4

A Relational Perspective on Adolescent Boys' Identity Development

Judy Y. Chu

> This may sound completely absurd but it's questionable whether it's right to tell people—it's obviously right, but whether it's realistic to tell people that, you know, it doesn't matter the way you are, because really, I mean really, it does. I mean, that's the way things are.
>
> —Taylor, age 15

Much of recent literature on boys has focused on ways in which boys' socialization toward culturally prescribed conventions of masculinity can be detrimental to boys' development. For instance, clinicians propose that pressures for boys to accommodate images of masculinity that emphasize physical toughness, emotional stoicism, and projected self-sufficiency can diminish boys' sensitivities to people's feelings, including their own (Kindlon & Thompson, 1999), and undermine boys' abilities to achieve intimacy in their relationships (Pollack, 1998). Similarly, researchers suggest that boys' gender socialization may result in gender role strain, for instance when their failure to conform to masculine standards leads to feelings of inadequacy, when they are traumatized by pressures to conform to masculine norms, and when they internalize masculine ideals that inherently are not conducive to their overall well-being (Pleck, 1995). Studies have also shown that adolescent boys who internalize conventional norms of masculinity tend to exhibit more problem behaviors (Pleck, Sonenstein & Ku, 1994) and have lower levels of self-esteem (Chu, Porche & Tolman,

in press). In short, this literature suggests that boys' gender socialization may have negative consequences for boys' psychological health, social behaviors, and relationships, despite social advantages of emulating cultural constructions of masculinity.

While these theories and findings have raised important questions about the course and purpose of boys' development, there has been a tendency in this discourse to conceptualize boys' gender socialization as a linear model of cause-and-effect wherein cultural messages about masculinity are introduced and directly impact boys' attitudes and behaviors. In focusing primarily on social aspects, such as the content of the messages boys receive and the sources of pressure in boys' lives to accommodate these messages, this literature tends to objectify boys by depicting them as passive participants in, or even victims of, their gender socialization (e.g., Pollack, 1998). Seldom considered are psychological aspects, such as the ways in which boys experience and make meaning of cultural messages and social pressures to which they are exposed, and how boys are thereby able to mediate the effects of their gender socialization on their developmental outcomes.

With regards to boys' identity development in particular, recent discourse is further limited in its tendency to focus on the extent to which a boy fits a particular construction of masculinity and on the consequences of aligning oneself too closely or deviating too much. As active participants in their identity development, boys are responsive in the sense that they have the capacity to internalize and resist masculine norms and ideals that manifest, for instance, through other people's expectations for and assumptions about them. However, boys are also creative in the sense that they construct their identities, or senses of self, in ways that reflect their individual experiences as well as their cognitive abilities. Therefore, in order to arrive at a more comprehensive understanding of adolescent boys' identity development, it is important to consider how boys are influenced by cultural messages and social pressures but also how boys draw on their continually evolving self-knowledge and conceptions of reality as they develop an understanding of who they are and what they are like.

Examining Boys' Development through a Relational Framework

In this chapter, I present two cases from a larger qualitative study that examined boys' development through a relational framework (Chu, 1998,

1999). Focusing on boys as active participants in their gender socialization, my study investigated how boys negotiate their senses of self, behaviors, and styles of relating in light of cultural constructions of masculinity that they encounter in their interpersonal relationships. Against a backdrop of literature suggesting that boys' gender socialization causes them to become disconnected from themselves (e.g., unable to recognize or articulate their own thoughts and feelings) and disconnected from others (e.g., unable to develop close, mutual relationships), I was interested to learn from boys how their experiences of gender socialization might undermine or lead them to shield their connection to self, connection to others, and genuine self-expression. I was also interested in how boys may preserve their relational ways of being by resisting and/or challenging pressures associated with their gender socialization (Chu, 2000).

While the importance of relationships is widely acknowledged in developmental and psychological theory (Erikson, 1968; Piaget, 1954; Vygotsky, 1978), what distinguishes a relational framework is that it starts from the premise that all humans have a fundamental capacity and desire for close, mutual relationships (Trevarthan, 1979; Tronick, 1989; Tronick & Gianino, 1986; Weinberg & Tronick, 1996), and that our senses of self (e.g., how we see and understand ourselves to be) are inextricably embedded in our interpersonal relationships as well as our sociocultural environments (Gilligan, Brown & Rogers, 1990). In highlighting the centrality of relationships in people's lives (Gilligan, 1996; Jordan et al., 1991; Miller, 1994), a relational framework emphasizes the fact that human development occurs not in isolation with the *option* of having relationships but primarily *through and within* our relationships with other people (Gilligan, 1982; Miller, 1976). Thus, a relational framework calls into question models of development that focus on individuation and separation to determine maturity and health.

With the goal to learn about boys' experiences from boys' own perspectives, I adopted a relational approach to psychological inquiry (Brown & Gilligan, 1992), which conceptualizes the study of people's experiences as a practice of relationships and emphasizes the fact that the nature of data collected depends in part on qualities of the researcher-participant relationship (Brown et al., 1988; Brown & Gilligan, 1990). Given that the boys' willingness to share their experiences with me would be determined by the dynamics of our interactions and also by their perceptions of me, I centered my research methods on developing comfortable and trusting relationships between the boys and myself, and noted how I engaged and re-

sponded to these boys as well as how they engaged and responded to me within these relationships. In my study, I also started from a position of not knowing and explained to the boys that, because I am female and therefore do not know what it is like to be a boy, I would be looking to them as my teachers and relying on them to help me understand their experiences.

A School for Boys

The participants in my study were 58 adolescent boys (ages 12–18) attending a private boys' secondary school (grades 7–12) in New England. Of these boys, 82.8% were White, 12.1% African American, and 5.2% Asian American. Most of these boys came from middle- and upper-middle-class families and planned to attend colleges and universities after graduating. Although this population of boys (i.e., predominantly White, middle-class) has been the focus of recent discourse on boys and past psychological and developmental studies, few researchers have investigated boys' experiences from boys' own perspectives among this group (much less other populations of boys). Thus, the complexities and nuances of their lives are seldom represented in the literature.

