

VIOLENCE PREVENTION THROUGH BODYBUILDING

Master of Arts in Law and Diplomacy Thesis

Submitted by Dmitri Goudkov to Professor Eileen Babbitt

April 20, 2008

© 2008 Dmitri Goudkov

<http://fletcher.tufts.edu>



THE FLETCHER SCHOOL

TUFTS UNIVERSITY

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	2
CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION.....	3
CHAPTER II. LITERATURE ON REASONS WHY YOUNG MEN ENGAGE IN VIOLENCE.....	9
Relative Poverty or Economic Inequality	12
Scarcity	17
Urbanization and Densely Populated Areas	19
Emasculation.....	19
Testosterone	22
Prejudice	27
Low self-control.....	27
CHAPTER III. SPORTS' IMPACT ON RISK FACTORS OF VIOLENCE	29
CHAPTER IV. NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS AND SPORTS IN VIOLENCE PREVENTION	40
The United Nations and Sport for Development and Peace	40
Right to Play	41
Global Sports Alliance.....	42
PeacePlayers International.....	42
Athletes United for Peace	42
International Sport and Culture Association.....	43
International Federation of Bodybuilding?.....	43
CHAPTER V. BODYBUILDING AND VIOLENCE PREVENTION	45
CHAPTER VI. BODYBUILDING VIS-À-VIS OTHER SPORTS	56
Team Sports	56
Martial Arts.....	59
Bodybuilding.....	62
The Immediate Appeal.....	62
The Horrors of Steroids	65
The Plan	67
Individual Responsibility	68
Self-Esteem	68
Team Spirit.....	70
Extracurricular Activities.....	72
A Bridge to the Future	72
Monitoring	75
CHAPTER VII. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	77
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	80

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The current study focuses on young men around the world in their teens and twenties who are considered at risk – that is, those young men who have no access to education and economic opportunities and who have no stabilizing social anchors, such as family, teachers, coaches, church, and friends. These men are at risk of feeling less masculine. Their emasculation then leads to low self-esteem, and it is the fundamental assumption of this study that such young men with low self-esteem see violence as their last resort to regain their self-esteem and self-respect at the expense of their own or other people's lives. Bodybuilding offers an alternative route to higher self-esteem. A number of factors set bodybuilding apart from other sports that offer the same approach to violence prevention. First, building muscular bodies already attracts millions of young men around the world. Second, bodybuilding is a rare sport, in which progress, a more muscular body, is visible to all. Progress in most other sports is visible only *as* young men play them. Third, bodybuilding is not competitive, which avoids the danger of many contact sports that thrive on competition. Last, but not least, bodybuilding is self-perpetuating and self-reliant, long after an official bodybuilding program is over. As with anything powerful, bodybuilding can be counterproductive if left to its own devices, but this study offers ways to avoid potential pitfalls; it has addressed the issue of testosterone, abuse of steroids, and disconnect between bodybuilding and reality. Just as martial arts reduce aggressive tendencies when they focus on self-actualization rather than simply self-defense, bodybuilding can ultimately prevent violence when, instead of getting trapped in the narcissism of bodybuilding, young men learn that controlling their destinies is similar to controlling their muscles.

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

The goal of this study is to analyze whether bodybuilding can help violence prevention among young men in their teens and twenties. The focus is on violence prevention rather than conflict resolution or conflict prevention. Violence in all its anti-social manifestations, such as destruction of life and property, can be avoided. However, conflict per se is a necessary fact of life. James Schellenberg refers to Georg Simmel who argued that “sometimes people ‘need discord in order to preserve the relationship’ and to enjoy the fruits of ending conflict.”¹ Conflict, therefore, is a necessary adjustment in relationships on individual, collective, national, and international levels. Violence, on the one hand, is a regrettable phenomenon.

Regardless of geography, young men around the world seem to form their identities in a similar way. The idea of masculinity resonates with young men in similar ways in Africa, the Middle East, Western and Eastern Europe, North and South America, and Asia. What constructs this masculine identity has taken shape and form over thousands of years. Economics of masculinity ranks high: men need to make enough money to become independent providers for their wives and children; otherwise they are “lesser men,” as oftentimes labeled by social norms.

Unequal development, scarcity of resources, and economic inequalities put additional pressure on young men. They often fail to meet these expectations, and self-doubt sets in, followed by lower self-esteem and, most important, feelings of shame. The working assumption comes from the works of James Gilligan who argues that low self-esteem may lead to violence as a way to raise one’s self-esteem, especially in male

¹ James Schellenberg, *Conflict Resolution* (New York: State University of New York, 1996), 66.

adolescents. Defined as men by what they *do* rather than what they *are*,² they may see violence as the only way to acquire resources to be seen as masculine and to restore their self-esteem under conditions described further. When acquiring resources is impossible, they, at least, drive fear into those who fuel young men's feelings of shame – that is, who ridicule them for not being “manly” enough. Young men's preservation of their masculine identities is seen as one of their basic needs, regardless of their country of origin.

Within the theory of international conflict resolution, bodybuilding programs can be part of track II – that is, carried out by non-state actors internationally, nationally, and locally. These programs can be guided by the same principles that guide many nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) involved in conflict resolution: bodybuilding includes young men of all walks of life; it empowers them literally and figuratively; it treats them equally; and it benefits all without winners and losers.

By the same token, there are so-called social anchors that help young men maintain a healthy level of self-esteem. Family, teachers, coaches, mentors, and friends can support young men during difficult times and give them hope of a better future, in which they will perform their masculine roles as providers. This support group can also teach young men self-control, especially because higher levels of testosterone correlate with greater violence. Education and professional skills sustain this hope because higher education and better skills mean better jobs with higher salaries.

This work does not, by any means, excuse acts of violence perpetrated by those who seem to have fallen through the cracks, who have not had a strong support base of

² Maria C. Correia and Ian Bannon, “Gender and Its Discontents: Moving to Men-Streaming Development,” in *The Other Half of Gender: Men's Issues in Development*, eds. Maria Correia and Ian Bannon (Washington: World Bank, 2006), 247.

family and friends, and who have not had access to education and vocational training. This study only suggests that bodybuilding can help these young men who are falling through the cracks or are likely to do so in the near future.

On the basis of numerous studies and theories in the fields of social psychology and criminology, many young men who are at risk (with no social anchors and with no legitimate opportunities to make money) try to raise their self-esteem through violence. Moreover, their self-esteem is intimately tied with their idea of masculinity: financial independence, success with the opposite sex, and ultimately a family of their own. Bodybuilding holds an immediate appeal for young men because it allows them at least to look and feel more masculine – hence, higher self-esteem by nonviolent means.

Furthermore, bodybuilding is a good medium for youth education initiatives: many young men are already drawn to bodybuilding. As a result, bodybuilding trainers can effectively teach young men such invaluable life skills as self-control, self-discipline, diligence, goal setting, delayed gratification, and planning among many others. Without realizing it, young men want to learn these skills because the goal is within their reach: improved muscularity.

While team sports play a very important role, bodybuilding teaches young men independence in pursuit of their own goals. They do not have to rely on teams and coaches who may or may not continue their operations in the future, whereas bodybuilding is relatively autonomous. A recent story about Haitian amateur bodybuilders, described further, is a telling example of this self-sufficiency.³ Moreover, bodybuilding is probably the only sport that helps young men transform themselves so

³ Marc Lacey, "Pumping Iron of Two Sides of Haiti's Class Divide," *The New York Times*, March 18, 2008; (accessed April 11, 2008); available from <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/03/18/world/americas/18bodybuilders.html>.

visibly and so dramatically that everyone can see this transformation. In other words, they do not need courts, fields, and equipment to prove their progress to people around them. In bodybuilding, results literally speak for themselves.

The reason why this study has been initiated at a school of international relations is simple. Young men are seen as the most volatile group, and their numbers around the world are high. This is the so-called “youth bulge:” Almost half of the world’s population is under the age of 29.⁴ Working with this youth bulge, governments, NGOs, and local education programs, can capitalize on the fact that many young men want to be more masculine.

Although there are certainly more important issues to resolve, such as access to education and vocational training, young men first need solid skills to take advantage of these opportunities once they present themselves. This study argues that bodybuilding is a good medium in which above-mentioned life skills can be learned. Bodybuilding increases masculinity, raises young men’s self-esteem, and thus lowers the likelihood of their engagement in violence. In short, wherever there is economic inequality, scarcity of resources and opportunities, and breakdown of social fabric, bodybuilding can help governments and NGOs to keep young men away from violence while giving them a constructive alternative in return.

Bodybuilding has already been practiced by several successful people. These examples include Governor of California, Arnold Schwarzenegger, and President of Russia, Dmitry Medvedev.⁵ Another successful person whose popularity partly rests on

⁴ Richard Cincotta, Robert Engelman, and Daniel Anastasion, *The Security Demographic: Population and Civil Conflict after the Cold War* (Washington: Population Action International, 2003), 12.

⁵ Luke Harding, “He Won’t Be a Puppet. He Has an Intellectual Capacity and a Will. But

being muscular is Curtis James Jackson III, also known as 50 Cent. While 50 Cent is highly controversial as a possible role model for teenagers, his enormous appeal to teenagers (especially in Africa) is an opportunity rather than a problem, as long as he is presented in a constructive way.

Most important, this study is inductive. It explores different theories in sociology, pedagogy, and psychology and proposes a new approach to violent youth. Its scope is international because low self-esteem and its causes are not country-specific. Any country and any social group may experience painful transitions when teenagers are at risk of finding their own way to higher self-esteem, sometimes by way of a violent response to hardships. It is by no way to suggest that violence is innate or that vast majority of male teenagers in turbulent societies turn to violence. On the contrary, Marc Sommers' research on African youth has found that most youth are surprisingly peaceful and resist involvement in violent conflicts.⁶ At the same time, this study has an assumption that under certain conditions young men do become violent and that the cause of this violence is low self-esteem.

In this context, bodybuilding can be one of the solutions as a way to higher self-esteem, control over one's life, and finally hope of a better future. Implemented in conjunction with academic and spiritual development, bodybuilding will increase its transformative power. Many schools, especially Western private schools, offer precisely this combination of athletic, academic, and spiritual development. Yet few schools officially list bodybuilding as part of their curricula. When administered properly,

Whether This Matters We Have to Wait and See," *The Guardian*. February 29, 2008; (accessed April 11, 2008); available from <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2008/feb/29/russia>.

⁶ Marc Sommers, "Embracing the Margins: Working with Youth amid War and Insecurity," in *Too Poor for Peace? Global Poverty, Conflict, and Security in the 21st Century*, eds. Lael Brainard and Derek Chollet (Washington: Brookings, 2007), 101-118.

bodybuilding can reinforce the other two elements: teenagers' academic and spiritual growth.

CHAPTER II. LITERATURE ON REASONS WHY YOUNG MEN ENGAGE IN VIOLENCE

Studies of violence in the context of self-esteem fall into two schools of thought. The first school, represented by Gilligan, views violence as a symptom of pathology, and a feeling of shame as its pathogen. “Treatment of symptoms tends to make situations worse,” writes John Burton in response to politically more popular ways to deal with violence, such as corporal punishment.⁷ On the contrary, preventive and corrective methods target the pathogen in order to mitigate the symptom (violence). Otherwise, feelings of shame lower young men’s self-esteem and adversely affect their masculinity, forcing them to find ways to redress the damage. In the absence of social anchors, such as family, school, church, and community, and in the absence of marketable skills, such as education and vocational training, young men see violence as a booster to their self-esteem, even at the expense of ending up in jail or being killed.⁸

On the one hand, young men whose self-esteem is low withdraw into themselves and become depressed or suicidal. On the other hand, they turn violent in order to become respected or, at least, feared. Whether such young men destroy themselves or others does not matter to them. What matters is that they feel masculine and powerful again or, at least, feared by others. This hunger for respect (or fear when respect is unavailable) presents a challenge to society: how to have young men satisfy their need for self-respect and yet keep them away from violence.

⁷ John W. Burton, *Conflict: Resolution and Prevention* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1990), 26.

⁸ James Gilligan, *Violence: Reflections on a National Epidemic* (New York: Random House, 1997).

The second school, represented by Baumeister, argues that violence and high self-esteem go hand in hand. Violent people already possess high self-esteem that sometimes borders on arrogance. This school of thought reverses the causes and effects of violence that are examined in this study. It suggests that high self-esteem may cause violent behavior.⁹ This study, however, goes on the assumption that violent people have high self-esteem precisely because violence has enabled them to raise it.

A possible way to reconcile the two opposing schools is to invoke Abraham Maslow's views on self-esteem. He differentiates between secure and insecure people and the impact of high self-esteem on them. According to Maslow, "high self-esteem in secure individuals results in strength rather than weakness, cooperation rather than competition. High self-esteem in insecure individuals eventuates in domination, urge for power over other people and self-seeking."¹⁰ This distinction may explain why Baumeister has encountered violent people with high-esteem whereas Gilligan has seen higher self-esteem as a violence depressant.

Another assumption in this study is that violence is learned rather than inherited. Gilligan responds to such thinkers as Sigmund Freud who saw violence as driven by nature when pent-up emotions of rage, anger, and frustration would burst open.¹¹ According to Gilligan, shame, rather than pent-up emotions, leads to violence. Myriam Medzian also debunks the mistaken analogy of pent-up anger as a hydraulic image,

⁹ Roy F. Baumeister, "Violent Pride: Do People Turn Violent Because of Self-Hate, or Self-Love?" *Scientific American* 284, no. 2 (2001): 96-101.

¹⁰ Abraham H. Maslow, *Dominance, Self-Esteem, and Self-Actualization. Germinal Papers of A. H. Maslow* (Grove: Brooks/Cole, 1973), 115.

¹¹ Sigmund Freud, (1933) "Warum Krieg?" in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud (1932-36)*, vol. 22, ed. James Strachey (London: The Hogarth Press, 1964), 197-215.

according to which anger has to be discharged in order for a person to function properly.¹²

In this regard, a distinction between aggression and violence must be made. Edward Wilson argues that humans may be innately aggressive but not necessarily violent and anti-social. Frans de Waal also sees violence as environmentally activated and further asserts that reconciliation is as innate as aggressiveness is.¹³ In his book *On Human Nature*, Wilson discredits the concept of anger as a “fluid that continuously builds pressure against the walls of its container.”¹⁴ According to Wilson, aggression can be compared to a “preexisting mix of chemicals ready to be transformed by specific catalysts that are added, heated, and stirred at some later time.”¹⁵ Shame is arguably the most potent catalyst for such a “preexisting mix of chemicals.”

Medzian summarizes the prevalent anti-Freudian view of violence as follows: “the instinct or drive theory of aggression cannot be derived from data on human violence. It is lacking in explanatory value. Its predictions are disconfirmed by sports, entertainment, and postwar violence.”¹⁶ Medzian also goes on to assert that violence and non-violence are acquired. Thus, current views of violence and destructive aggression leave room for peaceful violence prevention by way of introducing people to peaceful alternatives.

There are multiple biological, psychological, economic, environmental, and social factors that make some people more prone to violence than others. Most of biological and

¹² Myriam Medzian, “Boys Will Be Boys,” in *Violence and Gender: An Interdisciplinary Reader*, eds. Paula Ruth Gilbert and Kimberly K. Eby (Upper Saddle River: Pearson Education, 2004), 9-23.

¹³ Frans De Waal, *Peacemaking Among Primates* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1989).

¹⁴ Edward Wilson, *On Human Nature* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 2004), 101-102.

¹⁵ Wilson, 106.

¹⁶ Medzian, “Boys Will Be Boys,” 15.

psychological factors need attention of medical doctors or law-enforcement agents. Social risk factors (which also include economic inequality) are presented in this study because most violence seems to be socially constructed and socially influenced. Making an impact on social factors has always been an arduous task ever since there has been a gap between the rich and the poor.

Relative Poverty or Economic Inequality

Relative poverty and its institutionalized justification can lead to shame. Relative poverty is also one of the most significant risk factors that contribute to violence. Those at the bottom of the social and economic hierarchy also find themselves hit hardest by prejudice and discrimination. Their lives are no success stories. Gilligan calls them “invisible men” who resort to violence in order to minimize shame and raise their self-esteem. They want to become visible.¹⁷ Relative poverty or economic inequality is a result of a deficient welfare system, uneven economic development, and corruption. Dominant groups can exacerbate this unevenness even further by discriminating against other groups and lay the groundwork for future violence, such as tribal tensions in Kenya in December 2007.

