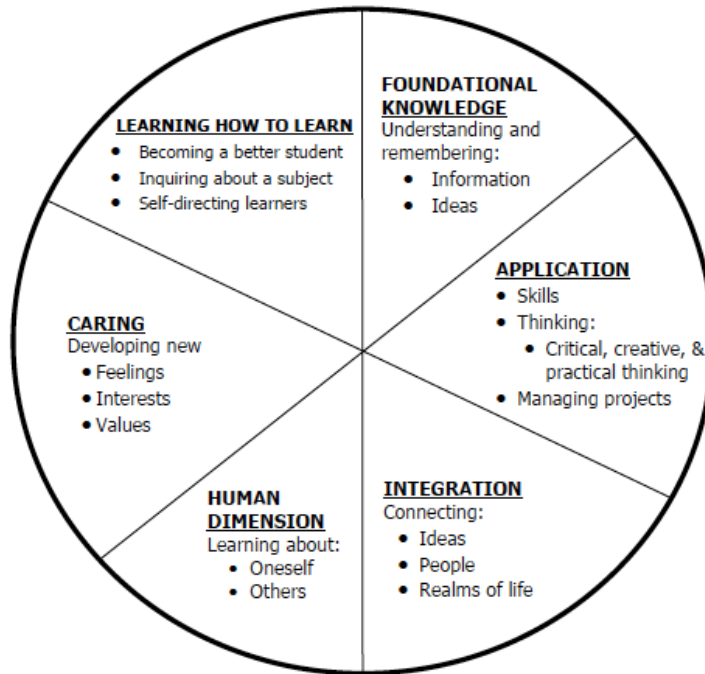


Figure 1. Fink's Taxonomy of Significant Learning (Fink, 2013)

Since its original proposal in 2003, Fink's taxonomy (2013) has been used by educators to redesign both undergraduate and graduate level courses with the aim of increasing significant learning experiences (Krueger et al., 2011; Levine et al., 2008; Marrocco, 2014). Instructors from various disciplines have been successful at increasing significant learning outcomes associated with Foundational Knowledge, Application, Human Dimension, and Learning How to Learn through the implementation of modified course assignments (Levine et al., 2008). Additionally, other significant learning outcomes, such as those associated with the Caring and Integration dimensions, have been increased through activities such as reflective journaling, studying primary sources from other cultures, and participating in in-class simulations (Fink, 2013). This suggests that courses can be designed to enhance other types of learning beyond traditional textbook knowledge.

Although research suggests that courses can be effectively redesigned to enhance the six types of learning as defined in Fink's taxonomy, many of these significant learning experiences take place outside of the classroom, through activities such as service learning, internships,

fieldwork, and undergraduate research (Fink, 2013). In fact, an examination of twenty-two courses that effectively promote significant learning revealed that many of Fink's categories of learning take place via these "outside the classroom" opportunities. Specifically, these types of opportunities serve as the basis for the formation of significant learning experiences, which instructors can later supplement with classroom discussion or reflective journaling (Fink, 2013).

Previous research suggests that students of racial and ethnic minority encounter certain disadvantages that can negatively impact the quality of their college learning experiences, and thus their significant learning experiences. Specifically, minority students may differ in the extent to which they are exposed to the types of experiences that would foster increases in significant learning outcomes, as defined by Fink (2013). For instance, Sweat et al. (2013) found that minority students at a Midwestern university reported less exposure to certain high-impact practices than their white counterparts, including undergraduate research and internships. Furthermore, using data from 69,722 undergraduates from 108 institutions who



participated in the spring 2015 American Health Association National College Health Assessment survey, Stevens et al. (2018) found that the percentage of students who reported experiencing discrimination was highest for Black students, at 15.6%. This was more than three times the percentage of White students, who reported the lowest rate of 4.6%. Of the total students who reported experiencing discrimination, 15-25% reported that the discrimination had negatively impacted their academic performance, and that negative impact was greater for minority students than for White students (Stevens et al., 2018). Moreover, minority students may also have to cope with feelings of marginalization while simultaneously experiencing feelings of tokenism. This is particularly true for students attending predominantly white institutions (Han et al., 2018).

In addition to working to improve the experiences of students of racial and ethnic minority, many faculty members now find themselves tasked with the challenge of creating significant learning experiences for their online students, given the need for remote learning due to COVID-19. The literature reveals mixed results about whether the quality of online courses (as measured by exam grades and final grades) differs from that of face-to-face classes. Some studies find no significant difference between the two instructional formats (e.g., Neuhauser, 2002; Stack, 2015). Some studies find higher learning outcomes for students in traditional face-to-face classes in comparison to students in online courses (e.g., Coates et al., 2013; Hurlbut, 2018). Further, some studies find higher learning outcomes for online learning. A meta-analysis conducted by the U.S. Department of Education found that online students perform better than students in the face-to-face format (Means et al., 2009).

One of the major limitations plaguing previous research about the effectiveness of online courses is the presence of self-selection bias (e.g., Moten et al., 2013). Namely, in many of the studies that compare online courses to traditional face-to-face learning, students were not randomly distributed across the different instructional formats. This makes it difficult to

determine whether the differences reported are a function of the instructional mode or a function of student characteristics. Even though self-selection may prove problematic for the interpretation of research results, it does appear to benefit students. Previous research indicates that students who willingly enroll in online courses perform better, display higher levels of satisfaction with the course, and have lower fail rates than students who do not have the option to self-select (Pathak et al., 2019; Racca & Robinson, 2016).

Many of the previous studies that have examined the quality of online learning experiences have done so using exam grades, quiz scores, grade point average, or final grades in the course (e.g., Coates et al., 2004; Hurlbut, 2018; Joyce et al. 2015; Neuhauser, 2002; Pathak, 2019; Racca & Robinson, 2016; Stack, 2015). Few studies have measured the quality of online learning, in comparison to the face-to-face format, by examining other aspects of the student learning experience beyond Foundational Knowledge (e.g., Guidera, 2003). This potentially overlooks other important learning outcomes that may be particularly relevant for the goal of providing significant learning opportunities for all students. The present study sought to address this gap in the literature. Additionally, the shift to online learning, both in general and in response to the COVID-19 pandemic, places a new focus on how the online instructional format may impact the significant learning experiences of different students. The present study sought to investigate the significant learning experiences of college students before and after COVID-19. Specifically, researchers were interested in the reported prevalence of significant learning experiences, as defined by Fink (2013), during students' time in college before the pandemic as well as after the shift to remote instruction took place. The extent to which race predicted different perceptions of these experiences was also examined.

## **METHOD**

### **Participants**

Researchers recruited 127 undergraduate college students to participate in the

study. Students identified as White ( $n = 78$ ), African American ( $n = 38$ ), Latinx/Hispanic ( $n = 5$ ), Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander ( $n = 1$ ), and two participants chose not to list their race/ethnicity. The sample included 30 male and 94 female students, with one student identifying as transgender and two choosing to not self-identify. Participant age ranged from 18 to 49 ( $M = 30, SD = 4.7$ ). Students reported income statuses of low ( $n = 31$ ), middle ( $n = 71$ ), upper middle ( $n = 23$ ), and high ( $n = 2$ ).

The sample included three freshmen, 10 sophomores, 35 juniors, and 69 seniors. There were also 10 recent college graduates who participated in the study. A total of 49 participants indicated that they were first-generation college students (FGCS), while 78 indicated that they were non-FGCS. All participation was voluntary. Some students received course credit for participating.

#### Materials and Procedures

All participants completed an anonymous online survey. After consenting to participate, students began the survey by responding to 18 researcher-created items that asked them to rate the extent to which they believed they had experienced the six types of learning as classified in Fink's (2013) taxonomy. Specifically, participants responded to three items that corresponded to each one of the six taxa (see Appendix A), using a scale that was anchored at 1 (*Strongly Disagree*) and 5 (*Strongly Agree*). For example, one of the three items intended to measure Foundational Knowledge was "I developed an in-depth understanding of topics in my classes," to which participants responded on a scale of 1 (*Strongly Disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly Agree*). The three items for each learning type were separated by section. At the beginning of each section, there was a short notation informing participants of the type of learning experience that was being assessed. This notation also requested that participants think about their experiences in college thus far when rating the items. This was meant to encourage them to respond to the statements in a general sense, not just in reference to the most recent semester.

Following the completion of the 18 items, participants encountered a notation in the

survey that indicated that they were going to be asked questions about the impact of the COVID-19 remote learning period on their learning experiences. This notation also requested that they think about their experiences before COVID-19 in comparison to their experiences after the shift to remote instruction. Participants then responded to seven researcher-created items that were intended to measure the impact of COVID-19 on each type of learning in Fink's taxonomy (two items were used to assess the Human Dimension taxon). Specifically, students were asked to rate the extent to which COVID-19 impacted each type of learning by responding on a scale of 1 (*very negative impact*) to 5 (*very positive impact*). Each scale consisted of statements that were specific to that particular item (see Appendix A). For instance, the question item "To what extent did COVID-19 impact how much you cared about the topics in your courses?" had an associated scale that was anchored at 1 (*I cared significantly less about the topics in my courses during the COVID-19 remote learning period*) and 5 (*I cared significantly more about the topics in my courses during the COVID-19 remote learning period*).

