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GRAFFITI ART AND SELF-IDENTITY:
LEAVING THEIR MARK

A Project
Presented to the
Faculty of
California State University,
San Bernardino

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Social Work

by
Lorenzo Martin Aguilar Valdez
June 2007

GRAFFITI ART AND SELF-IDENTITY:

LEAVING THEIR MARK

A Project

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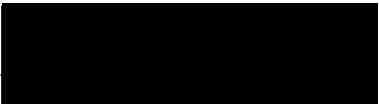
San Bernardino

by

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June 2007

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5-29-07
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ABSTRACT

This project studied graffiti art as a form of self-identity and coping for young people who are graffiti writers. The constructivist paradigm was used. The researcher collaborated with a Record store where graffiti writers tend to congregate to establish contact with local graffiti writers. The researcher established relationships with graffiti writers who participated in this study prior to data collection because of the sensitivity of the topic. The researcher interviewed the participants and used an audio recorder and notes to collect the data. The membership checking meeting allowed the participants to develop their own joint construct regarding graffiti art. As a result, four theories were developed. They were identity, stigma, coping skills and community awareness. Using these theories the researcher found that stigma, coping skills and community awareness linked to the overall identity of the graffiti writer. These findings showed that social workers can address the function of young people's involvement in graffiti art when doing assessments of such clients. The study affirmed the need for social workers to understand the

importance of graffiti art in self-affirmation and
identity.

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I'd like to first acknowledge my Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. Without him none of my accomplishments would be possible. I owe him more than a thanks, I owe him my life. I'd like to thank my family for being so supportive. Dad, you gave me life skills that I continue to use. Mom, you starting me on this long educational journey, thank you. I love you both dearly. I'd like to thank my brothers and sisters for putting up with their older brother. I'd like to thank my grandma, grandpa, tios, tias, and cousins for being there for me these three years and for being understanding because I was not there at a few family gatherings. I'd like to thank Echoes of Love Ministry for the constant prayers and support through my trials. The love I receive there is greatly appreciated. Thank you to all my friends who have been there for me on some many levels. To my cohort, thank you all for being who you are. I am blessed to have such a great group to work with for the last three years. You all are so awesome and funny too. Oh yeah by the way, we are graduating! Thank you Kathlene for being so supportive and helping me deal with my stress. You are a great person. Big ups to Headstone Records for allowing

me to set up shop and conduct my thesis at your store, I really appreciate it. Big up to Once and BWS store for being such an all around cool guy. You have been so cool since I've first met you. Stay up, homie. Big ups to Frankie for getting all those Rounds started. You have been handling business and thanks for you help in this. Thank you Dr. Morris for helping me make this thesis the best it can be. Dr Davis, thank you for embracing this project from day one and pushing me to continue with it. You have really been a mentor to me during my three years in this program. Katharine, thank you for helping me with my grammar and educating me on a few things that will help me later on. Thank you to all the participants who contributed to this project. Finally to the writers, who put their work out on display for the world to see, thanks. There are so many crews and people who have influenced me and to name them all would take forever, therefore big ups to anyone taking graffiti art and adding to the culture. If I forgot anyone, my bad. I had to turn this in quick to meet the deadline, but big ups to you too.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this project to all the writers, old and new who are contributing to the progression of graffiti art. This is for those who have been oppressed by the style of art they like to express. Without the writers I would not have a topic I am so passionate about. Keep doing what you are all doing.

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CHAPTER ONE

ASSESSMENT

Introduction

This chapter discusses the focus of the research and the paradigm that is incorporated within the study. This section also discusses the assumptions surrounding graffiti art and its utilization as a coping skill in developing self-identity. This chapter offers additional knowledge about the graffiti culture and the graffiti writers who participate in this art form. Understanding the reason behind graffiti, whether its a means for the writer to establish an identity or used as a coping strategy to deal with an unstable environment, will allow the social work profession to have a better understanding of this culture which has become popularized among today's youth.

Research Focus and/or Question

The question this study asked was "Does the graffiti culture as an art form, create self-affirmation by establishing an identity in addition to being a coping strategy for graffiti writers who have difficulty dealing with dilemmas that exists within their environment?"

Paradigm and Rationale for Chosen Paradigm

The constructivist paradigm is appropriate because all participants' views are equally valued. One of the issues brought up by graffiti writers was that their voice is not heard or respected. That in essence is why they do graffiti so they can be heard and recognized in some manner. This paradigm allows for the key stakeholders and in this research the graffiti writers to share power and collaborate on a middle ground in forming the action. Graffiti art can be viewed in different ways; it can be art, vandalism, positive or negative. This paradigm allows each perspective to be addressed and acknowledged.

The perspective of the researcher is that graffiti art is a constructive form of artwork that is used by graffiti writers who display their artistic ability in an unconventional manner. The graffiti writers contend that graffiti is a creative form of art and that they, the writers, wish to be recognized and respected. Graffiti allows graffiti writers to create an identity in a society that generally limits their voice of expression. Graffiti can be used as a mechanism by writers to cope with their issues by applying their artwork onto walls

using aerosol cans. Conversely, society views graffiti in a negative light, as vandalism that destroys the property of others. Due to the diversity of views on this topic, constructivism is determined to be the most appropriate paradigm.

The constructivist paradigm is also the most appropriate paradigm to use because it is subjective and allows the researcher's own knowledge of the subject to be considered as well as the understanding of others' ideas about the topic. The reason for this subjective approach is that graffiti is viewed differently by different populations. Allowing these populations to voice their views will allow the participants to feel validated and to work towards a unified perception of graffiti through the hermeneutic dialectic process. The constructivist paradigm allows for participants, including the researcher, to share their own views on the topic.

Literature Review

The literature review explores four aspects of the topic. The first is the graffiti culture, the history of graffiti, and its progression over the thirty-five plus

years of existence. The next is artwork and how graffiti has been perceived as being another genre of art and the struggle to have it recognized as art. The third area explored is the use of graffiti as a coping strategy for stressors, and as a means of identity development for youth. The final aspect is legal versus illegal graffiti and how the public has only seen graffiti as a form of illegal expression despite the rise of legal events.

Graffiti Culture

The literature states that the graffiti culture is one of the by-products of the hip hop culture which started in the 1970's in New York City. It did not receive public attention until 1971 when the *New York Times* did an article on Taki 183 who had been writing that name at subway stations, inside subway cars and throughout the city (Cooper & Chalfant, 1984). Graffiti art has since migrated outside of the New York area and can be seen throughout the world. Every major city in the United States has its own graffiti style. Graffiti has even crossed international waters and can be founded in Europe (Kein & Christl, 2000). The graffiti culture is sending a message to society that the artist was here through their painting. It is a form of advertising the

culture similar to a billboard (Bartolomeo, 2001). Many artists wish to be known which is no surprise in western culture. Popularity is highly valued and the same is shown in graffiti art. In order to get the public talking about a product marketers strategically place billboards at locations where the product can be seen by the most amount of people.

The same can be said for graffiti artists. They place their artworks on places like trains, buses, walls, and on the freeway so their artwork can be noticed not just by other artists, but also by the public. It is a form of self-identity by graffiti writers who are establishing their identity in society through their craft. Graffiti writers do this by putting up a message while others want to add an element of art to a wall or an entire city (Ganz, 2004, p.7). The message sent can be one for the artists to be noticed by placing their monikers through the city. The TATS crew in New York uses their artwork as a message of memorial at times for people who influenced their lives similar to the memorial for Big Pun a rap artist who died (Ganz, 2004, p.114-115). Graffiti art can be a message of frustration for local law enforcement.

Artwork

The literature states that there is a debate as to whether graffiti is considered art. In the book, Dondi White: Style Master General, the authors states " Numerous European museums exhibited his paintings and retained them for their permanent collections, something almost unheard of for an artist whose mode of expression is, to this day, considered criminal" (Witten & White, 2001, p.1). Dondi was a New York graffiti writer whose writing was considered art, even though some considered it deviant behavior. His style influenced writers to this day. A magazine like *Catch Me If You Can* shows graffiti as an art form and is published to capture graffiti as murals. In L.A. the graffiti gallery scene has developed to display graffiti as art through the watchful eye of Stash Maleski (Phillips, 1999).

However, others will say that graffiti is not art because it destroys private property. Others will say that art will not recognize graffiti because it does not partake in the essence of art; it is strictly vandalism (Lehman, 2005).

Further, in 1989 at the Dougherty Arts Center in Austin, Texas, a program allowed children the opportunity

to learn the arts and build self-esteem by developing creative abilities. The Graffiti as Art program allows children to learn how to draw distinctions between vandalizing and creating art. Working with well respect graffiti artists, youth gain a historical understanding for graffiti and create murals and other works at sites throughout the city

(www.cominguptaller.org/profile/pr74theater.htm).

Coping Strategy/Self-Identity

Graffiti artist endure stressors throughout their lives like everyone else. Graffiti artists tend to start in adolescence and come from an urban environment. They are youth who may be rebellious towards society and wish to wreck havoc by painting their mark across the city. They could be using a spray can to release his/her inner frustration through a creative avenue. Many come from the inner city surrounded by violence and drugs. They become drawn to the colorful art pieces, which seems to sooth their maladaptive behaviors. They use graffiti as a way of coping with their lives and unstable environment.

Adolescents are in search of an identity. Graffiti becomes a way for young people to outwardly express their inner struggle for identity through a creative outlet

(Rothman and Hoshino, 2002). Coping strategies are used to reduce stress for individuals and leisure activities relate to coping with stress (Iwasaki, 2003).

The literature also states that art therapy used as a coping mechanism helps children become desensitized to anxiety and unpleasant body sensations. The children are able to come to terms with traumatic events and/or stressors through art and narratives (Kozlowska & Hanney, 2001). Another piece of the literature mentions the need for coping strategies in an effort to limit health risk behaviors. It also states the need to identify family-adolescent's stressors and strains (McCubbin, Needle, & Wilson, 1985). These stressors may relate to the environment adolescents reside in that has violence, drugs, gangs and lack of support. The coping strategies enable these youth to handle these stressors and risks in a healthy manner.

Youth in the United States do not have autonomy. Their abilities have been undervalued and they have few legal rights (Macdonald, 2001). In response, adolescents have conjured up a silent anarchy in which they, armed with a spray can, inspiration, a sense of self-worth and a desire to be acknowledged, react to a world that denies

them autonomy. Graffiti art allows some to gain a visual identity. They need to learn how to respect themselves, their voices and their community (Sparkman, 2002). Graffiti artists pride themselves on one day having the identity of a king. To society they could be simply a pawn of no use to the real world, but in their mind graffiti artists look to become writers who are on top by the respect of others that in turn reflects the identity the artists have created within. A writer in an interview stated that graffiti is about style and putting your personality on the wall (Urban Autograff, Issue 9). It seems that the artwork of graffiti artists goes unnoticed by the outside world; respect and fame are all important within the world of graffiti artist. Kings, whose names are often adored with crowns, are at the top of the graffiti world (Murray, 2002).

Legal/Illegal

The literature states that graffiti is considered illegal, but graffiti enthusiasts are encouraging legal events to allow artists the opportunity to show their work without risk of arrested. The law, which states graffiti is illegal, victimizes those who have their walls painted and victimizes the general population by

instilling a sense of fear, threat and intimidation (Ferrell, 1993). Even when graffiti artists try to go do legal walls it is still opposed by anti-graffiti ideology. In an article by the *New York Times* it was reported that a legal graffiti event hosted by designer Marc Ecko had its permit revoked after Mayor Bloomberg declared that the event would encourage young people to vandalize. Graffiti is considered illegal, and in New York, carrying spray cans or markers into a public building with intent to write graffiti is punishable by a \$1, 000 fine and a year in jail (Ramirez, 2005). The illegal status of graffiti has labeled its artists as vandals. Even if this urban art context were placed on a canvas, given a hefty price tag and hung in a gallery it is likely that those who view it as vandalism will see it as art (Hundertmark, 2003). It also states that graffiti art can be an intervention to dismiss the notion that graffiti is a public scourge, but to use it to question institutional authority (Kennedy, 2005).