The word *relative* is crucial. Judith and Peter Blau say that economic inequality, compounded by racial and ethnic inequalities, is associated with higher homicide rates; whereas poverty as such is not.¹⁸ Absolute poverty may not lead to violence because everybody is absolutely poor and there are no rich people to upset this equality. The former communist bloc was an approximation of such an egalitarian society that could

¹⁷ Gilligan, *Violence: Reflections on a National Epidemic*.

¹⁸ Judith Blau and Peter Blau, “The Cost of Inequality: Metropolitan Structure and Violent Crime,” *American Sociological Review* 47, (1982): 114-129.

not sustain itself. In most instances, poverty is relative: someone becomes rich while someone becomes poor.

Humiliation as a result of relative poverty is a phenomenon typical not only of so-called capitalist states. A film *Crimson Gold* is a modern story of millions of working-class Iranians many of whom feel inferior to the newly rich. They may not be poor in absolute terms, but the opulence, enjoyed by a few and very well-connected Iranians, makes them feel poor in relative terms. The main character resorts to violence and robs a jewelry store not because of money but because of his hurt pride after a sales representative at the store treated him dismissively and disparagingly the day before. To make matters worse, there is little opportunity for upward social mobility in Iran. For many, mobility seems only downward.¹⁹ The bigger the gap exists between the rich and the poor, be it Iran or the United States, the more resentment and contempt the poor feel toward the rich. A seemingly small spark can ignite a chain of violent reactions.

Historically speaking, Karl Marx pointed out that revolutions had resulted not because people lived in slums but because they lived in slums right next to palaces.²⁰ The class struggle that led to violence may have resulted from the shame felt by the oppressed at the hands of the oppressors. This class struggle, only on a smaller scale, was demonstrated in *Crimson Gold* also. Socialism is believed to mitigate relative poverty.

To further strengthen argument that poverty in itself does not lead to increased violence, Elliott Currie has examined so-called poor countries with low crime rates. A possible explanation is that these societies have strong communal bonds among people who perform reputable and valued functions regardless of how much money they make.

¹⁹ Jafar Panahi, *Crimson Gold* (Tehran: Jafar Panahi Film Productions, 2003), 1 DVD (95 min.).

²⁰ Karl Marx, "Wage Labor and Capital" (1849), in *Karl Marx and Friedrich Engel Selected Works*, vol. 1 (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1969).

There are also stronger families, family roles, and role relationships. Besides, “where *most* people are poor, inequalities of material well-being are likely to be less glaringly evident, and their implications for self-esteem and social status less encompassing.”²¹

This traditional support base also explains why Golden Mountain, slum quarters in Turkey, remain peaceful and its inhabitants maintain dignity.²²

One of the sources of economic inequality is development that favors those in power at the expense of everyone else. Currie calls it “disruptive development.”

Economic growth per se does not guarantee peace as long as such “a selective prosperity is accompanied by the persistence or even increase in inequality, the breakdown of communal bonds, and the destruction of stable work roles.”²³

The opposite of relative poverty or relative prosperity may be true: equality leads to stability and peace. Looking at the big picture, Currie argues that “around the world, at every level of economic development, increasing equality goes hand in hand with lower risk of homicide.”²⁴ Increasing equality is beyond the scope of this study, but its hypothesis states that such sports as bodybuilding can help young men weather relative poverty, visualize a better future, develop a sense of delayed gratification and self-control, and, most important, stay away from violence. Young men can plan their lives the same way they plan their progress in bodybuilding with a set of clear goals and objectives to accomplish positive results. Although bodybuilding does not affect economic inequality per se, it mitigates its disruptive consequences.

²¹ Elliott Currie, *Confronting Crime* (New York: Pantheon, 1985), 23-24.

²² Robert Kaplan, “The Coming Anarchy,” *The Atlantic Monthly* 273, no. 2 (1994), 444-476 (accessed March 11, 2008); available from <http://www.theatlantic.com/doc/199402/anarchy>.

²³ Currie, 24.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 20.

The correlation between welfare and violent crimes gives more validity to the importance of economic inequality. One can actually calculate by how much welfare should be increased in order to reduce crime rates by a certain amount. Wisconsin and Texas have traditionally different approaches to welfare. As a result, or as a correlation, Wisconsin has lower crime rates than Texas, as Currie points out.²⁵ James DeFronzo has calculated that a ten-dollar increase in welfare decreases crime rate by one percent per 100,000 people.²⁶ Perhaps this is a correlation, but it is a stable correlation around the world with Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Japan in the forefront.

As Gilligan analyzes the causes of shame in *Violence: Reflections on a National Epidemic*, he also laments the widening gap between the rich and the poor, or “relative deprivation,” as Gilligan puts it. Reminiscent of Marx’s poignant observation of a class society, Gilligan states that the more opulent the rich are the more inferior the poor feel compared to them.²⁷ The most troublesome is the fact that American society is divided not only along the class but also race lines. Whites can be as poor as blacks, but whites reinforce the stereotype of blacks’ inferiority in order to have a “group of people they can look down upon.”²⁸ Thus, it is no wonder that a great deal of shame is generated among American blacks who fill American prisons to the brim as a result of violent outbursts produced by poverty, lack of opportunity, low self-esteem, and ultimately feelings of shame.

Gilligan is not alone in regarding shame and, subsequently, low self-esteem as the major causes of violence. In *Preventing Violence*, he quotes Heinz Kohut as saying, “The

²⁵ Currie, 20-21.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 21.

²⁷ Gilligan, *Violence: Reflections on a National Epidemic*, 201.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 199.

deepest level to which psychoanalysis can penetrate when it traces destructiveness [is to] the presence of a serious narcissistic injury, an injury that threatened the cohesion of the self.”²⁹ Gregory Rochlin writes about “injured narcissism” that leads to aggression, humiliation, and violence.³⁰ Herbert Thomas gives a similar sequence of events: rejection, shame, angry response, and violence.³¹ Criminology also supports this idea. David Luckenbill analyzes seventy murders in California during a ten-year period. He finds that insulting comments made by their future victims, made the attackers respond violently in order to save their face.³² Elijah Anderson describes Philadelphia gangs and their code of conduct and again supports the assumption that respect may be all a person has left and defends it at all costs.³³

The prominent role that young men play in violence is also supported by one of the most influential criminologists, John Braithwaite. In *Crime, Shame, and Reintegration*, Braithwaite enumerated most common facts about crimes in most countries. Thomas Scheff and Suzanne Retzinger succinctly summarize them as follows, “Crime is committed disproportionately by 1) young, 2) unmarried, 3) males at the 4) bottom of the social structure, 5) living in large cities.”³⁴ Around the world, these young men contribute to violence. When groups of certain skin color, religion, or ethnicity happen to possess the above-mentioned characteristics more often than other groups do, prejudice and violence start reinforcing each other ever more acutely.

²⁹ Heinz Kohut, *The Restoration of the Self* (New York: International Universities Press, 1977).

³⁰ Gregory Rochlin, *Man's Aggression: The Defense of the Self* (Boston: Gambit, 1973).

³¹ Herbert Thomas, “Experiencing a Shame Response as a Precursor to Violence,” *Bulletin American Academy of Psychiatry and Law* 23, no. 4 (1995).

³² David F. Luckenbill, *Criminal Homicide as a Situated Transaction* (Berkeley: University of California, 1977).

³³ Elijah Anderson, *Code of the Street: Decency, Violence, and the Moral Life of the Inner City* (New York: Norton, 1999).

³⁴ Thomas Scheff and Suzanne Retzinger, *Crime, Shame, and Reintegration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 171.

Sub-Saharan Africa also identifies this risk group. Correia and Bannon describe Sub-Saharan African young men in a similar way: young, unmarried, at the bottom of the social structure and flocking to large cities. Moreover, they point out that Sub-Saharan Africa has the highest number of young men with these characteristics compared to other parts of the world³⁵ – hence, numerous instances of violence that has engulfed many parts of the continent.

Masculine identity may, in fact, be part of “the human needs approach” as regards young men. Gilligan asserts that the purpose of violence is “to force respect from other people. The less self-respect people feel, the more they are dependent on respect from others.”³⁶ Under ideal circumstances, young men attain a decent professional and educational level that allows them to earn an honest living, provide for their families, and conform to social norms of masculinity. Pride replaces shame. Self-esteem rises. John Burton also draws on the ideas of Ernest Becker and Abraham Maslow to defend the “human needs approach.”³⁷ Roger Coate and Jerel Rosati also support the importance of human needs in preventing and resolving international conflicts and disputes.³⁸ When circumstances change for the worse, however, intimidation and abuse of others become a close substitute when there is no hope for genuine respect.

Scarcity

Scarcity of resources also figures prominently among risk factors. One of the most prominent authors on this topic is Robert Kaplan. A Thomas Malthus of the

³⁵ Correia.

³⁶ James Gilligan, *Preventing Violence: Prospects for Tomorrow* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2001), 29-378.

³⁷ John Burton, *Conflict: Resolution and Prevention* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990), 26-57.

³⁸ Roger A. Coate and Jerel A. Rosati, eds., *The Power of Human Needs in World Society* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1988).

twentieth century, Kaplan tells a new doomsday story of unsustainable demographics. His prime example of the coming catastrophe is Africa where scarcity of resources has led to overpopulation, crime, corruption, tribalism, and disease. Trying to secure diminishing resources, such as food and water, Africans, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa, become more violent. Environmental degradation and urbanization exacerbate the problem. The earth has less capacity to keep the social fabric intact. Kaplan's hope is that people will build stronger communities because in times of scarcity communal sharing of sparse resources helps people survive. In the absence of such communal-survival mentality, he blames loose family structures for fueling stateless anarchies in poor countries.³⁹

According to Kaplan, humiliation threatens communal survival. As the earth deteriorates, men fail to provide adequately for their families. Their masculine identity (discussed in greater detail later) can no longer conform to socially-constructed normative masculinity. They are seen as less manly. Yet, those who have families are still lucky. It is those who have no families are wanderers and, therefore, true failures according to many societies in the world. Kaplan paraphrases Martin van Creveld, "where there has always been poverty, people find liberation in violence."⁴⁰ Although van Creveld suggests that men like to fight, contrary to most findings, he does point out that they fight because of the underlying scarcity of resources that threatens their masculine identities.

³⁹ Kaplan.

⁴⁰ Kaplan.

Urbanization and Densely Populated Areas

Increased urbanization, therefore, may be another risk factor for violence. Numerous male wanderers flee to cities in order to escape from masculine norms. Young men do not make enough money to start families and provide for them, but they do not have to worry about acting like “real” men in an urban setting. Yet urbanization takes its toll on society. Kaplan recognizes cities as hotbeds for violence, particularly densely populated areas, where young men no longer disappear but come into dangerously close proximity with other urban dwellers. Rodney Stark lists density of population among most likely catalysts of violence.⁴¹ Edward Wilson also describes a “density-dependent factor,” according to which species become violent in order to control their numbers. This is when aggressive tendencies of humans ensure their survival by way of violence against others. In other words, when resources essential to these species’ survival become too scarce to support all of them, violence becomes a “valve to slow and finally shut off the increase in numbers.”⁴² In this case, densely populated areas may not lead to violence only because they are densely populated, which would be a classic circular argument.

Emasculation

Emasculation is probably the most powerful reason why men become violent. As a crucial piece of male identity, many cultures associate masculinity with men who provide for their families and who have families to provide for as well. Every society has expectations of what men ought to be and how they ought to act in order to be men. However, “faced with the pressures of proving their manhood but unable to do so, too

⁴¹ Rodney Stark, “Deviant Places,” in *Current Controversies in Criminology* (Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 2003), 36-38.

⁴² Wilson, 103.

many men are led to destructive, and sometimes violent, illicit, or criminal behavior.”⁴³

Many societies around the world are susceptible to violence generated by expectations too rigid and too hard to meet.

When masculinity is threatened, questioned, or ridiculed, young men tend to act more aggressively. Social expectations dictate men’s violent response to such stimuli as personal insults, war, and contact sports.⁴⁴ In many cultures, when masculinity is threatened and no redress is possible, a “manly” enough response is violence.

Masculine hegemony presents a serious challenge in the context of dwindling resources. Correia and Bannon describe a peculiar gender hierarchy seen around the world: at the top there are powerful men and at the bottom there are women and powerless men. A few men gain power over other men in addition to having control over women. Under these circumstances, a great number of marginalized and disempowered men are caught in the middle.⁴⁵ On the one hand, they feel inferior vis-à-vis older, richer, and stronger men. On the other hand, they feel inferior, sometimes intentionally made so, by women.

Expectations to be men and inability to meet these expectations contribute to a hostile environment. According to Correia and Bannon, the following masculine model holds true for men regardless of their geographical location: to be seen as men, they must have meaningful and gainful work, have a wife and children, and be sexually active. With only a few opportunities and only for a few men to conform to this model, a vast majority of men feel useless and humiliated. This “collapse of masculinity” leads “men to seek other ways of asserting their masculinity” or ways of escaping the pressure: criminal

⁴³ Correia, 246.

⁴⁴ Gilligan, *Preventing Violence*, 56-65.

⁴⁵ Correia.

behavior, violence, alcohol, substance abuse, and even suicide. Most important, “men’s thwarted masculinity, frustration, and anger can leave them vulnerable to engagement in conflict and war.”⁴⁶ Humiliation for not measuring up to masculine standards makes violent conflicts more likely.

Besides, in the absence of social anchors, such as family, community, church, and school, the transition from humiliation to shame, from shame to anger, and from anger to violence accelerates. Intuitively, young men seek these anchors in their family and teachers. When they do not find them, they may join groups that thrive on violence, such as gangs, but seem to provide a family of sorts. Gary Barker points out that gangsters obtain status, money, and power at the expense of going to jail or even dying.⁴⁷ In Russia during the 1990s, organized crime attracted exactly this type of youth, unwanted and humiliated by unrealistic expectations in times of scarcity. Gangs gave them a fleeting sense of belonging and respect, usually in exchange for a shorter life.

Like in preventive medicine, violence is a symptom of pathology, and it has a pathogen. The pathogen is the feeling of shame. As a psychologist and a psychiatrist, Gilligan has worked with violent men in maximum-security prisons whose recurrent theme was the lack of respect, dignity, and pride. Apparently robust men have succumbed to this feeling of shame and have turned violent in order to return what they see, and what most men see, as much more worth preserving than life itself: self-esteem that is intimately linked to the omnipresent concept of masculinity. The “loss of self-esteem is experienced subjectively as the death of the self.”⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Correia, 249.

⁴⁷ Gary Barker, *Dying to Be Men: Youth and Masculinity and Social Exclusion* (London: Routledge, 2005), 73.

⁴⁸ Gilligan, *Violence: Reflections on a National Epidemic*, 92-97.

Dissecting violence biologically and physiologically, Gilligan debunks the axioms promulgated by Freud and Lorenz. Violence is not a built-up steam in a vessel that has to be discharged once in a while. Nor is violence hereditary. Gilligan comes to the realization that violence can be learned and applied in a certain environment,⁴⁹ similar to Wilson's description of culture giving shape and form to violence.⁵⁰ Gilligan also suggests that those who cannot control their violence are much more prone to call violence inborn because then they can shirk the responsibility for its taming. The only significant connection between violence and biology that Gilligan discusses is the positive correlation between violence and high levels of testosterone.⁵¹ Young men have a greater likelihood to react violently to outside stimuli under the influence of androgens as opposed to women whose estrogen, as a rule, inhibits aggressive responses to identical stimuli.

Testosterone

Testosterone is one of the most-widely-cited causes of violence among young men. Indeed, the reason why women do not engage in violence as often as men do can easily come down to the fact that women do not have as much testosterone as men do. For example, increased aggression among athletes taking steroids has become a well-known fact.

However, saying that testosterone per se causes violence is not accurate. It rather acts as a catalyst. Higher-than-usual presence of testosterone in young men's blood triggers a violent response from them much faster than otherwise. Dan Olweus has found

⁴⁹ Ibid., 210-212.

⁵⁰ Wilson, 112-113.