Over the course of one academic year, I collected data with these boys using qualitative observation and interview methods. I began in the fall by engaging in weekly ethnographic observations that enabled me to establish rapport with potential interviewees through informal contact and casual interactions. In other words, I spent time "hanging out" with these boys so they could inquire about my intentions and get to know me, and so I could get to know them as individuals. Most of my observations took place in common areas at the school during "free periods." However, at the boys' suggestion, I also observed classes in session and attended after-school activities, including sports practices and play rehearsals, in order to develop a fuller sense of these boys' various contexts and relationships at school. In short, I told the boys that I was interested in learning about their lives and experiences and they generously took me under their wing, so to speak, and let me know what I should be sure to see. By the end of the fall semester, the boys had become familiar with me and were accustomed to having me around. For instance, at a sports event when a parent noticed me and asked one of the boys who I was, he casually replied, "Oh, that's just Judy. She's here to study us." As the boys pointed out, my taking

the time to develop this sense of comfort and trust with them turned out to be crucial to eliciting their honest thoughts and opinions when it came time for my interviews.

During the spring, I conducted semi-structured, one-on-one interviews while continuing my observations. Interviewees were recruited on a volunteer basis and written consent was obtained from each boy's parent or guardian. Each interview began with a brief explanation of my research interests (e.g., "I'm interested in learning about how ideas about masculinity, like what it means to be a man—being strong, being tough, whatever—how that affects the way you think about yourself and your identity, the way you act, if it affects the way you act, and your relationships") and a question about whether, as males, they have ever felt like they were expected to act or be a certain way. For the most part, I then allowed the boys to introduce topics and issues that they felt were central and/or significant in their lives. As I followed the boys' leads, my questions served primarily to encourage the boys to elaborate on their experiences so that I might better understand their meaning. Given this open-ended format, the boys typically talked about their relationships with peers, friends, family, and other adults (e.g., school faculty and staff), as well as their personal interests and aspirations. Occasionally, if a boy was shy or hesitant, I tried more actively to initiate conversation by asking questions based on topics that other boys had raised, for instance about their relationships and interests in and out of school.

Observational and interview data were analyzed using conceptually clustered matrices (Miles & Huberman, 1994) and also a voice-centered method (Brown et al., 1988; Brown & Gilligan, 1990, 1991; Gilligan et al., in press). Whereas the conceptually clustered matrices were used to identify distinct, recurring, and organizing principles or ideas in the data, the voice-centered method was used to focus this analysis on themes pertaining to the boys' developing senses of self, and to note patterns and shifts in the boys' self-expression around these themes. The creation of conceptually clustered matrices involved organizing excerpts from the boys' interview narratives by boy (columns) and according to themes (rows) to enable comparisons across individuals. The application of a voice-centered method involved multiple readings of the text to highlight the content of what was said (e.g., issues and topics that were addressed) and also ways in which the boys represented themselves and other people in describing their experiences.

Specifically, the first reading of the voice-centered method served to de-

termine the plot (e.g., who, what, when, where, why) of each episode or excerpt and to document the "reader's response," and thereby account for my presence, influence, and reactions as I observed the boys' interactions, engaged them during interviews, and interpreted their narratives. Thus, considerations of how my own identity, biases, and relationships with these boys affected the interpersonal dynamics of my observations and interviews were also integral to this analysis. The second reading involved tracking the boys' modes of self-expression. For instance, when referring to themselves, the boys' use of the first person pronoun "I" was compared with their use of "you," which could extend to people in general (e.g., "you always have to keep up your guard"), and with their use of "we," which indicated a partnership or group of which they felt a part (e.g., "we helped each other a lot"). The boys' use of "they" to refer to a nonspecific group of others (e.g., "kids just attack . . . if they think you're vulnerable") was also examined. The third and fourth readings focused on the boys' perceptions of how other people see them (e.g., adults' expectations and assumptions regarding boys in general and them in particular) and how they see themselves (e.g., the boys' notions of who they are and what they are like) to examine how these perceptions intertwined with and influenced each other, as evidenced in the boys' descriptions.

Selves in Relationship

Contrary to popular discourse that tends to portray adolescent boys as emotionally deficient and relationally impaired, analyses of these data, particularly the boys' interview narratives, revealed these boys to be clearly capable of thoughtful self-reflection and deep interpersonal understanding. These analyses also revealed ways in which the boys' senses of self are embedded in cultural constructions of masculinity, as typically encountered through other people's expectations and assumptions. Consistent with relational theories of development, the boys' senses of self obviously are not self-generated, as though the boys exist in a vacuum. Rather, the boys negotiate their senses of self in light of their experiences in relationships with specific individuals (e.g., friends and family) and with their broader social contexts (e.g., school community).

A pervasive theme in the boys' interview narratives concerned discrepancies that the boys perceived between how other people see them and how they see themselves. The boys were familiar with the masculine

norms and stereotypes that influence people's views of boys in general and of them in particular. The boys therefore understood why people might expect them to be rugged and athletic or assume that they are rebellious, disinterested, and oblivious to interpersonal cues. Nevertheless, the boys struggled with the inaccuracies and limitations of these depictions, which seemed to constrain their possibilities of being recognized and valued for the full range of their qualities and abilities. Moreover, the boys' descriptions suggest that the ways in which they reconcile these discrepancies may ultimately shape their senses of self.

An examination of ways in which the boys reconciled discrepancies between other people's views of them and their own views revealed two dominant patterns of response. Both patterns could be seen to some extent in most of the boys in this sample but varied in their prominence across individual boys. One pattern involves internalizing or yielding to other people's views, particularly expectations that reflect cultural norms and ideals, sometimes to the effect of changing how one sees oneself. The other pattern involves resisting or overcoming other people's views, particularly assumptions based on stereotypes and misconceptions, sometimes to the effect of changing how one is seen by others.

These patterns call to mind Piaget's (1954) concepts of assimilation and accommodation, which he used to describe how young children interact with their environmental contexts. Through assimilation, individuals modify environmental input to fit with their existing schemas and conceptions (and thereby resist the imposition of social and cultural constructions). Taken to an extreme, assimilation can result in egocentrism and possibly disconnections from one's relationships and social realities. Through accommodation, individuals modify their existing schemas and conceptions in light of new experiences of their environments (e.g., by internalizing social and cultural constructions). Taken to an extreme, accommodation can result in social conformity and possibly psychological dissociation, or a decreased awareness of one's own thoughts, feelings, and desires. Just as Piaget suggests that healthy development arises through the balanced interplay of assimilation and accommodation, one could define a boy's healthy sense of self in terms of his ability to consider without necessarily succumbing to other people's views of him.

