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| AUTHOR | TABLE OF CONTENTS | PAGE |
|---|--|------|
| <u>RELIGION</u> | | |
| Ralph G O'Sullivan | Cursillo in Social Movement Literature | 131 |
| Thomas Hoffman | Women in Church Leadership: An Analysis of Religious Beliefs | 137 |
| <u>COMMUNITY AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS</u> | | |
| Gilbert Elbaz | AIDS Activism, Communities and Disagreements | 145 |
| Bonnie Berry | Human and Nonhuman Animal Rights and Oppression: An Evolution Toward Equality | 155 |
| <u>RACE AND ETHNICITY</u> | | |
| Gregory Y Mark | Double Punishment: Two Chinese American Opium Court Cases | 161 |
| Laurence A French | A Review of U.S./Indian Policy: A Unique Chapter In U.S. History | 169 |
| Marjorie L Coppock | Bars and Bullfights On The Border | 179 |
| <u>GENDER, VIOLENCE, AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE</u> | | |
| Deborah Hanrahan | Gender and Spousal Violence: A Test of Social Control and Power-Control Theories | 189 |
| Stan C Weeber | Postmodern-Feminist Approaches to the Study of Wife Abuse: A Critical Review | 199 |
| Juanita M Firestone & Richard J Harris | Organizational Climate, Leadership and Individual Responses to Sexual Harassment in the Active Duty Military | 211 |
| Charles P Gallmeier, Marty E Zusman, David Knox & Laurin Gibson | Can We Talk?: Gender Differences in Disclosure Patterns and Expectations | 219 |
| <u>DISABILITY</u> | | |
| Beverly L Stiles, Robert E Clark & Emily E LaBeff | Sexuality and Paraplegia: Myths and Misconceptions Among College Students | 227 |
| | Reviewers of 1997 | 144 |
| | Index of 1997 | 237 |
| | Subscriber and Author Manuscript Form | 239 |

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CURSILLO IN SOCIAL MOVEMENT LITERATURE

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ABSTRACT

Cursillo has its origins in Spain in the late 1940s. Initially a Roman Catholic venture, it now occurs in several Christian denominations, retaining the task of promoting religious renewal or revitalization for its members. Since there are no publications which appropriately place cursillo in social movement literature this article accomplishes the task using social strain, resource mobilization, and expectancy-value theories.

INTRODUCTION

There are few singular analyses of cursillo in the sociology of religion and these are by Dragostin (1970), Marcoux (1982), and O'Sullivan (1988, 1989). The titles for two of these works, "The Cursillo as a Social Movement" (Dragostin 1970) and *Cursillo: Anatomy of a Social Movement* (Marcoux 1982), suggest that the reader is included in conversations about cursillo as a unique social movement. Because these publications never truly satisfy the expectation, this study of cursillo does that which has been left undone by providing a selective triptych of theoretical scenes to describe and explain cursillo as a redemptive religious movement.

Several tasks must be accomplished to make this undertaking successful. First, basic dimensions of social movements are reviewed to classify cursillo as a social movement. Second, three theories are offered at the macro-level of analysis, the middle-range level of analysis, and the micro-level of analysis to explain how cursillo is constructed and directed toward the religious re-creation of the self. Third, the redemptive appeal of cursillo is reviewed to delineate this movement from other, secular self-help or self-improvement programs.

When the responsibilities of this article are completed there will be an addition to the body of knowledge about the movement which has received scant sociological attention. These analyses begin with summaries of information about social movements.

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

There are many definitions for social movements so a recent interpretation is used:

A movement is constituted by human beings engaged in discourses and practices designed to challenge and change society as they define it. (Garner 1996)

While it is tempting to identify all

varieties of social movements it must be remembered that there is often interaction between them which hinders the ability to separate their limits, goals, and memberships (Aberle 1966; Garner 1996; Heberle 1968; Roberts, Kloss 1979). When more ideas of Aberle (1966) are used cursillo is labeled as a redemptive movement since it is oriented toward the complete reawakening of the self. This classification is extended to designate cursillo as a redemptive religious movement since it occurs in sacramental Christian denominations which have defined religious histories, theologies, and promises of salvation. Cursillo, then, is composed of members who have gone through similar transformations, who are sympathetic to its purposes, and who bring others into this "psychological crowd" (Park, Burgess 1924) in a collective process.

With a preamble to the study of cursillo as a redemptive religious movement completed, there is need to turn to the combined works of several social scientists to identify some of the general traits of social movements which are used in this study. Because social movements revolve around complex moral issues, the expression "moral intuition" (Jasper 1991) refers to a people's visions of that which is morally "right" and that which is morally "wrong." A "moral shock" (Jasper 1991) happens when those visions are threatened. Social or religious mores defining "right" from "wrong" become indistinct and produce *anomie* (Durkheim 1951) when accepted voices of authority, knowledge, tradition, and social order are questioned, attacked, and riven by the disciples of competing beliefs. People who experience such anomalies may undergo "paradigm shifts" (Heirich 1977) or "epiphanies" (Denzin 1989) to re-create noble constancy in their lives. Realigned religious identities (Fowler 1981; O'Sullivan 1995) can be brought about by forming social movements to promote alternate principles, or by joining social movements whose views fit emergent ideals.