⁵¹ Gilligan, *Violence: Reflections on a National Epidemic*, 213-221.

out that “boys with higher levels of testosterone tend to be more easily frustrated, more impatient, and more irritable than the boys with lower levels.”⁵² There is a strong correlation between violent outbursts and testosterone. Testosterone makes young men more susceptible to their peers’ pressure. The more testosterone young men have, the more susceptible they become.⁵³ If the influence is negative and violent, the likelihood of violence multiplies.

Based on his view of violence from a societal, biological, and psychological point of view, Gilligan presents a promising theory. If most people are not preprogrammed for violence by nature, if their environment provokes violence instead – in short, if a human nervous system is a *tabula rasa*, described famously by John Locke in 1690,⁵⁴ a logical conclusion is to change the environment that pushes people toward destructive means in response to humiliation. Again, bodybuilding is one of many ways to change this environment.

Setting up the “right” kind of environment can start as early as childhood. Gilligan’s message in *Violence: Reflections on a National Epidemic* is love. Love and care, especially in early childhood, makes people capable of loving not only themselves but others as well. Therefore, absence of love and care leaves people with no empathy, no sympathy, and no immunity, so to speak, against injustice and ruthlessness later in life, which leads to a dangerous sense of abandonment, shame, humiliation, and violence.

What Gilligan suggests is taking “better care of each other” to prevent the atomization of

⁵² Dan Olweus, “Development of Stable Aggressive Reaction Patterns in Males,” in *Advances in the Study of Aggression*, vol. 1, eds. Robert J. Blanchard and D. Caroline Blanchard (Orlando: Academic Press, 1984): 131-134.

⁵³ Richard Rowe, Barbara Maughan, Carol Worthman, E. Jane Castello, and Adrian Angold, “Testosterone, Antisocial Behavior, and Social Dominance in Boys: Pubertal Development and Biosocial Interaction,” *Biological Psychiatry* 55, no. 5 (2004): 550.

⁵⁴ John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690) (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894), 48.

society and its “dignity contest,” in which those at the bottom of the totem pole lose by definition.⁵⁵ Love and better care of each other sound more like a call in the wilderness, emanating from a doctor, whose lone efforts are just a tiny drop of hope in a so-called “sewer system” filled with rejected human beings who are trapped in a vicious circle; vicious indeed because violence begets violence.

Maslow also pays serious attention to love. His well-renowned list of needs that individuals try to fulfill puts love just below the physiological and safety needs and just above the esteem needs.⁵⁶ The more people are punished in this “sewer system,” as Gilligan states, and the more they lose dignity and pride, the more they feel entitled to respond in kind to regain respect from others and from themselves.⁵⁷ The current penal system in the US, for example, misrepresents just and fair efforts in molding derelicts into upright citizens.

Gilligan’s work is a desperate plea for help and understanding because every human being needs personal attention, love, and acknowledgment. Matthew T., Gilligan’s former patient who killed his father and later on hanged himself, is a case in point. Despite an inordinate amount of time that Gilligan spent with Matthew, helping him adjust to life, the patient committed suicide soon after the doctor left him.⁵⁸ To avoid such incidents in the future, it must literally take a proverbial village to raise a child into a mentally stable adult. Lone efforts of people like James Gilligan are minimal, at least initially, because they focus on one human at a time, but their efforts are still extremely

⁵⁵ Gilligan, *Violence: Reflections on a National Epidemic*, 220.

⁵⁶ Maslow, 161-162.

⁵⁷ Gilligan, *Violence: Reflections on a National Epidemic*, 113.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 247-267.

important because they give direction to other idealists who take one human at a time as well.

While shame is a pathogen, it can be a constructive signal of wrongdoing. Yet, how society chooses to interpret this signal and shame its wrongdoers decides the outcome. Braithwaite differentiates between “reintegrative shaming” and “stigmatizing shaming.” Societies with low crime rates, such as Japan, publicly shame its offenders, acknowledge their repentance, and then accept them back into society. Behavior rather than the person is reprimanded, and reintegration takes place. By contrast, societies with high crime rates, such as the United States, reject people rather than their behavior by sending them to prison. Shaming does take place, but it goes unacknowledged in societies that have not accepted their offenders.⁵⁹ As a result, stigmatized shaming leads to anger and potentially violence.

In *Preventing Violence*, Gilligan identifies three levels of intervention into violence: primary, secondary, and tertiary.⁶⁰ The primary intervention targets structural violence (first introduced by Johan Galtung⁶¹) whose social structure and institutions kill people indirectly by denying them their basic needs. Social and political egalitarianism is the ideal when unemployment is reduced, homosexuals are accepted, abuse of children is stopped, media violence is restricted, guns are controlled, and universal access to free higher education and free health care is provided. This phase is the most important: “assuring access to education and employment is one of the most powerful, effective and

⁵⁹ John Braithwaite, *Crime, Shame, and Reintegration*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1989), 55-85.

⁶⁰ Gilligan, *Preventing Violence*.

⁶¹ Johan Galtung, “Violence, Peace, and Peace Research,” in *Journal of Peace Research* 6, no. 3 (1969): 167-191.

successful means for preventing violence.”⁶² As such, reducing structural violence can prevent direct violence that results from humiliation of people who are unable to meet their basic needs.

The secondary intervention addresses immediate catalysts for violence. State municipalities can support parents with young children, create pre-school and after-school programs, prevent child abuse in families, and stop “War on Drugs” that subsidizes drug dealers. In the secondary intervention, sports can play a significant role. Intervention at this level takes place when minimizing structural violence faces a great deal of political resistance and when young men have difficulties maintaining their self-esteem because of inequalities and various types of discrimination.

Finally, the tertiary intervention has to do with those who have already committed a crime. However, instead of punishing criminals, Gilligan proposes to rehabilitate them, cure them of the feelings of shame just as doctors mitigate the symptoms of a disease or pathology. The tertiary intervention also incorporates Braithwaite’s reintegrative shaming: behavior, rather than an individual, is shamed.

The ultimate goal of the primary intervention seems communism – that is total equality. Communism has already been tried in several countries but unfortunately failed. Many generations of scholars, philosophers, and statesmen have worked toward this goal for generations.⁶³ Indeed, communism is a perfect equality, a utopia, but, imposed by force, the regime again degenerates into a class-based society of communist party bosses at the top and everyone else at the bottom. The only notable exception is “primitive

⁶² Gilligan, *Preventing Violence*, 126.

⁶³ Wilson, 120.

Christian communism”⁶⁴ of Hutterites, Mennonites, and Amish. These communes have not been imposed by force and thus have a better chance of survival.

Prejudice

Prejudice is another catalyst for violence. In times of economic shortages, physical or cultural differences among various groups in a given society tend to become more acute, especially if these groups have maintained minimum interaction. Prejudice can humiliate others and, therefore, trigger violent responses. Described in the following sections, sports like bodybuilding have a strong likelihood of reducing prejudice within the contact hypothesis theory.

Low self-control

Low self-control acts as a catalyst like testosterone. In case of self-control, however, it works in inverse proportionality to testosterone: the lower young men’s self-control is, the more likely they respond violently to frustrations. Functioning as a brake, self-control can arrest a process escalating into violence. In response to fears that bodybuilding increases the presence of testosterone, self-control can effectively mitigate this development. Therefore, teaching and developing self-control in young men is crucial for the secondary and tertiary intervention. Traditional training in martial arts is a good model.

The concept of delayed gratification depends on well-developed self-control. Michael Gottfredson and Travis Hirschi argue that “high self-control effectively reduces the possibility of crime – that is, those possessing it will be substantially less likely at all

⁶⁴ Gilligan, *Violence: Reflections on a National Epidemic*, 226-227.

periods of life to engage in criminal acts.” They stress the “underlying tendency to pursue short-term, immediate pleasure,” which is a sign of low self-control.⁶⁵

People who lack self-control tend to be self-centered. Harrison Gough lists several salient traits of such people: “unconcern over the rights and privileges of others when recognizing them would interfere with personal satisfaction in any way,” “inability to form deep or persistent attachments to other persons or to identify in interpersonal relationships,” “poor judgment and planning in attaining defined goals,” “a tendency to project blame onto others and take no responsibility for failures,” and “almost complete lack of dependability... and willingness to assume responsibility; and, finally, emotional poverty.”⁶⁶ Gottfredson and Hirschi say that low self-control develops “in the absence of nurturance, discipline, and training” – that is, without any effort involved. They also view child-rearing as the key to developing or lacking self-control.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Michael Gottfredson and Travis Hirschi, “Crime and Low Self-Control,” in *Current Controversies in Criminology*, ed. Ronald Weitzer (Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 2003), 75-59.

⁶⁶ Harrison Gough, “A Sociological Theory of Psychopathy,” *American Journal of Sociology* 53, no. 5 (1948): 362.

⁶⁷ Gottfredson, 60-64.

CHAPTER III. SPORTS' IMPACT ON RISK FACTORS OF VIOLENCE

Sport is usually seen as a positive phenomenon that cultivates positive qualities helpful in life. "Sports build character."⁶⁸ Sports develop social values necessary later in life.⁶⁹ They teach athletes abilities to conform, work hard, and succeed.⁷⁰ Sports provide an "alternate activity to masculinity" and "avoidance of boredom."⁷¹ In short, sportsmanship is what athletes learn by playing sports, and sportsmanship is always good. These good promises of sport motivate NGOs to implement sportsmanship in communities with cultural, religious, or racial tensions.

There is certainly an international aspect of sports. As Kofi Annan put it in 2006, "sport is a universal language. At its best it can bring people together, no matter what their origin, background, religious beliefs or economic status. And when young people participate in sports or have access to physical education, they can experience real exhilaration even as they learn the ideals of team work and tolerance."⁷² This is the ideal that the International Olympic Committee has actively promoted.

Yet, besides integrity, tolerance, and team work, sports can also instill competition and its negative side effects. One of the side effects is aggression, and a

⁶⁸ C. Roger Rees and Frank M. Howell, "Do High School Sports Build Character? A Quasi-Experiment on a National Sample," *The Social Science Journal* 27, (1990): 303-315.

⁶⁹ C. Best, "Differences in Social Values Between Athletes and Nonathletes," *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport* 56, no. 4 (1985): 366-369.

⁷⁰ D. Stanley Eitzen and George H Sage, *Sociology of American Sport* (Dubuque: Brown Co. Publishers, 1978).

⁷¹ Walter E. Schafer, "Participation in Interscholastic Athletics and Delinquency," in *Schools and Delinquency*, eds. Kenneth Polk and Walter E. Schafer (Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 1972), 91-101.

⁷² Kofi Annan, *Universal Language of Sport Brings People Together, Teaches Teamwork, Tolerance*, Press Release SG/SM/9579 (New York: United Nations, May 11, 2004) (accessed March 12, 2008); available from <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2004/sgsm9579.doc.htm>.

common argument in defense of sports is the idea of catharsis. Indeed, Aristotle, Freud, and Lorenz believed that activities like sports and heavy contact cleanse human bodies of violence.⁷³ Thus, the idea of “letting the steam out” also finds institutional support in US prisons that promote weightlifting and American football.

Unfortunately, sport has moved away from being cathartic to being competitive and aggressive (if sports were cathartic in the first place). Eric Dunning examines the departure from the idea of sport as catharsis to the idea of sport as a violence-amplifier. Dunning points out that sport in its modern definition originated in England in the nineteenth century when the elites resolved their disputes while foxhunting, riding horses, and playing golf. Over time, sports have taken many forms and, most important, have become increasingly more competitive. Nowadays well-established sports, such as football, basketball, and soccer, defeat the very purpose of sport: resolving disputes peacefully. Modern professional sports divide athletes into winners and losers.⁷⁴ Material rewards make athletes embrace violence and, most upsetting, use illegal substances in order to perform “better” and win.

Not surprisingly, sport has lost its appeal in terms of violence prevention. Uriel Adler sums up the current attitude toward sports in conflict prevention: “In exploring new possibilities for violence prevention, one avenue not frequently noted is the incorporation of physical activity.”⁷⁵ He explains why this is the case. Sports once held a promise of

⁷³ Gordon W. Russell, “Psychological Issues in Sports Aggression,” in *Sports Violence*, ed. Jeffery H. Goldstein (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1983), 157-181.

⁷⁴ Eric Dunning, “Violence and Sport,” in *International Handbook of Violence Research*, eds. Wilhelm Heitmeyer John Hagan (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2003), 904.

⁷⁵ Uriel Adler, “Karate and Mental Health: Can the Practice of a Martial Art Reduce Aggressive Tendencies?” (Ph. D. diss., Pace University, 2003), 16.

promoting “pro-social” values,⁷⁶ but a series of studies over the years have shown that sports actually increase aggressive tendencies. Most sports have become a competitive industry, in which aggressiveness often helps athletes win.⁷⁷ The popular view of the Olympic Games as a pacifier gives way to competition among states, only in a different form. The purpose of modern sport that dates back to the nineteenth-century England was to prevent violence and promote peace, but this purpose has receded.

Yet, sports still attract a large number of youth and serve as a medium for teaching them such important life skills as team work, discipline, and tolerance. To capitalize on sports’ promising potential of peace-building, the theory of conflict resolution gives particular prominence to two approaches: on the one hand, the contact hypothesis proposed by Gordon Allport,⁷⁸ Yahuda Amir,⁷⁹ Marilynn Brewer, and Samuel Gaertner⁸⁰ and, on the other, transformative approaches developed and transformed by Elise Boulding into a philosophical concept.⁸¹ Both of these theories seem to have a niche for noncompetitive sports. Bodybuilding, as the main focus of this study, has the potential to make the most of these two theories. The final analysis of bodybuilding in the context of conflict resolution will reveal the advantages in later sections.

As stated earlier, the world population in its current composition presents both a challenge and an opportunity: the youth bulge. In 2003, more than half of all people in

⁷⁶ Peter J. Arnold, “Sport and Moral Education,” *Journal of Moral Education* 23, no. 1 (1994): 75-89.

⁷⁷ Christopher Stevenson, “College Athletics and ‘Character:’ The Decline and Fall of Socialization Research, in *Sport and Higher Education*, eds. Donald Chu, Jeffrey Segrave and Beverley J. Becker (Champaign: Human Kinetics, 1985), 49-266.

⁷⁸ Gordon W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice* (Cambridge: Addison-Wesley Publishing, 1954).

⁷⁹ Yahuda Amir, “Contact Hypothesis in Ethnic Relations,” in *The Handbook of Interethnic Coexistence*, ed. Eugene Weiner (New York: Continuum Publishing, 1998), 162-181.

⁸⁰ Marilynn B. Brewer and Samuel L. Gaertner, “Toward Reduction of Prejudice: Intergroup Contact and Social Categorization,” in *Self and Social Identity*, eds. Marilynn B. Brewer and Samuel L. Gaertner (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004).

⁸¹ Elise Boulding, *Cultures of Peace: The Hidden Side of History* (Syracuse: Syracuse University, 2000).

the world were 27 years old or younger. In 2006, almost half of all people in the world were under 25, and a billion are between ages 10 and 19. Gary Barker and Christine Ricardo argue that because fertility is declining in most of the world human history will never have a youth cohort this large again.⁸² This youth bulge comprises young adults between the ages of 15 and 29.⁸³ Henrik Urdal's analysis indicates that countries with a large number of young people are more likely to experience violent conflicts whose intensity and duration depend on other factors, such as education and economic growth.

At the same time, the same young people can be seen as an opportunity. If violence is learned at a young age, alternatives to violence can be learned as well. If violence is socially constructed, then a peaceable approach to conflicts can be constructed as well. Elise Boulding expounds the social learning approach, in which "humans are seen as having the potential for both aggressive and peaceable behavior and are socialized into the behavior patterns that have evolved in the course of dealing with conflict and danger in each society."⁸⁴ This statement also echoes Edward Wilson's theory of human aggression. In this noble pursuit, malleable minds of youth bulges around the world present such an opportunity for promoting peaceable responses to conflicts, and sports serve as a pedagogical medium for youth who are attracted to sports anyway.

The dichotomy between war and peace leaves ample room for the social polarization. While high-ranking officials and criminal organizations decide to go to war, young men try to avoid it. Marc Sommers argues that most young men try to stay out of

⁸² Gary Barker and Christine Ricardo, "Young Men and the Construction of Masculinity in Sub-Saharan Africa: Implications for HIV/AIDS, Conflict and Violence," in *The Other Half of Gender* (Washington: World Bank. 2006): 173-182.