An exploration of differences between boys who were inclined to yield to other people's expectations and boys who managed to resist other people's assumptions indicated that relationships may be key to boys' resilience as they strive to develop a sense of self that feels true to themselves

and also grounded in reality. Recent studies have shown that having access to a confiding relationship is the single best protector against psychological and social risks for adolescents (Masten, 1994; Masten & Coatsworth, 1998; Resnick et al., 1997; Rutter, 1990; Wang, Haertel & Walberg, 1994; Werner & Smith, 1982). Findings from this analysis further suggest that, beyond having access to relationships, the ways in which boys experience themselves in their relationships (e.g., as being understood and valued by others) are also crucial to their psychological adjustment and social well-being. For instance, boys who felt misunderstood or misrepresented in their relationships seemed more susceptible to internalizing other people's expectations, even at the cost of discounting their own perspective. In contrast, boys who felt known and validated in their relationships seemed better supported to resist other people's assumptions, perhaps to the effect of preserving their integrity.

In the following sections, I present an example of each of these two patterns (i.e., of internalization and resistance) to offer insight into ways in which adolescent boys' experiences in relationships can support or undermine their resistance and subsequently influence their senses of self. The boys described in these examples are similar in a number of ways. Both come from White middle-class families living in suburban neighborhoods. Both have access to relationships, particularly friendships, in which they feel supported. Both feel that they are regarded within their school community as not fitting conventional norms of masculinity. However, their experiences of self-in-relationships differ such that one struggles despite his friendships to fit in within the school community while the other manages through the support of his friendships to create a niche within the school community where he can fit in and be how he wants to be. Of course, these examples are not intended to represent or be easily generalized to the experiences of all boys everywhere. Rather, they were selected because they point to issues and concerns that were commonly mentioned by the boys in this study and yet seem under-represented in the literature on boys.

Taylor

For Taylor,[1] a 15-year-old sophomore, the process of negotiating his sense of self centers on his efforts to counterbalance his image as an outsider within the school community with his conviction that he is not as deviant as people believe him to be. In terms of his physical appearance, Taylor is

lanky without being awkward or clumsy and has straggly blond hair that hits just below his ears. Although his attire conforms to the school's dress code—which requires students to wear a jacket and tie, a button-down shirt (tucked in), and pants (no jeans are allowed)—his appearance departs from its prim and proper image. As we meet at the end of the school day, Taylor arrives with his jacket and tie in hand, the collar of his shirt loosened, and his shirttail hanging loosely outside his pants. His style is effortless; rather than trying to project an image of nonchalance, he seems genuinely comfortable and relaxed.

During our interview, Taylor is articulate and speaks easily and openly about his experiences. While his passionate and persuasive tone indicates that this topic evokes strong feelings for him and that he has given this a lot of thought, his readiness to share his perspective and his responsiveness to my interest suggest that opportunities to express these sentiments beyond his circle of friends (or with an adult) may be rare. With Taylor, my question about whether he has ever felt like he is expected to act or be a certain way prompts a discussion about expectations that he perceives within his school environment and how not meeting these expectations has affected his status and relationships and also his sense of self in this context. As Taylor replies:

> Yeah, there's obviously an expectation for people to act a certain way, especially at an all-boys school, I think. And problems arise when you don't necessarily fall into that category. Like problems have come up, especially with me 'cause I don't necessarily fit into that category very well.

When I ask Taylor about these expectations, he suggests that they involve displaying certain behaviors and attitudes:

> Just in general, things that you would equate with masculinity. . . . It was kind [of an] expectation for kids to, I dunno, pick on each other and have a lack of interest in anything besides, you know, athletics and stuff like that. And I don't know, 'cause it's weird, I used to be a lot like that and I used to be kind of, you know, the all-around normal kind of kid up until 4th and 5th grade and then suddenly I completely changed. And I don't know what it was. I became a lot more intellectual, I guess. And there were problems at [this school] for me, in 7th and 8th grade especially, because I'd kind of look around and I'd see how kids were treating each other and I couldn't, like, relate to it at all because I didn't, you know, I couldn't fit into that.

Consistent with cultural stereotypes, Taylor perceives expectations for boys to be boisterous, indifferent to everything but sports, anti-intellectual, and insensitive. Taylor further suggests that this stereotyped image of boys is perpetuated not only among his peers but within the wider school community as well. As Taylor explains, "It was almost as if the school condoned the way kids treated each other because it was their expectation. Their attitude was, you know, 'That's the way boys act.'" It seems these expectations are not so much ideals for boys to strive toward but assumptions about how boys are and how boys act. All the same, so long as they are a part of the dominant culture of this school and in society at large, there are consequences to not meeting these expectations such that Taylor experiences problems when, as a result of becoming "more intellectual," he finds he can no longer "relate to" and "fit into" that image of being an "all-around normal kind of kid."

Being Marginalized

For Taylor, perhaps the most significant consequence of not meeting his school's expectations for boys is that it becomes difficult for him to be acknowledged within the school community for who he thinks he is. Based on his experience, Taylor suggests that people are often unable or unwilling to see beyond the fact that he does not embody the stereotyped image of boys that pervades the school's culture. As Taylor continues to describe what this image entails, he suggests:

> So much of it has to do with sports. That's almost what it is, but it's more than that. It's the, I don't know, "Boys will be boys" attitude, I guess. You know, like fooling around and, you know, doing stupid things and I feel like so many kids acted, you know—and I could never, I couldn't really act that way. . . . And one of my problems was that from early on I'd try—I was always trying to let people know who I was through doing things like, I dunno, speaking contests and poetry contests and so I kind of got a reputation as like this annoying poetry kid. And so I've had that reputation ever since 7th grade. But I guess that's the price I have to pay for not conforming.

Taylor also finds that people's views tend to be limited by dichotomous conceptions of what a boy can be. As he explains:

> Everything is either black or white. You can't be a good athlete and an actor—'cause I mean, before I came to [this school], I considered myself as

> much an athlete as I did in theater, but they don't let you. It's a little as though they can't accept that idea and you either have to be, you know, the jock or you have to be, you know, the fringe, kind of. And I have problems because I'm often seen as being like the fringe of the [school] community. I don't consider myself that. I guess that's life and it's not a big deal for me.