Many sacred and secular redemptive movements have charismatic leaders of origin (Aberle 1966), but each is dependent upon a "moral community of believers" (Jasper 1991) whose members have a "common paradigm of experience" (Gusfield 1968) to "spread the word" evoking radical or subtle reforms in a region. Because social movements vary by parentage, leadership, conviction, intent, discourse, practice, and history, three sociological theories are used to portray the diversity of *cursillo* as a redemptive religious movement.

SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY APPLIED TO CURSILLO

Social movement studies have been dominated by social strain and resource mobilization theories. These two approaches are used in conjunction with expectancy-value theory (Klandermans 1984) to describe and explain *cursillo*.

Social Strain Theory

The tenet of this theory is that social movements have natural histories derived from objective and subjective interpretations of social strain and *anomie* (Garner 1996; Smelser 1963). The premise is joined with contributions from Jasper (1991) to promote the conclusion that social movements are centered around efforts to invalidate the sources and teachings of those beliefs which create normative disarray in order to re-form intellectual, social, moral, and ideological normalcy in a population. Such writers as Bord and Faulkner (1983), Mauss (1975), Smelser (1963), as well as Cleary (1985) and Pena (1995), would endorse this scenario when it is applied to the beginnings of *cursillo* in Spain following the civil and second world wars.

Spain was then rife with local codes like republicanism, anarchy, fascism, nationalism, communism, and splintering within Roman Catholicism which weakened it and the parent theology (Garner 1996; Marcoux 1982; Michener 1988; Pena 1995). The profane beliefs and advocates were reasoned enough to curry favor with many Roman Catholics, goading them to disavow religion, to reject religion's "flattened" teachings (Fowler 1987), to sample replacement lessons (Garner 1996), and to migrate with patterns of belief-exit and belief-entry religious innovation (O'Sullivan 1995).

Spain's balkanization and the people's disenchantment with the ecclesia aroused a layman, Eduardo Bonnín, and a cleric, Bishop

Juan Hervás, to explore new or alternative methods to present personalized images of religion to apostates and to those who were being courted from it (Bord, Faulkner 1983; Marcoux 1982). The manifest intentions of Bonnín and Hervás led to *cursillo*'s first retreat in Mallorca during January 1949, and it has since been diffused to other locales such as South America and the U.S. where it serves similar purposes.

From the perspectives of colonial and evangelical history South America has been almost as ecclesiastic as Spain. However, recent events in the region have shown that there is much dissent converging on such issues as international capitalism, allegations of political corruption, charges of abuses of power in the Roman Catholic Church, Protestant missionaries, Marxism, and liberation theology. This climate in areas of South America is almost identical to that of Spain when *cursillo* was begun. Consequently, *cursillo* was introduced into the region as one theology of reconciliation to defuse the tide of disenchantment with the church and defection from it (Cleary 1985; Pena 1995).

Whether or not *cursillo* is an effective tool against liberation theology is a matter of conjecture. Liberation theology is directed toward the vulnerable masses in the area who represent a political-economic minority and who are racked from maltreatment, corruption, and exploitation at the hands of those who represent a political and economic majority. *Cursillo*, on the other hand, is directed toward the categories and social classes of people who are more privileged (Cleary 1985; Marcoux 1982), who support the church, and who use such influence or power they have to promote Roman Catholicism against the populist beliefs of liberation theology. The conflict there has yet to be settled.

The diffusion of *cursillo* into the U.S. shows that it has been adopted in many dioceses and synods of the Episcopal, Lutheran, and United Methodist churches as an element of instructional technology for several plausible reasons. First, because these religious chapters are also sacramental the composition and contents of the original *cursillo* are easily translated into the liturgies, rubrics, and rites of the borrowers. Second, the popularity of *cursillo* in the Roman Catholic community may have prompted leaders in the other denominations to join the bandwagon and vie for their fair market shares of new members in

etitive environment (Iannaccone, Olark 1995).

certainly the social climate of Spain in the 1940s is not present in the U.S. today, the era should not be considered as a stimulus for the growth of cursillo out-oman Catholicism. Yet, because as- threats to Christianity still exist there is a need to retain standardized and al curricula of religious education, to t and preserve the promises of deliver- actively reconstitute membership rolls, erve the religion, and to reintroduce rs to the religion and to the churches hich they had strayed.

he means by which the goals are par- et are built into the configuration of a weekend retreat. As the retreat pro- s the novices or candidates are offered of fifteen *rollos* or religious talks which en by members of the laity and the ho direct the weekend. Each *rollo* is d and sequentially presented to facili- candidates' epiphanies or paradigm (Sullivan 1989). The first *rollo*, entitled asks all players to reflect upon the s they have led and upon the various "ologies," and work/academic endeav- hich they have given allegiance or have dicated. An intimated message or call alk is to create cognitive dissonance (Festinger 1957) in the minds of the candi- without attacking any particular lifestyle f system. The candidate is allowed to truct a personal doctrine or way of life. he seeds for dissonance have been e remaining *rollos*, group discussions, rship services allow the candidate to r cognitive consonance (Festinger ith a religious theme by way of recon- with God and with the person's de- tional affiliation.

owever, a change in religious feelings part of an individual does not create a ovement. The application of social eory to cursillo has tandem attributes. ifas or members of the cursillo commu- ve to recruit new members through rious social contacts, thereby increas- onal expertise about the movement in petal direction. Then, once the recruits o *cursillistas* they, too, are encouraged e evangelists or proselytes for cursillo, ing public awareness about the move- a centrifugal direction.

onflicts of belief are rarely won, but

they can change course by redefining moral debates. Cursillo was born in a time of social disruption in Spain and the movement has similar purpose in regions of South America, just as it exists in the U.S. to neutralize con- temporary vulgar, populist, or secular attacks to the religion and its participating churches. This modern religious movement now deserves further investigation with another sociological device.