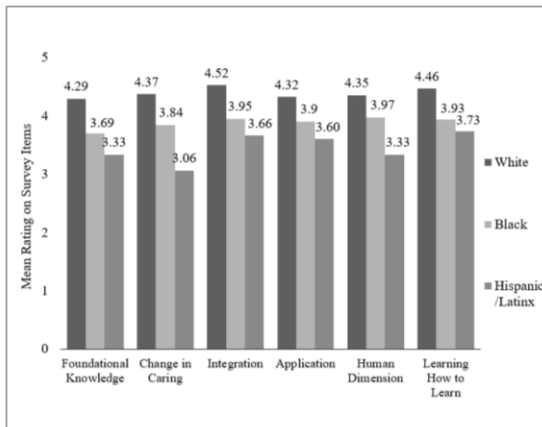
Following the items that assessed the impact of COVID-19, participants responded to nine demographic items that were deemed relevant for the study. These items included age, ethnicity, gender, year in school, type of college/university, GPA, major, income status, and student classification (i.e., FGCS vs non-FGCS). Lastly, they viewed the debriefing page.

## RESULTS

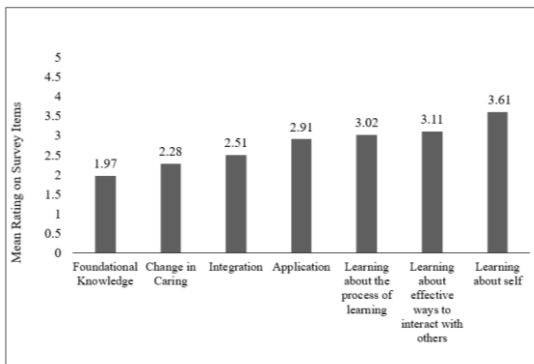
Researchers conducted between-groups ANOVAs followed by t-test comparisons to determine the differences in student reports of significant learning by race. The ANOVAs indicated that compared to Black or Hispanic/Latinx students, White students reported experiencing higher levels of all six categories of significant learning prior to the COVID-19 pandemic. Specifically, they reported more foundational knowledge [ $F(1,126) = 4.405, p.002$ ], greater caring about learning [ $F(1,126) = 5.078, p<.001$ ], more integration skills [ $F(1,126) = 4.776, p<.001$ ], more application skills

[ $F(1,126) = 3.051, p < .02$ ], more learning about self & others [ $F(1,126) = 3.29, p < .01$ ] and greater learning about learning [ $F(1,126) = 3.86, p < .003$ ] (see *Figure 2*).

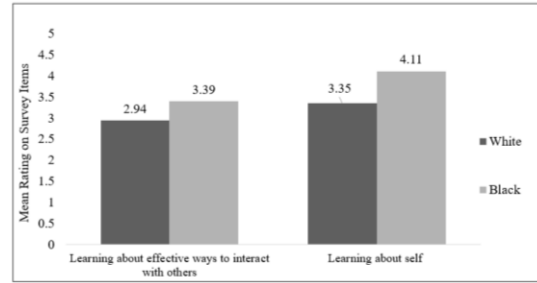
Furthermore, a within-subjects ANOVA yielded a significant effect of COVID-19 on Fink's six types of learning [ $F(1,126) = 60.139, p < .001$ ]. Specifically, as a result of the remote learning period brought about by COVID-19, students reported a decrease in foundational knowledge and caring and an increase in learning about the self and others (see *Figure 3*). Finally, Black students experienced a greater increase in learning about themselves and others compared to their White counterparts [ $t(114) = 1.954, p < .05$ ] as a result of COVID-19 (see *Figure 4*).



*Figure 2.* Student Reports of Significant Learning as a Function of Race/Ethnicity



*Figure 3.* Overall Perceptions of Significant Learning During COVID-19 Remote Instruction



*Figure 4.* Race Differences in Perceptions of Significant Learning During COVID-19 Remote Learning

## DISCUSSION

The findings of this study suggest there is a need to increase minority students' access to the types of learning experiences that impact their lives in lasting and meaningful ways. Results indicated that White students reported higher levels in all six of Fink's learning categories compared to students who identified as Black and Hispanic/Latinx. This suggests that White students feel that they have gained more factual knowledge; experienced a greater degree of personal investment in their courses; made more connections between different people, ideas and realms of life; gained more skills; learned more about themselves and others; and learned more about what it means to be an effective learner than both Black and Hispanic/Latinx students. Specifically, the findings of the present study indicate that White students perceive that they are getting more out of their college learning experiences than minority students, as it relates to significant learning.

It is important to note that the findings of this survey reflect students' perceptions of their learning experiences while in college. This presents a possible limitation, as perceptions do differ from actual experiences. That said, if Black and Hispanic/Latinx students are reporting that they feel they have engaged in lower levels of significant learning than White students, then this may indicate that there are larger forces at work in the college learning environment that may be impacting these perceptions, namely systemic bias, or other forms of discrimination (e.g., Han et al., 2018; Stevens et al., 2019; Sweat et al., 2013). Additionally, student perceptions of their learning experiences can impact their

academic motivation, as well as their overall academic experience. As such, the differences in perceptions of significant learning for Black and Hispanic/Latinx students, compared to those of White students, provide useful information in helping to better understand their college learning experiences.

In addition to suggesting differences in student perceptions of significant learning based on race, the results of this study also indicate that remote instruction impacts Fink's six learning types in various ways. Specifically, results indicated that there was a decrease in Foundational Knowledge, Caring, and Integration during remote instruction, suggesting that students felt that they cared less, learned less, and made fewer connections between ideas, people, and realms of life during the COVID-19 remote learning period. There was also an increase in the Human Dimension category. Specifically, students reported that they felt that they learned more about effective ways to interact with others, as well as more about themselves. It is possible that these increases are due to the fact that the adversity faced by many during the COVID-19 remote learning period may have provided an opportunity for personal growth, as well as a need to seek out community. This may have been particularly true for minority students, black students especially, as they reported the highest increase in this category.

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## APPENDIX A

The following items are intended to measure the extent to which you feel you have developed foundational knowledge in your college classes. When rating the following items, please think about your experience in college up to this point.

1. I developed an in-depth understanding of concepts in my classes.  
*strongly agree somewhat agree neither agree nor disagree somewhat disagree strongly disagree*

2. I developed knowledge that gave me basic info/ideas needed for doing well in other classes.  
*strongly agree somewhat agree neither agree nor disagree somewhat disagree strongly disagree*

3. I developed knowledge that gave me basic info/ideas about society and the world.  
*strongly agree somewhat agree neither agree nor disagree somewhat disagree strongly disagree*

The following items are intended to measure the extent to which you have experienced a change in how much you cared about something. When rating the following items, please think about your experience in college up to this point.

4. I developed a desire to be a better student.  
*strongly agree somewhat agree neither agree nor disagree somewhat disagree strongly disagree*

5. I became excited about the topics in my courses.  
*strongly agree somewhat agree neither agree nor disagree somewhat disagree strongly disagree*

6. I developed new interests and/or values.  
*strongly agree somewhat agree neither agree nor disagree somewhat disagree strongly disagree*

The following items are intended to measure the extent to which you feel you developed integration skills. When rating the following items, please think about your experience in college up to this point.

7. I developed an ability to see connections between different ideas.  
*strongly agree somewhat agree neither agree nor disagree somewhat disagree strongly disagree*

8. I developed an ability to see connections between different types of people.  
*strongly agree somewhat agree neither agree nor disagree somewhat disagree strongly disagree*

9. I developed an ability to see connections between different realms of life (i.e., school & work, or school & leisure life).  
*strongly agree somewhat agree neither agree nor disagree somewhat disagree strongly disagree*

The following items are intended to measure the extent to which you feel you have learned to engage in a new behavior. When rating the following items, please think about your experience in college up to this point.

10. I learned effective oral communication skills.  
*strongly agree somewhat agree neither agree nor disagree somewhat disagree strongly disagree*

11. I learned problem-solving and decision-making skills.  
*strongly agree somewhat agree neither agree nor disagree somewhat disagree strongly disagree*

12. I learned how to use technology effectively.

*strongly agree somewhat agree neither agree nor disagree somewhat disagree strongly disagree*

**The following items are intended to measure the extent to which you feel you learned something important about your own self and/or others. When rating the following items, please think about your experience in college up to this point.**

13. I acquired a better understanding of myself.

*strongly agree somewhat agree neither agree nor disagree somewhat disagree strongly disagree*

14. I acquired a better understanding of others.

*strongly agree somewhat agree neither agree nor disagree somewhat disagree strongly disagree*

15. I learned how to become an effective leader.

*strongly agree somewhat agree neither agree nor disagree somewhat disagree strongly disagree*

**The following items are intended to measure the extent to which you feel you have learned something about the process of learning. When rating the following items, please think about your experience in college up to this point.**

16. I learned how to be a better student.

*strongly agree somewhat agree neither agree nor disagree somewhat disagree strongly disagree*

17. I learned how to take charge of my own learning.

*strongly agree somewhat agree neither agree nor disagree somewhat disagree strongly disagree*

18. I learned how to use a method of inquiry, such as the scientific method.

*strongly agree somewhat agree neither agree nor disagree somewhat disagree strongly disagree*

**Next, we would like you to think about how the switch to remote learning may have impacted your college learning experiences. When answering the following items, please think about your time in college AFTER the switch to remote learning because of COVID-19 and compare that to your experience before the pandemic.**

19. To what extent did COVID-19 impact how much information you were able to learn from your courses this semester?

1. My learning was **significantly reduced** during COVID-19.
2. My learning was **reduced a little**.
3. My learning was **not impacted** by COVID-19.
4. My learning **increased a little**.
5. My learning **significantly increased** during COVID-19.

20. To what extent did COVID-19 impact how much you cared about the topics in your courses this semester?

1. I **cared significantly less** about the topics in my courses during COVID-19.
2. I still **cared, but not as much**.
3. COVID-19 **did not impact** how much I cared about the topics in my courses.
4. I **cared more, but only by a little**.
5. I **cared significantly more** about the topics in my courses during COVID-19.

21. To what extent did COVID-19 impact your ability to see connections between different perspectives, different types of people, and different realms of life?