Theoretical Orientation

The study will be guided by the developmental theory of Erick Erickson. This theory emphasizes eight stages of

development and this study will focus primarily on stage five, identity verses role confusion. During adolescence, the developmental task is to develop an identity and grasp the concept of Who-am-I (Zastrow, Kirst-Ashman, 2004). This study proposes that adolescent graffiti writers use graffiti as a way to create an identity. The graffiti writer then has an identity in which he or she writes all over the city to state he/she was there at some point and exists in society. Graffiti is the vehicle for writers to express their identity.

Potential Contribution of Study to Micro and/or Macro Social Work Practice

This study will help the social work practitioner at the micro level to see graffiti can be used as a form of assessment. Graffiti can be identifiable as a form of intervention for the social worker at the micro level. Graffiti can empower a youth who is searching for an identity. The youth can be praised for his/her artistic talent and his/her creativity to come up with a variety of ways of writing one's name. The social worker will be able to understand graffiti through the eyes of those who are dedicated to the artwork. Social workers assess for drugs, gangs, violence and a variety of other

risk-factors. Asking about graffiti may allow the social worker to assess if the teen is out late at night, involved in drug use or avoiding gangs by hanging out with people who like to paint. The study allows the social worker to understand why these writers are willing to put so much time into their art. Social workers can focus on the strength that graffiti writers have to their work and that is dedication. Social workers can help the graffiti writer channel that dedication to other areas in his/her life to enhance the writer's quality of life. The search for an identity for graffiti artists does not stop at a simple moniker. The moniker details whether the artist is known as a king, who is an elite, or a toy, who is a novice.

The social worker can be able to view graffiti as part of an assessment tool rather than dismiss it as vandalism. Also the social worker can work at creating some form of alternative activities that may be productive to the community, yet still allow the writer to be expressive. Currently, social workers may identify their client as being a vandal, while the client may see him/herself as an artist painting how he or she feels on a wall, as a visual outlet. Even if social workers still

perceive it as vandalism, it can be understood why such rebellion against society occurs and the social worker can take a deeper look into the client's ideology. This research encourages the notion that graffiti can be used as a form of self-identity with connection to coping strategies for the artist who are dealing with stressors such as self-esteem, growing up in an abusive family, or living in an unstable environment. The stressors can even be a meaningless job that limits the writer's creativity; therefore to be relaxed and free the writer chooses to paint and release that anxiety. This research bridges the gap between social workers who see graffiti as negative and the graffiti writer who feel this is the only area in which they have excelled.

Summary

The perspective that this research focuses on, is that graffiti art is not an unconstructive form of artwork as society might assume. Graffiti is a way of coping and establishing an identity for individuals who are searching for who they are. The constructivist paradigm is the most appropriate paradigm to use because it is subjective and allows the researcher's own

knowledge of the subject to be considered, as well as the understanding of others idea of the topic of graffiti art. The assumptions towards graffiti are that it is seen as vandalism and not considered artwork. Graffiti has a stigmatized connotation that the artists displaying their art in this way are deemed as vandals. Graffiti artists see it as a way to voice their expression that has been suppressed by societal norms. The literature states that graffiti is a culture; it sends a message, and it is artwork. The literature also discussed graffiti as a coping skill and that it can be used to develop identity. Finally, the literature explored the differences between legal and illegal graffiti. This study helps the social work practitioner see graffiti in a more positive perspective and a tool to address self-affirmation for graffiti writers who are searching for an identity in an unstable environment.

CHAPTER TWO

ENGAGEMENT

Introduction

This chapter discussed the engagement process the researcher used. The researcher first had to find a site to gain participants. The next step was for the researcher to develop engagement strategies when dealing with the participants and those involved in the research project. The researcher had to take into account the self preparation needed in order to engage the participants. In this case there were many forms of contact before the actual engagement with participants started. The researcher discussed the different issues involving ethics, diversity and politics. The ethical issues deal with the ethical limitations that are encountered through the constructivist paradigm. The diversity issues deal with the graffiti art and its relation to gender, age, income, and ethnicity. Finally, political issues show how graffiti is a hot button and this study allows different viewpoints to be heard from the graffiti writers who have embraced graffiti by the community who are opponents of graffiti art.

Research Site and Study Participants

The research site was a hip-hop/art supply store. Graffiti writers have been known to congregate at this store to buy hip-hop related products. The researcher established engagement through regular visits to the site and talking to both the writers and employees of the store. The researcher shared with the owner and writers the purpose and intent of the study and inquired about the owner's willingness to have the study based in his store. This process resulted in access to the store being granted.

The participants were graffiti writers, community organizers, and opponents to graffiti such as law enforcement officials and city officials. The demographic information about the participants cannot be stated at this time due to the diversity of the populations involved. Graffiti writers are called this because they use their graffiti art talent as a form of writing whether it is their moniker, which is a name they come up with themselves or is given to them by another writer, or their crew, which is a group of other writers with whom they associate.

The researcher posted a flyer for writers to call if interested in being involved in the research study. Writers involved in a local graffiti battle were also involved as participants in the study. Opponents to graffiti were employed in local cities or law enforcement agencies. The researcher approached these individuals through referrals and by leaving a number where the researcher could be reached for participation in the hermeneutic dialectic.

Engagement Strategies for Each Stage of Study

The researcher established a relationship with some graffiti writers by meeting with them, becoming a familiar face at events and talking with them about their interests. This allowed the graffiti writers to be comfortable around the researcher and they were willing to talk during an interview.

Preliminary engagement strategies used by the researcher which included becoming familiar with the usual gatherings of graffiti writers at local hip-hop shops. The researcher used this as a way to gain access to graffiti writers and to the other places where they like to gather. There also needed to be engagement with

those who are anti-graffiti. The researcher came in contact with a person who was employed in graffiti removal from the City of Highland. The researcher talked with the key players involved in graffiti removal to establish a relationship with them. This way the players would be more willing to work with the researcher and become participants. The researcher felt the important strategy was to be visible within the community. That way it was more comfortable when the researcher searched for participants. The graffiti writer became familiar with the researcher and recruited others to participate and give their construct.

Self Preparation

The researcher prepared to be sensitive to the fact that many of the graffiti artists might have been skeptical or nervous about participating in the research project because of the negative attention their work has received. Many graffiti artists have had brushes with the law and some may be hesitant to participant because of fear of their identity being known by law enforcement officers.

Respect was needed for the wishes of the study participants. The researcher scheduled a meeting with the artist only. There were some willing to participate in the hermeneutic dialectic, but some were a bit skeptical and were hesitant to give their answers at the meeting. The main purpose was to have the hermeneutic dialectic in which those in participation are able to voice their construct and at the same time hear the construct of others. The researcher looked for those with power to be willing to relinquish such authority so that at the meeting some common ground could be drawn through the expression of everyone's construct. The researcher remembered that participation was voluntary and that participants should be respected. The researcher was aware that they are not in a position of power.

The researcher had to network with the participants who are graffiti writers because the graffiti writers might be reluctant to participate in the study because of the unfamiliarity of the researcher. Upon initial contact some writers were wary of the researcher's motives or thought the researcher was actually a law enforcement officer. These concerns allowed the researcher to be sensitive to such and issues and make the participants

aware that the research was authentic. The researcher also provided those who wished it business cards of the researcher's thesis project advisor. Therefore, through this networking the researcher became more visible and respected amongst the key players within the graffiti community. Attending local shows and events allowed writers to feel more comfortable and many even approached the researcher to ask about the progress of the project. Having the support of the key players may have allowed the graffiti writers to be more willing to participate.

The researcher was aware that those opposed to graffiti may not be willing to change their perspective. Engagement of these participants involved education regarding the diversity within the graffiti culture and the history of graffiti as an art form and as a means of self-expression, while acknowledging their concerns about vandalism. It is not the researcher's role to enforce a change, but to enhance the awareness of the various views of graffiti art amongst the writers and the general public.

Diversity Issues

One diversity topic that needed to be addressed was the history of graffiti since the 1970's. Understanding the history of graffiti gained the researcher respect from graffiti writers because they felt the researcher was taking their culture seriously. The researcher had done actual research of the history of graffiti and understood where it came from. Therefore the writers respected that the researcher knew why they did graffiti art. The researcher was aware of the assumptions and norms regarding graffiti. The general understanding of graffiti is that it has been viewed as mere vandalism and is looked down upon by society. There needs to be awareness of the positive attributes of graffiti.

An example of this is being aware of graffiti as an individual and collective coping mechanism for at-risk youth/adults. Graffiti also allows for the youth to establish a form of self-identification through the graffiti culture. This identity can be carried over into adulthood and even mature over time. This is evident in the diversity within graffiti itself. There are different styles throughout different regions. Graffiti is not only for males; there are females who are involved in this

movement. Graffiti is international and is not limited to any boundaries, races, socioeconomic barriers, age or gender.

The graffiti writers are diverse. They come from different cultural backgrounds, different family environments and have different styles of artwork. The researcher understood the diversity within the graffiti culture and how each graffiti writer has his or her own different way of understanding graffiti.

In regards to gender, graffiti has been a male dominant activity; however there are women who have provided an impact to this culture. Over the years more women have joined the ranks of their male counterparts and have added their style and innovation to graffiti. An example of this is shown in the book *Graffiti Women: Street Art from Five Continents* by Nicholas Ganz, 2006. The book documents the various women in graffiti from the five continents and their impact on the graffiti culture.

The researcher looked at ethnicities of graffiti writers. This ethnicity depends on the region and the population of people living there. If there is a high population of a certain ethnicity it is likely that the graffiti writers of that ethnicity would be more

prevalent. In an interview with a Graffiti Task Force officer, he stated that in the region of San Bernardino there is not a high involvement of African American graffiti writers.

The next diversity issue is income. Graffiti has no socioeconomic barriers. It is found in the urban and suburban regions. For those who do not make a lot of money graffiti has become their art of choice but some writers are from wealthy backgrounds. It was created in the streets so to them it is something that they can identify as being of their own.

The age range of graffiti writers can vary from an age that someone can write his/her name to almost fifty years old. In many cases it is the older writers who have the experience and expertise that the younger writers look up to and admire. However, it tends to be around adolescence that most writers start becoming involved in the graffiti culture. It seems to be the perfect fit because graffiti has the reputation of being rebellious and anti-system and at this stage teenagers tend to be rebellious and looking for an identity.

Ethical Issues

The constructivist approach cannot guarantee anonymity and confidentiality. The participants being graffiti writers will not wish to have their identity known because of fear of arrest or prosecution. The researcher did not want the participants to feel betrayed in anyway by them having identified as known graffiti artists. This would have ruined the rapport the researcher had built throughout the project with the writers. Ongoing informed consent was vital to inform the writers of potential issues related to confidentiality.

Confidentiality was most at risk when all the key players were gathered together in a room, discussing the topic, because part of the group were local Graffiti Removal employees who may have wanted to know the identity of these artists. The study will also introduce the process of protecting the participants. This may include using aliases so that their identity will be unknown in the event law enforcement tries to arrest a participant for his/her involvement in graffiti activity. The researcher also informed the participants that complete anonymity cannot be guaranteed. That way, those

hesitant had the opportunity to leave the study and not feel pressured into participating.

Political Issues

The political issues that the engagement of the study participants introduced are negotiation of sharing power, commitment and honesty. Negotiation of sharing power was political because those with the power like civic leaders, law enforcement, and graffiti removal employees were those who see graffiti as being negative and a threat to society.

The police are the keepers of the law. They maintain that graffiti art must be lawful. Graffiti can be done illegally and that is when the police have the power. For writers the police are the adversary because they feel that they are being locked up for expression of how they feel. However, it is not the expression that is the violation, but the act of painting on private property. It was intimidating to approach the police because they do have power. The key was to work at providing a way for power to be distributed amongst both police and graffiti writers, if possible.

The graffiti writers feel oppressed. They feel that they do not have any rights and as graffiti writers, are being told what to do by the powerful elite. The graffiti movement is a way to establish a voice and to say "We will not go away and you cannot push us anymore". Therefore many graffiti writers use graffiti to agitate the system, which they feel is picking on them. The researcher also sees concerns of the elites giving power to those who are rebelling and causing destruction within society.