Resource Mobilization Theory

The second approach which defines these analyses is resource mobilization theory that has been created and refined by such authors as Iannaccone et al (1995), Gusfield (1968), Lawson (1991), McCarthy and Zald (1977), and Tilly (1978). It is an organization approach which specifies that holdings of human skills, various forms of capital, and material culture are invested to yield high profits in the forms of goal attainment and membership recruitment (Garner 1996; Iannaccone et al 1995). An aspect of this theory is that social movements and their regional cells/pockets of activity need managerial guidance. The superintendance is provided by a "di- rected" segment consisting of

organized and structured groups with specific programs [of study for reform], a formal leadership [core], definitive ideology, and stated objectives. Its followers are members of an organization as well as partisans to a belief. (Gusfield 1968)

The directed segment of a movement has the obligations of dispensing the movement's cultural package to attract religious seekers (Iannaccone et al 1995; Lofland 1966). A cursillo center's boards of management are the steering committee, the servant committee, and the secretariat. They are all composed of members from the laity and the clergy who have ascended the status hierarchy of a center by learning how to "talk the talk" and "walk the walk" of cursillo and by way of volunteerism for the movement (O'Sullivan 1988, 1989).

Resource mobilization can be called the resolve side of strain for a cursillo center. Since the weekends vary by religious chapter the *rollos* are apt to modified to fit the characteristics of the host denomination, and daily details of a weekend need to be adjusted for large or small numbers of participants. The

weekend retreats usually begin on Thursday night and end on Sunday, but in others there are time abbreviations. In some cases a cursillo center receives candidates almost monthly, yet in some locales a cursillo weekend occurs just once a year. After the governing boards of a cursillo center receive ideas, advice, and suggestions from their respective national offices, the panelists make purposive decisions to cover wide varieties of exigencies relative to local population venues.

Another comparison is now possible between this application of theory at the civic level with events in Latin America. Remember, cursillo was introduced into that region as a theology of reconciliation or redemption in an effort to conquer the attractions of liberation theology for those who felt dissonance between themselves and government, the economy, the church, and the mavens of theoretical theology. Many liberationists believe that the church itself can be freed by returning it to the people or by having the people take back that which has been taken from them. The people must involve themselves collectively, effectively, and passionately.

Comunidades eclesiales de bases, or base Christian communities, (Cleary 1985; Pena 1995) are similar to cursillo centers in that they are comprised of local partisans who have been recruited; who have a feeling of sisterhood or brotherhood with their fellows; who gather for worship, community action, and study; who define the church in personalized terms; and who feel that they have found a spiritual hang-out for themselves. Cursillo centers and base communities are also havens of respite, renewal, and encouragement in the face of competition.

The principle differences between cursillo centers and the CEBs are their degrees of bureaucratic composition. The base communities are laity-rooted and decentralized units, being the manifestation of praxis between their members and clergy in the church's theocracy who have contaminated theological tradition by "selling out" to sirens of economic and political power. Cursillo centers, though, exist with the approval of their churches; have designated spiritual directors who are members of the clergy; and whose roles and events are overseen by members of the churches' hierarchies. They are units to be administered by having their assets laid out to provide maximum economic returns on investments.

There is another theory which

completes the triple casing of sociological pictures about cursillo as a redemptive religious movement. That image addresses the social psychology concerns of membership and identity.

Expectancy-Value Theory

Resource mobilization theory has been charged with over-emphasizing the organizational and instrumental elements of a social movement while downplaying the individual member (Klandermans 1984). Nevertheless, the contributions which the theory, and social strain theory, have made to the study of social movements helped support the formulation of expectancy-value theory. The two approaches allow logical shifts of emphasis from macro-level concerns to middle-range level interests to micro-level issues which have dual attributes affecting social movements' life courses.

First, *consensus mobilization* identifies articulated public relations campaigns which broadcast communal and non-specific evidence about a movement to a community (Klandermans 1984) as the efferent drive for a movement. This action is conferred with the mass media public relations blitz enacted by the "Divine Precepts" church (Lofland 1966). Second, *action mobilization* refers to specific support of a social movement by enlisting new members (Klandermans 1984) as the afferent energy within a movement.

The righteous claims or emotional appeals in both motivational actions will contain debatable truths. Even though the "right"- "wrong" dichotomies are open to interpretation they have economic merit when religious seekers or pre-converts define their enlistments as being profitable; when delinquent members define "re-ups" or re-enlistments as being beneficial; and when current members define continued presence as being valuable.

While expectancy-value theory's emphasis is on the individual and cost-benefit analysis, the utility of the approach to the study of redemptive religious movements, like cursillo, needs clarity. Precise explanation continues with departure from its principles and arrival in the realm of adaptation. The gain-loss and exit-entry dimensions of the theory revolve around the answers to complementary questions: "Redemption from what?" and "Redemption to what?"

REDEMPTIVE SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

An earlier section of this article

presented an amended perspective of a redemptive social movement to describe cursillo as a redemptive *religious* movement. In light of the fact that this schedule is related to self-help or self-improvement groups (Turner, Killian 1987), a clear demarcation between their agendas must be made.