⁸³ Cincotta, 13

⁸⁴ Boulding, 10.

violent conflicts.⁸⁵ Young men are either abducted to fight or turn into soldiers on their own volition for economic and social reasons discussed in the previous chapter.

Whenever young men are able to make a choice between peace and violence and whenever disempowerment, emasculation, feelings of shame, and prejudice against others push them into violent conflicts, sports can offer a peaceful alternative to empowerment, higher self-esteem, and greater tolerance of differences.

Again, young men are the target group of this study. There is an overlooked gender problem with men: marginalization of most of them because they do not fit social stereotypes of masculinity. Scarcity of resources and overpopulation propels a few men to the top of social structures who then control powerless women and powerless men. Endangered masculinity thus puts pressure on disempowered men at least to act as men and makes violence appealing as a way to redress emasculation. Action (including violence) is seen more masculine than inaction.

There are a number of strategies to help these men. Most important strategies, of course, address such underlying problems as economic and social inequalities, lack of education, unemployment, and shortage of resources. However, when these strategies are impossible to carry out (nor are they the centerpiece of this study), there can be other ways to empower young men and build their self-esteem in order to keep them away from violence. Sports can be such an opportunity to reach out to young people who make up half of the world's population. Several NGOs, such as the Right to Play, the UN with several of its branches, the USAID, and the World Bank have already paid a great deal of attention to children's athletic development.

⁸⁵ Marc Sommers, "Embracing the Margins: Working with Youth amid War and Insecurity," in *The 2006 Brookings-Blum Roundtable* (Washington: Brookings, 2006), 104.

The transformative theory presents a vision of a peaceful world, in which a better future is not tied to any particular nation, ethnicity, or state, as has been the case in the past. The “peaceable” society is a product of all humanity. One way to strive for this result is to use sports for purely non-political purposes that do not reinforce state divides. Truly international and truly integrative tournaments serve this role. Olympic Games, unfortunately, are not truly integrative. Just a few decades ago, the Cold War played out at the Olympics, but Soviet and American teams did not get any closer. A better alternative from the perspective of the theory of conflict resolution is a tournament where teams are randomly made up of different nationalities.

Such a transformative approach introduces an important concept of super-ordinate goals when victory is important to all participating parties collectively rather than individually. Muzafer Sherif and Gordon Allport promoted the idea of super-ordinate goals in order to strengthen the contact hypothesis. Bringing people together does not guarantee successful interaction among them, as opposed to working toward a common and important-to-all goal.⁸⁶ One example of this activity is the Scholar-Athlete Games organized by the Institute for International Sport (IIS), during which young athletes from around the world compete in mixed teams.⁸⁷ Within such teams, super-ordinate goals trigger a process of de-categorization, re-categorization, and finally mutual differentiation described below (Brewer and Gaertner).⁸⁸ It means that young people create new identities and learn to respect their differences.

⁸⁶ Muzafer Sherif, *Problems of Youth: Transition to Adulthood in a Changing World*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing. 1965.

Allport.

⁸⁷ Institute for International Sport (accessed April 1, 2008); available from <http://www.internationalsport.com/vision.cfm>.

⁸⁸ Brewer.

Since 1986, the Institute for International Sport (IIS) has tried to implement the contact hypothesis in its work with teenage athletes. Daniel Doyle has organized basketball tournaments for teenagers in a number of countries. His most notable accomplishment was in Northern Ireland where Protestant and Catholic children could finally work side by side. The only sport, basketball, proved neutral for both sides. Over time, the IIS has expanded the range of sports and organized regular Scholar-Athlete Games. They have drawn many thousands of students from around the world who also compete as randomly composed teams rather than nations.

This mixed composition of teams is a deliberate feature. Gordon Allport would have described it as “pursuit of common objectives.” In *The Nature of Prejudice*, published in 1954, Allport tells a story of black soldiers fighting along with white platoons during the Second World War. Because they fought in extreme conditions and pursued a common objective, their racial differences had been suspended. This common objective of winning the war “brought the two races into close contact *on an equal footing in a common project* (of life-and-death importance).”⁸⁹ Basketball or soccer matches have nothing to do with life and death, but, in the eyes of young men, common victory is worth suspending racial or ethnic prejudices. Observant trainers would recognize young men’s motivations, use them for common (super-ordinate) and achievable objectives, and mobilize team efforts in order to achieve super-ordinate objectives.

Another concept, “equal footing,” deserves special attention. Bringing people together regardless of their status does not guarantee success of such a contact. As

⁸⁹ Allport, 277.

Allport points out, “equal status tend[s] to make up for lessened prejudice.”⁹⁰ He examined relations between black and white Americans in the 1940s and 1950s and came to the conclusion that, no matter how frequent the contacts between the two races had taken place, without them perceiving each other as equals the contact hypothesis had failed. Moreover, if minority representatives have a higher status than majority representatives within a contact setting, success is more likely. As Allport says, “It helps if one knows Negroes of higher occupational status than one’s own.”⁹¹ As for young men’s involvement in prejudice reduction, equal status is usually the case, especially among teenagers. Teenagers’ professional or academic accomplishments have not yet manifested themselves to the extent when strong differentiation is visible. Their very age bracket is equal footing.

In the contact hypothesis, de-categorization is one of the keys to prejudice reduction. De-categorization occurs when groups stop seeing themselves as predetermined and stereotypical categories. Brewer and Gaertner highlight a “tendency to treat individual members of outgroups as undifferentiated representatives of a unified social category, ignoring individual differences within the group.”⁹² Mixed sports teams de-categorize outgroups and attribute personalized features that have been overlooked before. Such a “personalization model,”⁹³ therefore, utilizes intimate contacts between athletes, citizens, students, soldiers, and other groups as long as there is a common objective or a super-ordinate goal.

⁹⁰ Allport, 276.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Brewer, 304.

⁹³ Ibid., 305.

When successful, differences gradually merge into one common identity of a team striving after one common goal. This step, according to Brewer and Gaertner, is re-categorization – that is, “cooperation transforms members’ representations of the memberships from ‘Us’ and ‘Them’ to a more inclusive ‘We’ and mutual differentiation.”⁹⁴ Protestant and Catholic young men in Northern Ireland, playing basketball side by side, go through re-categorization and create new team identities. Their old religious and ethnic ties and differences recede, at least for the time being. Mutual differentiation is the ultimate goal of the contact exercise. In this final phase of the contact, individuals learn to appreciate their differences and see them as complementary.

However, de-categorization and re-categorization lets competition between young men perpetuate itself. They de-categorize themselves away from old clashing identities but re-categorize themselves back into adversaries, only of a new kind. Whether mutual differentiation (appreciation of each other’s differences) happens afterward is not yet clear. According to Yahuda Amir, cooperative factors are much more conducive to mutual differentiation than competitive factors are.⁹⁵ There is thus another possibility of sports to succumb to competitiveness and weaken its impact on violence prevention.

To be sure, this downside of competitive sports is possible to redress. Recreational approach to sports can mitigate the competitive factor, but, without it, young men may have difficulties doing their utmost in the name of super-ordinate goals. Also, trainers can teach their athletes the values of good sportsmanship, use every opportunity to emphasize them, and manage to persuade young men that these values are

⁹⁴ Ibid., 306.

⁹⁵ Amir, 170.

indispensable in everyday life. This is when building links between sports and other aspects of life is of paramount importance.

Whether such NGOs as the IIS have been successful is difficult to say. A great Chinese strategist, Sun Tzu, argued that a battle won is a battle prevented. Preventing violence receives less glory than prevailing in it. What is certain, however, is the fact that sports-oriented NGOs have been successful at bringing people together who would hardly ever meet otherwise. To organize a basketball tournament in Ireland, for example, the IIS contacted local municipal authorities and coordinated their efforts. When the decision was made and the tournament's date was set, the IIS enjoyed the authorities' support. It also enjoyed social and institutional support. Otherwise it would not have happened. Bringing young men of salient differences together under the auspices of sport is already an accomplishment, a chance to prevent violence that stems from these salient differences.

Sport is seen by many as a way to occupy young men who may otherwise cause trouble, especially if they are in youth bulges. This is how Cincotta, Engelman and Anastasion describe youth bulges: "too many young men with not enough to do."⁹⁶ Local communities tend to accept sport programs because they seldom see sport as a threatening activity. On the contrary, they believe sports occupy teenagers in a constructive way. Iraqi Sport is a case in point, "By giving youth a constructive focus for their energies and keeping youth off the streets, crime can be reduced in a way that is positive for local communities."⁹⁷ This is also an argument that most boarding schools make in defense of their extremely rigorous athletic programs: sports keep youth away

⁹⁶ Cincotta, 44.

⁹⁷ Iraqi Sport (accessed April 25, 2008); available from <http://www.iraqisport.com/report.php>.

from trouble because sports make them too tired to cause it. The most important stage, however, is mutual differentiation when young men realize that their differences are complementary.

CHAPTER IV. NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS AND SPORTS IN VIOLENCE PREVENTION

In addition to positive effects of sports on youth, there is another apparent mutual benefit for nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and youth. NGOs can use sports to carry out their education and development programs while youth enjoy playing sports. The following list of NGOs that focus on sports is not exhaustive and not suggestive of these NGOs' success. Functions they perform come from their own websites and provide an opportunity to speculate, in further sections, where and how bodybuilding can fit. Most of the NGOs take advantage of sports as a medium for teaching young people peaceful conflict resolution. Rarely does an NGO promote sports for purely recreational reasons. Most go beyond the idea of "having fun" and teach youth about safe sex, peaceful conflict resolution, and healthy habits, to name just a few.

The United Nations and Sport for Development and Peace

The UNDP has a special program called Sport for Development and Peace that promotes sports, primarily team sports. This program of the UN works closely with the International Olympic Committee to advance the importance of sports in peace building around the world. Its goal is to teach young people "respect for others and rules, teamwork and fair play."⁹⁸ The program of Sport for Development and Peace has, in turn, close ties with the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the office of the United

⁹⁸ UNDP has a special program called Sport for Development and Peace (accessed April 9, 2008); available from <http://www.un.org/themes/sport/intro.htm>.

Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), and the World Health Organization (WHO). Many of the UN offices and programs are thus intricately linked to sports and capitalize on sports' popular appeal around the world.

Right to Play

Besides the UN, there are other sports organizations. Right to Play is one of such NGOs that use the power of sport for development and peace. It focuses on the “healthy physical, cognitive, social and emotional development of children” and teaches important values and life skills.⁹⁹ Right To Play also mobilizes communities around such priorities as HIV and AIDS, malaria, and immunization. Conflict resolution and peace education are also on this NGO's agenda. The organization helps rehabilitate and reintegrate children affected by war. Right To Play also develops local communities by training local coaches as part of its ‘Coach Leaders’ program (Train the Trainer). The benefits from training locals are professional and leadership skills, which local men and women can capitalize on in their job search. At the same time, they act as role models for other children. To make sure that its programs are sustainable, Right to Play works with local organizations. It is crucial to have local staff run all programs while international volunteers only support them.

⁹⁹ Right to Play: Vision, Mission, Values, and Guiding Principles (accessed April 1, 2008); available from <http://rtpca.convio.net/site/PageServer?pagename=overview>.

Global Sports Alliance

Just like Right to Play, Global Sports Alliance also uses sports as a medium: for raising environmental awareness among people.¹⁰⁰ Sports Coaches Outreach trains teachers and coaches around the world who then implement new sports in their schools and communities.¹⁰¹ This is a local approach, according to which young people change life for the better in their communities for the better and by themselves.

PeacePlayers International

There are a number of organizations that bring young men together around basketball. PeacePlayers International also uses basketball for peace building.¹⁰² Similar to the Institute for International Sport, PeacePlayers take advantage of young people's passion for basketball and use the game as a medium, in which trainers teach them conflict resolution and conflict prevention skills. PeacePlayers intends to bridge divides and change perceptions, the goals that go hand in hand with the contact hypothesis: meaningful and prolonged interactions among different groups have much higher chances of reducing prejudice.

Athletes United for Peace

Athletes United for Peace is another NGO that taps the power of basketball but places a high premium on academics.¹⁰³ Some of the writing assignments include topics

¹⁰⁰ Global Sports Alliance (accessed March 24, 2008); available from <http://www.gsa.or.jp/en/index.html>.

¹⁰¹ Sports Coaches Outreach (accessed April 9, 2008); available from <http://www.score.org.za/>.

¹⁰² PeacePlayers International (accessed April 9, 2008); available from http://www.peaceplayersintl.org/dsp_about.aspx.

¹⁰³ Athletes United for Peace (accessed April 9, 2008); available from <http://www.athletesunitedforpeace.org/mission.html>.

such as resisting peer pressure, long-term and short-term goal setting, teamwork, sportsmanship, and wellness education.

International Sport and Culture Association

International Sport and Culture Association also brings young people together to play sports¹⁰⁴. Yet, whether they implement the contact hypothesis described above is not clear. This NGO brings other NGOs together under one umbrella and allows young people to play sports, but the composition of their teams is not clear either.

International Federation of Bodybuilding?

Amidst these and many other NGOs promoting sports, the International Federation of Bodybuilding (IFBB) can become an NGO to promote bodybuilding also as a medium for teaching young people valuable life skills. There are many more advantages available to the IFBB (described in more depth below). For instance, bodybuilding can keep young men, who are seen by many as the most volatile group, off the streets and away from possibilities of violence. Just as the USA National Basketball Association (NBA) works with the UN on the anti-drug abuse campaign, the International Volleyball Federation (IVF) works with refugees, and the Federation of International Football Association (FIFA) works with the World Health Organization (WHO) and UNICEF,¹⁰⁵ the IFBB can too form a partnership with the UN to promote a healthy life style around the world.

¹⁰⁴ International Sport and Culture Association (accessed on April 9, 2008); available from <http://isca-web.org/english/aboutisca/aboutisca0/ourrole>.

¹⁰⁵ UNDP Sport for Development and Peace (accessed April 24, 2008); available from <http://www.un.org/themes/sport/intro.htm>.

But there is more than just recreation. Because bodybuilding promises bigger muscles and stronger masculinity, young men have a vested interest in their own success from the start. The IFBB has since its very beginning tried to become an Olympic sport. The federation has devoted a great deal of time and resources to achieve this goal, but to no avail.¹⁰⁶ There is a good chance, however, to convince the International Olympic Committee (IOC) that bodybuilding is a legitimate sport by modifying the IFBB's mission toward promoting bodybuilding along humanitarian lines that fit the mission of the United Nations' Sport for Development and Peace program. The IFBB can send its athletes as emissaries to communities around the world and have them promote bodybuilding as a philosophy and as a healthy life style. This goodwill work can then be reported in mainstream bodybuilding magazines, such as *Muscle & Fitness* and *Flex*, once owned and still partly influenced by the IFBB. Advancing this humanitarian role of bodybuilding rather than directly lobbying the IOC, the IFBB can improve its reputation more successfully, raise its international profile, and ultimately have a seat at the negotiation table with the IOC.

¹⁰⁶ International Federation of Bodybuilding (accessed on April 9); available from <http://www.ifbb.com/page.php?id=2>.

CHAPTER V. BODYBUILDING AND VIOLENCE

PREVENTION

History of violence prevention through bodybuilding is scarce. There has not been much written on bodybuilding and its impact on violence prevention and conflict resolution. Most common references to bodybuilding in this regard, however, address men's need to "let the steam out" or vent their anger through lifting weights – that is, violence is seen as accumulated and pent-up emotions that must be discharged, like other urges, in order to prevent a violent outbreak. It is the most common image of bodybuilding as an activity for prison inmates who lift weights in order to calm down.

Bodybuilding and weightlifting have also been used interchangeably. To make a distinction, this study refers to bodybuilding more as a philosophy and a distinct life style than as a sport. To make the distinction further, bodybuilding may be seen as an art. In the 1977 documentary *Pumping Iron*, Arnold Schwarzenegger described bodybuilding as an art when athletes sculpt themselves out of their own muscles rather than statues out of clay.¹⁰⁷ Dumbbells, barbells, machines, and cables play the role of chisels. Moreover, bodybuilding is an overarching idea behind empowering young men and helping them raise their self-esteem, whereas weightlifting is only a means to this end.