1. My ability to see these connections was **significantly reduced** during COVID-19 remote learning.
  2. My ability to see these connections was **reduced a little**.
  3. My ability to see these connections was **not impacted** by COVID-19.
  4. My ability to see these connections **increased a little**.
  5. My ability to see these connections **significantly increased** during COVID-19 remote learning.
22. To what extent did COVID-19 impact how much you were able to learn about yourself this semester?
1. I **learned significantly less** about myself during the COVID-19 remote learning period.
  2. I **learned less** about myself, **but only by a little**.
  3. There was **no change** in how much I learned about myself.
  4. I **learned a little more** about myself.
  5. I **learned significantly more** about myself during the COVID-19 remote learning period.
23. To what extent did COVID-19 impact how much you learned about effective ways to interact with others?
1. I **learned significantly less** about effective ways to interact with others during the COVID-19 remote learning period.
  2. I **learned less** about interacting effectively with others, **but only by a little**.
  3. There was **no change** in how much I learned about interacting with others during the COVID-19 remote learning period.
  4. I **learned a little more** about how to interact effectively with others.
  5. I **learned significantly more** about effective ways to interact with others during the COVID-19 remote learning period.
24. To what extent did COVID-19 impact how much you learned about engaging in a new behavior (e.g., using new technology, problem-solving skills, etc.)?
1. I **learned significantly less** about how to engage in a new behavior during the COVID-19 remote learning period.
  2. I **learned less** about engaging in a new behavior, **but only by a little**.
  3. There was **no change** in how much I learned about engaging in a new behavior during the COVID-19 remote learning period.
  4. I **learned a little more** about how to engage in a new behavior.
  5. I **learned significantly more** about how to engage in a new behavior during the COVID-19 remote learning period.
25. To what extent did COVID-19 impact how much you learned about the process of learning (i.e., how to be a better student, the best way to learn new material, etc.)?
1. I **learned significantly less** about the process of learning during the COVID-19 remote learning period.
  2. I **learned less** about the process of learning, **but only by a little**.
  3. There was **no change** in how much I learned about the process of learning during the COVID-19 remote learning period.
  4. I **learned a little more** about the process of learning.
  5. I **learned significantly more** about the process of learning during the COVID-19 remote learning period.



# Celebrity Influence on Black Men's Constructions of Masculinity

Savannah Stinson  
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## ABSTRACT

In March 2020, retired basketball icon Dwyane Wade announced that his daughter Zaya is transgender. Though discussions surrounding Dwyane Wade's parenting erupted on social media, the announcement also raises interesting questions about the impact of celebrity influence on masculinity. The purpose of this study is to analyze constructions of black masculinity and the influence of celebrity. I conducted six semi-structured interviews with black men in college, ages 18-25. I found that (1) black men in college embraced traditional ideas of masculinity despite negative portrayals of black masculinity in the media; (2) black men view masculinity as unfinished, something they must strive to achieve. While this is partly a consequence of the unattainable standards of hegemonic masculinity for black men—the view of masculinity as unfinished may be beneficial, opening black men to changing notions of gender outside of the traditional masculine ideals. Lastly, (3) the conversations surrounding Dwyane Wade and Zaya have opened discussions about how celebrity shapes black men's understanding of gender.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

In March 2020, Dwyane Wade openly and proudly supported his daughter Zaya as she declared that she is transgender. This is an ideal case for studying changes in black masculinity because Dwyane Wade is a notable figure in the black community and is famous for playing a sport that embraces traditional notions of manhood. To Wade, accepting Zaya to be herself is his goal of parenthood. He stated in an interview on *Good Morning America*, "Inside our home we see the smile on my daughter's face, we see the confidence that she's able to walk around and be herself and that's when you know you're doing right." Wade also admitted to being a part of the problem; taking part in the negative conversations that demeaned transgender people or people who did not conform to the traditional sex and gender expectations. He directly addresses intolerant beliefs and stereotypes he once held. "I knew early on that I had to check myself. ... I've been a person in the locker room that has been a part of the conversation that has said the wrong phrases and the wrong words myself." His accounts of his ideology in the past compared to now seem reflective of the idea of unfinished manhood, a concept that I will discuss in greater detail later in this paper. Additionally, Dwyane Wade's public image as a masculine and

iconic black celebrity contrasts with his support of his daughter as transgender, suggesting that he may be challenging hegemonic masculinity. Against the backdrop of Wades' public support for Zaya, this paper seeks to identify factors that contribute to black men's constructions of masculinity, as well as to identify to what extent celebrities contribute to this construction.

Discussions of the media's influence on black masculinity should be investigated in greater depth. Although media is largely produced and distributed by white-owned companies, images of blackness in media have become more popular in recent decades (Gray, 1995). In addition to media providing an outlet for producing images of masculinity within the black community, celebrities and public figures may have increased power to redefine how fans view masculinity. Examining the influence of media on interpretations of masculinity from the viewpoints of black men gives us the opportunity to explore a topic from a population that is largely overlooked. I seek to further explore other factors that contribute to how black men define manhood and masculinity in different ways that align with and diverge from the dominant white culture.

### **Conforming to the White Masculine World**

Black masculinity differs from the dominant hegemonic masculinity in multiple ways. Hegemonic masculinity is the concept that allows us to understand how the presence of several types of masculinities create a hierarchy, not just between genders, but also within same-gender groups. In this way, black masculinity is often influenced by dominant white masculinity standards. Common themes of control are prevalent in the construction of black masculinity. Patricia Hill Collins (1991) discusses how the dominant white culture established these ideas of femininity to justify social injustices; black women are seen as subordinate because it is their place to be subordinate. She called these “controlling images.” Collins introduces the idea of “Mammy vs. Matriarch” to distinguish the ‘bad’ working class black women from the ‘good’ home-bound black woman. The “Mammy,” is then casted as a threat to the black man, as she is seen as emasculating to her lovers and husbands. Her analysis provides evidence that controlling images of blackness are tied to gender and vice versa. Stuart and Benezra (2017) discuss how black men respond to both hegemonic masculinity and controlling images of black men by gaining “cover.” Their study of teenage boys in Chicago revealed tactics these boys used to avoid being harassed by the police. This included essentially varying from their idea of what it was to be masculine to appear as less suspicious to police. Examples of their performance included being more affectionate towards their girlfriends and even recruiting strangers or family members to act as significant others to erase suspicion from the police. The teenagers essentially downplayed their own ideas of what it was to be a man and adopted tactics they believed to be of the dominant masculinity in order to combat the assumption that they were threatening or aggressive (Stuarty and Benezra, 2017). Images of black masculinity are not just developed individually and controlled systematically.

The media plays a major role in influencing the construction of masculinity in black men. Images of black masculinity that are produced and circulate in the media are largely controlled by the discourse of white masculinity (Gray, 1995). This discourse produces two main

representations of black masculinity. The first image is the “OG thug” persona, which was the representation of black masculinity established by white media in the 1980s. The second image is the “new” middle class black man, which served as a means to break the stereotype and redefine the idea of what it was to be a successful black man (Neal, 2015). One population largely affected by both the Afro and Eurocentric ideas of masculinity are black men in college. Travers (2019) found that their counterparts, black men that did not go to college, seem to have a more “fixed” or hegemonic notion of masculinity. This is because non-college attending black men are typically less exposed to new ideas of masculinity. For black men in college, both variants of masculinity highlight the “multiple masculinities” and their effects on the black man’s self-construction (Travers, 2019). The purpose of my own study is to examine how media influence, particularly celebrity culture, may play a role in the construction of those multiple masculinities for black men in college.

### **The Influence of Black Celebrity on Masculinity**

Although the “rules” of masculinity are often assumed to be fixed, media and celebrity influence have varying amounts of influence over what may or may not be accepted. This can be seen through a number of black men with celebrity reputations. For example, Michael Jackson was able to combat the stereotypes of black fathers not actively seeking fatherhood (Gates, 2010). Though Jackson was also widely thought to be “feminine” and faced constant questions about his sexuality, he was still able to maintain much of his fame and power. In this way, Jackson was able to introduce to the world a new idea of black masculinity that was not hypersexual or hyperaggressive as previously depicted by other celebrities and media representation of black men. The discussions surrounding Jackson and his new version of black masculinity were critical, as members of the black community still acknowledged and supported Michael Jackson, despite his non-conformity to the mainstream ideals of black masculinity. However it is crucial to note Jackson’s image of masculinity is complicated by the allegations of sexual abuse against children.

However, the purpose of this section is to look at different depictions of black masculinity in the media.

Another example of celebrity influence is that of Will Smith. In several popular movies, Smith portrays the manly protagonist who constantly finds himself saving someone or overcoming an evil. Gilligan (2012) argues that Smith's body demonstrates the hypersexuality and hypermasculinity blackness without objectifying him. In this way, Smith is able to increase his celebrity through utilizing the "mythic phallic power." Gilligan (2012) states that although Smith's films feed into the hyper-masculine, hyper-sexual assumptions of black masculinity, he was able to avoid the emasculation associated with the objectification of his body. I would like to argue that Smith is celebrated because of his ability to be accepted as a member of hegemonic masculinity, while still maintaining and even celebrating his blackness. In this way, Smith demonstrates that black men can be accepted into the cult of hegemonic masculinity even without conforming completely to hegemonic standards.

Specific celebrities are not the only forms of media that redefine ideas of black masculinity. Television shows that differ from the stereotypical black family portrayed in many racially inclusive cartoons and sitcoms also contribute to the understanding of manhood by their targeted black audience. For example, the adult comedy show *The Boondocks* redefines masculinity by directly addressing specific stereotypes about subgroups such as gay black men. The idea that connects gay black men to femininity is broken down and the characters are introduced to the differentiation of masculinity and sexuality. In addition to this, each character struggles with their own ideas of spirituality, masculinity and blackness in many other scenarios (Collier, 2016).