The analogous events are dependent upon a person's paradigm shift or epiphany of altered "moral nets" (Davis, Stasz 1990). The adjustment prompts the formation of new lifestyles and the creation of new networks of friends who have had similar psychological moments. Re-formed ways of living are found in secular humanism and secularized religion, or in many twelve-step recovery programs which rely on generous invocations of God's assistance. When the latter path is taken then the program should not be labeled as a redemptive religious movement. An organized theology, a defined religious history, and explicit sets of premises, promises, and salvific appeals are not the cornerstones for membership and participation.

The redemptive world view of cursillo is distinct because it contains clear outlines of holiness and faith in the covenant of deliverance. Cursillo's regenerative invitations are built into Christianity's several prominent creeds and in additional bodies of internal literature. Fidelity to the belief is offered through (re-)proclamation, (re-)affirmation, renunciation, and sacramental inclusion.

It is in this context that Hoffer's (1951) ideas are used to state that leading a secular or an autonomous life is vile, barren, and sinful, which is insinuated in the "ideal" *rollo*. This contention lends some credence to a modified adage or parable: If an individual is so completely full of the self then there is no room for spirituality. Atonement is possible when the person-as-sinner becomes enlightened about amorality or immorality, how they are manifested, and how denunciations of personal demons and their nefarious deeds are possible.

Redemptive religious movements are composed of spiritually-motivated members who are penitent for their wicked ways, and who have put themselves into positions of piety with a divinity. The apostles amass their skills and supplies to help religious seekers who are entangled in dilemmas of faith, who are pursuing solutions for their quandaries of virtue, and who seek the company of empathetic others in a spiritual community.

Hoffer also states the co-processes of atonement, entry into a state of piety with a godhead, and joining a religious community, such as cursillo, are relatively simple.

[T]o confess [sins] and repent is to slough of one's individual distinctiveness and separateness, and salvation is found by losing oneself in the holy oneness of the congregation [of believers and the attendant creeds]. (1951)

Friends, family members, and work associates are the points of contact between a seeker and cursillo. The proselytes inspire the pre-converts to attend selective events prior to the retreat in order to taste some of its offerings and to meet its "fellowship of believers" (Heberle 1968). Members of the community greet the guests with a combination of general and specific compensators (Stark, Bainbridge 1987). "[C]ome join us...because we are the means of obtaining the *right* relationship with God" (Lawson 1991), and "We have found it, and we will help you find it, too" represent teasers often proclaimed by members to the visitors. Advocates assert the opinions that profits earned from membership are unlimited and that similar returns are available to all people of faith. The wholesale subjugation of the self to a group and its beliefs, however, has been the concern of social commentators.

As Christianity, its denominations, and their subcultures like cursillo have emerged, all begat controversy. Dragostin (1970) makes this point salient by excoriating cursillo with the claim that members are trapped in a closed, ethnocentric, self-serving, and vindictive club. Wayward citizens who belittle, neglect, or reject the congregation find that they are discredited, slighted, and ostracized by its members. His warning has literary allusion in Skinner's (1948) trope about Walden II's sheep which are kept in a symbolic pen and are overseen by a watchful dog lest they transgress.

A religious seeker's decision to join and maintain a career in cursillo is partially dependent on available opportunities (O'Sullivan 1988). The options are also functions of perceived gains or anticipated losses according to expectancy-value theory, whereby seekers join the movement to form religious bonds when had not existed or to re-new religious ties which had waned.

CONCLUSION: REVIEW AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Cursillo is a redemptive religious movement directed toward the spiritual revitalization of its members. Entry into the cursillo community takes place during a retreat which occurs over an extended weekend. Cursillo's candidates or seekers are presented with a series of talks by members of the clergy and the laity who serve as the candidates' guides. Until now, though, there have been no sociological observations to identify the qualities of cursillo as a social movement.

This article partially fills that void using social strain theory, resource mobilization theory, and expectancy-value theory, but the task is still incomplete. All efforts to describe cursillo, to explain it, and to interpret it are limited in scope by the general absence of sociologists who study it. Even so, it is not likely that there can ever be a completed picture of the movement. Events seen, described, and explained should be filtered through diverse interpretive lenses such as those which have been used here.

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WOMEN IN CHURCH LEADERSHIP: AN ANALYSIS OF RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

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ABSTRACT

This study analyzes attitudes of clergy and the laity from eight Christian denominations. Control variables include demographic variables, religious denomination, clerical status, selected religious beliefs, and attitudes towards Mary, the mother of Jesus. The principle question and dependent variable is this: "women should be considered equal to men in all areas of church leadership."

INTRODUCTION

What is the role of women in church leadership? What should that role be? These are questions which religious communities debate. Yinger (1970) wrote that

The concept of role is one of the key meeting places of personality theory and sociocultural theory, for it represents an internalized style of life for the individual and at the same time a cultural blueprint of approved behavior for certain designated members of a society.

Weber (1958) noted the important influence of religion on daily life:

The magical and religious forces, and the ethical ideas of duty based upon them, have in the past always been among the most important formative influences on conduct.

He said (1958) that the 'callings' we follow are very important for our concept of self:

... Reformation meant not the elimination of the Church's control over everyday life, but rather the substitution of a new form of control for the previous one.

Thus, the question of the *role* of women in church leadership may be a very important one to address.

There are contradictory interpretations of the history of the role of women in church leadership. Pope John Paul II (1994a) declared

Priestly ordination, which hands on the office entrusted by Christ to his Apostles of teaching, sanctifying, and governing the faithful, has in the Catholic Church from the beginning always been reserved to men alone.