The community is involved because they hold the popular opinion of what is acceptable. There has been a misconception that graffiti is automatically illegal and it ruins the outlook of the community. The community has the power to enable more murals to be done within the city limits. However, since graffiti has been stigmatized it is a hot button during election years. Politicians go into different communities promising to remove graffiti and hence implying that all graffiti is negative. If the community could come up with their own interpretation of graffiti art rather than have it told to them, then they may be more willing to collaborate with graffiti writers

in composing a unified mural that can beautify the community instead of being a detriment.

Transforming the power imbalance into a form of equality may bring feelings of resentment in those in power, like the law enforcement and civic leaders. This in turn, may hinder their commitment to change. There needs to be a form of partnership between those in power and those without power. Through this partnership the shared construction can move forth and change the view of graffiti, which currently is graffiti being seen as vandalism. This study also educated people about graffiti as a way for youth/adults to establish an identity in a society that does not allow young people to have a voice. Graffiti allows the writers to find out who they are through what they write and produce on walls and sketches.

The concept of honesty was another political issue. Both sides of the issue had to be honest in expressing their construct. This was vital in allowing the shared construct to be that of both the stakeholders (social workers, civic leader, law enforcement and graffiti removal employees) and the graffiti artists. There was politics in defining the word "graffiti" because the key

stakeholders' definition of graffiti and the graffiti writers' definition of their art differed. Agreement in the definition was important in developing the shared construct.

Summary

In this chapter the researcher discussed the engagement process in regards to the research. The researcher found a site that would allow for participants to be selected. The next step was for the researcher to develop engagement strategies when dealing with the participants and those involved in the research project. The researcher had to take into account the self preparation needed in order to engage the participation. In this case there were many forms of contact before the actual engagement with participation started. Finally, the researcher discussed the different issues involving ethical, diversity and politics of graffiti art. The ethical issues deal with the limitations that are encountered through the constructivist paradigm. The diversity issues deal with the graffiti art and its relation to gender, age, income, and ethnicity. Finally, political issues discussed how graffiti is a hot button

and allows different viewpoints to be heard from the graffiti writers who have embraced graffiti to the community who are opponents of graffiti art.

CHAPTER THREE

IMPLEMENTATION

Introduction

Participants were selected by using the field site to identify key stakeholders. There were different phases of data collecting that included individual interviews and the membership checking meeting. Data was recorded by taking notes.

Selection of Participants

The participants were selected using a snowball sampling technique. The researcher first made contact with the field site and at the field site established contact with the initial graffiti writer. Through this contact the researcher was able to obtain other participants. Since the researcher had developed a rapport with the initial graffiti writer getting other graffiti writers, to agree to be involved became an easier task.

The key informants were the graffiti writers, graffiti task-force police officer, Graffiti Abatement Coordinator and a community organizer (See Figure 1). The graffiti writers were included because they are the ones who do the graffiti art. Their role in this research was

to explain the reason for doing graffiti and the effects doing graffiti has on their lives. The graffiti task-force police officer was included because law enforcement is a major player in graffiti-related crimes. Due to the rapid increase of graffiti a special task-force was created in the city of San Bernardino to tackle this graffiti issue led by this police officer. In the eyes of the graffiti writers, the police are opponents but the police are enforcing the law. If graffiti art is done with permission, then the police officers are not obligated to get involved. Only when there is a victim, such as graffiti vandalism, do police officers take action. Another key informant was the Graffiti Abatement Coordinator of a nearby city. She was a key stakeholder because she was involved in the graffiti removal process and ran a program where graffiti writers who were caught participate in the removal of graffiti. The Graffiti Abatement Coordinator was in direct contact with graffiti writers and attempted to understand their need to write on private property. Finally there was a community organizer who participated in organizing programs for inner-city youth. The community organizer was involved in rallies and programs geared toward providing positive alternative

activities for youth. The community organizer provided the information and resources to possibly start a program that could assist graffiti writers in self-identity through art without harming the surrounding community.

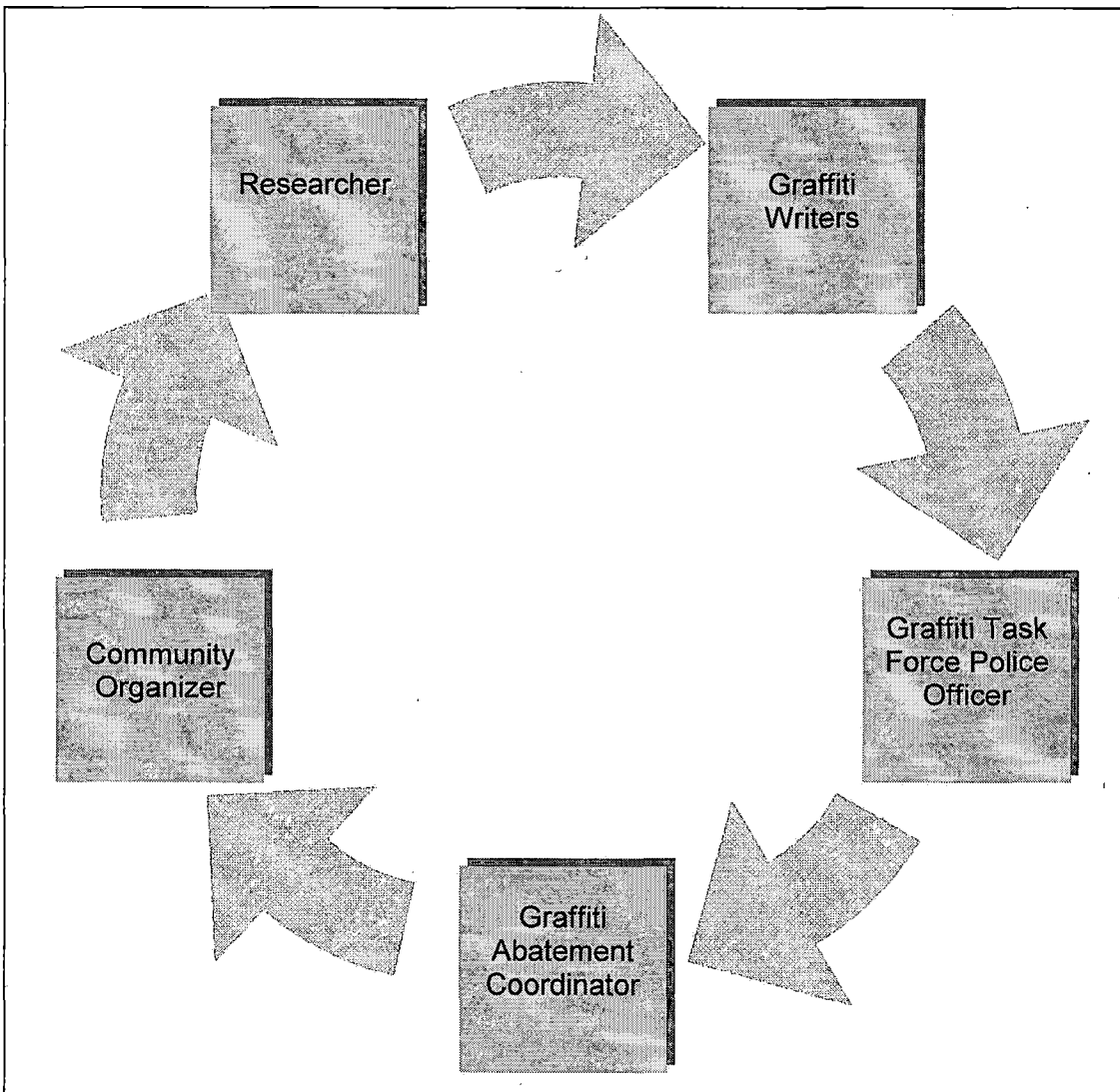


Figure 1. Circle of Key Stakeholders

When it came to including other key stakeholders, other sampling methods were needed. For example, the researcher stumbled upon one key stakeholder through a newspaper article. The researcher found that key stakeholder by going to City Hall and was able to have this participant become involved in the process. The most difficult participant to find was a police officer who specialized in graffiti. The reason the researcher wanted to interview this participant was because this participant had the most power of any of the key stakeholders. The researcher gained this person's participation through contacts at Cal State University San Bernardino.

Since graffiti art is usually done illegally by graffiti writers, it was difficult to secure participants. The participants were hesitant to be included in the research because they thought the researcher was an undercover cop. It took the reassurance of the researcher to inform the graffiti writers that this was an authentic research study and not a set-up. Since the researcher had been establishing rapport with the graffiti writers over an extended period, the graffiti writers became more comfortable with the researcher. The graffiti writers expressed concern because they were aware that their

artwork was done illegally and therefore there were consequences. They were very cautious about whom they talked to regarding graffiti.

Overall the participants were selected because of their affiliation with a graffiti writer or because they were another key stakeholder in graffiti art. Graffiti writers were willing to be part of the study. Obtaining the rapport first with the graffiti writer made it easier to have other graffiti writers involved. This was because the initial graffiti writer was so respected that other writers were willing to participate due to the cooperation of the first writer.

Data gathering was done by interviewing graffiti writers and key stakeholders. The key stakeholders included a community organizer for youth-oriented programs, a graffiti abatement coordinator and a graffiti task-force police officer.

Data Gathering

The interviews were conducted in various locations depending on the preference of the participants. Some interviews were conducted in an office, others at a church, home and park. The interviews took approximately

thirty to forty-five minutes depending on how much information the participant gave during the interview. The researcher had a pre-set list of questions for graffiti writers and key stakeholders. This allowed the researcher to have a structured format, but did not limit the participants' in their responses. In some cases the researcher asked only three questions from the list and allowed the participant to take control of the interview and elaborate on their responses. In other cases the list of questions focused the researcher on specific topics such as identity and the need for graffiti amongst its practitioners. This is the data collection process required by the constructivist paradigm adopted by this study.

Phases of Data Collection

The phases of the data collection were entered in journals kept by the researcher during the interview process. Two journals were kept by the researcher. One was to collect data the other to record the researcher's reflection on the interview. The researcher used the journal entries to identify areas that could be further explored during the interviews. The journals also

provided a structure for how to proceed with the next interview. In the second interview, after the participant asked if the researcher was a law-enforcement officer, the researcher saw that it was necessary to ensure the participant that the researcher was not a law-enforcement officer, but a student researcher. This prompted the researcher to obtain business cards from the Chair of the Social Work Department to reassure the participants the research was authentic.

Individual Interviews

The researcher used set questions for the interviews (See Appendix A). This gave the researcher the ability to know what questions to ask and to have the participants elaborate on their answers to provide more vivid details. This allowed the participants to be more candid and relaxed during the interview. The researcher noticed that when participants were relaxed they provided more detailed responses. Because the researcher took into consideration the location of the interview, which the participants requested, and the participants were relaxed.

The data gathered in the interviews caused the researcher to shift the focus of the study. The main

focus was the identity created through graffiti art for the graffiti writers. The researcher discovered how identity played a huge role for the graffiti writers. There is an alter ego that is created. The writers are two different people, one during the day and one at night. They have their identity among society which includes employment, a family, and bills. Their alter ego is the name that the graffiti writer paints throughout cities at the wee hours of night and early morning. These dual personas prompted the researcher to ask questions that were related to identity and graffiti art.

Also, the researcher wanted to focus on the perception of graffiti art in the community. Throughout the study the issue of legal and illegal artwork became relevant because this topic deals with criminal activity: vandalism. The researcher addressed this because, for some of the graffiti writers, the fact that graffiti is illegal and anti-establishment makes it attractive and appealing. Engaging in vandalism proceeded to include law enforcement and those who deal directly with the repercussions of illegal activity in the study. Therefore at the member checking meeting, a meeting with just the graffiti writers had to take place separately. The

graffiti writers did not feel comfortable exposing their identity to those they feel had the power to arrest them.