In terms of violence prevention, bodybuilding is actually believed to increase the likelihood of violence because of steroid abuse. Steroids have, unfortunately, become part of the popular image of bodybuilding. Discussed earlier, the levels of testosterone and violence are correlated and directly proportional. The more testosterone, the more

¹⁰⁷ George Butler and Robert Fiore, *Pumping Iron* (Venice Beach: Rollie Robinson and White Mountain Films, 1977).

aggressive tendencies.¹⁰⁸ Steroids are an artificial form of testosterone, but they may increase the likelihood of violence the same way real testosterone does. Numerous studies have reported increases in aggression among bodybuilders.¹⁰⁹ Again, the reason for increased aggression among bodybuilders is increased levels of testosterone. Unfortunately, the notion that bodybuilding and violence are directly proportional has prevailed so far.

Unrecognized as a sport, bodybuilders undergo less scrutiny than those athletes who compete, or may one day, compete in the Olympics. The stakes are higher. Bodybuilding is a microcosm, in which the size of muscles seems to have taken precedence over aesthetics. While the International Federation of Bodybuilding (IFBB) has tried to win recognition as an official sport, its chances for success are small unless the federation imposes tougher and more random testing procedures on its bodybuilders. This, however, may result in slimmer physiques and smaller audiences who go for the size. Genie of muscle mass has been out of the bottle for too long.

And yet, bodybuilding has potential. The very fact that bodybuilding is not recognized as an Olympic sport, or as a sport at all for that matter, may be a blessing in disguise for violence prevention. There is little incentive for young men to make bodybuilding their professional athletic career precisely because it has no professional status and insignificant remunerative awards compared to such sports as tennis or basketball. A vast majority of bodybuilders are amateurs by definition and compete only with themselves rather than with each other. Football-like competition that increases the likelihood of aggression is absent in bodybuilding as well.

¹⁰⁸ Nick Neave, *Hormones and Behavior* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2007), 243.

¹⁰⁹ P. Choi, A. Parrot, and D. Cowan, "High-Dose Anabolic Steroids in Strength Athletes: Effects upon Hostility and Aggression," *Human Psychopharmacology* 5, (1990): 349-356.

To tap this potential, bodybuilding can be approached the same way martial arts are: with an emphasis on self-control and on respect for others. Just as martial arts raise young men's self-esteem when trained in traditional ways of self-control and respect for others, as Uriel Adler suggests,¹¹⁰ bodybuilding can raise self-esteem as well, only when used as an idea rather than as a sport. Left to its own devices, bodybuilding can be either dangerous or harmless, just like nuclear energy can be either destructive or creative depending on its use.

Theoretically and philosophically, bodybuilding fits the concept of the transformative approach. To mitigate the aforementioned risk factors of violence, transformative approaches complement the contact hypothesis. Elise Boulding is the main visionary behind the transformative approach who emphasizes the power of ideas and suggests in a succinct phrase that "people can't work for what they can't imagine."¹¹¹ Empowering young men, teaching them self-control, and raising their self-esteem, bodybuilding can be such an idea of peaceful violence prevention.

Unbeknownst to many, bodybuilding complements the contact hypothesis and creates an environment conducive to peaceful socialization and coexistence. Boulding deplores the current state of the world where conflicts are still solved by force, whose violence can be traced back to prejudice (among many other risk factors, such as scarcity of resources and their unfair distribution and use). If prejudice leads to violence, then conflict prevention is crucial, especially "peace education initiatives" described by Boulding.¹¹² As John Locke postulated more than three centuries ago, young minds are similar to blank slates, and their immediate environment is responsible for what is

¹¹⁰ Adler.

¹¹¹ Boulding, 29.

¹¹² Boulding, 260-262.

recorded onto them. Social engineering sprang from the notion that by changing the environment, society could change its members. By taking advantage of the power and the appeal of bodybuilding to young men, peace education initiatives can rewire young men's consciousness in peaceable ways.

Lederach can also acknowledge bodybuilding's acceptance on key levels. Examining local settings, he explores ways to connect all three levels of leadership within a single society who can bring about change: at the top, at the middle, and at the grassroots.¹¹³ An effective way to reach agreement and gain support for peace education initiatives is by talking to people directly on all three levels and by building on positive, rather than negative, elements in an otherwise-deficient system (known as appreciative inquiry). Bodybuilding is seen as a non-political and non-partisan activity – hence, non-threatening to an existing status quo within a given society. Moreover, bodybuilding is seen as keeping young men off the streets who, otherwise, would cause trouble, as a common view of young men has it: “too many young men without much to do.”¹¹⁴ Thus, bodybuilding can be socially integrated in troubled societies the same way basketball found its way into the hearts and minds of Protestant and Catholic young men in Northern Ireland.

If nation-wide communism, or at least social and political democracy, is problematic and permanent genuine attention to every patient is hardly available, young men who are at risk have to rely on themselves in raising their self-esteem, and bodybuilding provides such self-reliance.

¹¹³ John Paul Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* (Washington: US Institute of Peace, 1997), 51.

¹¹⁴ Cincotta, 44.

Venting rage through lifting weights is bodybuilding's common application in places of high tensions, but this notion is not supported by research and experiments. Numerous experiments and studies carried out by social psychologists have shown that weightlifting, martial arts, football, and other similar sports in fact increase aggressiveness.¹¹⁵ Using bodybuilding as a venting instrument seems, therefore, inadequate because it can exacerbate the problem of violence and aggression. However, scholars and practitioners who believe and find that individual power sports increase violence and antisocial behavior also admit the "selection effects:" "already antisocial boys are particularly likely to be attracted to and participate in power sports."¹¹⁶ If there are such selection effects, then power sports are not to be faulted. Most interestingly, if there are selection effects, then bodybuilding will attract exactly the type of young men who can benefit from a comprehensive approach to bodybuilding. Again, the working assumption is that violence compensates for low-esteem and there exist other ways, such as bodybuilding, to raise self-esteem when applied cautiously and with professional guidance.

Most people hardly see bodybuilding as a sport, and for a good reason, because bodybuilding is an art rather than a sport. Bodybuilders sculpt their bodies in the same fashion sculptors create statues. Besides the ambiguous definition of bodybuilding, it is neither competitive nor aggressive in nature. Even when it is competitive, competition is internalized – that is, bodybuilders challenge themselves and their own physical and psychological constraints rather than their opponents'. There are specific criteria, by

¹¹⁵ Inger M. Endresen and Dan Olweus, "Participation in Power Sports and Antisocial Involvement in Preadolescent and Adolescent Boys," *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry* 46, no. 5 (2005): 476.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 470.

which athletes are judged, but overall judging bodybuilders is as subjective as judging ballet dancers. As for aggression in bodybuilding, it correlates with the abuse of steroids (artificial testosterone) so often that some argue this correlation is in fact a direct link between higher levels of testosterone and increased violence.

Physical appearance is one of the main causes of low self-esteem among young men. Emasculation ranks probably highest. Bodybuilding provides young men with ample opportunities to raise their self-esteem by improving their physiques. In more than any other sport, physical changes as a result of bodybuilding are more dramatic and more noticeable. Inevitably, young men's social status among peers rises simply by virtue of looking more masculine.

Bodybuilding redirects young men's attention away from things they cannot change to things they can change. Instead of worrying about political and economic reforms that are beyond their direct control, young men can certainly improve their own physiques and most important raise their self-esteem. They may also start wondering whether they can apply bodybuilding principles to other aspects of life, such as education and professional experience.

The most telling success story is Arnold Schwarzenegger's who never ceases to repeat that he owes his success to bodybuilding. Most biographies of Schwarzenegger, whether authorized like Outland Baker's¹¹⁷ or unauthorized like Wendy Leigh's,¹¹⁸ attach a great deal of importance to Schwarzenegger's domineering father who preferred his oldest son Meinhard to Arnold. Craving for respect from his father but not receiving it, Arnold tried various sports, such as swimming and soccer, to raise his self-esteem until

¹¹⁷ Barbara Outland Baker, *Arnold and Me: In the Shadow of the Austrian Oak* (Bloomington: AuthorHouse, 2006).

¹¹⁸ Wendy Leigh, *Arnold: An Unauthorized Biography* (Chicago: Congdon & Weed, 1990).

he fell in love with bodybuilding. Arnold did not seem to do well in school, but bodybuilding was an arena in which he could make a statement, have a sense of accomplishment, and win respect from others, including even his father.

At the same time, Schwarzenegger learned how to apply bodybuilding principles to his life outside the gym. For example, it is the lessons of delayed gratification, goal-setting, and planning that allowed Schwarzenegger to stay focused and work harder than most people who had not learned these lessons before. Schwarzenegger repeated that visualizing his goals was the most important part. Achieving them was relatively easy because his bodybuilder's mentality would take care of planning every step of the way. Principles of sets and repetitions and of ever-increasing intensity helped Schwarzenegger learn how to play chess, how to study in college, how to become a successful businessman, how to become a movie star, and even how to become Governor of California. To those who have followed his career from his early days, Schwarzenegger's success is no fluke but a well-planned strategy with its roots in bodybuilding.

In the 2004 interview about his intention, or absence thereof, to run for President of the United States, Schwarzenegger revealed probably his most important principle in life: working hard at something, becoming very good at it, and letting destiny open new opportunities:

“If you take care of the movie really well, and the movie is great, you don't have to worry that much about what's going to happen. Because if that movie sells well, it will elevate your career and it will naturally open up doors of opportunities to other kinds of projects... If I am doing a good job, which we don't know yet, then there will be a demand by the people – not by me...

There will be a dramatic event by the people saying, ‘Why don’t you run?’ I don’t have to make that decision, nor do I have to think about it because it’s all part of the destiny.”¹¹⁹

Many years ago, the only thing that Schwarzenegger seemed to do very well was bodybuilding, and it opened many other opportunities for him, such as managing a gym in Munich, representing the IFBB in the United States, playing in action films, and representing Californians in politics.

Of course, not everybody can walk in Schwarzenegger’s footsteps, but anybody can have better control over their lives by dedicating themselves to bodybuilding and transferring its lessons to other aspects of life. Aleksey (a real person) is one of such examples. He is in his early thirties, lives in the western part of Russia, and has lifted weights since 1992. Aleksey successfully weathered Russia’s turbulent 1990s when young men had little prospect of making a respectable living in an honest way. Many turned into criminals, especially racketeers, to raise their self-esteem at the expense of other people’s livelihood or even lives.

Instead of turning to violence, Aleksey turned to bodybuilding. He has never taken steroids, has never competed in bodybuilding tournaments, but bodybuilding has provided him with a set of crucial life skills that help him now, after the decade of the 1990s, when there are more opportunities for people like him who value delayed gratification and are always willing to work hard and honestly to achieve their goals. Such work ethic and the fact that Aleksey does not smoke, does not drink, and leads a healthy life style make his employers more comfortable assigning him to leadership roles. What he learned in bodybuilding has paid off in his life outside the gym. He currently resides in Moscow, has a family, and looks with great hope into the future. While

¹¹⁹ Outland Baker, 178.

bodybuilding was not Aleksey's only deterrent from violence, it was his main source of self-esteem. It was the only realm where he was completely in control of his life.

In addition to being self-perpetuating and self-reliant, bodybuilding sets something greater in motion: self-actualization. According to Maslow, there are specific needs that people need to meet as individuals in order to have fulfilling lives and, as this study argues, to abstain from violence. These needs are physiological, safety, love, esteem, and finally self-actualization.¹²⁰ Most bodybuilders will agree that, after having improved physically, self-improvement takes an all-you-can-be attitude. Extremely dedicated bodybuilders are self-driven and ambitious who can work independently, as opposed to other sports where a coach and a team are usually key to success (or an impediment). Finally, bodybuilding teaches young men the value of delayed gratification and patience. Progress is slow, but with patience and careful planning gratification is within their reach.

James Gilligan's theory of violence is indeed optimistic. As far as biology goes, instinctual violent responses are neither predetermined nor inherited. Violence must be treated like pathology whose pathogen is shame. Shame is caused by relative deprivation or relative poverty. Various communist revolutions have tried to move entire societies away from relativism to absolutism in terms of economics, but unfortunately the result has largely been absolute poverty rather than absolute prosperity. By the same token, there is no councilor or psychiatrist available for every troubled child or adult round the clock. The only solution is to show men how to raise their self-esteem on their own.

There are many ways to gain self-respect and raise self-esteem by legitimate means, and bodybuilding is one of them. Fifteen years ago, many young men in Russia

¹²⁰ Maslow, 161-163.

won their peers' respect with guns in their hands in the 1990s. Unfortunately, many of them are either dead or in prison whereas those like Aleksey, who lifted weights and earned their respect slowly, now raise families, make an honest living, and still work hopefully toward a better future.

The analysis presented in this study is not so much about making an impact upon social risk factors than about successfully withstanding them. Bodybuilding is not likely to change the mighty current of social forces, but bodybuilding is likely to help young men stay the course of nonviolence and gain self-respect. If shame is the cause of violence, according to James Gilligan, bodybuilding can inoculate young men's self-respect and immunize them against such social risk factors as relative poverty, economic inequality, unemployment, age discrimination, and densely populated areas.

Bodybuilding can also mitigate the effects of testosterone. Myriam Medzian describes testosterone as a precursor to violent behavior, but bodybuilding's success actually depends on this hormone because only in its presence can muscularity significantly improve. Bodybuilding turns negatives into positives.

Risk factors, described below, and absence of non-violent means to recover self-respect and self-esteem, such as supporting parents, education, and professional skills, create a fertile ground for violence. Violence manifests itself the way diseases do in a medical sense. James Gilligan asserts that

“it is not poverty, racism, sexism, or age-discrimination, as such, that actually cause violence. It is, rather, that each correlates with violence because each increases the statistical probability that individuals exposed to these social forces will be subjected to intolerable and potentially self-

destroying intensities of shame...These pathogenic social forces can be considered risk factors for violence.”¹²¹

Male adolescents whose self-esteem is not supported by a loving family, teachers, or coaches and who fall through the cracks, so to speak, with no one catching them, are more likely to restore their self-esteem through violence. If masculinity and self-esteem go hand in hand and reinforce each other, as suggested by numerous studies and observations, then bodybuilding has a fair chance to build a detour around violence toward a peaceful and meaningful life of healthy self-respect.

¹²¹ Gilligan, *Preventing Violence*, 66.

CHAPTER VI. BODYBUILDING VIS-À-VIS OTHER SPORTS

Team Sports

When it comes to violence prevention and mitigation of factors that can contribute to violence, most studies have not presented sports, largely team sports, in a positive way. Uriel Adler lists most seminal studies. To illustrate it, Douglas Kleiber and Glyn Roberts worked with fourth- and fifth-graders to determine whether sport would have a positive impact on such moral qualities as altruism. The result was in fact the opposite.¹²² Sport participation had a negative impact. Another study conducted by Best examined effects of sport participation on 1,800 athletes and nonathletes but found no significant difference in terms of sports' impact between the two categories of adolescents.¹²³ Brenda Bredemeier, David Shields, and Maureen Weiss conducted a study to learn about adolescents' moral reasoning and aggressive tendencies in the context of sports. Unfortunately, moral reasoning decreased while aggressive tendencies increased.¹²⁴ Dawn Stephens had largely borne out the previous findings after working with female basketball players.¹²⁵ These "surprising" effects of sports on character development made sport psychologists change their hypotheses, trying to prove that competitive sports in

¹²² Douglas Kleiber and Glyn Roberts, "The Effect of Sport Experience in the Development of Social Character: an Exploratory Investigation," *Journal of Sport Psychology* 3, no. 114 (1981): 122.

¹²³ C. Best.

¹²⁴ Brenda Bredemeier, David Shields, and Maureen Weiss, "The Relationship of Sport Involvement with Children's Moral Reasoning and Aggression Tendencies," *Journal of Sport Psychology*, 8 (1986): 304-318.