In contrast, Torjesen (1993) reports that

Giorgio Otranto, an Italian professor of church

history, has shown through papal letters and inscriptions that women participated in the Catholic priesthood for the first thousand years of the church's history.

She further points out that the

last thirty years of American scholarship have produced an amazing range of evidence for women's roles as deacons, priests, presbyters, and even bishops in the Christian churches from the first through the thirteenth century.

Priestesses were the norm in some non-Christian societies. Goodrich (1990) writes:

Priestesses thrived in ancient societies in which religion, art, and science were not as yet disjoined. They freely practiced priestcraft in temple communities supporting as many as six thousand priestesses at one site. Such a temple, at Ephesus has recently been excavated and exhaustively studied by archeologists. In ancient Asia Minor, Greece, Africa and Europe priestesses were venerated, as priests still are today. Women as well as men were then holy persons and leaders in their societies.

Indeed, "... priestesses still officiated in Britain, Gaul, and Scandinavia around 500 A.D." (Goodrich 1990). However, she also indicates that some of these priestesses were non-Christian while others were Christian:

The historical 'Velleda,' like a 'Gertrude,' was a Druid priestess who defended Gaul. Isolde was a noble Irish priestess trained in medicine at the time Saint Brigid became the first Bishop of Kildare. (1990)

Within the Catholic Church, Ferrara (1994) in commenting on some of the theological and historical problems with the papal pronouncement of John Paul II cited earlier, points out that discussion of the issue of females in the priesthood is not as yet a closed

Table 1: Characteristics of Respondents, *Mary in the Christian Churches Today Survey*

| Gender | | Race | | Marital Status | | Age | |
|------------------|-----|---------------|-----|--------------------|-----|------------------|-----|
| Male | 64% | Anglo | 88% | Single | 15% | 19 or under | 2% |
| Female | 32% | Black | 2% | Celibate/Single | 7% | 20-29 | 5% |
| (N=384) | | Hispanic | 7% | Married | 71% | 30-39 | 19% |
| | | Asian | 1% | Separated/Divorced | 7% | 40-49 | 21% |
| | | Indian | 1% | (N=393) | | 50-59 | 26% |
| | | Other | 1% | | | 60-69 | 18% |
| | | (N=394) | | | | 70 or over | 9% |
| | | | | | | (N=396) | |
| Education | | Income | | Religion | | Church Position | |
| 8th or less | 1% | Under \$10K | 7% | Orthodox | 4% | Pastor | 46% |
| Some High School | 1% | 10k to 19,999 | 10% | Lutheran | 23% | Assistant Clergy | 7% |
| High School | 7% | 20k to 29,999 | 22% | Methodist | 14% | Deacon-Elder | 3% |
| Some College | 11% | 30k to 39,999 | 24% | Episcopal | 15% | Regional- | 1% |
| Bachelors | 18% | 40k to 49,999 | 15% | Catholic | 17% | National Clergy | |
| Masters | 45% | 50k to 59,999 | 10% | Presbyterian | 19% | Seminarian | 1% |
| Doctorate | 15% | 60k to 69,999 | 5% | Southern Baptist | 6% | Layperson | 42% |
| Beyond Ph.D. | 4% | 70k to 79,999 | 3% | Assemblies of God | 2% | (N=393) | |
| (N=393) | | 80k plus | 5% | (N=396) | | | |
| | | (N=388) | | | | | |

issue. However, Pope John Paul II (1994a, 1994b, 1995), hoping to close the issue, has issued at least three recent statements on women, declaring them to be equal to men, yet having different roles than men in the church. Torjesen (1993) suggests that

Christian churches need to return to their own authentic heritage, reject the patriarchal norms of the Greco-Roman gender system, and restore women to equal partnership in leadership of the church and participation in Christian life.

There are numerous ordained women in the United States today. Ward (1991) reports that

The first woman ordained with the full authority and blessing of her denomination was Olympia Brown, a Universalist who was ordained by the St. Lawrence Association of Universalists in 1863.

He further (1991) indicates that in 1986 there were almost 21,000 ordained female clergy, representing about 7.9 percent of the ordained clergy in the United States. In his summary of a 1986 survey of denominations he concluded that of 221 religious groups surveyed in the United States 84 ordained women, 82 did not, 49 were unclear and 6 had no clergy. That is to say, more than one out of

three of the religious groups in the United States ordain women. Recently, females have been elevated to the bishop's chair. Torjesen (1993) reports that the first female Episcopal bishop in the U.S. was ordained in 1989.

The purpose of this study is to examine what contributes to support or opposition towards the attitude that women should be considered equal to men in church leadership. In 1990 a survey of lay and clerical members of eight Christian denominations was conducted (Boccardi 1990). As Greeley (1972) has indicated "...denominationalism is a central characteristic of American religion." Among the questions asked was one concerning support for equality among the sexes in church leadership. This study examines those factors which influence support for egalitarianism in church leadership.

DATA COLLECTION

The questionnaire addresses contemporary Christian concerns. This purposive sample (N=399) consists of clergy and laity of various Christian traditions in the United States, representing eight traditions: Greek and Coptic Orthodox, the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, Roman Catholic, Episcopalian, United Methodist, Presbyterian, Southern Baptist and Assemblies of God (Pentecostal). Respondents were surveyed in Boston, Dallas, Houston, Manhattan, Minneapolis, Richmond,

San Antonio, and San Francisco. A full description of the sampling procedures are reported in Boccardi (1995).