As Taylor cannot bring himself to engage in the rambunctious behaviors and macho posturing that might help secure his masculinity and establish his worth within his school community, and while his athletic abilities are negated by his artistic interests, Taylor becomes marginalized. Moreover, in this context where not fitting "that category" overshadows other aspects of his character, the discrepancy between how others see him and how he sees himself seems inevitable and opportunities to correct other people's misconceptions seem rare. While Taylor portends his resignation to this reality ("I guess that's life") and claims that being seen as "the fringe" is "not a big deal," there is some evidence of his resistance as he continues, at least for now, to hold a different view of himself ("I don't consider myself that").

Interestingly, in Taylor's case, being marginalized does not imply being isolated. He knows that there are others who also do not meet the school's expectations for boys and who are similarly regarded as outsiders within the school community. In fact, his friends are mostly these boys. However, while Taylor may feel connected to his friends, these relationships do not seem to be sufficient; he nevertheless longs to be accepted and valued within the wider school community. He even makes a point to distinguish himself from those, including his friends, who may feel resentment toward the culture and community that discount their differences. As Taylor explains:

> Unlike a lot of people who are in my situation, I think I have less animosity toward [this school] than a lot of them do because—I mean, I like [this school] a lot more than a lot of my friends do, 'cause most of my friends don't fit that category either, but I respect [this school] because it—you know, for different reasons.

Whereas his friends may shun or rebel against expectations according to which they are deemed deviant and deficient, Taylor harbors a hope of being recognized and validated within this community. Thus, while he is not isolated, he may still feel alone.

Being Excluded

In addition to having implications for Taylor's status, not meeting his school's expectations for boys also affects how other people relate to him and how he is able (or allowed) to relate to others in this context. As he describes:

> There's a certain feeling of identity between the kids who you call, you know, masculine, you know, like "the guys," I guess. And there's a certain identity that they have that I don't think that I'll ever really have, but I may. I have it with some of my friends, but I can never have it at [this school] 'cause I'm not seen, I guess, as fitting into that category. There's a certain closeness that they have. Although I have closeness with a lot of my friends, I can never be seen with [the guys] in that situation, you know, talking about the Red Sox, even though I would with a lot of my friends.

Again, Taylor's marginalized status does not hinder his ability to have *any* relationships. In fact, Taylor suggests that the feelings of identity and closeness that he shares with his friends are comparable to what he observes among "the guys," or boys who are valued within the school community. Rather than constraining his access to relationships or even the quality of his relationships, Taylor's status mainly limits with whom he can identify and feel close (e.g., not with "the guys" or the school community as a whole). As Taylor explains,

> For instance, I had a speech a few weeks ago. I was talking about sports and stuff like that. And it was almost as if ["the guys"] rejected it, not because they rejected the ideas but they rejected the fact that I was giving it and they saw me as this kid who didn't have the right to talk about the Bruins because, "What does he know? He doesn't play hockey. He's not one of us." And that hurts because that's not really who I am. But I accept the fact and I understand why I've been, you know, put into that category [of not being one of "the guys"] and I guess I don't have any regrets.

What is remarkable about this passage is not Taylor's exclusion by "the guys," which is undoubtedly harsh, but his apparent acceptance and understanding of their rejection. Taylor's hesitation ("*I guess* I don't have any regrets") suggests that he does not fully accept his lot. However, the way in which he soon shifts from expressing his feelings and perspective ("And

that hurts because that's not really who I am") to justifying his exclusion by "the guys" ("I accept the fact and I understand why . . .") suggests that his resistance against other people's views of him has begun to waiver.

Furthermore, as Taylor is excluded not only from relationships with "the guys" but from the masculine identity that "the guys" collectively embody, his sense of masculinity is also called into question. Continuing to comment on ways in which he is distanced from "the guys," Taylor describes:

> I guess it's the fact that they are able to be, you know, "guys." It's almost as if just they are able to be that and anyone [else] isn't really allowed to. . . . It's the fact that they have that male identity and they have it with, like, themselves and with the faculty members. It all comes down to, really, athletics 'cause so much of the faculty and the students, that's how they identify themselves and it's hard for someone like me to relate.

As Taylor sees it, involvement in sports not only plays a pivotal role in determining one's masculinity, popularity, and worth, but also serves as a primary means by which "the guys" bond with each other and with the school, including faculty members. Given that only a select few get to be "guys" in this context, Taylor and others like him who are not hearty athletes and thus do not "have that male identity" are left to establish themselves, at best, in opposition or as deficient in comparison to this elite and exclusive group. Likewise, with "the guys" occupying the highest or central positions of status within the school community, Taylor and his friends are relegated to subordinate positions and end up participating from the periphery. To the extent that not fitting "that category" determines who he can be (e.g., not one of "the guys"), with whom he can have relationships (e.g., not with "the guys"), and even how he can act in this context (e.g., not talking publicly about sports), Taylor's exclusion is ensured.

Wishing to Be Truly Seen and Known

Taylor seems to understand why "the guys" see him as "not one of us," even though he disagrees with their view ("that's not really who I am"). He also acquiesces to the probability that, while he experiences something similar with his friends, he will never be seen as sharing common interests and goals ("a certain feeling of identity") or having an intimate connection ("a certain closeness") with "the guys" and with the school commu-

nity. However, he struggles with how his alleged deviance stifles his everyday interactions. As Taylor observes:

> It's hard for certain teachers and certain kids to relate to someone like me who doesn't necessarily embody that sort of identity. Although they may respect me, they could never be, like, truly on the same level—they'll never put themselves on the same level because they can't relate to the fact that I don't have this kind of male, generic, you know, idea. Like, for instance, my history teacher I think is a great guy and I like him a lot but he—there's always something about him that's reserved towards me because I'm not a sports hero or whatever. But that's the way it is.

When I ask Taylor how the closeness that "the guys" have with each other compares with the closeness that he has with his friends, he suggests that the main differences between "the guys" and himself are not in their experiences of relationships but in the parameters of their relationships (e.g., with whom they are permitted to be close) and in the value given to their perspectives. As Taylor explains excitedly:

> See there's no difference, but what the difference is—this is so hard to explain—they're allowed to have that closeness in the [school community]. Like I said, they're allowed to be guys in the [school] community and it's just they that are able to do that. No one else is allowed to kind of fit, like, the guy identity, although they may outside of school and with their friends. . . . And it's funny. I always remember, you know, since the earliest days, I'd always say to myself, you know, "I wish they could see me with my friends so they could know that I act just like they do with their friends."