Member Checking Meeting

In the hermeneutic dialectic member checking meeting with the graffiti writers, they responded to the statements made by the key stakeholders. There was a need for two meetings because of the confidentiality issue involving the graffiti writers' identities because a key stakeholder is a law enforcement officer; the graffiti writers had concerns because many continued to display non-permission art. They did not want to run the risk of being apprehended or charged for the crime of vandalism. The researcher met with the writers, documented their responses to the responses of the key stakeholders, and took these responses to the key stakeholders to get their responses. Here are some of the statements of the graffiti writers in regards to the statements of the key stakeholders:

"Graffiti will always have the illegal status because that was the premise it was founded upon. It was to be against the system, and anything that was place to keep their voice from being heard" stated by a graffiti writer. "The way graffiti is done depends on the

individual" said a graffiti writer. "To be in graffiti for fame is lame" stated a graffiti writer. "People should be more tolerant. That is something we should do is allow people to be more tolerant of this art form and not judge it" said a graffiti writer. "Even writing your name and making people think "How did they do that" is an art" stated graffiti writer. "An action that can take place could be allowing legal walls to be open to everyone. Have someone in charge and allow a crew to put up their production and in three months allow another crew to have their turn. Like create a lottery or something so everyone has a shot at the walls, but it has to be backed by respected writers otherwise it won't work. Being a writer brings credibility" said graffiti writer. "I think it's cool that the GTF officer said he would be behind a program that would benefit the community. I mean that's what it's about, to show the community our talent. You know to create murals and productions so the community can be proud of. I mean San Bernardino is so plain. There is no color you know, like other cities they have all these dope architectural buildings and colorful walls, but we don't have that. I would like to be a part of that you know. Cuz it will add

an individuality status to San Bernardino and the Inland Empire in general by style and to be visually enticing” stated graffiti writer. “We can agree that graffiti is an art and that’s cool” said graffiti writer.

The graffiti writers in their statements emphasized that they did not realize that the key stakeholders were interested in their work and that the stakeholders actually defended it when it was done legally. The writers also felt that there needs to be more tolerance toward graffiti art and not quick judgments, which focus on the stigma aspect. The graffiti writers would like to see a program in which they can display their art that is accepted by the community. This will allow the writers to showcase their talent and create a community awareness related to graffiti art.

Data Recording

The researcher used a digital recorder to record the interviews of the participants. This method was useful when it came to transcribing the interviews. The researcher also took notes from the interviews to remind the researcher about the areas the researcher would like other participants to elaborate upon. After the

interviews were completed the researcher wrote two journal entries. One entry was data and analysis the codes the researcher gained from the interviews. The other was a journal about the researcher's feelings, reflections and overview of the interviews. This allowed the researcher to better plan the next interview and have set question to ask in the next interviews. This also allowed the researcher the opportunity to gain a familiarity with the interview process.

Summary

This chapter discussed the researcher's process of gathering the data. The researcher selected participants including graffiti writers, a community organizer, graffiti abatement coordinator and a graffiti task-force police officer. There were different phases of data collection that included the membership checking meeting and having the participants feel relaxed. Finally, data collection was done by recording the interviews and taking notes.

CHAPTER FOUR

EVALUATION

Introduction

The analysis of the data is broken up into four components. There are the "tags" which are the open codes found within the data. The "throw-ups" are the explanations of the codes. The four themes of the data are identity, stigma, coping skills and community awareness. The production is the overall theory that emerged from the data and selective coding. The data was interpreted by the researcher and implications for social work micro and/or macro practice were discussed.

Data Analysis

Tags and Throw-ups (Open Codes)

In the graffiti culture tags are the simplest form of self-identity. They are the foundation of graffiti art. In this study the tags are the codes the researcher extracted from the interview data. The codes are underlined and then there is a brief description of the code. This part of the data is similar to a throw-up in the graffiti culture because it is a bit more advanced than a tag, expands out to say more, yet is limited in

detail. Using the code and a brief description of the code the researcher used quotes from the participants to emphasize the codes' importance.

Medium. This code represents the tools used when doing graffiti art. It can be the spray paint, walls, canvases and any type of art supply. This shows that graffiti is not limited to only spray paint. Graffiti writer (1) stated how using other tools allow him to remain creative. "I use spray paint, but when I do walls it's just spray paint. If I do inside of a house spray paint, air brush, canvases, sometimes and acrylics and oils all types of mediums. I don't limit myself."

Feelings. This code relates to what feelings the writer experiences while participating in graffiti. It relates to a freedom of expression, a sense of euphoria and a way to keep from being miserable. For the graffiti writers, graffiti is a method of being happy and productive. "Graffiti is a way for me to express myself," as stated by graffiti writer (3).

Identity. This code describes how graffiti writers relate their graffiti to their identity. The graffiti art they do is a form of identification not only to society, but most importantly to fellow graffiti writers. Graffiti

writers have a dual identity. They have their societal identity which is evident by their work and home life. However, they have their secret identity which is their graffiti alias that is hidden from society and at times family. One graffiti writer pointed out that a graffiti writer's identity can be found in the style the writer does his/her graffiti. Style goes a long way in graffiti and having an individual style puts that writer apart from others. Graffiti writer (2) stated, "Like I mean everyone has their own style, you know what I'm saying. Everybody thinks different; everybody wants to do something in their own way and makes it individual. That's why I like graffiti cuz it makes it; it separates everyone from everybody else."

Perspective. This code involves the point of view of the participants. The writers expressed that there is not enough positive coverage of graffiti. The key stakeholders felt that graffiti is viewed predominately as vandalism. However, vandalism can be seen as a less offensive act than many other crimes, but the focus through the media makes graffiti a major issue. A community organizer stated, "I went to a city council meeting and they said they gonna spend \$340,000 for

removing graffiti and I was the only guy to raise my hand and I wanted to cry cuz I was the only guy to raise my hand and said what are we doing to uplift the art. Where they going for alternative for the art? I understand vandalism needs to be removed; you're right; that is inappropriate, but where can they go to express themselves artistically appropriate. Is there a place that exists here? They didn't have answer and they moved on. They ignored my voice, they ignored my question." The effort to remove graffiti is funded. Unfortunately alternative programs are either not receiving funding or have yet to be created.

Practitioner. This code focuses on the writers who participate in graffiti art. The names vary in meaning, but they are similar in that they are all in graffiti art. The names include "taggers" who mostly write tags throughout the city. "Graffiti bombers" paint illegally in cities to see who has the most "ups." The graffiti artists have developed their skills to the point that their graffiti art is quite complex and includes numerous artistic references. "Well going back to the tagger thing and graffiti writers, there's a writer. A writer is

a writer if your into graffiti your into art" stated graffiti writer (2).

Growth. This code deals with the growth in the writer's skill in doing graffiti. Graffiti writers spend countless hours practicing their craft. Since graffiti art is not considered contemporary art, many writers learn their skills by trial and error or if they are lucky they will be mentored by an older established writer. Graffiti writer (1) stated, "I used to go to yards and watch older guys piece and just asked them questions 'How did you guys do that? Why did you do that? How did you cut that?' and then go back home and practice it."

Passion. This code deals with the love that graffiti writers have for doing graffiti or being involved in the graffiti culture. The passion is what allows the writer to write for as long as they do and keep going and being innovated. There are times when graffiti can be stagnant, but the passion they can create artistic innovation. It is very important to have that passion in graffiti art as a graffiti writer (3) stated, "Art takes dedication. It takes time, and most important it takes passion. I don't

know how anyone can call himself or herself an artist and not have passion for something in life.”

Enlighten. This code means to have that metaphoric light bulb go off and understand what others may have been saying. Graffiti writers hope to enlighten those who look at their work and appreciate it on any level. To know that someone could look at graffiti art and it makes their day or brings them to a place they have never been before, validates the artists' view that graffiti is indeed art. Also, having those who may be seen as opponents of graffiti and hearing them say that they think it is art or beautiful again validates the writers' view and their work as art. The graffiti abatement coordinator said, “Yeah, there is graffiti that is art.” This is encouraging to know that some individuals find graffiti artistic and not strictly vandalism, like the news media tends to portrays it.

Motivation. This code deals with the graffiti writers' motivation for writing. They have a motivation to prove people wrong about graffiti art. The writers want to show that graffiti can have a positive impact and it is not always negative. The other perspective is that graffiti writers write “for the fame, for the

destruction" as stated by the graffiti abatement coordinator. However, both sides agree that fame does play a major role in the motivation of a graffiti writer.

Stereotype. This code relates to the stereotypical view that all graffiti writers are vandals. The graffiti writers feel they are judged simply because they do their artwork with spray paint. The label of "criminal" is attached to graffiti writers even when they are contributing to legal graffiti art. However, looks can be deceiving as graffiti writer (2) stated, "Fools look like normal people. They look like the most uncreative people because they look all gullible, or they look all goofy whatever. I mean when they pick up something like that they come up with the piece, they come up with you would think they are the most toughest, creative or smart, what makes you think about that or what makes you what your doing."

Legal. In dealing with this code the focus was on permission walls. Permission walls are walls that are donated by the owners or commissioned to be painted on. Since the penalties for graffiti through the legal system have increased, graffiti artists have taken to legal walls. This allows writers to spend time on their pieces

or production and focus on the detail without worrying about being arrested. These walls also give writers the opportunity to practice their craft. Legal graffiti art does not violate any laws and therefore is not considered a problem by law enforcement, as stated by a police officer, "I don't think, if someone is doing a legal piece and people are watching it and the business owner is out there or whoever is giving them permission, I don't think that's a problem."

Population. This code could be combined with the code of practitioners. It focuses on the population of people who participate in graffiti art. There are taggers, piecers, bombers and artists. The researcher later used this code to identify the different types of graffiti members in this study. It did not have a major impact in the overall theory.

Judging. This code is similar to the stereotype code in that it relates to the assumption that is placed on graffiti art and graffiti writers. The community has voiced their displeasure of the amount of vandalism graffiti. However, if the graffiti were approached differently the community may be more tolerate and less judgmental as the graffiti abatement coordinator stated,

"The community I think if some of these others vandalism type graffiti out here was to change, I think if the amount of it were to be reduced and like I said where they put it. I think the community wouldn't be so hard when they do see it. Um, but um I don't think our community sees a lot of artwork; they don't see it at all."

Influence. This code deals with the influence that graffiti writers have been exposed to that affects their artwork. Since graffiti art is from the streets, writers have mentioned that gangs and gang graffiti influenced them in California. Graffiti writer (1) mentioned that graffiti influences youth just like gangs. The difference is that graffiti provides an alternative to the gang lifestyle. "I mean its like I said if I can teach a kid to pick up a spray can and drop a gun then you already did something like because if he can love the spray can than love the gun then you're taking a kid, another kid from carrying another gun in the streets and someone dying for no reason."

Consequence. This code focuses on the consequences graffiti writers encounter when doing their artwork. There are tickets, court dates, jail time and in severe

cases felony charges and death. Yet even with these many consequences graffiti writers continue to put their work up in various areas. One view point was discussed on how graffiti writers neglect to see the consequences others deal with because of their desire for name recognition. That is a consequence the graffiti abatement coordinator would like graffiti writers to be aware of. "That is why I am starting the program I am starting so that they can get a feel and know what it's like for me. To know what it's like for a property owner that's bought a nice home and respect their property and their surrounding, you know. I don't think it's a deterrent enough. I really don't."

Goal. This code focuses on the goals the graffiti writers place on themselves. It is what the graffiti writers wish to accomplish in their artwork. The goals vary depending on each writer. "I'll like to master all styles," said graffiti writer (2), but regardless of the writer one goal is unanimous and that is fame. The goal is to be known.

Benefit. This code dealt with the possibility that graffiti writers can make money from their artwork. It did not have much to do with the theme of the study. It

focused on the possibility of having income through graffiti art.

Revolution. This code was taken because a graffiti writer mentioned that graffiti was a revolution and the researcher felt it had an importance. However, it does not have much to do with identity.

Media. This code deals with the media and its portrayal of graffiti art. Graffiti can be seen in commercials, advertisements and magazines. However, when in the newspaper graffiti is referred to in a negative context. Yet corporations will use graffiti to sell a product. It is a hypocritical stance that graffiti is viewed as criminal activity, but acceptable to sell goods to consumers.

Characteristics. This code focused on the characteristics of graffiti writers. There is a sense of pride in their work that each writer possesses. "It feels good to have fame," said graffiti writer (2). Writers show respect by not crossing out others or respecting another writers' work. However, there are those who like to create conflict by disrespecting other writers' work by crossing out or going over it with their own artwork.

Hobby. This code focused on how graffiti writers perceived graffiti. Some view it as a hobby like something they do every so often, while others view it as a hobby that kept them away from dangerous situations. Graffiti writer (1) stated, "Yeah, they would still be doing it cuz that would have been their first hobby, not the gang life." This graffiti writer saw graffiti as a hobby removing him from the gang lifestyle.