The scope of the questions covered attitudes towards Scripture, liturgy, patristics, Christology, ecclesiology, Mary, ministry, devotion and ecumenism. The answers to the questions were coded in this way: 4) agree strongly, 3) agree slightly, 2) can't decide/don't know, 1) disagree slightly, 0) disagree strongly. Background questions included information on: religious tradition, racial background, gender, educational background, age, position, marital status, annual income, church activities and church attendance.

Characteristics of Respondents

This data set provides a sample with sufficient diversity to make comparisons between groups (see Table 1). There are twice as many males as females, almost 9 of 10 are Anglo, 7 of 10 are married. The median age is in the low 50s. This is a very educated group: the median level of education is at the masters level. The sample is not particularly affluent — median income is in the mid \$30,000s.

The sample includes respondents from eight Christian denominations. The sample design provided that more than half of the respondents would hold some clerical role in their church (which perhaps helps explain the high education and less than outstanding incomes).

The lay people in the sample are active in their churches. Ninety-four percent are members of one church group or more. They are also frequent attenders at church services. Ninety-seven percent of the lay respondents attend church two to three times a month or more. These are not people only nominally affiliated with their particular denomination.

SUPPORT FOR EQUALITY IN CHURCH LEADERSHIP AND RECENT DENOMINATIONAL EXPERIENCE

The survey included only one item which taps the concern of this research: "Women should be considered equal to men in *all* areas of church leadership." Respondents were asked to rate their level of agreement with this statement on a five point Likert-type scale ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree. This single item indicator, because of its clear wording, could be said to have face validity regarding the concept of support for equality in church leadership. It should be noted that this

item emphasizes "all" areas of church leadership, and thus is broader than asking whether or not ordination should be open to women.

The eight denominations in this study have different experiences with the ordination of females in the twentieth century. In 1914, the Assemblies of God became the first of these eight denominations to ordain women. The United Methodists and Presbyterians began ordaining women in 1956, followed by the Southern Baptists in 1964.

Recently, Southern Baptists renewed conflict on this issue. According to Ward (1991) "In 1984, the Southern Baptist Convention adopted a resolution opposing women's ordination." The resolution read, in part, that the Southern Baptist Convention

...encourage the service of women in all aspects of church life and work other than pastoral functions and leadership roles entailing ordination. (Melton 1991)

However, Melton (1991) pointed out:

Because of the very loose authority the Convention wields over individual congregations, this resolution cannot force congregations to expel women pastors already in place, nor can it prevent congregations from ordaining others.

Although approval of female ordination was far from unanimous among American Lutherans and Episcopalians, the American Lutheran Church began ordaining women in 1970, followed by the Episcopal Church in 1976. Roman Catholics and Orthodox have not ordained women in this century.

BACKGROUND VARIABLES AND SUPPORT FOR EQUALITY IN CHURCH LEADERSHIP

Background variables need to be tested to see if they have an influence on support for equality in church leadership. Gender, race, marital status, age, education, income, denominational affiliation, and clerical status may all have independent influences on attitudes towards women's role in church leadership. For example, in other studies, gender has been seen to play a role with regard to support for female ordination. Jelen (1989) in a study among Roman Catholics found that "...men are more supportive of female ordination than are women." He has also speculated the Catholic males who do oppose ordination base their

Table 2: Support for Equality (Percent Strongly Agree) in Church Leadership by Background Characteristics*

| Ethnicity | Education | Clerical Status | Religion |
|--------------|---|-------------------|-----------------------|
| Hispanic | 48% M.A. or above | 74% Lay | Assemblies of God 22% |
| Non-Hispanic | 68% Some College to B.A. High School or less | 57% Clergy 35% | Catholic 46% |
| | | | Episcopalian 80% |
| | | | Lutheran 81% |
| | | | Methodist 79% |
| | | | Orthodox 13% |
| | | | Presbyterian 81% |
| | | | Southern Baptist 12% |

*All tables Pearson chi-squared $p < .05$

opposition on the notion of a specialized role for females. He postulates (1989) that for Catholics who oppose ordination "...Mary may provide Catholics with a model of an important, but separate, female role in Church affairs."

All of the background variables in Table 1 were tested to see if they were associated with support for equality in church leadership. Several of them do have an influence in the bivariate case: ethnicity (race dichotomized into Hispanic and NonHispanic), education (recoded into three categories), clerical status (clergy vs. lay), and religious affiliation (see Table 2). Income and marital status do not have statistically significant relationships with support for equality in church leadership. In addition, gender, although studies of Catholics alone have shown it to have an influence on approval of female ordination, does not have an influence on support for equality in church leadership among these respondents from eight Christian denominations.

In the bivariate case, Hispanics are less likely than NonHispanics to support gender equality in church leadership. Clergy are more likely than lay to support such an approach. The more highly educated the respondent was, the more likely she/he supported a policy of equality for women in church leadership ($\gamma = .37$; $p \leq .05$).

More than three-fourths of the Lutherans, Methodists, Episcopalians, and Presbyterians surveyed support equality in church leadership. Almost half of the Catholics strongly support it. Less than one of four members in the Assemblies of God, Southern Baptist, and the Orthodox churches surveyed agree with this position.