The research on black masculinity seeks to explore where black men fall between acceptance and ostracism. Dwyane Wade serves as a basis for this research because he is a well-known black athlete that fits the image of an ideal black man; however, his acceptance of his daughter goes against hegemonic notions of masculinity that are not accepting of non-gender

conformity. Dwayne Wade also serves to demonstrate that black men view masculinity as an "unfinished" project. The idea of unfinished masculinity suggests that masculinity is actively changing. Hegemonic masculinity itself is never completely attainable, particularly for black men—and those who strive to reach it must constantly adjust and evaluate themselves and the world around them.

## METHODOLOGY

This research addresses celebrity influence on black men's constructions of masculinity. To what extent do celebrities shape how black men construct masculinity and sexuality? With this research, I hoped to explore the relationship between mass media and black men's individual understanding of gender. The ultimate goal is to gain a deeper understanding of the shifting cultural constructions and rules of society. The topic of masculinity within the black community has long been considered taboo; however, the conversations about masculinity sparked by celebrities such as Dwyane Wade are now more frequent on social media. Despite their increased role in conversations about gender, the influence of celebrities and public figures has been overlooked by researchers.

I used semi-structured qualitative interviews to expose patterns in how young black men construct masculinity and sexuality. In other words, I hoped to find how black men think and talk about gender—specifically how they made sense of Dwayne Wade's acceptance of his daughter coming out as transgender. I believe that interviews were the best method for my study because they would allow me to gain an understanding of the gendered worldview of black men and the unique factors that shape black masculinity.

I conducted interviews with 6 black men ranging from ages 18-25 attending a small public university in the South. I used Zoom to conduct the interviews, and recorded them for transcription purposes. Information regarding the study was posted on various social media platforms. After I gathered participants, I contacted them via email to schedule interviews. In the email, I included a virtual informed consent form that I asked them read over and

consent to before the interview began. The interviews were semi-structured, meaning I had a prepared list of questions, but as new topics emerged, I asked follow-up and probing questions that may not have been included on the list. I coded the interview transcripts for emergent themes related to how black men have talked about Dwayne Wade, as well as how they understood gender and masculinity in general.

I chose this particular population because they embody the ever-changing constructions of black masculinity. I chose the age range of 18-25, because this is the phase of life when many black men are becoming autonomous and, particularly in college, being introduced to new perspectives on gender and masculinity. This age group generally has more activity in the social media world and likely has higher exposure to Dwayne Wade and the topic of his support for his daughter. One limitation of the research is the use of a small convenience sample. This sampling strategy made it difficult to generalize about the broad experience of young black men and may limit my findings to college students in this region.

Conducting interviews through Zoom created a number of unique challenges. Some participants found it difficult to open up about masculinity, and establishing rapport with participants was more difficult in a video conference interview than it might be in person. In addition, connectivity was unpredictable, and some participants would cut out while speaking. Perhaps the biggest challenge of video conference interviews is ethical, as I have video recordings in which the participants can readily be identified. To account for this risk, I took necessary precautions to ensure confidentiality. This includes storing the information in password-protected folders in both physical and cloud storage.

### **Hegemonic Constructions of Manhood**

Three major themes emerged in my interviews: hegemonic constructions of manhood, fatherhood and media influence, and unfinished masculinity. All of the participants gave consistent definition of what it means to be a real man. Each participant gave answers that indicated the traditional definition of masculinity: providers, protectors and mentors. Hegemonic

masculinity is also present in the discussion, as it is clear that these are the ideals each participant is striving for.

Every participant defined manhood using these traditional values rooted in hegemonic masculinity (provider, protector, mentor) that they learned from their family and community. Julian (21) captures the definition when he describes learning from his father the traditional values of manhood: “But for me, you know those are standards I’ll live up to, those are standards that I get from my dad in terms like being a provider, being a protector.” Nick (25) defines manhood similarly:

“Um, when I think of a man, I think of somebody who like provides for their family. Who, Um stands out for themselves. Who... can be a provider, can be a protector... I guess your old school views of what a man is.”

Despite valuing traditional manhood, every participant expressed frustration with what I determine to be the inability to fully meet the hegemonic idea of masculinity. There is a rift between their interpretations of traditional masculinity and the idea that they will never achieve it, leaving black college men feeling ostracized by the dominant white culture which has sought to portray them in a negative and stereotypical “thug” image; however, they also feel judged when they speak out against it by both the dominant culture and black culture. Jared (20) shared this experience:

“...media subliminally like portrays black people as a whole in the different limelight... You have, uh, if no looting or rioting happens then... They’ll try show a black male with a bandana tied around his head, or shirtless or sagging, throwing something. Just more so, try to portray the black males well, honestly, black people in general as animals.”

In addition to this, Jared also charged black media such as BET with similar crimes, stating that “they’ve helped and failed the black community at the same time.”

Through dramatic and repetitive portrayals of black actors, media also creates a contradiction of masculinity for black men through both controlling images and hegemonic

standards. The continuous portrayals of the “thug” black man directly go against the overall portrayals of masculinity that the dominant culture seeks to install in all men. As a result, black college men are faced with two conflicting images: one hegemonic stand that is required of all men and one controlling image that is specifically imposed on black men. Even in television outlets specifically made to appeal to the black audience, the negative portrayals of black men are produced and repeated. As Jared pointed specially to networks such as BET (Black Entertainment Television), these networks help to cast black actors and progress black producers as well as being more inclusive and showing representation. However, they also continue to produce the stereotypes provided by the dominant white discourse, often failing to counter or break them:

“...like if we're being honest, like for example in those movies where you got the black person that is like the street guy and something or is like a drug dealer or whatever the case may be. So if I'm walking on the street and I see a dude—a black man with a hoodie. It's just a natural inclination. I'm gonna feel a little apprehensive compared to if I saw a white person with a hoodie on, right? Just because of what I've seen in what's been kind of portrayed,” (Julian, 21).

#### **Dwyane Wade and New Masculinity**

Every participant commended Dwyane Wade for accepting his daughter, though they did not necessarily agree with her transition. Nick (25) states:

“I would want my child to know at the end of the day that I love them. And while it may be difficult for me to agree with... certain life decisions, I would never want my children to question whether or not I love them.”

Regardless of personal acceptance, Nick (25) has insisted that he will not reject his child should they fail to conform to traditional gender roles. In this way he is embracing a new, more accepting masculinity. Jared (20) also expresses his support for Dwyane as a father, but maintained skepticism of Zaya's transformation.

“I do believe he's a great father, of course for letting her... expand her own horizons and be herself. At a point—like do I feel like it was kind of early? Yes, but he still like—he's a great father for it, for at least not just shutting it down.”

Although Jared does not agree with Zaya, he gives his full support to Dwyane Wade. In this case, Wade serves as an influence that has encouraged Jared and other black men to think about gender ideologies. While still holding on to traditional values, Jared commends Wade on his ability to provide for and protect his daughter.

Dwyane Wade as a successful black man directly challenges the stereotypes portrayed of black men by the media. Further, Dwyane Wade fits both the hegemonic ideas of a man being the protector and provider while also challenging the traditional gender ideals that dictate manhood by accepting his daughter. Wade has further challenged these ideals through performing acts such as dying his hair vivid colors, wearing skirts and painting his fingernails—all of which are attributed to femininity. In this way, Wade is helping to develop masculinity that is not only tolerant, but inclusive.

#### **Unfinished Masculinity and Celebrity**

The idea of unfinished masculinity is necessary to be inclusive of black men, as white supremacist ideas of manhood actively seek to exclude them. Celebrities like Wade introduce a new, more fluid opportunity for black men to alter their perception of masculinity. In discussing how celebrities seem to have such great impact on social lives, Julian (21) admits that success and wealth help in establishing credibility, stating:

“I think about like this. If you know somebody has—if I know this person has \$1,000,000 or is like influential in some way, what they're saying has to make some sense, you know? 'cause I don't have \$1,000,000. They got it so something—there's got to be some kind of alignment there, and I feel like that's the case for just people in general when it comes to listening to celebrities and stuff like that. Because people believe there's some validity to it. And there is, right?”

By associating money with credibility and fame with wisdom, Julian (21) serves as an example of how celebrities can influence beliefs that extend beyond monetary success. However, when asked about celebrities' influence on the ideologies of participants, participants like Chris (19) insist that:

“I think it all depends on that, um, certain individual. Like, uhm, I don't wanna just like speak of myself so highly and everything but I would say that I'm like kinda well-grounded in like what I believe in and my thoughts on things. So I think it would be harder for a celebrity to [influence] me.”

Although black men in college maintain relatively traditional ideas on what it is to “be a man,” (i.e. the role of provider, protector, role model) passed from their father figures, there is a common theme of “unfinished manhood.” Unfinished manhood is the idea that although they have reached the age of adulthood, they do not believe that manhood has been completed. Instead, they see manhood as an ongoing process that is continuously revised and reflected upon. Richard describes his development into manhood in stages:

“If I'm being quite honest with you, I feel like being a man, but I feel like I just got finished with the preliminary stages. Now I'm getting into the semifinals, you know of being a man. You know, so I feel like I still have a lot more to learn, I feel like there's still more out there that I need to know personally.”

By insisting that there is always room for learning and growth, Richard has shed the idea of a “fixed mindset” (Travers, 2019) in which he is not as open to the idea of shifting masculinities. Though still holding on to the ideas of traditional manhood, the participants are also developing a tolerance for non-traditional views of masculinity.