Venue. The researcher did not find this code to have a main relevance with identity. It relates to the various places graffiti art can be displayed such as art galleries, museums and even graffiti art shows.

Alternatives. This code described how there are alternative methods in graffiti writers applying their artwork. They could have walls dedicated towards graffiti art. If writers were really serious about the art side of graffiti they could transform what they are already doing into something else like graphic design. These alternatives were depicted by the graffiti abatement coordinator's statement, "There is an art there. When people put it on a wall it's looked at different. Definitely their doing motorcycle helmets, T-shirts. I think they're using airbrush now."

Improvement. This code deals with the ideas that most writers expressed that could improve the outlook of graffiti art to society. Many of the graffiti writers suggested that more legal walls may eliminate the unnecessary writings throughout the city. The plan of communicating to other graffiti writers to limit their writings might stop the vandalism. This proved to be a double edged sword. This view was best stated by graffiti writer (6), "Legal walls are a perfect place for graffiti artist or anyone who wants to sit there and paint a message of positive or what section of what they see." The law-enforcement view is different as the police officer voiced, "I am a strong opponent and most people involved in law enforcement are strong opponents of legal walls, not because of graffiti and the activity we can control like the painting on the wall, but it's the activity involved in the graffiti culture being unable to control its own population."

Style. This code can be combined with identity as one graffiti writer stated that one's identity can be established through the graffiti writer's style. "Everyone has their own styles," stated graffiti writer (2). There are various styles and as a graffiti writer it

is important to develop one's own style to set him or her apart from the millions of other graffiti writers. Each writer builds up his/her own lettering in which they use to do their tags, throw-ups and pieces.

Opportunities. This code is similar to the alternative code. The researcher wanted to show that there are opportunities that a graffiti writer can have do to his/her creative artwork. As graffiti writer (1) stated, "Yeah, graffiti could have got them into doing graphic designing, could have got them into doing lettering for magazines, doing architect, cartooning, animation, I can just be doing walls all the time; it can lead to art."

Location. This code relates to the area where graffiti is done. Graffiti is usually seen on the streets in areas graffiti writers call "spots." "Yeah it's based off the streets, grew up on the streets you know," stated graffiti writer (1). The riskier the location the better because it will draw attention and that is what the writer wants. The more attention, the more people will see the name and the more recognition.

Income. This code relates to the economic status of a graffiti writer. The researcher had thought that

graffiti was done by people who were low income. However, it was later revealed that there is no socioeconomic barrier when it comes to graffiti. The wealthy participate in it as well as those living in poverty. "I'm doing a search warrant. I'm afraid I might have to kick in these two thousand dollar doors," said the police officer.

Advertisement. This code emphasizes the importance of the graffiti writer feeling they have to advertise who they are to other writers. They put their names up everywhere similar to a politician come election year. The more the name is up; the better chance people will remember who you are. That is the thought of graffiti writer (1) when comparing politicians to graffiti writers. "They are trying to get people to notice them; they are getting up. They are putting posters everywhere, like vote for me. No, when we put something up that's not advertising; it's bad."

Life. This code shows that graffiti to some writers is more than a hobby, but actually their lives. They live graffiti in various forms. They travel through cities scanning for the next spot to write. Graffiti writer (2)

describes graffiti as, "In my own words, man, graffiti to me is like, it's life."

Talent. This code focuses on the ability and talent graffiti writers possess. There is obviously a talent that is needed to use a spray paint can and create very intricate and complex designs. It is a talent that takes time to develop or is God-given. "I have a God-given talent, dude," said graffiti writer (2).

Expression. This code describes how writers use their graffiti art as a form of expression. It is a way graffiti writers voice their opinions and state to everyone who they are. Overall, there is a meaning to what is being painted. This is stated by the community organizer, "In my own words graffiti is an art form. It is an expression; it's therapeutic; it is also cultural; it is also historic. Historic in the sense that it actually depicts a point in time, an express that means something that we can use and study and analyze a person's background, analyze a person's feelings and analyze a person's perspective."

Society. This code looks at the way individuals function in society. There is a norm of working, having a family and taking care of responsibilities. Writers on

the other hand step out of those norms and put up their artwork to establish a lifestyle that deviates from societal norms. "People who go to their job everyday and people who do whatever they do all day, work do the whole family thing, the girlfriend, the wife," said graffiti writer (2).

Creativity. This code focuses on how graffiti writers establish a sense of creativity and individuality through their artwork. A graffiti writer is constantly coming up with different letter forms and creates ways to writer his/her name. As graffiti writer (2) states when talking about being creative, "I never try to do the same thing twice."

Progression. This code relates to the writer getting better and the practice time that is put into their effort. Writers do not want to become stagnant. Graffiti is highly competitive and the moment a writer slacks off, another writer will take his or her spot in the graffiti rankings. Some writers measure themselves by their progression and notice their improvements in their artwork as graffiti writer (2) says "Every time I paint it's progression, like I'm getting better."

Coping Mechanism. This code focuses on how graffiti art can be a form of coping to graffiti writers. The daily grind of life can be overwhelming and stressful. When graffiti writers paint it is a way to release all that pent up stress that is going on in their lives. Graffiti writer (6) states, "I get my rest, stress release type of thing, definitely, yeah."

, Perception. This code relates to how everyone has his/her own opinion of graffiti art. Writers understand that they may not be able to change peoples' opinion of graffiti as an art form. Writers feel they cannot change anyone's opinion, but the writers will continue to do what they do and those who have an open mind will be willing to see why it is they do graffiti. As graffiti writer (2) said, "Everybody has their own belief of how they depict a graff writer."

Negative. This code relates to the consequence code. It focuses on the negative outlook of graffiti art. One perspective is that graffiti art diminishes property value and creates an atmosphere of an unsafe area. Graffiti can be positive, but there cannot be positive without negative. To the purest of graffiti writers, graffiti will always be illegal. That is the true essence

of graffiti. As stated by graffiti writer (6), "Graffiti can't be graffiti without the vandalism part. Graffiti has to be graffiti with vandalism."

Communicating. This code relates to how graffiti writers communicate to each other and society. Graffiti writers gather at graffiti shows to discuss where they have put their name up and in places that are good to paint. "It is not so much about establishing an identity, but more about communicating that identity," stated graffiti writer (3). Graffiti writers communicate to society by saying, "I exist and I was here." In some cases individuals communicate about the graffiti in awe at how graffiti writers painted a hard to reach area.

Details. This code relates to the detail that is needed in creating graffiti art. Many artists expand their horizons and look to various artistic outlets to enhance their graffiti art. Graffiti writer (3) stated, "It wasn't until I expanded my interest into tattooing and graffiti that I started paying more attention to my detail."

This researcher utilized the thirty-seven open codes gathered from the interviews of the graffiti writers and key stakeholders. From these open codes the researcher

described the importance of the codes and used quotes from participants to validate the researcher's reasoning for selecting the open codes. The open codes provided the researcher with the information that was needed to create the researcher's theory of graffiti art creating an identity for graffiti writers.

Pieces (Selective Coding)

This part of the analysis is more detailed and creates the basic themes of the theory of graffiti being developed. They combine the codes and statements together to establish the main ideas found in the data. This portion combines the codes and the statements the participants gave in the interviews. This is similar to a piece in graffiti because a piece is complex, sends a message and makes its statement with its color, flow, and its ability to pop meaning the piece seems to jump right off the wall. The major themes that emerged from the open coding were (1) identity, (2) stigma, (3) coping skills and (4) community awareness (See Figure 2). The identity theme is the focal point and the other themes relate to identity. In order for there to be identity, the graffiti writer must deal with the stigma, use graffiti art as a

coping skill and create a community awareness of graffiti art.

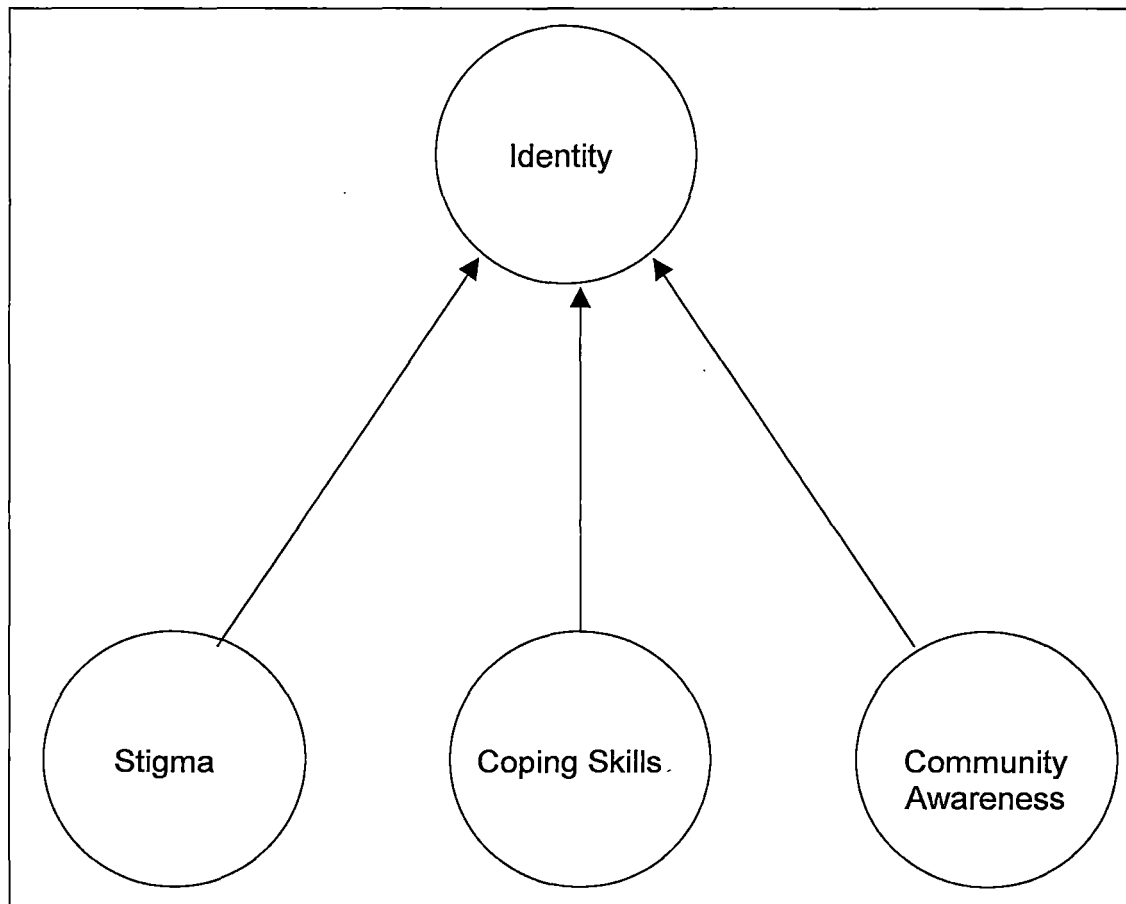


Figure 2. The Four Themes of Graffiti Art

Identity

For the theme of identity the open codes that were grouped together are identity, perspective, practitioners, growth, passion, population, influence, goal, style, advertisement, life, expression, and

creativity (See Figure 3). The identity is the alter ego the graffiti writers identify themselves with when they paint their name. It is who they are at that moment. The perspective is the point that society and the graffiti writers have about view of graffiti art. The practitioners are the graffiti writers who paint their aliases throughout cities. Growth is the individual growth the writers displays over the years as they mature as writers and develop their skills. It relates to how they can identify with their earlier graffiti art and reflect on how they perceive themselves now as graffiti writers.

Passion is the love of graffiti the graffiti writer has towards the craft. The writer identifies the love of graffiti that would have the graffiti writer risk his/her freedom, loved ones and life for graffiti. The population identifies the graffiti culture versus society and how the two view graffiti art. Influence takes the different influences the graffiti writer identifies with that create the writer's individual style. Each graffiti writer has a goal he/she can identify with and the object is to accomplish that goal. Style relates to identity because a writer can use his/her style as a way of

creating an identity. This is by having a signature way of painting that others can see and recognize that it is your artwork. Advertisement deals with spreading one's graffiti throughout the city to advertise his/her identity to the masses. It is the I-was-here statement. The life code relates to identity because graffiti writers identify their life to graffiti. Graffiti art consumes them. Expression is when graffiti writers express, through their art, who they are. If they are angry they express their artwork with harsh colors and jagged shapes. Graffiti writers identify themselves as being creative and pushing the progression of graffiti art. Through the grouping of these codes the researcher was able to interpret the meaning of identity for the study. This study shows how graffiti writers adopt an identity with their artwork and alter egos.