Although Taylor claims complacency ("I guess I don't have any regrets") and acceptance ("that's the way it is"), his desire to be truly seen and known within his school community remains evident throughout his narrative ("I wish they could see"). For now, Taylor remains convinced that his marginalized status and exclusion in this context are based on other people's narrow views of what he is like. Thus, despite feeling oppressed by the cliques within his school's culture, Taylor remains hopeful that, if only people could see him for who he really is, they would see that he is also sociable, worthy of respect, and not as different from "the guys" as they may think.

At the same time, there is some evidence that Taylor is beginning to

question his convictions. For instance, when I ask Taylor what it would take for people to be able to see him for who he is, he replies:

> I think that it would take a more, wide acceptance, I guess. But I'm not sure either if it's necessarily—I never really liked questioning, you know, the course of society. I often think the way people are—the way like boys are and men are—is, you know, let it happen. That's why I don't have a lot of dislike about [this school]. I mean, I think that a lot of the reason they are the way they are is, you know, that's the way it is. And I think that I respect [people] for being the way they are, although I wish they would sometimes, you know, at some time see me for who I think I am. I also understand that I may not be who I think I am. I may be a lot more, you know, whatever. I may be what they think I am instead of what I think I am. And so, I dunno.
> *What makes you say that?*
> I dunno. Well, maybe the fact that I seem to be so universally put into one category, so maybe it may be true.

Taylor's response suggests that he has internalized the notion that there exists a natural state of male being ("the way boys are and men are") and course of male development ("let it happen"). While he recognizes that he deviates from these, he accepts and respects their predominance nonetheless. Perhaps as a result, Taylor's wish to be seen for "who I think I am" becomes linked with doubts that he knows who he is ("I may be what they think I am").

Taylor's confusion is particularly evident when one follows the progression of his thinking by extracting and tracking his "I" statements in this passage:

> I think, I guess, I'm not sure,
> I never really liked questioning,
> I often think,
> That's why I don't have a lot of dislike,
> I mean, I think,
> That's the way it is,
> I think, I respect, I wish,
> Who I think I am,
> I also understand, I may not be,
> Who I think I am,
> I may be, I may be,

What they think I am,
What I think I am,
I dunno,
I dunno, I seem to be,
Maybe it may be true.

In focusing on how Taylor frames his self-expression, one can see his discomfort ("I think," "I guess," "I'm not sure") when my question leads him to critique society ("I never really liked questioning"). As he deliberates his reality ("the way people are," "who I think I am"), one can also see how he begins with his thoughts and feelings ("I think," "I respect," "I wish") and tries to acknowledge other people's views ("I also understand," "I may not be," "I may be") but becomes increasingly uncertain ("I dunno") and ends up questioning his own perspective ("maybe it may be true"). Although Taylor tries to consider other people's views ("what they think I am") and also sustain his sense of self ("who I think I am"), his experiences of being "so universally put into one category" seem to undermine his conviction that he is not the misfit that people suppose him to be.

It seems that Taylor could potentially draw strength to resist this process from the sense of belonging and acceptance that he experiences with his friends. However, the fact that his friends are also marginalized within the school community may ironically lead Taylor to disregard their views. Thus, despite having relationships, Taylor struggles on his own to establish himself in this context. And by cutting himself off from the support of his relationships, Taylor may be especially susceptible to internalizing other people's conceptions of him, including those he previously resisted as misconceptions, to the detriment of his self-concept.

Ethan

For Ethan, an 18-year-old senior, the process of negotiating his sense of self centers on his efforts to be true to himself and to ascertain what that entails as he engages in relationships and social interactions at school and beyond. Like Taylor, Ethan also describes himself as someone who does not fit conventional images of masculinity. However, whereas Taylor's deviance is inadvertent, Ethan's deviance seems more deliberate. One area where this difference is apparent is in how the boys look and dress. Whereas Taylor seems to pay little attention to his appearance, Ethan's style reflects his desire to be different. For instance, Ethan has sideburns at

a time when they are not a part of mainstream fashion. And instead of wearing the standard navy blazer with an Oxford shirt and khaki pants, Ethan might wear a tan jacket with a plaid flannel shirt and corduroy pants. While Ethan's style may be considered "alternative," wearing plaid flannel shirts and corduroy pants is not uncommon and there are students who are more outrageous in their dress (e.g., wearing bright green pants or multi-colored checkered jackets). Moreover, Ethan always looks well groomed, not sloppy or grungy, and tends to be soft-spoken and mild-mannered. Thus, Ethan is somewhere in the middle; he manages to distinguish himself but the distinction is subtle and he can easily blend in at this school.

During our interview, Ethan's calm and quiet disposition is evident. He is thoughtful in responding to my questions and occasionally asks for clarification to make sure he understands what I am asking. He becomes slightly timid during pauses in the conversation. However, for the most part, he expresses himself confidently yet modestly and gives the impression of being self-assured but not self-righteous.

Drawing Strength from Relationships

In contrast to Taylor's experience, Ethan emphasizes ways in which his relationships, especially his closest friendship, have helped him to be true to himself and supported his efforts to show others what he is really like. When I ask Ethan whether, as a male, he has ever felt expected to be or act a certain way, he begins by describing how he has fallen short of his dad's notions of how a boy should be:

> I think that I feel pressure to be more masculine, like I feel like my dad sometimes—like when I do things, just the fact that I was never good at regular sports when I was younger, like baseball or whatever. I was never good at that and I could tell, I felt like he was pretty disappointed in me. Or when I didn't want to do work, like yard work or something, he'd always be disappointed. And I felt like, like he's trying to get me to be more like a little boy or like a young boy or something. And I think lately, not really, I think my parents have come to realize that I'm not really like a gung-ho masculine type of guy.

Ethan also describes feeling coerced by his mom's efforts to shape him according to her own ideals:

> I think I reached a breaking point when I was about, like, 12 or 13 when—because my mom, *especially* my mom, really tried to get me to be like, I don't know what she tried to get me to be but it was just, I felt like I wasn't being myself at all. . . . It just felt like she was forcing me to try to impress other people and just have me dress the way she wanted me to dress and—I mean, I assume all kids are like that but I just felt like she was really trying to make me be the person that she really wanted me to be. And, um, I suppose I rebelled.