RELIGIOUS ATTITUDES AND SUPPORT FOR EQUALITY IN CHURCH LEADERSHIP

The data set contains a number of items with regard to religious beliefs and the religious imagination (in particular the stories about Mary with which the respondents may agree or may disagree). A reasonable hypothesis would be that those images of Mary which are more egalitarian in content, such as Mary as model, elder sister in the faith, partner in prayer, contribute to support for equality of women in church leadership. A second hypothesis seemed plausible: agreement with this statement: "Attention to Mary's role in the Christian community can be a positive factor for the feminist movement" would show positive association with support for the statement that "Women should be considered equal to men in *all* areas of church leadership." Neither of these hypotheses hold up to empirical testing. None of the egalitarian or warm, nurturing images of Mary (such as "Mary as my spiritual mother") available in the data, nor the question about Mary and feminism are associated with the attitude regarding women and church leadership ($p > .10$).

Three religious attitudes are associated with support for equality in church leadership in the bivariate case. The measures did all concern Mary, the mother of Jesus. Two dealt with beliefs: "Mary is the Mother of God" ($\gamma = -.17$, $p < .05$), and "I believe in the virginal conception of Jesus within Mary's womb" ($\gamma = -.65$, $p < .05$). These both tap that model of Mary as Virgin and Mother. The third referred to one's relationship with Mary: "Mary plays a significant role in my life" ($\gamma = -.23$, $p < .05$).

Support for equality within the church is influenced by all three of these religious

Table 3: Regression Equations of Influences on Support for Equality in Church Leadership

| | Model A | | Model B | | Model C | | Final Model | |
|---------------------|------------------------|-----------|----------------------------------|-----------|---------------------------------|----------|-------------|-----------|
| | Background + Attitudes | | Background + Attitudes (trimmed) | | Model B + Religion ^A | | | |
| Clerical Status | -.23 | (-.08) | | | | | | |
| Ethnicity | -.71 | (-.13)* | -.76 | (-.14)** | -.32 | (-.06) | | |
| Education | .20 | (.18)** | .17 | (.15)** | .19 | (.17)*** | .19 | (.17)*** |
| Mary Significant | -.05 | (-.05) | | | | | | |
| Mary, Mother of God | -.04 | (-.06) | | | | | | |
| Virginal Conception | -.26 | (-.22)*** | -.29 | (-.24)*** | -.13 | (-.11)* | -.14 | (-.12)*** |
| Orthodox | | | | | -.79 | (-.10) | | |
| Lutheran | | | | | 1.33 | (.40)** | 1.26 | (.38)*** |
| Methodist | | | | | 1.28 | (.31)** | 1.21 | (.29)*** |
| Episcopal | | | | | 1.13 | (.30)** | 1.08 | (.28)*** |
| Catholic | | | | | .35 | (.09) | | |
| Presbyterian | | | | | 1.11 | (.31)** | 1.05 | (.29)*** |
| Southern Baptist | | | | | -.98 | (-.18)* | -1.05 | (-.19)*** |
| Constant | 3.25*** | | 3.20*** | | 1.72*** | | 1.83*** | |
| R Squared | .13 | | .12 | | .35 | | .33 | |
| Adjusted R Squared | .12 | | .12 | | .34 | | .32 | |

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.0001

^AReligions are compared by dummy variable analysis with Assemblies of God as the baseline.

Cell entries are unstandardized regression coefficients and, in parentheses, standardized regression coefficients.

attitudes (chi-squares significant at < .05). Results show that 68 percent of those who strongly disagree with the notion that Mary is the Mother of God, 96 percent of those who disagree with belief in the virginal conception of Jesus, and 70 percent of those who are clear that Mary does not play a significant role in their personal life strongly agree that women should be considered equal to men in all areas of church leadership. The *less likely* one is to: see Mary as the Mother of God, believe in the virginal conception of Jesus, or see Mary as playing an important role in his/her life, the *more likely* that person is to support equality for women in church leadership.

MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS OF INFLUENCES ON SUPPORT FOR EQUALITY IN CHURCH LEADERSHIP

Tests of background variables and religious attitudes indicate that a number of variables potentially influence support for equality in church leadership. Multiple regression analysis allows control of each variable's influence on this dependent variable (see Table 3).

The direct influence of the background

and attitudinal variables are tested (Table 3, Model A). Results indicate that the apparent influence of clerical status, the stance that Mary plays a significant role in one's personal life, and the belief that Mary is the Mother of God, does not hold up in a multivariate analysis. Ethnicity, education, and beliefs regarding virginal conception do significantly influence the response variable in the same direction as in the bivariate results. The regression equation is re-estimated, deleting the non-significant variables (see Table 3, Model B).

Regression analysis was then conducted to bring in the potential influence of religious denomination (see Table 3, Model C). Dummy variable analysis allows the inclusion of nominal level variables, such as religion, in regression analyses (Lewis-Beck 1980). The results show that religious affiliation is an important characteristic to examine (the amount of variance explained increases from 12 percent for Model B to 34 percent for Model C). The apparent influence of ethnicity disappears when religious denomination is brought into the analysis. However, the effects of education and belief concerning virginal conception still

hold.

In dummy variable analysis, one of the categories has to be chosen as a baseline. Since the Assemblies of God is the denomination in this study with the longest modern practice of female ordination, membership in that denomination was chosen as the baseline. Regression analysis indicates that Lutherans, Methodists, Episcopalians, and Presbyterians are all significantly more likely to support gender equality in church leadership than members of the Assembly of God. Catholics and Orthodox do not differ from members of Assemblies of God, while Southern Baptists are significantly less likely than all the other denominations to support equality in church leadership.