¹²⁵ Dawn Stephens, "Predictors of Aggressive Tendencies in Girls' Basketball: An Examination of Beginning and Advanced Participants in Summer Skills Camp," *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport* 72, (2001): 257-266.

fact impede character development. Adler noted in his research that Nixon found higher aggressiveness in competitive athletes.¹²⁶

Almost all of these studies, however, have examined team, rather than individual, sports and looked at them in the American, rather than international, context. In the United States, team sports have become so commercialized that most athletes view and treat sport as one of professional careers, and very lucrative one too. Entertainment, profit, and acceptance to colleges have gradually shifted priorities in sports. Character development seems important nowadays only so far as it helps to win. While good sportsmanship is still praised as the only true spirit of competition, prize money and prestige associated with victories make athletes cut corners. Integrity is good as long as a referee has not proved otherwise. A record is still a record as long as a doping committee has not detected substance abuse. External enforcement of rules ultimately trumps internal morality.

To say that this evolution of sports is true only in the United States is to do American athletes injustice. Franklin Foer's book *How Soccer Explains the World* describes a global metamorphosis of professional soccer, in which good, old sportsmanship is, alas, archaic.¹²⁷ Yet, the United States still seems to lead the rest of the world in its emphasis on sports. Colleges and universities award athletic scholarships to outstanding students. Less outstanding students, however, feel the pressure of getting into college anyway and resort to illegal and destructive means to get bigger, stronger, and

¹²⁶ Howard L. Nixon II, "Gender, Sport, and Aggressive Behavior Outside Sport," in *Contemporary Issues in Sociology of Sport*, eds. Andrew Yiannakis and Merrill J. Melnick (Champaign: Human Kinetics, 2001): 387-394.

¹²⁷ Franklin Foer, *How Soccer Explains the World* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2004).

faster. It seems as though the more opportunities there are in the world of sports, the more temptation there is to cheat.

Ultimately, young athletes learn and embrace aggressive tendencies in heavy contact of power sports. Most literature on sports and violence supports this notion. Not surprisingly, Stevenson saw no link between college athletics and character development.¹²⁸ As Segrave and Hastad argued in 1982, “aggression is acquired through social learning within the sport experience.”¹²⁹

In her essay “Sport: When Winning Is the Only Thing, Can Violence Be Far Away?” Myriam Medzian describes heavy-contact sports like rugby and football. According to numerous interviews with professional athletes, the vast majority of them want no violence on the playing field, but coaches and administrators demand it in the name of commercial interests because public loves it. Starting with professional leagues for children and ending with professional leagues for adults, violence is the key to success. In sports with less contact, violence is less salient, but various forms of cheating still justify winning.¹³⁰

American football still has become a sacred cow, “While football may be akin to religion in some states, throughout the United States it is deeply tied to nationalism, patriotism, and zeal about sending our boys to war.”¹³¹ Thus, violence and aggression (condoned and even encouraged in sports) is sanctioned and glorified in war. Medzian analyzes the idea of a modern American football player, “*He is learning to sacrifice his*

¹²⁸ Stevenson, “Socialization Effects of Participation in Sports.”

Stevenson, “College Athletics and ‘Character.’”

¹²⁹ Jeffrey O. Segrave and Douglas M. Hastad, “Delinquent Behavior and Interscholastic Athletic Participation,” *Journal of Sport Behavior* 5, (1982): 96-111.

¹³⁰ Myriam Medzian, *Boys Will Be Boys: Breaking the Link Between Masculinity and Violence* (Brooklyn: Lantern Books, 2002).

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 305.

body unnecessarily and to hide all feelings of fear and vulnerability, however warranted they may be. He is also being taught to sacrifice the bodies of others.”¹³² She goes on to make more far-reaching statements:

“they [boys who play contact power sports] are learning to take unnecessary risks that will endanger their and others’ health and lives. These lessons learned at an early age can lead to driving cars at ninety miles an hour, enthusiastically going to unnecessary wars, or sending others off to war...”¹³³

There is hope, however, that sports are still able to decrease violence. Berkowitz observed positive socialization effects when competition (hence aggression as well) was absent in games.¹³⁴

Martial Arts

Martial arts figure prominently among individual sports as far as character development goes. There are also positive examples of martial arts in violence prevention. Paul Wright, for instance, examined martial arts’ effects on middle school students and came to the conclusion that their higher attendance to training sessions resulted in lower aggressiveness.¹³⁵ Brad Binder makes a distinction that “[m]any Western sports tend to emphasize competition and winning while Asian martial arts have traditionally emphasized self-knowledge, self-improvement, and self-control.”¹³⁶

¹³² Ibid., 308.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Leonard Berkowitz, “Sports, Competition, and Aggression,” in *Fourth Canadian Symposium on Psychology of Motor Learning and Sport*, eds. I. Williams and L. Wankel (Ottawa: University of Ottawa, 1973).

¹³⁵ Donald Hellison, *Youth Development and Physical Activity: Linking Universities and Communities* (Champaign: Human Kinetics, 2000), 218.

¹³⁶ Brad Binder, *Psychosocial Benefits of the Martial Arts: Myth or Reality?* (accessed April 23, 2008); available from <http://userpages.chorus.net/wrassoc/articles/psychsoc.htm>.

Teaching martial arts in a traditional, Oriental way and under qualified supervision is the main condition for successfully using them in violence prevention. In *Karate and Mental Health: Can the Practice of a Martial Art Reduce Aggressive Tendencies?* Uriel Adler argues that martial arts offer an opportunity for violence prevention and conflict resolution. This traditional approach stresses the importance of self-control, self-respect, and respect for others.¹³⁷

Examining effects of Tae Kwon Do in his 1986 study,¹³⁸ Trulson compared three groups of young men doing different sports and made following conclusions. Young men in the first group learned Tae Kwon Do with a philosophical component and an emphasis on responsibility, self-confidence, self-control, and respect for others. Among the three groups, Trulson observed decreasing levels of aggressiveness. Back and Kim arrived at similar conclusions in 1979¹³⁹ strengthened by Becker in 1982.¹⁴⁰ The second group of young men showed highest levels of aggressiveness when they learned Tae Kwon Do as self-defense. No perceptible change was observed in the third group where young men played American football.

Adler also proves his findings by testing martial artists, primarily through questionnaires, such as Buss-Durkee Hostility Inventory, Frustration Tolerance, and Anxiety Scale Questionnaire.¹⁴¹ Adler's list of martial arts' benefits includes higher self-esteem, a better sense of control, better coping resources, positive personality development, decreased aggressive tendencies, and higher frustration tolerance.

¹³⁷ Adler.

¹³⁸ Michael E. Trulson, "Martial Arts Training: a Novel 'Cure' for Juvenile Delinquency," in *Human Relations* 39, no. 12 (1986): 1131-1140.

¹³⁹ Allan Back and Daeshik Kim, "Towards a Western Philosophy of the Eastern Martial Arts," in *Journal of the Philosophy of Sport* 5, (1979): 19-28.

¹⁴⁰ Carl B. Becker, "Philosophical Perspectives on the Martial Arts in America," in *Journal of the Philosophy of Sport* 9 (1982): 19-29

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 54-66.

These results have also been supported by the research of Bjorkqvist and Varhama: male students of karate regard violent conflict resolution negatively, especially compared to boxers and wrestlers.¹⁴² Tart even suggested Aikido's applicability to better handling of verbal attacks.¹⁴³ Also, the longer martial artists receive traditional training, the more negatively they think of violent conflict resolution.¹⁴⁴ More than in most other sports, martial artists attain a high level of psychological and spiritual development, which can help young athletes achieve "self-actualization and enlightenment."¹⁴⁵ Again, these benefits accrue as long as martial artists receive traditional training.

One drawback is that martial arts have young men internalize their accomplishments. What this means is that martial artists develop great skills of self-defense, and only they know their progress. In order for others to see their skills, martial artists need a fight or other forms of performance. Richman and Rehberg found that martial artists' self-esteem does not improve after the first two months of training,¹⁴⁶ which may or may not lead them to seek alternative ways (including violence) to raise their self-esteem. If young men crave for other people's and their peers' respect, they need to make their mastery of martial arts visible. In the absence of tournaments and, most important, self-control, random violent outbreaks on even a slightest provocation

¹⁴² Kaj Bjorkqvist and Lasse Varhama, "Attitudes Toward Violent Conflict Resolution Among Male and Female Karateka in Comparison with Practitioners of Other Sports," *Perceptual and Motor Skills* 92 (2001): 586-588.

¹⁴³ Charles T. Tart, "Aikido and the Concept of Ki," in *Psychological Perspectives* 18 (1987): 332-348.

¹⁴⁴ Brian Lamarre and Terry Nosanchuk, "Judo – the Gentle Way: A Replication of Studies on Martial and Aggression," *Perceptual and Motor Skills* 88 (1999): 992-996.
Terry Nosanchuk and Catherine MacNeil, "Examination of the Effects of Traditional and Modern Arts Training on Aggressiveness," *Aggressive Behavior* 15 (1989): 153-159.

¹⁴⁵ Joel Thirer and Mark D. Grabiner, "Self-Actualization through Zen and the Martial Arts," in *Review of Sport and Leisure* 5 (1980): 79-92.

¹⁴⁶ Charles L. Richman and Heather Rehberg, "The Development of Self-Esteem through the Martial Arts," in *International Journal of Sport Psychology* 17 (1986): 234-239.

may be a show of such force and athletic progress. Even when there are tournaments, the full-contact nature of martial arts increases the likelihood of aggressiveness.

Bodybuilding

The Immediate Appeal

Popularity of bodybuilding among male adolescents is obvious. Because one of the gravest threats to young men's self-esteem is emasculation, bodybuilding can help them most by making them feel and, most important, *look* more powerful and masculine. Unlike martial arts and many other sports, bodybuilding allows young men to demonstrate their progress visibly. This new masculinity leads to higher self-esteem. Thus, bodybuilding is outward in its results rather than inward, as in martial arts. Physical changes are for everybody to see, with no need for specific circumstances to prove them.

What bodybuilding gives to young men is a sense of accomplishment that restores and feeds their self-esteem, especially when there are no other sources, such as families, friends, teachers, coaches, or church members. Undeniably, young men can experience a sense of accomplishment through other activities and sports. They can start studying better, playing a musical instrument, writing books, or playing basketball. Realistically, however, most activities will unlikely attract a great number of young men, let alone retain their attention for a significant period of time. Bodybuilding, on the other hand, has this appeal because most young men can relate to muscularity and strive to improve their own muscles.

At the same time, greater masculinity is not achieved in fierce competition and heavy contact. Violence against opponents is absent because there are no opponents. It

also means that there are no serious injuries that afflict professional athletes in heavy-contact sports, provided bodybuilding is practiced under careful supervision with a strong emphasis on ideal form.

Another appeal of bodybuilding is its affordability. Most believe that bodybuilding is possible only in gyms with chrome-glittering machines and computers and in a society where bodybuilders can afford expensive high-protein diets, but the Temple of Pain has successfully defied these stereotypes. Julien Spencer, a trainer at a local Gold's Gym in Port-Au-Prince in Haiti and a successful bodybuilder, is in a country where "[n]one of that is practical in his working-class neighborhood because the electricity goes off all the time" (NYT March 18, 2008).¹⁴⁷ Those young men who want to improve their physiques do not need sophisticated gyms and expensive (and questionable) food supplements. Car batteries, bricks, scrap-metal tubes, anything can be used in creating a fitness center.

As Haiti's Temple of Pain demonstrates so vividly, bodybuilding is a class equalizer. Social and economic inequalities loom large in the theory of violence. Revolutions and civil wars have tried to shrink the gap between the rich and the poor for centuries. The idea of a class revolution itself rests on the assumption that "the oppressed" cannot tolerate their "oppressors" anymore and violently revolt against the oppression. The Temple of Pain's bodybuilders overcome their low social and economic status peacefully because their "income does not matter much when it comes to muscle mass."¹⁴⁸ In his analysis of Philadelphia's street gangs, Elijah Anderson notes that "in a society where so much economic inequality exists, for the severely alienated and

¹⁴⁷ Lacey.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

desperate a gun can become like a blank card – an equalizer.”¹⁴⁹ At the Temple of Pain in Port-Au-Prince, bodybuilding is such an equalizer. All of them note that the rich cannot buy a muscular body, otherwise they would have done so already; only hard work with weights makes a difference, and a difference that everybody, rich and poor, can see.

Because young men can easily get trapped in the physical aspect of bodybuilding, far-sighted trainers emphasize that bodybuilding is only a beginning. It is the key to further personal and multidimensional growth. Bodybuilding is first and foremost a pedagogical tool, a bridge to hope so to speak. It appeals to young men because of its effects. Coaches and trainers must closely monitor the application of bodybuilding and make sure that bodybuilding remains just one of the three elements of young men’s development. The three elements are athletic, intellectual, and spiritual. This trinity has also been actively promoted and implemented by Western boarding schools that put a premium on academics, sports, and spiritual development tied intimately together.

Sadly, many young men have been lured into bodybuilding by magazines, movies, TV shows, peer pressure, and athletic drugs with a promise of stronger and bigger muscles but without truly professional guidance. They either under-work staying within a comfort zone or over-work erroneously following routines created by those who use steroids. They achieve no significant results, burn out, and give up. Worse yet, those who do not give up may hurt themselves by putting too much strain on their still-developing bodies or by becoming physically and psychologically addicted to steroids. Either way is dangerous and, most important, unnecessary. Less frequent but more intense workouts are the solution.

¹⁴⁹ Anderson, 126.

Compared with other sports, bodybuilding seems promising for working with young men whose self-esteem is at risk and who have no social ways (family, teachers, church, and community for instance) to improve their self-esteem other than through violence. As with anything powerful, bodybuilding has many caveats and must be implemented carefully for the purposes of violence prevention. Otherwise bodybuilding can become a violence amplifier. Endresen and Olweus have analyzed numerous studies on the use of power sports vis-à-vis their impact on aggressive tendencies and have expressed their serious concern “to parents, youth leaders including teachers, coaches, sports organizations, and politicians” who promote power sports without accounting for their destructive potential.¹⁵⁰ Regardless of their good intentions, those who use power sports for violence prevention are better off abstaining from doing so if playing sports is an end in itself. The following steps or guidelines can help sports NGOs avoid risks of bodybuilding and reap maximum benefits from it.

The Horrors of Steroids

Young men must know the entire truth about steroids as a sound theory of artificial testosterone and its effect on the male body. The most important fact about steroids, or any other substance that directly affects hormones, is that the more testosterone a man takes, the more feminine characteristics he develops. Male bodies maintain a predetermined ratio of testosterone and estrogen and convert an excess of testosterone into estrogen to maintain the pre-set ratio. Worse yet, prolonged use of artificial testosterone (steroids) sends a signal to pituitary glands to stop producing testosterone because there is enough coming from the outside. When a man stops taking

¹⁵⁰ Endresen, 477.

steroids, his pituitary glands may not resume their function and his body will lack testosterone. The remaining estrogen will account for further feminine characteristics in his body.

Masculinity is thus threatened. Ironically, what men try to emphasize through steroids – masculinity – in fact may lead to increased femininity. But these tragic and numerous cases are seldom seen in public. Those who have confessed taking steroids may still have to take them in order to maintain a normal level of testosterone if their pituitary glands have permanently shut down. Taking steroids is cheating and must be banned for moral reasons, but trainers will have even more success at convincing their athletes to stay away from steroids for physiological reasons.

Absence of steroids leads to less aggression that is correlated with higher levels of testosterone. Steroids have been linked to higher aggression and violence. Condoning use of steroids defeats the pedagogic value of bodybuilding. Instead of hard-earned delayed gratification, young men obtain immediate results at the cost of their health and mental state. Side effects of steroids have been well documented. At the same time, steroids effect a psychological transformation in young men who believe to be supermen. Because this self-aggrandizement is a result of an artificially higher level of testosterone, bodybuilding and steroids are incompatible. There is a strong correlation between high levels of testosterone and aggression. Advertising or even condoning the use of steroids defeats the purpose of promoting bodybuilding as a philosophy and as a healthy life style. There should not be any illegal shortcuts to stronger and bigger muscles. In this lies the key lesson of bodybuilding: young men can transform themselves physically, spiritually,

and intellectually through self-discipline and dedication. Steroids have no room in this exercise.

The threat of masculinity from steroids, therefore, forces young men to build themselves up honestly and more diligently. The only remaining part that trainers need to do is to guide young men to better results in a professional way.