While his dad's disappointment may have undermined Ethan's sense of being sufficiently masculine in the past, Ethan indicates that he has come to accept the discrepancy between his dad's expectations and the reality of who he is, even if his parents have not ("not really"). Likewise, although Ethan may have resented his mom's attempts to foster behaviors that felt contrived and/or uncomfortable to him ("I felt like I wasn't being myself at all"), he has found ways to make his own decisions about who he wants to be and how he wants to act.

Namely, Ethan explains that his relationship with his closest friend has enabled him to resist pressures to accommodate himself, or at least his behaviors, to his parents' expectations and ideals. As Ethan explains:

> When I was 13, I met my closest friend right now and he really helped me to become who I want to become. I felt like we both kind of helped each other grow into, like, who we want to be right now. Up until that time, I'd kind of been thinking, "Well, I don't really like this, so why am I doing it?" but continued to do it, like just dressing all neat and trying to impress everyone I met and trying to be like the perfect kid. But in meeting my friend, he really helped—we both helped each other a lot to become who we are right now. And we both like who we are right now, to some extent. . . . But before that, I felt my mom was really pressuring me to be the perfect kid. And I think that's probably why I hate that so much now. Because it really got me mad and it gets me mad now.

When I ask how he and his friend helped each other, Ethan elaborates:

> Like, he pointed out all the stuff that my mom was doing to me that I realized, but I never realized that it was there. Like I knew it was happening, but I didn't really. And then he pointed it out to me and I was like, "Hey yeah,

> that's wrong." And so, we both were like, "Hey, why don't we just be who we want to be."

As Ethan indicates, it is not that his feelings necessarily changed as a result of his relationship with his closest friend. Ethan had disagreed with his mother's expectations ("I don't really like this") and questioned his compliance ("so why am I doing it?"), even before meeting his friend. Rather, talking with his friend has brought to light underlying feelings that Ethan sensed but did not fully realize ("I knew . . . but I didn't really"), and feeling joined by his friend has made the options of resistance and choice seem more viable. Ethan's closest friendship has not negated his parents' influence. Rather, by raising his awareness of how his sense of self is influenced by his parents' expectations, this relationship has enhanced Ethan's ability to consider his parents' wishes without necessarily relinquishing his own goals and desires.

Feeling Seen and Known

In addition to helping him resist pressures to accommodate other people's expectations, Ethan's closest friendship fosters a sense of validation and support by providing a space in which he feels truly seen and known. For instance, Ethan describes an intimacy he feels with his closest friend that enhances and is enhanced by their ability each to be themselves in the relationship. As Ethan explains:

> I really feel like he's the person I'm closest with and he really helped me—we helped each other a lot through our conversations. . . . It's just like he's the person he wants to be and I'm the person I want to be and they're completely different but we're both happy because we both know that we want to be that. . . . We're, like, very different. But at the same time, I have a very strong bond with him. Every time I see him, it's just the greatest time ever. It's just, he's the best.

Ethan seems especially proud of the fact that he and his friend have "helped each other" not to the effect of becoming more alike but of enabling each other to attain their individual goals ("he's the person he wants to be and I'm the person I want to be"). Likewise, Ethan seems empowered by the fact that he and his friend have "a very strong bond" despite being "very different." In other words, the strength of their bond does not depend on their being similar to each other or having the same goals,

aside from their shared desire to be true to themselves. Instead, their appreciation and respect for one another has grown from their ability to acknowledge their differences and to accept and support each other nonetheless. Thus, Ethan learns through experience that relationships can withstand and even cultivate differences.

In turn, Ethan's experience of being truly seen and known in relationships seems to shield him from pressures to conform to societal expectations for boys and inspire his confidence to assert himself, especially when people assume him to be less than he is. As Ethan describes:

> I really feel like I can be who I want to be at [this school] and that there's not that much pressure. I mean, I try to be different from other people, in general. I think maybe that's why I don't feel enormous pressure. But I feel like there's not much pressure around the [school] community to be that masculine.

Ethan's perception that there is little pressure within his school community to project a certain image of masculinity is obviously different from what Taylor described. However, it is not that Ethan perceives his school culture and community to be free of expectations; Ethan's very efforts to differentiate himself ("I try to be different from other people") in this context imply the existence of standards and norms. Rather, there is something that protects Ethan from their potentially negative influence that Taylor apparently lacked. It appears that what protects Ethan is the experience of being supported by his teachers and friends to be different and thus true to himself. For instance, when I ask what enables him to be different, Ethan explains:

> It really irritates me when people try to conform and just be who people want them to be. And so that kind of drives me to try to be different, 'cause I hate to see people try to conform and just like give up their own qualities and ideals to be like other people. And all my teachers have always fostered the sense of independence and stuff. And all my friends are pretty supportive of that and all my closest friends are like me and they try to be different themselves and just do what they want to do as opposed to what other people want them to do.

Through nurturing his self-acceptance and self-assurance, Ethan's relationships with teachers and friends make it possible for him to "be who I

want to be" despite pressures he may encounter within this context and elsewhere. While Ethan's irritation may motivate his resistance, it is mainly through the support of his relationships that Ethan feels able to act on his feelings.

Overcoming Assumptions and Misconceptions

Although Ethan associates his efforts to be different with his desire to be true to himself (e.g., by not conforming or otherwise compromising his integrity), these efforts often lead him to feel underestimated and unduly dismissed. For instance, when I ask about difficulties he has encountered, Ethan replies:

> I feel like that's—people look on as just like, "He's being a teenager. He's trying to be different. He's trying to be like the generic teenager. He's trying to just get adults angry or whatever and make adults think he's being weird and stuff." Especially during the whole college process when I see other kids trying to really be all perfect and preppy and everything. I feel like I'm really out of place trying to just be myself and stuff. . . . Um, primarily with adults, when I'm with a group of adults and I'm the only teenager or whatever. I feel out of place and like I'm frowned upon and stuff. And I feel like once people get to know me, they realize that I'm not really like a freak or whatever.