Stigma

For the theme of stigma the open codes that were grouped together are stereotype, legal, judging, consequence and negative (See Figure 4). Stereotype relates to the stigma theme because graffiti writers are stereotyped as gang members or hardened criminals because their artwork is illegal. When they are doing a

permission wall they will be harassed and surveilled. Legal relates to the stigma that permission walls breed criminal activity. Therefore there is no refuge for graffiti writers to paint legal walls without being lumped together with those who vandalize people's property. Judging relates to the stigma of if you look like a graffiti writer then you are a threat to society. Graffiti writers are judged by the type of artwork they prefer and therefore are degraded by society as being vandals regardless if their work is done legally. Consequence deals with the negative aspect of graffiti such as tickets, arrest, felony convictions, beef with other writers and even death. The code of negative relates to stigma because it shows how graffiti can have a negative impact in the graffiti writer's life by damaging relationships, creating financial woes, becoming imprisoned and dying.

Through these codes the researcher was able to interpret the data and relate the stigma theme to the overall theory. This will be shown in the production portion of the discussion. That section will discuss the stigma that is placed on graffiti art by society either consciously or subconsciously.

Coping Skills

For the theme of coping skills the codes that were grouped together are medium, feelings, benefit, characteristics, hobby, opportunities, income, talent, progression, coping mechanism, communication and details (See Figure 5). The medium relates to coping skills because there are various tools and supplies graffiti writers can use in their art. One tool may provide the writer with a sense of release which decreases stress. Feelings deals with how graffiti writers feel after their work is completed. It is the ability to cope with the stressors in lives and create a piece of art that captures that feeling.

Benefit relates to the money that can be made from graffiti art. This relates to coping skills because this artwork can be commissioned which helps the graffiti writer financially. Being able to cope, the graffiti writer needs to have characteristics that enable the graffiti writer to handle the stresses of life. Pride in their work and patience are additional characteristics. Hobby deals with how seriously the graffiti writer is into graffiti. It can be very serious and takes over the graffiti writer's life to an occasional activity to

escape reality. Using graffiti art as a coping skill provides graffiti writers with opportunities to apply their skills in other socially accepted professions like graphic designer and freelance artist. This in turn relates to income. Through the new-found opportunities, graffiti writers can increase their income. Talent relates to coping skill because graffiti writers use their talent as a way to cope with the instability within their own lives. Progression deals with how graffiti has evolved over time. Graffiti art is a coping mechanism for writers to release pent up stress and tension that daily life creates. The communication code relates to coping skills because writers use their art to communicate to other writers that they are still painting and keeping their name in the public eye. Coping with the daily struggles of life, graffiti writers focus on the details they put in their work as a form of therapy. The more precise the piece, the more they are relaxed.

In the production portion the researcher will discuss the theory of how graffiti art is a coping skill for the graffiti writers who are stressed by daily obligations and wish to express their feelings on walls through paint.

Community Awareness

For the theme of community awareness the codes that were grouped together are enlighten, media, alternatives, improvement, location, society, and perception (See Figure 6). Enlighten relates to community awareness because graffiti writers at times use their artwork to send a message to society. It may be political or a message of honor to those they have lost to violence in the streets. The media portrays graffiti as a threat to the community. Graffiti art in any form, legal or illegal, is an indicator of gang activity. This causes the community to be fearful of graffiti art.

Alternative relates to providing various programs or activities that would allow graffiti writers to use their talent in a positive outlet that would beautify their community. This relates to improvement, which is suggestions graffiti writers had such as more legal walls and opportunities to paint which could eliminate some of the tagging in the community. Location deals with the area in the community in which graffiti writers do their artwork such as city streets, walls and billboards. The riskier the location the better because it creates a high status for the writer. The society code is the community

who oppose graffiti because it lowers property value, increase fear and indicates a sign of criminal activity. Therefore the community would be unwilling to allow graffiti art within its area. Perception code relates to community awareness because it is the view point of how graffiti writers and community members perceive graffiti art. Graffiti writers would like the community to be more accepting if they can show that their artwork does not have to be seen as illegal activity.

The researcher will use these grouping codes to interpret how the community can be aware of graffiti art and how the utilization of this art can bring productivity to graffiti writers who are considered second rated citizens amongst their neighbors.