The Plan

Coaches can introduce the basic theory of bodybuilding that is different from a more conventional theory that has been designed for and by professional athletes taking steroids. Thus, the most appropriate plan can be Mike Mentzer's approach whose rule of thumb is less frequent, shorter but more intensive workouts.¹⁵¹ The main goal is to debunk the myth that progress in bodybuilding requires hours of hard work. Quite the opposite, progress requires higher intensity rather than longer hours. Muscles grow between workouts. Therefore, the more intensively young men train, the longer they need to let their muscles recover and grow. Subsequently, time spent on actual workouts is relatively short.

As for nutrition, coaches can explain that "the simpler, the better" when it comes to food (food that has not been excessively refined and processed). Moderation is essential. As for the ratio of protein, carbohydrates, and fat, it does not favor protein over carbohydrates and fat – that is, protein accounts for about 25 percent as opposed to 40 and higher percent, as some fashionable diets suggest. The reason behind is simple: protein makes up only 25 percent of muscle tissue.¹⁵² A diet with reasonable amounts of

¹⁵¹ Mentzer, Mike. *Heavy Duty*. 1993.

Mentzer, Mike. *Heavy Duty II*. 1996.

¹⁵² Ibid.

protein is acceptable to developing countries as well, in which good protein (fish and poultry) come at a higher premium than in developed countries. Coaches can also point out that sweets, cigarettes, alcohol, and drugs will slow young men's progress. This advice can also significantly ease young men's financial constraints.

Individual Responsibility

This is another difference between team sports and bodybuilding. Athletes may sign contracts with their trainers to acknowledge their understanding that success depends entirely on their diligence, perseverance, and consistency. Young men will also develop a sense of delayed gratification. They are able to plan their progress and expect positive results as long as they put in enough hard work. Deprivations and sacrifice will ultimately pay off in terms of greater muscularity. Even when bodybuilding programs end, young men will probably continue on their own because they have a vested interest in becoming more muscular. Once they have learned basic principles of bodybuilding, they require no further supervision of professional trainers. This is not to say that professional trainers should not stay, but, if trainers cannot stay longer, bodybuilding has a good chance of perpetuating itself among young men as opposed to uncertainties associated with ending programs that are centered on team sports, such as soccer and basketball.

Self-Esteem

Accomplishments in general raise young men's self-esteem, but accomplishing progress in bodybuilding means greater muscularity and, thus, greater masculinity. Most noticeable results come within the first year, but with the right approach (neither under-working nor over-working) good results can be sustained over a longer period of time as

well. The first few months are the period of most dramatic building of self-esteem and self-confidence through honest accomplishments. Unlike, martial arts, boxing, or other contact sports, progress in bodybuilding requires no special circumstances for its demonstration. Higher self-esteem can pave way for young men's self-actualization, which is the next level of needs of Maslow's pyramid.

Those who implement bodybuilding programs can build on recommendations designed for other sports and even take them further to decrease aggressiveness and raise self-esteem. Larson suggests a stronger emphasis on "positive youth development" rather than "remediating negative behaviors." The keys to such youth development are "intrinsic motivation," "concerted attention," and "striving toward a goal."¹⁵³ Because young men want not only to feel powerful but also to look powerful and because they know the exact way to achieve their goal, they stay intrinsically motivated and apply their attention in order to build themselves up and improve their self-esteem by non-violent means.

What Estrada, Gelfand, and Hartmann propose can also apply to bodybuilding. They suggest that trainers reward individual achievements, and achievements in bodybuilding require no significant systematic rewards because greater respect from peers and higher self-esteem already play a role of reward. Estrada, Gelfand, and Hartmann also encourage trainers to introduce super-ordinate goals for the team, encourage positive peer interaction, and recreational play.¹⁵⁴ Because the nature of

¹⁵³ Reed W. Larson, "Toward a Psychology of Positive Youth Development," in *American Psychologist* 55 (2000): 170-183.

¹⁵⁴ A. M. Estrada, D. M. Gelfand, and D. P. Hartmann, "Youth Sport in the USA," in *Children in Sport Third Edition*, eds. F. L. Smoll, R. A. Magill, and M. J. Ash, 251-262 (Champaign: Human Kinetics, 1988).

bodybuilding is not competitive, bodybuilding programs can capitalize on this fact and thus encourage more positive interactions.

Another set of recommendations for improving self-esteem and reducing violence by way of sports comes from Hellison, Martinek, and Cutforth. They predict and judge sports' effectiveness according to the following criteria: self-motivation, self-direction, respecting rights of others, respecting the needs of the group, and learning to transfer these skills to other venues.¹⁵⁵ Because young men are already motivated to improve themselves physically, all they need is professional guidance in the beginning in order to continue on their own later. At the same time, respect for others and ways to transfer bodybuilding skills to other venues can also be taught in the context of bodybuilding (discussed below).

Team Spirit

Team sports are most conducive to teaching youth the value of team work and collective responsibility compared to individual sports. However, team work may come at the expense of increased aggressiveness as a result of competition. Even when facilitators implement the context hypothesis theory by introducing super-ordinate goals of winning for mixed teams, athletes still compete according to their new team identities.

At first glance, bodybuilding does not seem suitable for team work because it is a noncompetitive sport. However, precisely because it is noncompetitive, bodybuilding can work according to the contact hypothesis theory and can support findings of Estrada,

¹⁵⁵ Donald Hellison, Thomas Martnek, and Nicholas Cutforth, "Beyond Violence Prevention in Inner City Physical Activity Programs," in *Peace & Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* 2 (1996): 321-337.

Gelfand, and Hartmann¹⁵⁶ on the one hand and Hellison, Martinek, and Cutforth¹⁵⁷ on the other. Trainers can introduce super-ordinate goals of community service. They can also follow the above-mentioned example of young men in Port-Au-Prince who built their own gym from scrap metal. This way, trainers can work as team leaders and treat their bodybuilders as a team rather than a group of individual athletes.

From the very beginning trainers can establish the code of conduct in the gym. The fundamental rule is to be always ready to help teammates, even without being asked. Spotting is one of the best ways to establish mutual trust and teamwork. For instance, one person does bench press while the other stands at the head of the bench to help his partner when help is needed. At first glance, spotting is easy and straightforward, but once tried it requires a certain level of empathy. Too much help robs the person on the bench of an opportunity to push himself harder. Too little help exhausts him unnecessarily. This fine balance between too much and too little is a sign of a good spotter who can feel the other person's needs and assist him the best way.

Spotting transcends cultural, religious, and racial divides. Just because boys look the same or have the same background does not mean they will spot well. Listening to others is an acquired skill that they can learn in the gym. At the same time, boys who need help learn to articulate their requests to someone on whom they will depend during the next few seconds.

Bodybuilders can become a family, especially to those who have never had a close family before, and thus fulfill one of the needs on Maslow's pyramid, namely love and care. Trainers and older bodybuilders may be father figures for younger men. Just as

¹⁵⁶ Estrada.

¹⁵⁷ Hellison, "Beyond Violence Prevention in Inner City Physical Activity Programs."

good football coaches sometimes become most trusted people for their young athletes, so do coaches in other sports, including bodybuilding. With this trust, however, comes a great responsibility of listening to young men and guiding them through their lives. This is the function that Catholic church has performed for its parishioners when they need to make a confession. A confession produces a much stronger effect if both people know and trust each other. This is when a coach has a chance to listen and acknowledge his athlete's shame and help him recover his self-esteem.

Extracurricular Activities

As mentioned above, extracurricular activities are an ideal way to make a bodybuilding team even more cohesive. Because actual workouts require very short period of times, there is plenty of time for other types of activities. Bodybuilding trainers can identify specific needs in any given community and direct young men's effort at meeting these needs. Therefore, when time and financial resources permit, trainers can take advantage of having their athletes perform community service, improve their own gym, or even build a new one. Again, these activities offer an invaluable opportunity to introduce super-ordinate goals to the entire team.

A Bridge to the Future

One of the most legendary figures in bodybuilding, Mike Mentzer, designed unique routines that apply to those who train without steroids and without much free time on their hands. Yet, Mentzer went beyond just building muscles. The most important principle in his bodybuilding was intensity – that is, giving maximum effort to every

single exercise, every single set, every single repetition, and ultimately to every single task at hand, be it in the gym, at work, or in a relationship:

“No longer was the notion of intensity merely an abstract concept floating in my brain. Intensity was now a living, breathing entity that pervaded my entire being and would direct all my future actions. The training approach of all or nothing became the basis of a philosophy that could be applied to life in general. Stated simply, the concept is if anything is worth doing, then give it everything you've got or don't attempt it at all. Because such peak efforts occur relatively infrequently, they tend to stand out in our memory. They are typically marked by a greater-than-usual focus on the present, attended by a sense of enhanced personal power. When we transcend, if only by a degree, our previous levels of effort, we invariably make quantum leaps in progress. These peak efforts help us break through to higher functional levels and as such are powerful learning experiences. They put us closer in touch with what psychologist William James calls “hidden reserves.”¹⁵⁸

It is true that many sports fit this lofty goal, but bodybuilding is one of a few sports that is truly individual and self-reliant. There is no need for expensive machines or expensive food supplements.

As athletes improve their physiques, coaches can help the team visualize a connection between bodybuilding and their overall life in the future, such as school, relationships, community, and work. These connections resemble bridges between lessons learned in bodybuilding and lessons yet to be learned in life:

- Self-discipline
- Self-control
- Delayed gratification
- Virtue of pain

¹⁵⁸ Mentzer, Mike, *Effort* (accessed April 22, 2008); available from <http://www.muscletnet.com/mikementzertraining.htm>.

- Organizational skills
- Power of repetition
- Principle of continuously increased intensity
- Setting goals and objectives
- Empathy
- Teamwork
- Individual responsibility and many more
- Control over one's own life

These are the life skills that can be learned in bodybuilding and applied to life outside of it. It is a tool young men can employ to raise their self-esteem on their own while there are no opportunities for them to do so otherwise: absence of strong social anchors (family and friends) and the presence of catalysts conducive to violence (testosterone and crowded places). As young men plan their progress in bodybuilding, they learn how to set goals and mini-goals to achieve them. Young men can gradually come to realize that goals (even most difficult ones) have a series of objectives leading up to them, and all they need to do is work hard on mini-objectives, stay focused on the end goal, and be patient. Delayed gratification and self-control are acquired virtues. Frustration tolerance improves because young men start believing that they can achieve anything they want as long as they have a plan and work hard to implement it.

Like-minded young men can also benefit from setting up their own gyms or workout spaces as young men in Port-Au-Prince have demonstrated by creating the Temple of Pain entirely on the own and out of garbage material. In this kind of collaborative effort, teamwork is learned as well. It is also possible to help young men

develop a sense of empathy for their fellow-athletes as they become a family. The ultimate goal of bodybuilding is to instill in young men an idea that they can take control of their lives even under most difficult circumstances.

Bodybuilding will be a bridge to a hopeful future if it is presented as a philosophy. The International Federation of Bodybuilding (IFBB) can become a sports organization that will help young men achieve higher-esteem through bodybuilding rather than violence. Drug-free bodybuilders and facilitators with a global perspective can advance bodybuilding around the world as a philosophy that unites the mind, the body, and the spirit. Mike Mentzer was one of the leading advocates of such a philosophy.¹⁵⁹

Monitoring

It is fair to assume that violent young men will be attracted to bodybuilding. This self-selection factor can be recognized from the start and avoid foregone conclusions that bodybuilding increases violence. Bodybuilding can accommodate critics of young men as a risk factor: too many young with not enough to do and young men who have nowhere to “let their steam out.” At the same time, bodybuilding can accommodate sports organizations that use sports as media for further youth education, and bodybuilding is one of the most appealing media for young men. It is better yet when it appeals to violent young men who otherwise remain out of NGOs’ reach.

In order to monitor the progress or failure of bodybuilding programs whose goal is violence prevention, the following tools are available:

¹⁵⁹ Mentzer, *Heavy Duty*.
Mentzer, *Heavy Duty II*.

- Anxiety Scale Questionnaire;¹⁶⁰
- Buss-Durkee Hostility Inventory;¹⁶¹
- Frustration Tolerance;¹⁶²
- Youth Self-Report to measure delinquency, aggression, and externality;¹⁶³
- Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale;¹⁶⁴ and
- Commitment to Karate Questionnaire that could be adjusted to bodybuilding.¹⁶⁵

It is important to gauge the increase or decrease in young men's aggressiveness as they practice bodybuilding and, as a result, adjust the program accordingly.

¹⁶⁰ Raymond B. Cattell and Ivan H. Scheier, *Handbook for the IPAT Anxiety Scale Questionnaire* (Champaign: Institute for Personality and Ability Testing, 1963).

¹⁶¹ Terrill R. Holland, Mario Levi, and Gerald E. Beckett, "Ethnicity, Criminality, and the Buss-Durkee Hostility Inventory," *Journal of Personality Assessment* 47 (1983): 375-379.

¹⁶² William E. Thompson and Richard A. Dodder, "Containment Theory and Juvenile Delinquency: A Reevaluation through Factor Analysis," *Adolescence* 21, no. 82 (1986): 365-376.

¹⁶³ Thomas M. Achenbach, *Manual for the Child Behavior Checklist/4-18 and 1991* (Burlington: University of Vermont, 1991).

¹⁶⁴ Morris Rosenberg, *Society and the Adolescent Self-Image* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965).

¹⁶⁵ C. F. Wingate, "Exploring the Karate Way of Life: Coping, Commitment, and Psychological Well-Being Among Traditional Karate Practitioners" (Ph.D. diss., Temple University, 1993).

CHAPTER VII. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study analyzes the possibility of using bodybuilding in violence prevention. Several factors contribute to violence: economic inequality, scarcity of resources, densely populated areas, prejudice, low self-control, and perhaps high levels of testosterone. Young men in their teens and twenties are regarded as a risk group. However, there seems to be a missing link between the risk factors and violence. According to criminological, sociological, and psychological studies done by such scholars as James Gilligan suggest that the missing link is emasculation or endangered masculinity.

Young men do become susceptible to economic inequality and scarcity of resources and opportunities, especially in densely populated areas. Under these circumstances, they struggle to maintain their masculinity and economic independence imposed upon them by well-established social norms. Self-esteem subsequently suffers. Stabilizing social anchors, such as family, teachers, coaches, church, and friends, can help young men weather difficult times and maintain their self-esteem. However, this support is not always available, and young men find it increasingly more difficult to maintain their self-esteem. If they, in addition, possess low self-control as well as high levels of testosterone, violence becomes increasingly attractive. Victims' fear becomes a close substitute for respect, as a Russian adage "fear means respect" suggests.

If emasculation is the key factor in violence origination, bodybuilding can help those young men who have no other ways of raising their self-esteem but through violence. There are drawbacks, however. Current studies about the effects of such power sports as weightlifting suggest that they increase aggressive tendencies. Yet, the same studies also suggest that power sports attract violent youth in the first place. If that is the

case, bodybuilding can attract exactly the type of young men who need attention and then work with them.

This study also differentiates between weightlifting and bodybuilding.

Weightlifting is a means to an end: a more muscular body and higher self-esteem.

Bodybuilding is an overarching idea, a philosophical concept that employs such tools as weightlifting. Martial arts, for example, can be a dangerous sport to promote if it is presented as self-defense rather than as a way to improve self-control and gain self-respect and respect for others. Bodybuilding can also stress the importance of delayed gratification, patience, discipline, and planning. Most important, bodybuilding can emphasize the fact that bodybuilding is only a beginning. Physical transformation gives young men an opportunity to gain control over their muscles. Their progress is directly proportional to their diligence. The most intriguing part about bodybuilding is the possibility to plan progress and achieve results. This lesson can be applied to other aspects of life.

Various NGOs use sports as a medium for youth education whose goal may also be violence prevention, but a number of factors set bodybuilding apart from other sports. First, building muscular bodies already attracts millions of young men around the world, and NGOs can capitalize on this immediate appeal of bodybuilding. Second, bodybuilding is a rare sport, in which progress, a more muscular body, is visible to all. Progress in most other sports is visible only *as* young men play them. With bodybuilding, there is no need for special circumstances or sophisticated and expensive equipment to demonstrate progress. Third, bodybuilding is not competitive, which avoids the danger of many contact sports that thrive on competition. Fourth, but not last, bodybuilding is self-

perpetuating and self-reliant, long after a bodybuilding program is over. Because young men are already drawn to the idea of building muscles, they have a vested interest in making progress even in the absence of trainers and teammates.