Rather than being defensive or becoming discouraged by these views, Ethan seeks to show people what he is really like ("not really like a freak"), namely through relationships ("once people get to know me"). As Ethan explains further:

> I think a lot of people, when they see my physical appearance, they're like, "Oh, he must be a bad kid," or whatever. And I feel like I have to overcome that through speaking or whatever or talking to them and then, through getting to know them. I feel that, if I get to know a person, I feel like they respect me more. But I think that, automatically, people assume that I'm just weird or whatever. I think that, especially with adults, not so much with my peers, but adults, when they initially see me, just assume that I'm not the person I actually am and stuff like that.
>
> *What do you think that they expect of you?*
>
> Um, just to be really disrespectful and to be the typical teenager who doesn't care about anything, just stuff like that, to be stupid and to be, like, just re-

> ally like, the generic teenager that adults dislike. And I feel like I try to overcome that when I get to know them.

Ethan's optimism that he can change people's views of him by getting to know them and by letting them get to know him is worth noting. For one thing, Ethan's desire to be seen for who he really is challenges stereotypes that depict adolescent boys as indifferent to what other people, particularly adults, think of them. Likewise, Ethan's belief that he can overcome adults' misunderstandings—a belief that may be linked to his experiences of having worked through different viewpoints in his existing relationships—raises questions about how relationships may indirectly shape boys' attitudes and outlooks. Just as Ethan develops his sense of self in light of his parents' expectations, he also comes to understand who he is ("the person I actually am") through reconciling other people's assumptions about him with his own views. Even if he does not always succeed in correcting their misconceptions (e.g., that he is "a bad kid," "just weird," "really disrespectful," "the typical teenager who doesn't care about anything," "stupid," "the generic teenager that adults dislike") the process of trying to counter their views with his own helps him to clarify in his own mind who he thinks he is and how he wants to be.

Discussion

Through framing boys' identity development as a relational process and using a relational approach to learn about boys' experiences from their perspectives, this study highlights ways in which adolescent boys negotiate their senses of self in relationships with specific others (e.g., friends and family) and with their broader social contexts (e.g., peers and adults in their school community). Contrary to popular discourse that tends to depict adolescent boys as disconnected from their emotions (Kindlon & Thompson, 1999) and from their relationships with others (Pollack, 1998), these boys' interview narratives indicate that their relational ways of being, which are detectable in infancy (Trevarthan, 1979; Tronick, 1989; Tronick & Gianino, 1986; Weinberg & Tronick, 1996) and early childhood (Chu, 2000), carry forth into adolescence. Namely, these adolescent boys showed themselves to be (1) keenly aware of their own thoughts, feelings, and desires; (2) sensitive and responsive to the dynamics of their interpersonal relationships; and (3) attuned to the realities of their social and cul-

tural contexts. The boys also indicated ways in which they are able to resist as well as internalize cultural constructions of masculinity that they encounter, for instance, through other people's expectations and assumptions regarding what boys are like and how boys should act. Thus, while boys' gender socialization may influence their senses of self, and also their attitudes and behaviors, boys are able to mediate these effects through the importance they place on adhering to conventions of masculinity and with the support of their relationships to challenge our culture's current portrayal of boys.

The examples presented in this chapter were selected because they underscore discrepancies between how other people see boys and how boys see themselves, as described by the adolescent boys in this study. These examples also highlight ways in which boys may reconcile these discrepancies as they develop an understanding of who they are, of their relationships to others, and of their realities or "the way things are." In particular, these examples illustrate two predominant patterns of response that emerged in the boys' narratives. The first pattern, as exemplified by Taylor's case, emphasizes one's internalization of other people's views, possibly to the detriment of one's own sense of self. The second pattern, as exemplified by Ethan's case, emphasizes one's potential to resist other people's views and thereby sustain, or even strengthen, one's own sense of self. These two patterns also correspond to some extent to Piaget's (1954) conceptualizations of accommodation and assimilation wherein one's accommodation to society involves the internalization of its expectations, one's assimilation implies a degree of self-preservation and thus resistance to prevalent stereotypes and assumptions, and one's self-concept reflects the ability to balance these two processes.

A comparison of boys exhibiting each of these two patterns suggests that relationships can crucially influence whether a boy internalizes or resists societal expectations and assumptions. While most boys are exposed to cultural constructions of masculinity that manifest in other people's views of boys in general and of them in particular, there are differences in how, as individuals, they struggle to define themselves and choose to incorporate other people's views into their self-concept. Although boys' different patterns of response may be partly explained by individual difference (e.g., in age, temperament, attitudes, values, beliefs), what stood out in the boys' narratives were relational differences, particularly in their experiences of self-in-relationship. For instance, while Taylor and Ethan both have friends and they both suggest how their relationships have

shaped their senses of self, they do not make meaning of and draw upon their friendships in the same ways. For Taylor, the fact that his friends consider him to be an outsider *like them* may provide him with a sense of belonging. However, as he feels unjustly marginalized within the school community because he does not see himself as being that different from the boys who are valued in this context, Taylor's friendships seem an unlikely source of support. Without the validation he seeks from his friends as well as his school community, Taylor's doubts begin to undermine his conviction that he is not as deviant or misfit as people think he is. Conversely, Ethan's sense of being truly seen and known in his closest friendship enables him to assert himself (e.g., by choosing to be different and trying to show people who he thinks he is) and to feel supported as he resists pressures to conform. That is, beyond having access to relationships, boys' experiences of being validated and valued in relationships appear to be key to boys' resistance and resilience.

Whether boys internalize or resist other people's views as they negotiate their senses of self, they are diligent in striving to understand who they are and conscientious in seeking ways to participate socially while remaining true to themselves. In illustrating how societal expectations and assumptions can infiltrate boys' senses of self, the examples presented in this chapter suggest a complexity to boys' experiences and a breadth and depth to their relational abilities (e.g., skills and strategies for expressing themselves and engaging in their relationships), which are seldom represented in popular depictions of boys. However, this is only a beginning. As these findings are based on a specific group of boys, it will be important for future studies to explore how other populations of boys negotiate their senses of self and reconcile discrepancies between how they are said to be and how they see themselves to be. Given that human development is embedded in interpersonal relationships as well as in society and culture, there are likely to be group differences (e.g., by age, race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, sexual orientation, and religious faith) as well as individual differences in how boys navigate through these processes. Further research is also needed to examine more specifically how boys' experiences of gender socialization—in conjunction with their experiences in relationships—can hinder and enhance their psychological and social growth. If our goal is to support boys' development in ways that account for their experiences and are relevant to their lives, we must start with their own stories. For it is only by considering boys' perspectives on where they are coming from and what they feel they are up against that we can learn how

best to foster their consciousness, awareness, and critical reflection and thus help them to make more informed decisions about who they want to be and how they want to act.