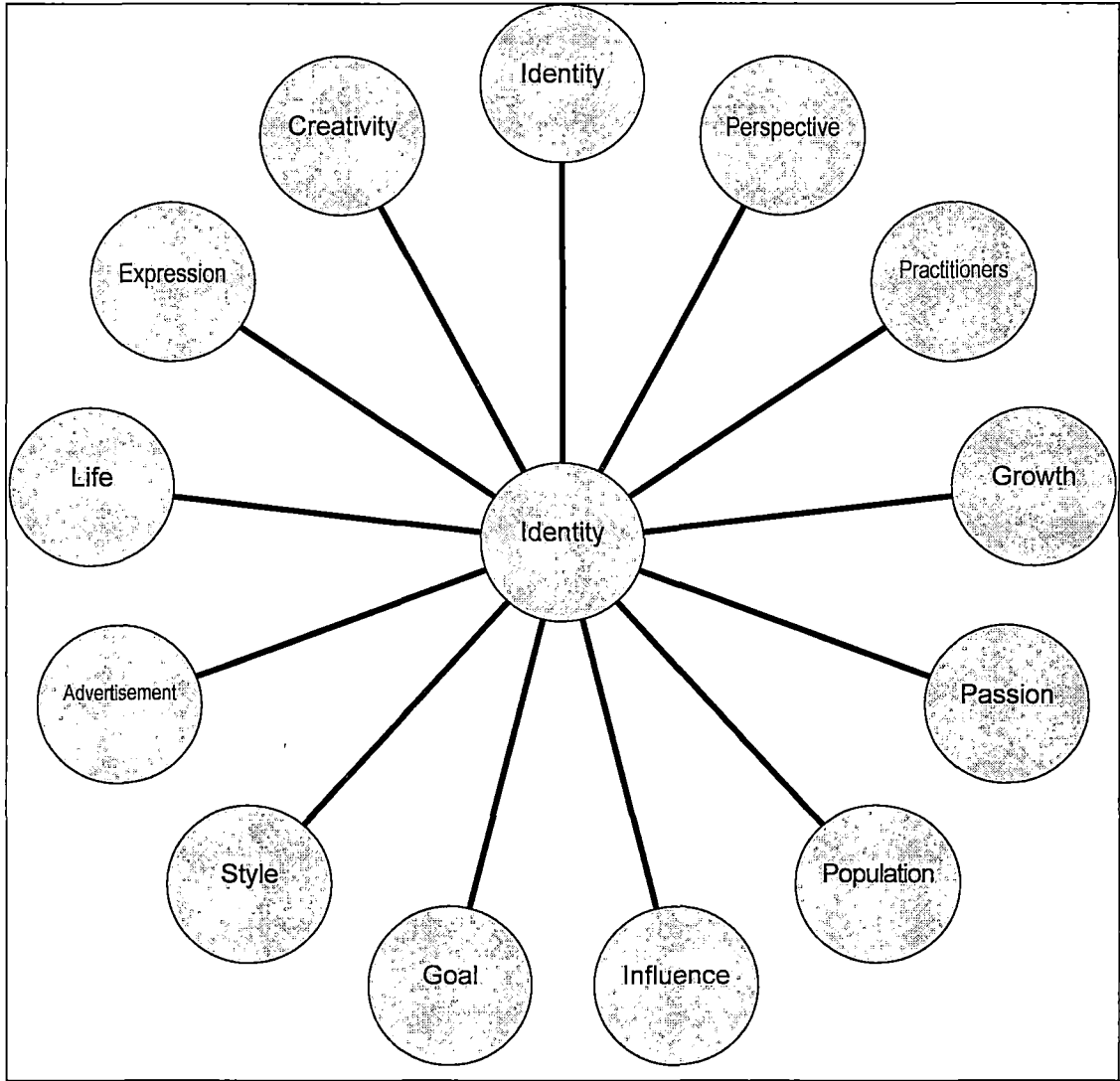


Figure 3. Identity and Open Codes

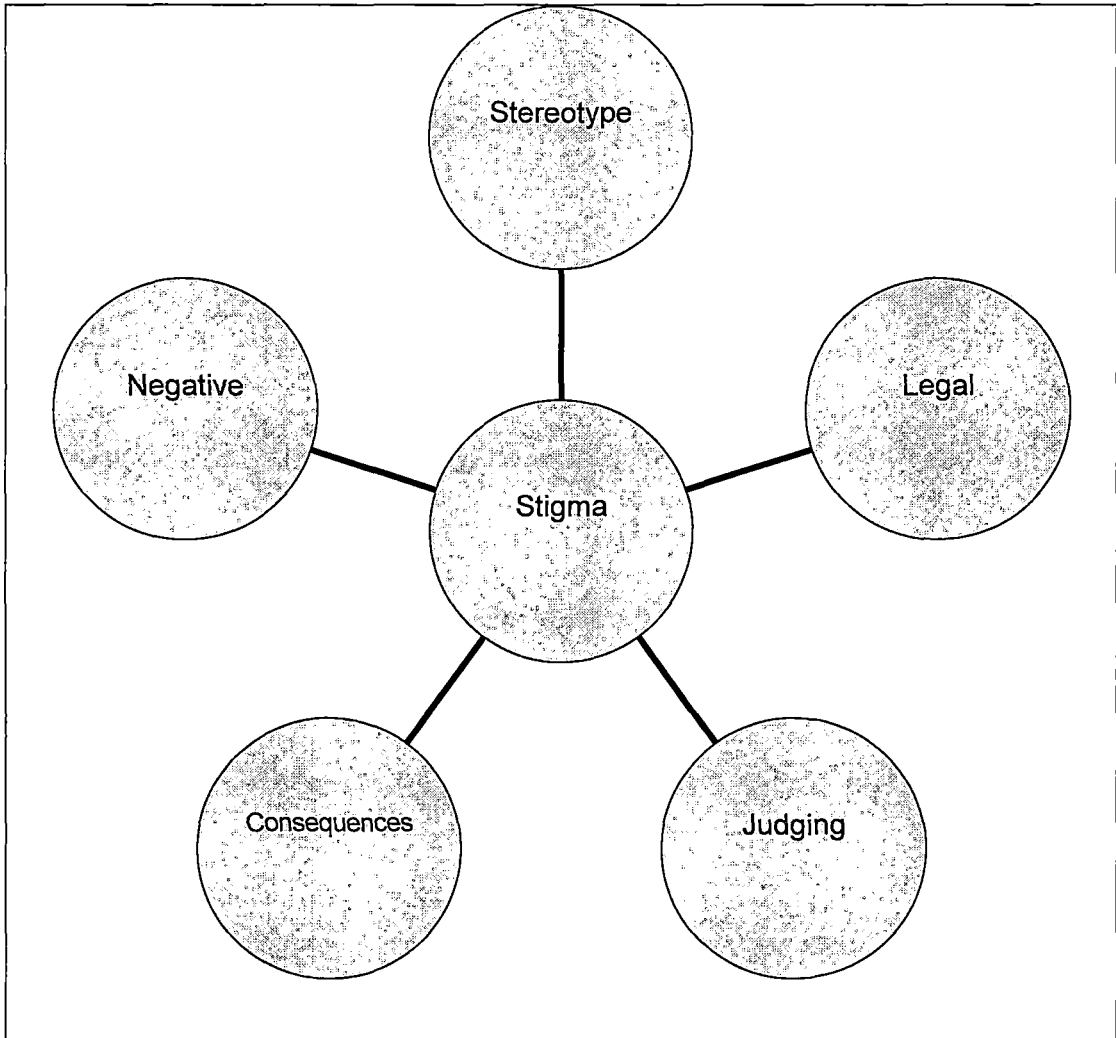


Figure 4. Stigma and Open Codes

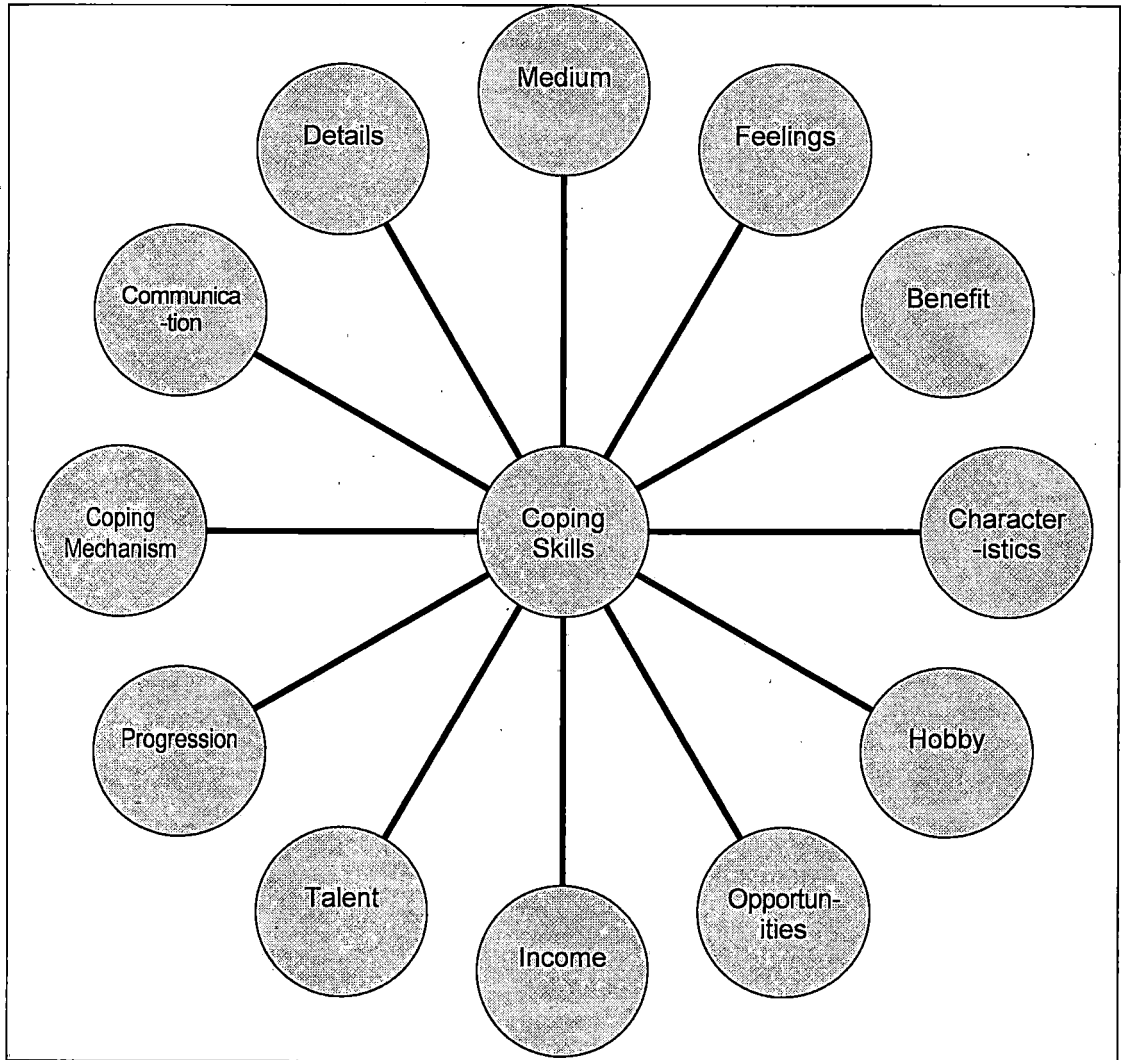


Figure 5. Coping Skills and Open Codes

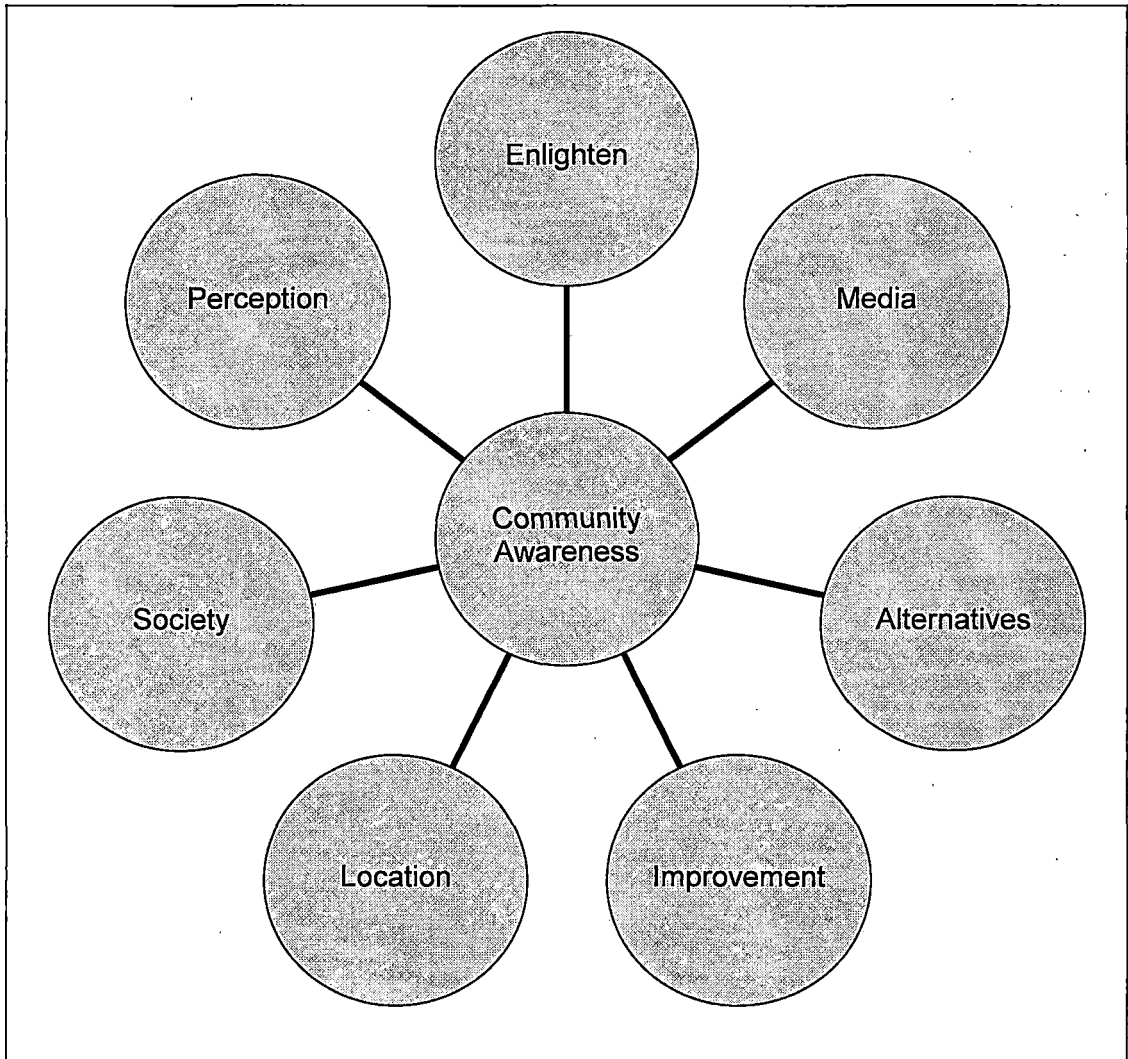


Figure 6. Community Awareness and Open Codes

Productions (Overall Theory)

The four themes are identity, stigma, coping skill and community awareness. From these four themes the researcher was able to interpret the data and present the overall explanation of the data.

Regarding identity, the graffiti writers use their graffiti art and aliases to create a dual identity. This identity is their way of standing apart from the millions of people in this nation. Their artwork proclaims a separate existence. Their feelings and expressions can be release as a way of sending a message that "I was here and I exist." To graffiti writers graffiti is more than just writing on a wall or surface. It is the statement of existence and self-affirmation. Graffiti writes take risks of arrest, injuries and death to make a name for themselves not only amongst their peers, but also society. To many members of society this identity is a mystery. To most a graffiti name is just a name. Yet there is a person behind that tag, piece and burner. The graffiti writers have this hidden identity in which they express by paint, but it's only created by the graffiti. Many people never find out who the graffiti writer is as far as age, race, or gender.

There are many stressful days of existing in society, so graffiti writers unleash this pent up stress through murals and artwork. However their identity takes a new form, that of a vandal. Graffiti is supposed to be illegal, the graffiti purist state. There is an identity

with the graffiti writer's style. Those who have an original style can be identified by other writers strictly by their style of graffiti. Therefore to graffiti writers graffiti is not vandalism or artwork, but who they are; it is their lives.

Since graffiti art is assumed to be illegal it carries a stigma of being rebellious and threatening. Due to this assumption graffiti writers carry the stereotype of outlaws and vandals. Some accept this title with pride while others feel they are stereotyped by others' actions. Graffiti is automatically thought of as criminal behavior and scary. A neighborhood covered with graffiti is said to be crime infested and breed criminal activity. However, from the data gathered from the graffiti writers they appreciate doing large scale murals called production to bring color and a positive atmosphere to their community.

Therefore legal walls are opposed by law enforcement organizations because they harvest graffiti writer gatherings which lead to criminal activity. Graffiti does possess negative attributes that contribute to the stigma label which include vandalism, drug use, violence, neglecting one's family and incarceration. These

attributes lead to the assumption that anyone holding a spray can is going to commit an act of vandalism. The image of a spray can has a rebellious sense to it. Graffiti writers must deal with being seen as gang members even though some got into graffiti to avoid gangs and being picked on by gangs because they are not gang members, by taking away the acclaim of the gangster life. Many of the graffiti writers wished they could shake the stigma of graffiti art and show society that graffiti is not always negative and that it does have positive traits.

Many of the graffiti writers expressed that graffiti is their way of releasing the bottled up tension and stress that life brings them. When they are painting they are at ease and relaxed. It is a form of therapy by creating a piece that can describe the emotions and feelings of the graffiti writer who painted it. As writers get older and have more responsibility, graffiti art becomes a way of escape from reality and step into another world, a world that is based on colors, styles, and fame.

Graffiti not only is an escape from the stresses of life, but also tough situations like divorces of parents,

death of a friend and violence. Growing up in the streets the graffiti writers this researcher interviewed mentioned that graffiti was an alternative from the violence of the streets. It was a way to feel good about yourself and see the progression of your artwork. Graffiti writers utilize their talent to create self-affirmation.

Finally is the theme of community awareness. The community has been fed by the media that graffiti is bad for a community. Anything done by a spray can is vandalism, but that is not true. The graffiti writers use the spray can as their tool of choice. Many expand their outlook and use an assortment of tools such as acrylic paint and airbrush to maximize their talents.

There are very few programs that are geared toward the youths and the arts. This is important because graffiti is the only art form created strictly by youth for youth. As the community organizer stated to the researcher, "Millions are spent to remove graffiti, but how much is spent to create alternative programs." The graffiti writers travel through various communities to establish their identity within the community.

The community however has turned its back to these graffiti writers because residents do not know or understand what the writers do. The perception is that graffiti is wrong no matter where although if given permission graffiti art can be displayed without any legal ramifications. Graffiti writers understand that they are not going to be able to change someone's opinion, but they can cause a reaction either positive or negative through their artwork. The community feels graffiti writers do not understand that vandalism has an effect on one's livelihood as property value drops. Allowing both sides to create a dialogue could shed light on both parties and bring about a change in the community's outlook towards graffiti. In the state of Montana a community brought in various graffiti writers from all over the United States and had them paint their city walls.