As with anything powerful, bodybuilding can be dangerous if left to its own devices, but this study offers ways to avoid potential problems; it has addressed the issue of testosterone, abuse of steroids, and disconnect between bodybuilding and reality. Just as martial arts reduce aggressive tendencies when they focus on self-actualization rather than just self-defense, bodybuilding can ultimately prevent violence when, instead of getting trapped in the narcissism of bodybuilding, young men learn how to control their destinies by way of controlling their muscles.

Rather than create something new, bodybuilding can be incorporated into existing athletic programs conducted by many NGOs, including the United Nations. At the same time, there are several potential supporters of making bodybuilding work for violence prevention. For example, the International Federation of Bodybuilding (IFBB) can have a better chance of achieving its key goal, the status of an Olympic sport, by making bodybuilding part of the international humanitarian network rather than by directly lobbying the International Olympic Committee. Taking advantage of bodybuilding's power of raising young men's self-esteem, not only NGOs but also governmental organizations can help prevent violence among young men regardless of where they are. Their need for dignity, respect, recognition, and self-esteem is non-negotiable¹⁶⁶ and essential¹⁶⁷ around the world, and bodybuilding can help meet this need.

¹⁶⁶ Burton, 41-43.

¹⁶⁷ Maslow, 177-200.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Achenbach, Thomas M. *Manual for the Child Behavior Checklist/4-18 and 1991*.
Burlington: University of Vermont, 1991.
- Adler, Uriel. "Karate and Mental Health: Can the Practice of a Martial Art Reduce Aggressive Tendencies?" Ph.D. diss., Pace University, 2003
- Allport, Gordon W. *The Nature of Prejudice*. Cambridge: Addison-Wesley Publishing, 1954.
- Amir, Yahuda. "Contact Hypothesis in Ethnic Relations." In *The Handbook of Interethnic Coexistence*, ed. Eugene Weiner, 162-181. New York: Continuum Publishing, 1998.
- Anderson, Elijah. *Code of the Street: Decency, Violence, and the Moral Life of the Inner City*. New York: Norton, 1999.
- Annan, Kofi. *Universal Language of Sport Brings People Together, Teaches Teamwork, Tolerance*, Press Release SG/SM/9579. New York: United Nations, May 11, 2004. Accessed March 12, 2008. Available from <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2004/sgsm9579.doc.htm>.
- Arnold, Peter J. "Sport and Moral Education." In *Journal of Moral Education* 23, no. 1 (1994): 75-89.
- Back, Allan and Daeshik Kim. "Towards a Western Philosophy of the Eastern Martial Arts." In *Journal of the Philosophy of Sport* 5, (1979): 19-28.
- Barker, Gary and Christine Ricardo. "Young Men and the Construction of Masculinity in Sub-Saharan Africa." In *The Other Half of Gender: Men's Issues in Development*, ed. Ian Bannon and Maria C. Correia, 173-182. Washington:

- World Bank Publications, 2006.
- Barker, Gary T. *Dying to Be Men: Youth, and Masculinity and Social Exclusion*.
New York: Rutledge, 2005.
- Baumeister, Roy F. *Evil: Inside Human Violence and Cruelty*. New York: W.H.
Freeman, 1997.
- Baumeister, Roy F., ed. *Self-Esteem: the Puzzle of Low Self-Regard*. New York:
Plenum, 1993.
- Baumeister, Roy F. "Violent pride: Do People Turn Violent Because of Self-Hate, or
Self-Love?" In *Scientific American* 284 (2001): 96-101.
- Becker, Carl B. "Philosophical Perspectives on the Martial Arts in America." In
Journal of the Philosophy of Sport 9 (1982): 19-29.
- Barker, Gary. *Dying to Be Men: Youth and Masculinity and Social Exclusion*. London:
Routledge, 2005.
- Berkowitz, Leonard. "Sports, Competition, and Aggression." In *Fourth Canadian
Symposium on Psychology of Motor Learning and Sport*, eds. I. Williams and L.
Wankel. Ottawa: University of Ottawa, 1973.
- Best, C. "Differences in Social Values Between Athletes and Nonathletes." In
Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport 56, no. 4 (1985): 366-369.
- Binder, Brad. *Psychosocial Benefits of the Martial Arts: Myth or Reality?* Accessed April
23, 2008. Available from
<http://userpages.chorus.net/wrassoc/articles/psychsoc.htm>
- Bjorkqvist, Kaj and Lasse Varhama. "Attitudes Toward Violent Conflict Resolution
Among Male and Female Karateka in Comparison with Practitioners of Other

- Sports.” In *Perceptual and Motor Skills* 92 (2001): 586-588.
- Blau, Judith and Peter Blau. “The Cost of Inequality: Metropolitan Structure and Violent Crime.” In *American Sociological Review* 47 (1982): 114-129.
- Boulding, Elise. *Cultures of Peace: The Hidden Side of History*. Syracuse: Syracuse University, 2000.
- Braithwaite, John. *Crime, Shame, and Reintegration*. Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1989.
- Bredemeier, Brenda J., David L. Shields, and Maureen R. Weiss. “The Relationship of Sport Involvement with Children’s Moral Reasoning and Aggression Tendencies.” In *Journal of Sport Psychology*, 8 (1986): 304-318.
- Brewer, Marilynn B. and Samuel L. Gaertner. “Toward Reduction of Prejudice: Intergroup Contact and Social Categorization.” In *Self and Social Identity*, eds. Marilynn B. Brewer and Samuel L. Gaertner. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004.
- Butler, George, Robert Fiore, Rollie Robinson, and White Mountain Films. *Pumping Iron*. 1 DVD (85 min.). Venice Beach: Rollie Robinson and White Mountain Films, 1977.
- Cattell, Raymond B. and Ivan H. Scheier. *Handbook for the IPAT Anxiety Scale Questionnaire*. Champaign: Institute for Personality and Ability Testing, 1963.
- Choi, P., Parrot, A., & Cowan, D. “High-Dose Anabolic Steroids in Strength Athletes: Effects upon Hostility and Aggression.” In *Human Psychopharmacology* 5 (1990): 349-356.
- Cincotta, Richard, Robert Engelman, and Daniel Anastasion. *The Security Demographic:*

- Population and Civil Conflict after the Cold War*. Washington: Population Action International, 2003.
- Coate, Roger A. and Jerel A. Rosati, eds., *The Power of Human Needs in World Society*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1988.
- Correia, Maria C. and Ian Bannon. "Gender and Its Discontents: Moving to Men-Streaming Development." In *The Other Half of Gender: Men's Issues in Development*, eds. Ian Bannon and Maria C. Correia. Washington: World Bank, 2006.
- Currie, Elliott. "Crime and Social Inequality." In *Current Controversies in Criminology*. Prentice Hall: Upper Saddle River, 2003.
- Currie, Elliott. *Confronting Crime*. Pantheon: New York, 1985.
- DeFronzo, James. "Economic Assistance to Impoverished Americans: Relationship to Incidence of Crime." In *Criminology* 21, no. 1 (1983): 119–136.
- Dubois, P. E. "The Effect of Participation in Sport on the Value Orientations of Young Athletes." In *Sociology of Sport* 3 (1986): 290-342.
- Dunning, Eric. "Violence and Sport." In *International Handbook of Violence Research*, eds. Wilhelm Heitmeyer John Hagan, 903-91. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2003.
- Eitzen, D. Stanley and George H Sage. *Sociology of American Sport*. Dubuque: Brown Co. Publishers, 1978.
- Endresen, Inger M. and Dan Olweus. "Participation in Power Sports and Antisocial Involvement in Preadolescent and Adolescent Boys." In *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry* 46, no. 5 (2005): 468-478.

- Estrada, A. M., D. M. Gelfand, and D. P. Hartmann. "Youth Sport in the USA." In *Children in Sport Third Edition*, eds. F. L. Smoll, R. A. Magill, and M. J. Ash, 251-262. Champaign: Human Kinetics, 1988.
- Foer, Franklin. *How Soccer Explains the World: And Unlikely Theory of Globalization*. Harper: New York, 2004.
- Galtung, Johan. "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research." In *Journal of Peace Research* 6, no. 3 (1969): 167-191.
- Gilligan, James. *Preventing Violence: Prospects for Tomorrow*. New York: Thames & Hudson, 2001.
- Gilligan, James. *Violence: Reflections on a National Epidemic*. New York: Vintage Books, 1996.
- Gottfredson, Michael and Travis Hirschi. "Crime and Low Self-Control." In *Current Controversies in Criminology*, ed. Ronald Weitzer. Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 2003.
- Gough, Harrison. "A Sociological Theory of Psychopathy." In *American Journal of Sociology* 53 (1948): 359-366.
- Hellison, Donald. *Youth Development and Physical Activity: Linking Universities and Communities*. Champaign: Human Kinetics, 2000.
- Hellison, Donald, Thomas Martnek, and Nicholas Cutforth. "Beyond Violence Prevention in Inner City Physical Activity Programs." In *Peace & Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* 2 (1996): 321-337.
- Holland, Terrill R., Mario Levi, and Gerald E. Beckett. "Ethnicity, Criminality, and the

- Buss-Durkee Hostility Inventory.” In *Journal of Personality Assessment* 47 (1983): 375-379.
- Institute for International Sport*. Accessed November 19, 2007. Available from <http://www.internationalsport.com/iishome.cfm>.
- Kaplan, Robert. “The Coming Anarchy.” In *The Atlantic Monthly* 273, no. 2 (1994): 444-476. Accessed March 11, 2008. Available from <http://www.theatlantic.com/doc/199402/anarchy>.
- Kleiber, Douglas A. and G. C. Roberts. “The Effect of Sport Experience in the Development of Social Character: an Exploratory Investigation.” In *Journal of Sport Psychology* 3 (1981): 114-122.
- Kohut, Heinz. *The Restoration of the Self*. New York: International Universities Press, 1977.
- Lamarre, Brian and Terry Nosanchuk. “Judo – the Gentle Way: A Replication of Studies on Martial and Aggression.” In *Perceptual and Motor Skills* 88 (1999): 992-996.
- Larson, Reed W. “Toward a Psychology of Positive Youth Development.” In *American Psychologist* 55 (2000): 170-183.
- Lederach, John Paul. *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. Washington: US Institute of Peace, 1997.
- Leigh, Wendy, *Arnold: An Unauthorized Biography*. Chicago: Congdon & Weed, 1990.
- Locke, John. *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. (1690). Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894.
- Lorenz, Konrad. *On Aggression*. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Luckenbill, David F., *Criminal Homicide as a Situated Transaction*. Berkley: University

- of California, 1977.
- Maslow, Abraham H. *Dominance, Self-Esteem, and Self-Actualization. Germinal Papers of A. H. Maslow*. Grove: Brooks/Cole, 1973.
- Medzian, Myriam. "Boys Will Be Boys." In *Violence and Gender: An Interdisciplinary Reader*, eds. Paula Ruth Gilbert and Kimberly K. Eby, 9-23. Upper Saddle River: Pearson Education, 2004.
- Medzian, Myriam. *Boys Will Be Boys: Breaking the Link Between Masculinity and Violence*. Brooklyn: Lantern Books, 2002.
- Mentzer, Mike. *Heavy Duty*. 1993.
- Mentzer, Mike. *Heavy Duty II*. 1996.
- Neave, Nick. *Hormones and Behavior*. Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2007.
- Nixon, Howard L. II. "Gender, Sport, and Aggressive Behavior Outside Sport." In *Contemporary Issues in Sociology of Sport*, eds. Andrew Yiannakis and Merrill J. Melnick. Champaign: Human Kinetics, 2001.
- Nosanchuk, Terry and Catherine MacNeil. "Examination of the Effects of Traditional and Modern Arts Training on Aggressiveness." In *Aggressive Behavior* 15 (1989): 153-159.
- Olweus, Dan. "Development of Stable Aggressive Reaction Patterns in Males." In *Advances in the Study of Aggression*, vol. 1, eds. Robert J. Blanchard and D. Caroline Blanchard, 103-137. Orlando: Academic Press, 1984.
- Outland Baker, Barbara, *Arnold and Me: In the Shadow of the Austrian Oak*. Bloomington: AuthorHouse, 2006.
- Rees, C. Roger and Frank M. Howell. "Do High School Sports Build Character? A

- Quasi-Experiment on a National Sample.” *The Social Science Journal* 27 (1990): 303-315.
- Richman, Charles L. and Heather Rehberg. “The Development of Self-Esteem through the Martial Arts.” In *International Journal of Sport Psychology* 17 (1986): 234-239.
- Rochlin, Gregory. *Man’s Aggression; the Defense of the Self*. Gambit: Boston, 1973.
- Rosenberg, Morris. *Society and the Adolescent Self-Image*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965.
- Rowe, Richard, Barbara Maughan, Carol Worthman, E. Jane Castello, and Adrian Angold. “Testosterone, Antisocial Behavior, and Social Dominance in Boys: Pubertal Development and Biosocial Interaction.” *Biological Psychiatry* 55, no. 5 (2004): 546-552.
- Russel, Gordon W. (1983). “Psychological Issues in Sports Aggression.” In *Sports Violence*, ed. Jeffery H. Goldstein, 157-181. New York: Springer-Verlag, 1983.
- Schafer, Walter E. “Participation in Interscholastic Athletics and Delinquency.” In *Schools and Delinquency*, eds. Kenneth Polk and Walter E. Schafer, 91-101. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1972.
- Scheff, Thomas J. and Suzanne M. Retzinger. *Emotions and Violence: Shame and Rage in Destructive Conflicts*. Lexington: Lexington Books, 1991.
- Segrave, Jeffrey O. and Hastad Douglas M. “Delinquent Behavior and Interscholastic Athletic Participation.” In *Journal of Sport Behavior* 5, (1982): 96-111.
- Sherif, Muzafer. *Problems of Youth: Transition to Adulthood in a Changing World*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1965.

- Sommers, Marc. "Embracing the Margins: Working with Youth amid War and Insecurity." In *The 2006 Brookings-Blum Roundtable*. Washington: Brookings, 2006.
- Stark, Rodney. "Deviant Places." In *Current Contraversies in Criminology*. Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 2003.
- Stephens, Dawn E. "Predictors of Aggressive Tendencies in Girls' Basketball: An Examination of Beginning and Advanced Participants in Summer Skills Camp." In *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport* 72 (2001): 257-266.
- Stevenson, Christopher L. "Socialization Effects of Participation in Sports: A Critical Review of the Research." *The Research Quarterly* 46 (1975): 287-301.
- Stevenson, Christopher L. "College Athletics and 'Character:' The Decline and Fall of Socialization Research." In *Sport and Higher Education*, eds. Donald Chu, Jeffrey Segrave, and Beverley J. Becker, 249-266. Champaign: Human Kinetics, 1985.
- Tart, Charles T. "Aikido and the Concept of Ki." In *Psychological Perspectives* 18 (1987): 332-348.
- Thirer, Joel and Mark D. Grabiner. "Self-Actualization through Zen and the Martial Arts." In *Review of Sport and Leisure* 5 (1980): 79-92.
- Thomas, Herbert. "Experiencing a Shame Response as a Precursor to Violence." In *Bulletin American Academy of Psychiatry and Law* 23, no. 4 (1995): 587-593.
- Thompson, William E. and Richard A. Dodder. "Containment Theory and Juvenile Delinquency: A Reevaluation through Factor Analysis." In *Adolescence* 21, no. 82 (1986): 365-376.

Trulson, Michael E. "Martial Arts Training: A Novel 'Cure' for Juvenile Delinquency."

In *Human Relations* 39, no. 12 (1986): 1131-1140.

Urdal, Henrik. "A Clash of Generations? Youth Bulges and Political Violence." In

International Studies Quarterly 50 (2006): 607-629.

Van Creveld, Martin. *Transformation of War*. New York: Free Press, 1991.

Wilson, Edward O. *On Human Nature*. Cambridge: Harvard University, 1978.

Wingate, C. F. "Exploring the Karate Way of Life: Coping, Commitment, and

Psychological Well-Being Among Traditional Karate Practitioners." Ph.D.

diss., Temple University, 1993.