NOTE

1. Pseudonyms are used in place of the boys' real names.

REFERENCES

Brown, L. M., Argyris, D., Attanucci, J., Bardige, B., Gilligan, C., Johnston, K., Miller, B., Osborne, D., Ward, J., Wiggins, G. & Wilcox, D. (1988). *A guide to reading narratives of conflict and choice for self and moral voice.* (Monograph No. 1). Cambridge, MA: Harvard Graduate School of Education, Center for the Study of Gender, Education, and Human Development.

Brown, L. M. & Gilligan, C. (1990, August). Listening for self and relational voice: A responsive/resisting reader's guide. Paper presented at the American Psychological Association, Boston.

Brown, L. M. & Gilligan, C. (1991). Listening for voice in narratives of relationship. In M. B. Tappan & M. J. Packer (Eds.), *Narrative and storytelling: Implications for understanding moral development,* New directions for child development, No. 54 (pp. 43–62). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Brown, L. M. & Gilligan, C. (1992). *Meeting at the crossroads: Women's psychology and girls' development.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Chu, J. Y. (1998). Relational strengths in adolescent boys. Paper presented at the American Psychological Association Conference, San Francisco.

Chu, J. Y. (1999). Reconsidering adolescent boys' behaviors using qualitative methods. Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association Conference, Montreal, Canada.

Chu, J. Y. (2000). Learning what boys know: An observational and interview study with six four-year-old boys. Unpublished dissertation, Harvard University.

Chu, J. Y., Porche, M. V. & Tolman, D. L. (in press). The Adolescent Masculinity Ideology in Relationships Scale: Development and validation of a new measure for boys. *Men and Masculinities.*

Erikson, E. (1968). *Identity, Youth, and Crisis.* New York: W. W. Norton.

Gilligan, C. (1982). *In a different voice: Psychological theory and women's development.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Gilligan, C. (1996). The centrality of relationship in human development. In G. Noam & K. Fischer (Eds.), *Development and vulnerability in close relationships* (pp. 237–261). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Gilligan, C., Brown, L. M. & Rogers, A. G. (1990). Psyche embedded: A place for body, relationships, and culture in personality theory. In A. I. Rabin, R. A. Zucker, R. A. Emmons & S. Frank (Eds.), *Studying persons and lives* (pp. 86–147). New York: Springer.

Gilligan, C., Spencer, R., Weinberg, M. K. & Bertsch, T. (in press). On the listening guide: A voice-centered relational method. In L. Yardley (Ed.), *Qualitative research in psychology: Expanding perspectives in methodology and design.* Washington, DC: American Psychological Association Press.

Jordan, J. V., Kaplan, A. G., Miller, J. B., Stiver, I. P. & Surrey, J. L. (1991). *Women's growth in connection.* New York: Guilford Press.

Kindlon, D. & Thompson, M. (1999). *Raising Cain: Protecting the emotional life of boys.* New York: Ballantine.

Masten, A. S. (1994). Resilience in individual development: Successful adaptation despite risk and adversity. In M. C. Wang & E. W. Gordon (Eds.), *Educational resilience in inner-city America: Challenges and prospects* (pp. 3–25). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Masten, A. S. & Coatsworth, J. D. (1998). The development of competence in favorable and unfavorable environments: Lessons from research on successful children. *American Psychologist,* 53(2), 205–220.

Miles, M. B. & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook* (2d ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Miller, J. B. (1976). *Toward a new psychology of women.* Boston: Beacon Press.

Miller, J. B. (1994). Women's psychological development: Connections, disconnections, and violations. In M. M. Berger (Ed.), *Women beyond Freud: New concepts of feminine psychology* (pp. 79–97). New York: Brunner/Mazel.

Piaget, J. (1954). *The construction of reality in the child.* New York: Basic Books.

Pleck, J. H. (1995). Gender role strain paradigm: An update. In R. F. Levant & W. S. Pollack (Eds.), *A new psychology of men* (pp. 11–32). New York: Basic Books.

Pleck, J. H., Sonenstein, F. L. & Ku, L. C. (1994). Problem behaviors and masculinity ideology in adolescent males. In R. D. Ketterlinus & M. E. Lamb (Eds.), *Adolescent problem behaviors: Issues and research* (pp. 165–186). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Pollack, W. S. (1998). *Real boys: Rescuing our sons from the myths of boyhood.* New York: Random House.

Resnick, M. D., Bearman, P. S., Blum, R. W., Bauman, K. E., Harris, K. M., Jones, J., Tabor, J., Beuhring, T., Sieving, R. E., Shew, M., Ireland, M., Bearinger, L. H. & Udry, R. (1997). Protecting adolescents from harm: Findings from the national longitudinal study on adolescent health. *Journal of the American Medical Association,* 278(10), 823–832.

Rutter, M. (1990). Psychosocial resilience and protective mechanisms. In S. Weintraub (Ed.), *Risk and protective factors in the development of psychopathology* (pp. 181–214). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Trevarthan, C. B. (1979). Communication and cooperation in early infancy: A description of primary intersubjectivity. In M. Bullowa (Ed.), *Before speech: The beginnings of communication.* Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Tronick, E. (1989). Emotions and emotional communication in infants. *American Psychologist,* 44(2), 112–119.

Tronick, E. & Gianino, A. (1986). Interactive mismatch and repair: Challenges in the coping infant. *Zero to Three,* 6(3), 1–6.

Vygotsky, L. S. (1978). *Mind in society.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Wang, M. C., Haertel, G. D. & Walberg, H. J. (1994). Educational resilience in inner cities. In M. C. Wang & E. W. Gordon (Eds.), *Educational resilience in inner-city America: Challenges and prospects* (pp. 45–72). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Weinberg, K. M. & Tronick, E. Z. (1996). Infant affective reactions to the resumption of maternal interaction after the still-face. *Child Development,* 67(3), 905–914.

Werner, E. E. & Smith, R. S. (1982). *Vulnerable but invincible: A longitudinal study of resilient children and youth.* New York: McGraw-Hill.