The community and the graffiti writers felt it was a great collaboration. One of the graffiti writers is having a graffiti battle, a graffiti competition, in which can goods donated by the spectators will be donated to a homeless shelter. This shows that graffiti writers want to improve their image amongst the community

members. It is going to take a joint effort in which this researcher hopes this study can be the springboard to launch a collaborative effort in establishing community awareness of graffiti art.

Implications of Findings for Micro and/or Macro Practice

The findings from the data can be used in micro practice in regards to assessments. A social worker who understands that graffiti is a form of identity can use this information to build rapport. The social worker can become knowledgeable of the graffiti culture which can increase the awareness as to why a youth can be involved in graffiti. Rather than dismissing the youths' artwork as "gang writing," "garbage" or "doing this will get you in trouble," the social worker can engage the youth through a strength-based approach. The social worker can recognize that it takes practice and dedication for someone to create a piece and the effort to create a style.

The social worker can meet the youth where they are, which identifies who they are through their artwork. It is much more than artwork; it is their feelings, their attitude, their view on life, and their persona. The

social worker can use this information to assess the youth. Through a piece the graffiti writers can describe how they were feeling at the time or that they were bothered by something, but doing a piece calmed them down.

Graffiti art can be a coping skill as graffiti writers mention; it is a release from reality. Furthermore, the discussion of a piece if used as a coping skill can provide the social worker the opportunity to probe more into the problem the youth may be encountering. For example, the youth may be having issues with their parents, but never discussed it with the social worker. The social worker takes notice of a piece of artwork done and inquires about it. Youths mention that it was done when they were mad at their parents. By allowing youth to elaborate about their artwork, the social worker can probe and assess the situation regarding the conflict between the youth and the parents.

Regarding assessing, the social worker can look into any further high risk behavior such as truancy, curfew violations, theft, drugs, or violence. These risk factors may be present through graffiti. It is not always the

case, but since graffiti was founded on its illegal nature youth may steal their paint, break curfew to paint late at night so not to be apprehended by law enforcement, and since graffiti is highly competitive writer may create conflict with other that may involve violence.

There are positive qualities that can be assessed also like creativity, innovation, individuality, advertising and communication skills. Graffiti art might be keeping the youth from becoming involved in gang activity as one graffiti writer recalled. Graffiti writers used graffiti art to stay away from gangs and violence which runs rampant in the streets that they live in. Graffiti art could be their only extra-curricular activity.

Limitations of Study

The limitations in this study were that in the member checking meeting, the graffiti writers and the key stakeholders had to meet separately because of the request of the graffiti writers to remain anonymous. Since one of the key stakeholders is a police officer of the Graffiti Task Force, some of the writers did not want

to reveal their identity. This kept all of the participants from meeting and working on a consensus view regarding graffiti art. Another limitation was that the researcher did not meet with graffiti writers who solely felt graffiti had to be strictly illegal and any writing done legally was not considered graffiti. Most of the graffiti writers interviewed had contributed to artwork with and without permission. The final limitation was that the participants were from the inland region of California whose population's views regarding graffiti may vary from those living in metropolitan cities.

Summary

This chapter discussed the evaluation portion of the data collected. The analysis of the data can be broken up into four components. There are the tags which are the codes found within the data. The throw-ups are the explanations of the codes. The pieces include the codes and the statements from participants. The pieces also include the four themes of the data which are identity, stigma, coping skills and community awareness. The production is the overall theme of the data. Once the analysis has been completed the data must be interpreted.

CHAPTER FIVE

TERMINATION AND FOLLOW UP

Introduction

This chapter consists of the termination of the research study. The researcher went to the study site and spoke to the participants and informed them of the findings of the study. The researcher then terminated the study. Finally, the researcher discussed the ongoing relationship that was comprised of the researcher's passion for graffiti art and the rapport that was built with the graffiti writers.

Communicating Findings to Study Site and Study Participants

The researcher went to the study site, the hip-hop store, to notify the participants of the findings from the research study. The researcher verbally explained that in the study graffiti art allows graffiti writers to have an identity within their artwork. However, due to the assumptions of society, graffiti art is assumed to be illegal which then stigmatizes the art as being vandalism. However, key stakeholders realize that not all graffiti art is all positive or all negative. If done

with permission graffiti art is permitted; if not, then those participating will be prosecuted. Many of the participants were surprised to hear that the key stakeholders actually had positive statements regarding graffiti art or felt that graffiti art can be seen as positive. They assumed that the key stakeholders were going to take a more conservative approach in their response. For example, any type of graffiti art is negative and should be removed from the walls whether done with permission or not. The graffiti writers were appreciative of the support and acknowledgement the researcher has been giving their culture. They felt that this research project would allow more people to see graffiti not strictly as a form of vandalism, but a way of self-expression in forming an identity. There will be upcoming graffiti art related events in which the researcher plans to attend to inform more graffiti writers of the findings in the researcher study.

Termination of Study

The researcher has informed participants of the termination of the study. The researcher terminated with the participants regarding data collecting and

participant involvement. The researcher officially announced to the owner of the hip-hop store the termination of the study. The researcher thanked the store owner for his cooperation and involvement in the study.

Ongoing Relationship with Study Participants

Because of the researcher's passion and affiliation with the graffiti art culture it would be difficult to completely terminate the relationships the researcher has made with the participants. The researcher study has been terminated, but the movement of expanding and educating society about graffiti art is still an on-going process. The researcher has spoken to graffiti artists about working together to paint murals on donated walls that will encourage community involvement. There are graffiti art events that will be taking place where the researcher will be collaborating with graffiti writers to encourage the graffiti art movement. The researcher took statements and met with the key stakeholders to obtain their construct of the writers' statements. From this meeting there was a joint consensus as to what can be done pertaining to graffiti art. The topics that were

discussed were walls for programs such as mural productions and alternative programs related to graffiti art. There needs to be an incorporation of some type of education to younger writers by older writers involving the community. The goal is to create a joint construct as to what action can be done regarding graffiti art.

Summary

This chapter discussed the termination of the research study. The researcher went to the study site and the participants and discussed verbally the findings of the research study. The researcher terminated the study and informed the participants of the termination. Finally, the researcher discussed that the passion the researcher holds for graffiti art makes it difficult to completely terminate the relationships made through the study. The researcher plans to work on addition projects that will be built upon what has been founded through the study.

APPENDIX A
INTERVIEW QUESTIONS (GENERAL PUBLIC)

Interview Questions General Public

1. How old are you?
2. What is your ethnicity?
3. What is your occupation?
4. What city do you reside in?
5. What is graffiti?
6. Why do you feel people do graffiti?
7. What types of population participate in graffiti?
8. Do you consider graffiti art?
9. What is your occupation?
10. What is your highest level of education?
11. What are some alternatives to graffiti?
12. Have you ever talked to a graffiti writer?
13. Do you feel graffiti can be positive?
14. Do you feel graffiti is wrong? Why?
15. Would you like to see legal graffiti events?
16. How does graffiti affect the community?
17. How can we help graffiti writers?
18. What is your ethnicity?
19. Does graffiti have a purpose?
20. How would you feel if your son/daughter did graffiti?
21. Do you feel the punishment for graffiti is a deterrent?
22. Do you believe graffiti can be stopped?
23. Would you be interested into learning more about graffiti? Why?
24. Who plays the role in stopping graffiti?
25. Is there someone who I can speak to who has a different view?

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS (GRAFFITI WRITERS)

Interview Questions Graffiti Writers

1. How old are you?
2. What is your ethnicity?
3. What is your occupation?
4. What city do you reside in?
5. What is graffiti?
6. How long have you been writing?
7. What motivates you to write?
8. Why do you write?
9. Who has influenced you in life?
10. Who has influenced you in your writing?
11. Where do you write?
12. How do you feel when you write?
13. What is your ethnicity?
14. How old are you?
15. What is your highest level of education?
16. How did you get into writing?
17. How would you describe graffiti to someone who is opposed to it?
18. Do your friends write too?
19. Is your family aware you write?
20. How do they feel about your writing?
21. Is there a difference in how you feel when you write in a blackbook as oppose to writing on a wall?
22. What is a strength/positive outlook about your writings?
23. What are your writing tools (ex. Pencils, markers, spray cans etc.)?
24. How do you feel about legal walls?
25. If the city had a graffiti awareness day or a graffiti park to write, would you rather write their or continue to write on other places in the city?

APPENDIX C
INFORMED CONSENT

INFORMED CONSENT

The study in which you are being asked to participate is designed to investigate graffiti art and self-identity. This study is being conducted by Lorenzo Valdez under the supervision of Dr. Tom Davis, Assistant Professor of Social Work. This study has been approved by the Department of Social Work Sub-Committee of the CSUSB Institutional Review Board, California State University, San Bernardino.

In this study you will be asked to respond to questions asked by the researcher. The interview should take about 20 to 45 minutes to complete. All of your responses will be held in the strictest of confidence by the researchers. Your name will not be reported with your responses. All data will be reported in group form only. You may receive the group results of this study upon completion at September, 2007 at the Pfau Library, Cal State San Bernardino.

Your participation in this study is totally voluntary. You are free not to answer any questions and withdraw at any time during this study without penalty. When you have completed the interview, you will receive a debriefing statement describing the study in more detail. The topic is about graffiti art and self-identity and whether graffiti art is a form of self-identification for the practitioner. The practitioner is thereby expressing who they are through their form of graffiti art. As a participant you will be answering questions through your opinion on the topic.

The participant will benefit by expressing their view and having the opportunity to hear the view of others in regards to the graffiti culture. There will be a follow-up meeting after all the interviews have been conducted. This group meeting will gather all participants to discuss their view with other participants in order to arrive at a consensus on the topic.

If you have any questions or concerns about this study, please feel free to contact me Dr. Tom Davis, 909-537-3839.

By placing a check mark in the box below, I acknowledge that I have been informed of, and that I understand, the nature and purpose of this study, and I freely consent to participate. I also acknowledge that I am at least 18 YEARS OF AGE.

Place a check mark here

Today's date: _____

APPENDIX D
PHOTOGRAPH/VIDEO/AUDIO USE
INFORMED CONSENT FORM

**PHOTOGRAPH/VIDEO/AUDIO USE
INFORMED CONSENT FORM
FOR NON-MEDICAL HUMAN SUBJECTS**

As part of this research project, we will be making a photograph/videotape/audiotape recording of you during your participation in the experiment. Please indicate what uses of this photograph/videotape/audiotape you are willing to consent to by initialing below. You are free to initial any number of spaces from zero to all of the spaces, and your response will in no way affect your credit for participating. We will only use the photograph/videotape/audiotape in ways that you agree to. In any use of this photograph/videotape/audiotape, your name would *not* be identified. If you do not initial any of the spaces below, the photograph/videotape/audiotape will be destroyed.

Please indicate the type of informed consent

Photograph Videotape Audiotape

(AS APPLICABLE)

- The photograph/videotape/audiotape can be studied by the research team for use in the research project.
Please initial: _____
- The photograph/videotape/audiotape can be shown/played to subjects in other experiments.
Please initial: _____
- The photograph/videotape/audiotape can be used for scientific publications.
Please initial: _____
- The photograph/videotape/audiotape can be shown/played at meetings of scientists.
Please initial: _____
- The photograph/videotape/audiotape can be shown/played in classrooms to students.
Please initial: _____
- The photograph/videotape/audiotape can be shown/played in public presentations to nonscientific groups.
Please initial: _____
- The photograph/videotape/audiotape can be used on television and radio.
Please initial: _____

I have read the above description and give my consent for the use of the photograph/videotape/audiotape as indicated above.

The extra copy of this consent form is for your records.

SIGNATURE _____

DATE _____

APPENDIX E
DEBRIEFING STATEMENT

Study of Graffiti Art and self-identity
Debriefing Statement

This study you have just completed was designed to investigate the graffiti culture as a form of self-identity for adults ages eighteen to sixty-five. This study focused on the two constructs of viewing graffiti as a form of self expression or vandalism of private property. The reason for the study is to educate and make aware the general public about the graffiti culture as viewed by its supporters as well as its opponents. A meeting will allow both sides to hear the views and collaborate to form an opinion on graffiti art.

Thank you for your participation. If you have any questions about the study, please feel free to contact Professor Tom Davis at 909-537-3839. If you would like to obtain a copy of the group results of this study, please contact the Pfau Library at Cal State San Bernardino after September of 2007.

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