I argue that the definitions of black masculinity are changing to be more accepting of non-hegemonic ideal, particularly with the influence of black celebrity. This could be partly due to the fact that hegemonic masculinity only seeks to benefit white men; as a result, black men continue to strive to be a “real man”; however,

that goal is largely unattainable because of controlling images of black men in the media. As a result, celebrities like Dennis Rodman and now Dwyane Wade purposefully bend the roles of gender to challenge those traditional ideals. Through their open support of big-name celebrities who are seen as role models, my participants have come to challenge their own interpretations of masculinity. They did not seem to be fully aware of transgender discussions, but maintained that they commended Dwyane Wade for the acceptance of his daughter. Richard (21) suggests that

“most parents, they [weren't] raised around that, they weren't “trained,” prepped you know for situations like that. 'cause they didn't grow up around it so they don't know how to deal with it.”

Richard recognizes that the idea is not traditional and therefore not easy to acknowledge amongst older generations, but also that change may be on the horizon. Although Jared (20) does not agree with Zaya, he gives his full support to Dwyane Wade. In this case, Wade serves as an influence that has encouraged Jared and other black men to think about gender ideologies. While still holding on to traditional values, Jared commends Wade on his ability to provide for and protect his daughter. Dwyane Wade serves as a model for this unfinished masculinity, because he is actively challenging the hegemonic notions and the way he constructs masculinity.

It is important to note that while many participants insisted that they were not heavily influenced by the media, none of the participants in the study expressed personally knowing any transgender individuals. When asked if they knew of the recent discussions regarding Dwyane Wade's daughter, two participants disclosed they had received their information from platforms such as ESPN and Instagram. In addition to citing social media platforms for information, participants concluded that while celebrities have a significant influence on people, many of them personally did not feel the effects. The recognition of potential influence but refusal to acknowledge their own seems to stem from the traditional hegemonic masculinity ideas of autonomy.

## CONCLUSION

My findings support the argument made by Travers that black men, particularly college students, confront “multiple masculinities,” maintaining some traditional ideas of masculinity while also starting to redefine other notions of what it is to be a man. The redefinition comes in the forms of their willingness to be more accepting of emerging gender ideologies that contradict their beliefs. In the case of media, the role of celebrities in talking about gender and demonstrating new forms masculinity is a growing influence.

It is evident that Dwayne Wade serves as an example of a celebrity who has moved beyond traditional constructions of black masculinity to reconstruct his idea of fatherhood to be more tolerant and accepting. His status in doing so is largely unaffected as his credibility as a basketball player is not called into question. Celebrities with that amount of power seem to help normalize acceptance and the concept of unfinished masculinity. Though Wade largely has received his power and status in the context of hegemonic masculinity, he is actively advocating against it.

Masculinity and ideas of manhood among black male college students are shaped by a variety of factors including Euro- and Afrocentric concepts taught to them early in life. Additionally, other social factors (i.e. sexual orientation, social class and religious affiliation) also have the ability to influence constructions of masculinity for both the individual and society. In order to gain more insight on the constructions of masculinity by black college men, future research that addresses this subgroup is necessary. Future research should seek to explore these constructions, careful not to overlook factors such as social media and celebrity which mark not only new modes of communication of interest to young people, but also circulate more varied ideas about gender and sexuality. Dwyane Wade continues to challenge hegemonic ideas of masculinity, and embodies the idea of unfinished masculinity. The developing idea of unfinished masculinity among black men like Wade represents the potential of black masculinity to be more inclusive and open. It stems from the structural position black men inhabit where they can never fully embody

hegemonic masculinity. It may also offer black men a tool to reject the controlling images of masculinity portrayed by the dominant white discourse.

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# State Sexual Education Policies and Sexual Risk in Sexual Minority Youth

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## ABSTRACT

Compared to their heterosexual peers, sexual minority youth experience higher rates of sexual risk behaviors (Saewyc et al., 2008; Everett et al., 2014). Access to comprehensive sexual education is often linked to reduced rates of risky behaviors (Petrova & Garcia-Retamero, 2015); however, sexual minority students often feel underrepresented in sexual education (Estes, 2017). While conducting a content analysis of sexual education policies of all fifty states and the District of Columbia, researchers coded policies as neutral, inclusive, or exclusive of sexual minorities. Neutral policies included no explicit representation of non-heterosexual identities and/or sexual acts, while inclusive policies included this representation in contexts other than HIV/AIDS education. Exclusive policies either prohibited this representation or requires these identities and/or acts to be described as an undesirable outcome. Additionally, policies were analyzed for heteronormativity and heterosexism. Among the policies found, most were neutral. There were more exclusive policies than inclusive policies. Among exclusive policies, all were either heteronormative or heterosexist. No neutral or inclusive policies were heteronormative or heterosexist. Using this data and data from the sexual behavior subsection of the Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance Survey, we will begin to examine the relationship between policies and sexual behavior in sexual minority youth with an emphasis on condom use, birth control use, and sexual initiation.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### State Sexual Education Policies and Sexual Risk in Sexual Minority Youth

Compared to their heterosexual peers, sexual minority youth experience higher rates of many sexual health risk behaviors. Sexual minority youth are more likely to have ever engaged in sexual intercourse and report younger ages of sexual initiation (Saewyc et al., 2008; Bodnar & Tornello, 2019; Everett et al., 2014). They are more likely to have higher numbers of sexual partners and to not use a condom at last sexual experience (Saewyc et al., 2008; Everett et al., 2014). Sexual minority youth also experience increased rates of other risk factors such as histories of sexual abuse or substance use (Charlton et al., 2013; Kann et al., 2018).

Among females, sexual minority youth are more likely to report ever being pregnant than their heterosexual peers (Charlton et al., 2013). They are also more likely to have received sexual education after their first sexual experience. However, when sexual education was provided before sexual initiation, use of birth control pills

among sexual minority women increases (Bodnar & Tornello, 2019).

The type of sexual education matters. Abstinence based sexual education policies and curriculum have negative or no impacts on rates of teen pregnancy (Carr & Packham, 2017; Hall & Hall, 2011). The more abstinence is emphasized in state laws, the higher the average teen pregnancy birth rate (Hall & Hall, 2011). States using an "abstinence-plus" approach (a comprehensive method that covers abstinence alongside contraceptive and condom use) show the lowest rates of teen pregnancy. When abstinence was stressed, pregnancy rates among teens was higher (Hall & Hall 2011). Comprehensive approaches were linked to more positive sexual health behaviors such as an increase in birth control use (Petrova & Garcia-Retamero, 2015) and decreased reports of pregnancy (Petrova & Garcia-Retamero, 2015; Kohler et al., 2017).

Abstinence programs also have little effects on STI rates (Petrova & Garcia-Retamero, 2015; Kohler et al., 2017), while comprehensive sexual education programs are



linked to reduced rates (Petrova & Garcia-Retamero, 2015). Programs that provided general knowledge about STIs were effective, and more in-depth programs that taught communication and negotiation skills, or condom use skills reduced STI rates the most (Petrova & Garcia-Retamero 2015).

While sexual minority youth have been shown to have increased sexual health risk, research related to sexual education programs often ignores sexual orientation in their data collection. Sexual minority youth often report feeling ignored in the context of sexual education curricula and may feel pathologized (Estes, 2017; Hillier & Mitchell, 2008). In a study of the usefulness of sex-education for same-sex attracted youth, participants were asked about their experiences in gaining knowledge about sex. Only 10% of participants found sexual education in school useful. The lack of non-heterosexual material was often cited as the reason for the uselessness of the education (Hillier & Mitchell, 2008). In a more recent study, a similar trend is found. Participants in this study reported an exclusion of LGB individuals in discussions of sex at home and at school. They often turned to the internet and media for guidance (Estes, 2017).

State sexual education policies vary in how inclusive of LGBTQ identities they are. Some states require inclusion of LGBTQ people in instruction, while many states require a promotion of heterosexual marriage (*Sex Ed State Law and Policy Chart*, n.d.). Some states are explicitly discriminatory, including Alabama's requirement for "An emphasis ... that homosexuality is not a lifestyle acceptable to the general public" (Code of Alabama, 1975, §16-40A-2).

The current study aims to assess how state policy impacts sexual risk behaviors in sexual minority youth.

**H<sub>1</sub>:** States with sexual education policies requiring education on non-heterosexual identities will have lower rates of sexual initiation before the age of 13 among lesbian, gay, and bisexual youth than states without such policies.

**H<sub>2</sub>:** States with sexual education policies requiring education on non-heterosexual

identities (in contexts other than discussion of HIV/AIDS) will have higher rates of condom and hormonal birth control usage among lesbian, gay, and bisexual youth than states without such policies.

## METHODS

### Data Sources

Since 1991, the Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance Survey (YRBSS) has monitored six categories of priority health-risk behaviors among youth and young adults. For this study, the focus was on sexual behaviors that contribute to HIV infection, other sexually transmitted diseases, and unintended pregnancy. YRBSS data are obtained from national school-based surveys. Additional data are collected from surveys conducted at the state, territorial, tribal, and large urban school district levels. Surveys include representative samples of U.S. high school students in Grades 9-12.

Participants of the 2015 and 2017 YRBSS surveys were eligible for inclusion in this study. Participants were excluded if they were missing data or selected not sure on a question asking if they were best described as "heterosexual (straight)/gay or lesbian/bisexual/ not sure."

### Variables

#### *Condom Use*

YRBSS participants were asked if, at the time of last sexual intercourse, they or their partner used a condom. Participants responded with "yes/no/I have never had sexual intercourse." Those who had never had sexual intercourse were excluded in this portion of our analysis.

#### *Birth Control Use*

Questions about birth control use were dichotomized. Participants who reported using birth control pills; a shot, patch, or birth control ring; or an IUD or implant were categorized as birth control users. Those who selected no method, condoms, or withdrawal/some other method were categorized as non-users. Participants who reported not having sexual intercourse or were not sure were excluded in this portion of our analysis.

### ***Sexual Activity and Initiation***

Participants were asked if they had ever had sexual intercourse and responded with a binary yes/no. Of those that have had sexual intercourse, age of sexual initiation was reported on a continuous scale from 11 years old or younger to 17 years old or older.

### ***Inclusivity of State Sexual Education Policies***

Researchers identified state policies regarding sexuality education from all 50 states and the District of Columbia. For the purposes of this study, sexual education refers to education on sexual behavior, human sexual anatomy, human reproduction, pregnancy, STIs/STDs, abstinence, and/or contraception. We searched state legislative websites for relevant policies and coded them as either inclusive, neutral, or exclusive. Additionally, policies were analyzed for evidence of heteronormativity and/or heterosexism.

**Inclusive Policies.** These policies describe states with laws requiring explicit recognition of non-heterosexual identities and/or sexual acts in the context other than HIV/AIDS education.

**Neutral Policies.** These policies describe states with no explicit representation of non-heterosexual identities and/or sexual acts. This category also includes states that mention sexual minorities only in the context of explaining current state laws around homosexuality or during discussion of HIV/AIDS.

**Exclusive Policies.** These policies describe states with laws that prohibit discussion of non-heterosexual identities and/or sexual acts. It also includes states required to describe sexual identities and/or acts other than heterosexuality as an undesirable outcome for students.

**Heteronormative Policies.** These policies describe heterosexuality as the desired outcome for students.

**Heterosexist Policies.** These policies prohibit discussion of non-heterosexual identities and/or sexual acts or describe them as an undesirable outcome for students.

## **RESULTS**

### **Description of Policies**

Of the fifty states and DC, three states (Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Nebraska) did not have sexual education policies. Of the policies found; 30 were neutral (62.50%), ten were exclusive (20.83%), and seven were inclusive (14.58%). Among all policies, six were heteronormative (12.50%) and six were heterosexist (12.50%). Among exclusive policies, 60.0% were heteronormative and 60.0% were heterosexist. No neutral or inclusive policies were heterosexist or heteronormative. Two states (Alabama and Arizona) were both heterosexist and heteronormative. Four states (Florida, Illinois, North Carolina and Utah) were exclusively heteronormative. Four states (Louisiana, Oklahoma, South Carolina, and Tennessee) were exclusively heterosexist. A more specific categorization of these states can be found in figure one.

### **YRBSS DATA**

Of the 30 states sampled in the 2017 YRBSS, 1.7%-6.4% (median: 2.9%) of participants identified as gay or lesbian and 6.4%-10.3% (median: 7.8%) identified as bisexual. Of this data, three states (Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Nebraska) were excluded from these analyses because they did not have sexual education policies.

### **Condoms**

Of the sampled states and DC, the median percent of sexual minority students who used a condom at last sexual intercourse was 41.10%. Iowa had the lowest rate at 28.10% and Rhode Island had the highest rate at 62.00%. Of states with exclusive policies, the median was 38.20%. Of states with neutral policies, the median was 40.40%. Of states with inclusive policies, the median was 43.80%. Of states with heteronormative policies, the median was 41.10%. Of states with heterosexist policies, the median was 49.20%.

### **Birth Control**

Of the sampled states and DC, the median percent of sexual minority students who used birth control at last sexual intercourse was 24.5%. Texas had the lowest rate at 11.5% and Arkansas had the highest rate at 45.0%. Of states with exclusive policies, the median was 21.0%. Of

states with neutral policies, the median was 25.40%. Of states with inclusive policies, the median was 24.6%. Of states with heteronormative policies, the median was 20.3%. Of states with heterosexist policies, the median was 21.7%.

### **Age of Sexual Initiation**

Of the sampled states and DC, the median percent of sexual minority students who reported having sexual intercourse before age 13 was 7.47%. New York had the lowest rate at 4.2% and Arkansas had the highest rate at 17.90%. Of states with exclusive policies, the median was 6.8%. Of states with neutral policies, the median was 6.90%. Of states with inclusive policies, the median was 7.70%. Of states with heteronormative policies, the median was 7.40%. Of states with heterosexist policies, the median was 5.40%.

## **DISCUSSION**

Overall, more states have exclusive policies (Alabama, Arizona, Florida, Illinois, Louisiana, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Utah) than inclusive policies (California, Colorado, DC, Iowa, Maryland, Washington, and Wisconsin). A majority of states offer no inclusion or protections for sexual minority youth at all. Of those policies that were inclusive, all prohibited explicit exclusion of sexual minorities, but not all required explicit inclusion or specifically describe how sexual minorities are included into that conversation. Additionally, many states included a description of social standards they expected students to follow, often describing monogamous marriages as the desirable outcome. This can exclude students who cannot or do not want to follow these norms. These standards also have the potential to be heteronormative. While in this study heteronormativity was used to describe policies stating heterosexuality as the desired outcome for students, any social standard for desirable romantic and/or sexual behavior has the potential of being heteronormative, which is something we would like to explore in further studies.

Median rates of condom usage among sexual minority youth were higher in inclusive

states than in both neutral and exclusive states. Birth control rates were higher in places with neutral and inclusive policies than exclusive ones. Rates of sexual initiation before the age of 13 were higher in places with inclusive policies than those with neutral or exclusive ones. However, this may be explained by the high level of variability of early sexual initiation in neutral and exclusive states. Out of all states in this study, the three states with the highest rates of sexual initiation before the age of 13 included two neutral states (Arkansas and North Dakota) and one exclusive state (South Carolina).

### **Limitations**

Only thirty states were included in the 2017 YRBSS, three of which were excluded from these analyses due to a lack of sexual education policies. Of those thirty states, many were missing data on sexual behaviors in sexual minority youth due to low sample sizes, so analyses were limited. Additionally, the small sample sizes of sexual minority youth required researchers to combine Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual identities. Independent analyses could not be performed.

State sexual education policies vary on if sexual education courses are required and opt-out/opt-in procedures. States also vary on requirements for STD/STI education, contraceptive education, and consent education. These variabilities may affect our findings. Lastly, many policies have changed in the last five years, and sexual risk behaviors may be affected.

### **Future Directions**

While this study served as an initial explorational and descriptive analysis of the sexual education policy landscape, future research needs quasi-experimental methods to assess the generalizability of our findings. One way to do this may be through the use of a difference-in-difference model to assess how changes in one state's policies impact sexual behavior. This model can be used to analyze recent changes to sexual education policies.

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# Knowledge, Practices, and Perceptions of Screening Adults for Childhood Trauma in Primary Care Settings

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## ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to identify the knowledge, practices, and perceptions of screening adult patients for childhood trauma among primary health care professionals in York County, South Carolina. Childhood trauma is related to many poor health outcomes and early mortality in adult survivors. Adult patients who visit primary care agencies are asked to disclose complete medical histories, but they are rarely asked about childhood trauma. The failure to ask about childhood trauma is a missed opportunity to understand the overall well-being of a patient. Despite the potential of primary care facilities to implement trauma screening into adult patient visits, routine trauma screening of adult patients remains underutilized in practice. Much research exists on preventing childhood trauma, but fewer interventions support adult survivors of such trauma. Integrating trauma screening of adult patients in primary care settings is feasible, but there are significant gaps between trauma screening research and practice. This study used modified, existing quantitative scales to sample professionals in multidisciplinary roles within healthcare settings to identify the knowledge, practices, and perceptions of screening adult patients for childhood trauma. Results of this study demonstrated that health professionals' knowledge of childhood trauma is higher than the likelihood to practice screening for childhood trauma in adult patients. Time was the most common barrier to implementing screening into practice. The results gleaned from this study have the potential to further research and practice related to screening for childhood trauma in primary care settings.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### Introduction

The terms adverse childhood experiences (ACEs), childhood trauma, and childhood adversity are used interchangeably to describe traumatic events that occur between the ages of 0-17 (Sacks et al., 2014). Experiences of childhood trauma are a contributing factor in seven of the ten main causes of adult death in the United States (Bryan, 2019). Furthermore, the annual cost of childhood adversity in North America is \$748 billion (Bellis et al., 2019). Although childhood trauma's detrimental effects are known, adult survivors of childhood trauma who become patients in primary care facilities are not commonly screened for trauma histories (Felitti et al., 1998; Kalmakis et al., 2017; Tink et al., 2017; Weinreb et al., 2010). Currently, routine practices to screen for childhood trauma are common in pediatric health, mental health, substance abuse, education, and child welfare systems. Fewer studies of primary care physicians (PCP), nurse practitioners (NP), and family

medicine residents (FMR) roles in screening adults for childhood trauma exist. Studies of primary care clinician roles can provide diverse insights into why routine childhood trauma screening is not standard practice. There is a time-sensitive need to identify current practices, awareness, and perceptions of screening adult patients for childhood trauma in primary care settings to implement future protective factors for adult trauma survivors.

### History of Childhood Trauma Screening

The original Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE) Study (Felitti et al., 1998) highlighted the prevalence of adverse childhood experiences (or childhood trauma) in U.S. adults and identified the detrimental effects of childhood trauma over the lifetime. In the original study, ACE categories included psychological abuse, physical abuse, sexual abuse, and household dysfunction (Felitti et al., 1998). Felitti et al. (1998) then compared the number of ACE categories of respondents to health outcomes. Results from the original ACE

study and subsequent childhood trauma studies share similar findings. Exposure to childhood trauma relates to a higher risk for chronic disease, disability, violence, victimization, and premature death in adults (Anda et al., 2010; Felitti et al., 1998). The initial findings were pivotal in recognizing the significance of childhood adversity for both practitioners and researchers.

Moreover, childhood adversity became recognized as a public health issue since “what happens in childhood commonly lasts throughout the life” (Felitti, 2009). The original ACE questionnaire has been modified over time, and outcomes remain consistent with the initial findings. Similar tools allow individuals to be screened for childhood trauma in a fast, simple, and discreet manner.

### **Role of Primary Care Professionals**

Primary care clinicians are often the first point of contact in an individual’s entrance into the health care system. Clinicians are responsible for the accessible integration of patient services, addressing patient health needs, and engaging in sustainable clinician-patient relationships (Institute of Medicine [IOM], 1996). Primary care clinicians can include physicians, nurse practitioners, and social workers (IOM, 1996). All clinicians complete educational requirements as required by their respective fields. Clinicians routinely conduct general health screenings during patient visits. However, screening adult patients for childhood trauma is not a routine practice within primary care settings (Kalmakis et al., 2017).

Over twenty years ago, the original ACE study was carried out in a primary care setting with adult participants. However, routine childhood adversity screening is still not universally integrated into primary care adult patient visits. In 2014, the American Academy of Pediatrics recommended that pediatricians combine routine trauma screening into child well-visits (Garner et al., 2012). In 2018, the U.S. Preventive Services Task Force published recommendations for primary care trauma screening for the following patients or scenarios: children and youth who are suspected of maltreatment, women who are suspected of intimate partner violence, elders who are suspected of abuse, and vulnerable adults who

are suspected of abuse. Not included in either recommendation was to routinely screen all adult patients for childhood trauma. Primary care may be the first contact point for the majority of adult survivors of childhood trauma, yet routine screening is limited in this setting. Much research exists on preventing childhood trauma, but fewer interventions support adult survivors of such trauma. The literature demonstrates that childhood trauma changes lifelong outcomes, lessens life expectancy, and is a predominant factor in many physical and behavioral conditions of adult trauma survivors. Collecting data with primary care clinicians to measure the frequency of trauma screening and to identify clinician awareness and perceptions of childhood trauma in practice has the potential to inform future practice.

### **Childhood Trauma Awareness**

Suggestions for childhood trauma awareness for all health professionals exist; nonetheless, knowledge of screening practice in adult primary care settings is limited. Nearly 40% of PCPs had no training in screening for trauma in adults (Weinreb et al., 2010). Approximately half of NPs and FMRs had never received trauma screening training (Kalmakis et al., 2017; Tink et al., 2017). Stork et al. (2020) found that 80% of PCPs had never heard of the ACE questionnaire. Weinreb et al. (2007) reported that many PCPs familiar with trauma screening were unsure how to integrate that into patient visits. Current literature indicates gaps between research and practice of the lifetime challenges associated with childhood adversity.

### **Childhood Trauma Training**

Of those clinicians trained for trauma screening, the training settings varied. In PCPs with trauma training, 40% trained in medical school and 71% trained in residency (Weinreb et al., 2010), whereas only 5% of FMRs (Tink et al., 2017) received training during residency. In NPs, 25% received trauma training in an undergraduate program, and 36% were trained in their NP program (Kalmakis et al., 2017). Of those who received trauma training, 41% of PCPs (Weinreb et al., 2010) and 27% of NPs (Kalmakis et al., 2017) did so via continuing education. The level of awareness, training, and training settings for childhood trauma education

varies. Such findings highlight that different attention is given to trauma training, depending on a clinician's role.

### **Practices of Childhood Trauma Screening in Adults**

There are only two studies, Weinreb et al. (2010) and Kalmakis et al. (2017), that focus on childhood trauma screening practices of adult patients in primary care settings in North America. Screening a patient for childhood trauma in the first visit at a primary care facility is helpful since this topic is less likely to be addressed in later visits, if at all (Read & Fraser, 1998). In a study of PCPs, one-quarter reported always or usually screening adult patients for ACEs (Weinreb et al., 2010). In two 2020 studies of PCPs, only 3.8-25% (Maunder et al., 2020; Stork et al., 2020) routinely screened adult patients for childhood trauma. Routine screening practice of NPs and FMRs is also minimal. While one-third of NPs (Kalmakis et al., 2017) routinely practiced trauma screening in adult patients, less than two percent of FMRs (Tink et al., 2017) did. For adult primary care patients, childhood trauma screening is limited across clinician roles.

In primary care facilities that practice routine trauma screening, there are several interventions for patients with an ACE history. For patients with childhood trauma, PCPs and NPs shared similar responses for interventions. Approximately 50% of PCPs and NPs discussed any trauma findings with the patient (Kalmakis et al., 2017; Weinreb et al., 2010). If ACEs were apparent, 75.5% of PCPs (Weinreb et al., 2010) and 92% of NPs (Kalmakis et al., 2017) always referred a patient to a mental health agency. Also, 30% of PCPs and NPs followed-up with a patient about the abuse history at future visits (Kalmakis et al., 2017; Weinreb et al., 2010). Although there are varying follow-up rates for adult patients with known childhood trauma, more research is necessary to understand the underlying causes of clinician referral rates.

### **Variables on Clinician Referral Rates**

Existing literature indicates that specific predictors alter the likelihood of whether a clinician may initiate a trauma screen during an adult patient visit. Clinicians report that certain conditions presented in an adult patient may initiate a screen for childhood trauma. PCPs,

NPs, and FMRs indicated that a presence of depression or anxiety is a motive to perform a trauma screen in an adult patient (Kalmakis et al., 2017; Tink et al., 2017; Weinreb et al., 2010). NPs also included substance abuse, post-traumatic stress disorder, and pain as likely predictors of childhood trauma and subsequently initiated a screen (Kalmakis et al., 2017). Thus, clinicians are more likely to screen for childhood trauma in adults who present specific symptoms.

### **Gender and Clinician ACEs**

Gender is an additional variable that may influence trauma screening practices among primary health care professionals. First, adult female patients are more likely to be screened than adult males. In one study, 28.6% of PCPs reported that female patients are always or usually screened for trauma compared to only 12.2% of male patients (Weinreb et al., 2010). This gender variation is also evident in FMR screening practices, whereby male patients were less likely to be screened at later visits than female patients (Tink et al., 2017). Second, the gender of the professional is a predictor of screening practices for childhood trauma in adult patients. For example, female PCPs are more likely than male PCPs to routinely screen adult patients for childhood trauma (Weinreb et al., 2010). More research is necessary to further understand these findings related to gender as a predictor to screen.

There are limited studies that measure the clinician's personal history of childhood trauma related to the likelihood to screen adult patients. However, almost one-third of PCPs disclosed first-hand exposure to childhood trauma (Weinreb et al., 2010). In a more recent study of PCPs, the average ACE score was one, and the most common type of personal childhood trauma was parental separation (Stork et al., 2020). Only 13% of NPs reported experiences of childhood trauma (Kalmakis et al., 2017). In FMRs, 36% of females and one-quarter of males disclosed personal childhood trauma, and 30% percent of all FMRs reported two or more categories of ACEs (Tink et al., 2017). Approximately 75% of PCPs and NPs reported personal knowledge of a friend or relative with a history of childhood trauma exposure (Kalmakis et al., 2017; Weinreb et al., 2010). More research

is necessary to identify the rates at which personal ACEs result in screening adult patients for childhood trauma. Also, future studies can explore how clinicians with ACEs who screen adult patients for childhood trauma may experience countertransference. Minimally, the existing literature of clinician exposure to childhood trauma supports findings of childhood trauma's pervasiveness across the population.

### **Perceptions on Screening for Childhood Trauma**

Although primary care clinicians hold unique positions to screen for childhood trauma, clinicians have diverse perceptions for screening. In a 2007 study, most PCPs could not identify a significant reason to regularly screen adult patients for childhood trauma (Weinreb et al., 2010). In the perceived role of administering trauma screening for adults, about 80% of PCPs (Weinreb et al., 2010) and FMRs (Tink et al., 2017) each stated they felt responsible for screening their patients, while one-third of NPs (Kalmakis et al., 2017) asserted it was their responsibility. In a 2010 study, 45% of PCPs stated they felt unqualified to assist patients with an ACE history, while 13% reported that they did not believe a history of ACEs was a medical issue (Weinreb et al., 2010). Nonetheless, of the confidence to screen adult patients for childhood trauma, one-half of PCPs (Weinreb et al., 2010) and one-third of FMRs (Tink et al., 2017) were confident in their screening capabilities. The evidence suggests that rates of perceived responsibility to screen and confidence to screen vary among clinicians.

### **Perceived Barriers to Screening Adults for ACEs**

While perceived barriers to screening adult patients for childhood trauma vary among clinicians, there are also some shared perceived barriers. In PCPs, the most common barriers to screening adult patients for childhood trauma were limited time to evaluate and intervene with a patient, limited time to screen for ACEs, and existing primary care duties (Weinreb et al., 2010). In a later study of PCPs, the most common perceived barriers were a lack of referral resources and a lack of time (both 59%), a fear of patient distress (49.7%), and a lack of

confidence in asking questions (43.7%) (Maunder et al., 2020). In NPs, limited time and limited confidence were strongly associated with a lower likelihood to screen adults for childhood trauma (Kalmakis et al., 2017). The most common barrier for FMRs was a lack of time to appropriately assess or discuss results with a patient (Tink et al., 2017). All three clinician types cite limited time as a perceived barrier to screen adult patients for childhood trauma.

### **Feasibility of Trauma Screening**

Often, a primary care facility is the most common point of entry into the healthcare system. Research indicates that implementing standard trauma screening for adult patients is feasible in primary care settings (Glowa et al., 2016). However, there are limited evidence-based treatments for trauma screening available in primary care settings (Clarke et al., 2015). As such, patients may not follow up with trauma-related referrals from their clinicians. Also, the traditional primary care environment's focus on routines and effectiveness is not necessarily sensitive to patients with ACE histories (Weinreb et al., 2010). A clinician who neglects to inquire about exposure to childhood adversity misses opportunities for the overall health and well-being of the adult patient (Tink et al., 2017).

### **Benefits of Trauma Screening**

Primary care clinicians encounter patients that present many of the symptoms related to the conditions that are found in adults with higher ACE scores (Tink et al., 2017). Routine trauma screening provides clinicians with a more comprehensive biopsychosocial perspective of a patient's history, the opportunity to connect current symptoms to childhood adversity, and a tool to guide trauma intervention (Schulman & Maul, 2019; Weinreb et al., 2010). The patient benefits of routine trauma screening include an earlier identification of chronic health problems, validation of the traumatic experience, referrals to receive necessary supports, and education on ACEs' long-term impact (Schulman & Maul, 2019; Weinreb et al., 2010). Although primary care clinicians do not universally screen adult patients for ACEs, the benefits of doing so are significant for trauma survivors.



### **Limitations of Trauma Screening Practices**

While the case for routine screening for childhood trauma has increased, some argue that a standard screening tool, such as the ACE questionnaire, is premature. Finkelhor (2017) asserts that effective interventions and appropriate responses to positive ACE scores must exist before implementing universal screening practices. Another source of debate against routine trauma screening is the already burdened role of the primary care clinician. With limited time, numerous duties, and high expectations, universal trauma screening for adult primary care patients is difficult for practitioners to implement (Weinreb et al., 2010). Whether supported or not, there are many considerations for effectively implementing trauma screening into primary care practice.

### **METHOD**

Researchers recruited employees who were 18 years and older from health care facilities in York County, South Carolina to participate in this study voluntarily. The data categories included primary care health professionals' knowledge of screening adults for childhood trauma, primary care health professionals' practices of screening adults for childhood trauma, and primary care health professionals' perceptions of screening adults for childhood trauma. Demographic and background questions included gender identity, race, and age; and the participants' current occupation, current employer, years of experience in their field, and their highest level of education. Eligible facilities included family medicine practices, primary care practices, community health centers, and medical clinics.

### **RESULTS**

Of the 19 surveyed participants, seven were physicians (36.8%), six nurses (31.6%), four social workers (21.0%), and two other health professionals. Sixteen (84.2%) participants were female; 15 (78.9%) were white, and four (21%) were black. The mean age was 43.7 and the mean years in practice was 14.1. For the highest level of education completed, seven (36.8%) had a doctorate or Ph.D., five (26.3%) had a bachelor's degree, and four (21.0%) had a master's degree.

Seventy-five percent of participants indicated that time was the most common barrier to trauma screening of adult patients. Participants' suggestions to open-ended questions about implementing childhood trauma screening in the workplace included holistic approaches, organization-wide trauma-informed care, referral pathways, and increased training for trauma screening implementation. Knowledge of childhood trauma screening was the most highly rated variable. Perceptions about childhood trauma screening were lower-rated than knowledge, and practices of childhood trauma screening of adult patients were the lowest-rated variable among the participants.

### **DISCUSSION**

This study provided a general understanding of 19 York County professionals' knowledge, practices, and perceptions of screening adult patients for childhood trauma. This study's findings are consistent with existing literature that trauma screening is not commonly practiced during adult patient visits in primary care settings (Felitti et al., 1998; Kalmakis et al., 2017; Tink et al., 2017; Weinreb et al., 2010). Due to a limited number of participants, a future survey will be sent to a more significant number of York County health professionals. With more respondents, a more accurate understanding of the knowledge, practices, and perceptions of York County primary health care professionals can be developed. In the future, a more qualitative research design will be conducted. The results from subsequent studies can further inform research and practice related to childhood trauma screening in primary care settings. Ultimately, this research can lead to effective, brief, and person-centered trauma screening measures into adult patient visits. However, established on-site interventions and personnel to support adult patients who have experienced childhood trauma must be established before childhood trauma screening is routinely practiced.

### **CONCLUSION**

Childhood trauma is a social justice issue that affects vulnerable populations of children, youth, and adults. Effects of exposure to

childhood trauma last over the lifetime and often lead to increased adverse health consequences. Routine trauma screening for children and youth are becoming more common. Routine childhood trauma screening for adults, however, is less common. Existing literature indicates gaps between childhood trauma screening research and childhood trauma screening practice. Integrating childhood trauma screening of adults in primary care settings is feasible, but it is underutilized in practice.

Despite the evidence of lifelong consequences of childhood adversity, millions of adult survivors of childhood trauma are never screened for ACEs. Primary care settings are one of the most common places that the general population is likely to visit. Individuals who have experienced childhood trauma are likely to interact with a clinician during a primary care visit. Potentially, clinicians are responsible for administering trauma screening measures, interacting with patients, and determining best practices for intervention. Thus, given the broad reach of primary care clinicians, future studies of primary care clinicians and childhood trauma screening in adult patients are necessary to inform future trauma practices.

Many studies exist to measure the practices, awareness, and perceptions of routine ACE screening in pediatric health facilities (Bodendorfer et al., 2020; Garner et al., 2012; Keeshin et al., 2020). Some studies have focused separately on the factors held by PCPs, NPs, and FMRs in primary health care settings (Kalmakis et al., 2017; Maunder et al., 2020; Tink et al., 2017; Weinreb et al., 2010). However, no research exists that has surveyed all three occupations simultaneously in one study of primary care clinicians to measure the practices, awareness, and perceptions of screening adult patients for childhood trauma. Since perceptions and attitudes determine behavior and actions, understanding the interdisciplinary perspectives of health care professionals is beneficial (Zallman et al., 2017). Identifying practices, awareness, and perceptions from an interdisciplinary perspective can inform the practice of adult trauma-screening in primary care settings. Most importantly, routine trauma screening practices have the potential to improve the life trajectory of adults

whose impacts of childhood trauma would otherwise go unrecognized.

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## Acknowledgments

### Scholars Work Published Elsewhere

Some continuing Scholars do not have work included here because they met McNair's high-quality research product requirement elsewhere, e.g., by presenting at a national conference in their discipline or working with their Mentors to publish their work in a peer-reviewed professional journal.

## Thank you

### Scholars

I do not have words for how proud I am of you and what you accomplished during a pandemic. You amaze me and I am proud to be YOUR McNair Director. Your work, here, is the result of a long revise and re-submit process. Thank you for your diligence throughout that long process. The high quality of your research reflects well on you, your faculty mentor, and your McNair program.

### Mentors

Each faculty mentor sacrifices time that could be spent with family or advancing his/her/their own career to support this next generation of researchers and graduate students. Your individualized mentoring is the most important service our program offers. Winthrop's McNair Scholars and program could not be successful without your expertise and dedication. Thank you for collaborating with me to support these outstanding students. My gratitude to you, and for you, is boundless.

### Barb Yeager

Our McNair program benefits every day from the creativity of Barb Yeager. Her development of the artwork on the spine of this *Bulletin* is one more example. Barb gladly steps up to help the program highlight our Scholars' excellence in beautiful ways. She does this enthusiastically and in addition to her long list of duties as our Executive Support Specialist. Thank you, Barb!

### Dr. Matthew Hayes

As the McNair Statistics and Methods Coach, Dr. Hayes supports Scholars through the entire research process, from project design, through data preparation and management, statistical analyses and interpretation, and presentation preparation. He helps onboard the selected applicants as they prepare for the intense 8-week summer research internship. Thank you, Dr. Hayes, for meeting with Scholars (and sometimes Mentors and staff) year round to answer questions and recommend best practices. Your efforts have contributed to our program's record of research awards.

### Jasmine Goode & Amanda Cavin

We are grateful to our G.A., Jasmine Goode, for her regular support of the Scholars year-round; we will miss her after she graduates. Amanda Cavin, Eagle STEM Director and McNair Alumna, continues to be a valuable resource to McNair Scholars and staff. Just a few of the many ways she serves the program include: recruiting strong applicants, supporting Scholars as they work on their research, and helping coordinate our summer programming.

### Stephanie Bartlett

Since August 2012, Stephanie Bartlett has been in charge of our program's year-round writing support, ensuring every Scholar receives feedback that helps them be a better writer. She bends over backwards to be available to Scholars to help them achieve their goals for their course projects, research products, graduate admissions essays, and graduate fellowship applications. Serving as Editor of this *Bulletin* is only one aspect of her work. Our written products would not be as impressive without your meticulous reviews, thoughtful feedback, and proactive guidance. Thank you, Stephanie, for your exceptional service to Winthrop's McNair Program.

**The Winthrop McNair Scholars Program** prepares undergraduates who meet first generation and low-income and/or underrepresented race/ethnicity criteria to be successful in Ph.D. programs through a variety of services including research experiences, workshops, graduate admissions and financial aid assistance, professional development, test preparation, and travel to present research and explore graduate programs.

Since 2009, and through 2023, Winthrop's program is funded by a renewable five-year TRiO grant from the U.S. Department of Education (PR/Award No.: P217A180094). This year, \$261,888 in federal funds helps 30+ eligible, outstanding students complete research and prepare for graduate study. Federal funds represent approximately 73% of program costs. Winthrop and the Winthrop Foundation will contribute the remaining 27% of the budget with approximately \$95,000 in cash and in-kind matches.

Winthrop's program is successful because of the generous support from the U.S. Department of Education and Winthrop; excellent work and persistence of our Scholars; expertise and effectiveness of our faculty Mentors; dedication of our staff; advocacy of our Vice Provost and Dean; and guidance from our Advisory Board.

Winthrop's McNair Advisory Board selects new participants each fall through a highly competitive application and interview process. All McNair Scholars complete intensive summer research internships, several of whom have received awards for their research products. Updates about our Scholars' achievement are posted on the Summer Research and Newsletter webpages at <http://www.winthrop.edu/mcnair>.

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#### **About the Artwork**

The artwork on the cover was developed by **Barb Yeager**, our talented Executive Support Specialist. It is adapted from a photograph of our Summer 2020 Scholars' gallery during one of our Zoom meetings.