Trimming all non-significant variables from the equation (see Table 3, Final Model), results show that religious denomination, belief about the virgin birth, and education all influence the attitude that women should be equal to men in all areas of church leadership.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The researcher found that education, belief in the virginal conception of Jesus, and religious affiliation all have independent influences on support for the equality of women in church leadership. The more highly educated a person is, regardless of beliefs and religious affiliation, the more likely that person will acquire egalitarian attitudes with regard to the roles of males and females in the church.

One might expect that those denominations with the longest recent experience with the ordination of women to be those which would support equality for women in church leadership at all levels. This does not necessarily follow. Assemblies of God, the denomination with the longest modern experience of female ordinands, does not differ significantly from the two denominations who do not ordain women (Catholics and Orthodox). Further, members of a denomination that does have ordained women, the Southern Baptists, support equality for women in the church at significantly lower levels than members of both the denominations who have no currently ordained women (the Catholics and Orthodox). However, members of the other Christian denominations that do ordain women (Episcopalians, Lutherans, Methodists, and Presbyterians) are significantly more likely than Catholics and Orthodox to support equality for women in all forms of church leadership.

Results have shown that respondents who believe in Mary as virgin-mother are less likely to support equality of women in church leadership; that egalitarian images of Mary neither enhance nor diminish support for women's equality; and that the strength of one's relationship with Mary does not influence attitudes regarding church leadership. Contemporary feminists have a variety of perspectives regarding the role of Mary in the Church. Stances range from Mary as an impossible ideal used to keep women in line to Mary as a symbol of liberation and female independence.

Those who see the Marian ideal as a means to control women cite the history of Marian devotion. Carr (1990) states that

Feminist scholars have shown that the tradition of Mariology was begun in the fourth century by church fathers who extolled Mary as the sinless virgin - and - mother, the epitome of spiritual motherhood, in contrast to Eve as the symbol of sin, the flesh, and matter.

She goes further, and writes (1990):

For Mary has been the subject of an idealizing Mariology that sought to venerate her at the expense of real women and that projected onto her the passive virtues of submission, humility, and docility that women in a misogynist and patriarchal Christian culture, were expected to imitate.

Other feminists have alternative approaches. Callahan (1993) writes that

Mary's virginity and virgin birth can be interpreted as symbols of her autonomy, signaling her direct relationship to God, unmediated through any hierarchically placed male, spouse or no.

Respondents in this study apparently are more likely to link their image of Mary as a virgin-mother with the role of women being a supportive one in the pew, rather than the role of standing up front in the pulpit.

Finally, with regard to the primary question of this study, "What contributes to support or opposition towards the attitude that women should be considered equal to men in church leadership?" the answer is: religious denomination, educational level, and belief in the virginal conception of Jesus.

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HALF-YEAR REVIEWERS

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AIDS ACTIVISM, COMMUNITIES AND DISAGREEMENTS

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ABSTRACT

Using the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP) as a case study, the author argues that this social movement organization is going through a diversification process as activists increasingly integrate the HIV/AIDS research establishment. Consensus about goals, beliefs and strategies is increasingly missing. However, instead of limiting the analysis to a case of "identity politics," typical of the new social movements, the author argues that some divisions among activists (especially those stemming from the definition of AIDS and how it should be researched) are actually helpful in better understanding the disease.

INTRODUCTION

....proprietary interests and conflict of interest within and among universities, pharmaceutical companies and government research have crippled the fight against AIDS in ways that can hardly be characterized as science. Dogma has prevailed at the expense of lives: the cytopathic model of HIV directly killing T-cells and causing AIDS is accepted by many as necessary and sufficient. Only recently has the scope of investigation expanded somewhat. Still, rational therapies based on a comprehensive model of immune dysregulation, 12 years later, remain unavailable. (Carter 1993)

The quote above echoes the new form of activism that the New York City-based group AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP) began to exhibit in 1987. Using the media and direct action, the activist intent was to intervene into the science of HIV/AIDS, and unapologetically rip open the deficiencies of the research system. ACT UP became famous very quickly for its massive demonstrations, its controversial Needle Exchange Program, and condom distribution to public high school students. Its efforts have stretched from addressing the needs of persons living with the virus for social services and health care, HIV prevention in the public school system, to biomedical research.

The organization defines itself as "a group of non-partisan individuals united in anger and committed to direct action to end the AIDS crisis." It loosely follows Robert's Rules of Order, and abides by the principles of participatory democracy (ACT UP 1990c). With no president and no paid staff, the predominantly white middle class male members discuss AIDS-related "issues" in the many committees that have developed since the creation of ACT UP. Many of the "actions" are thought out and organized in "affinity-groups," spontaneous groups created by individuals

who wish to work on an "action-oriented" project. ACT UP raises its own money and does not receive any from the government.

Since 1991, members have experienced increased diversification and tension in their positions toward treatment issues at a time when they markedly integrated the AIDS establishment, achieving representation in major scientific committees. Oddly enough, this diversification process has led both to successes and failures with regard to treatment issues. Members registered a stunning victory when the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) finally accepted to expand the AIDS definition to include women's and injection drug users (IDUs)' opportunistic infections. They also experienced a weakening of their activist effort when crucial members of Treatment and Data (T&D), ACT UP's scientific committee, left to create their own "by-invitation-only" organization. The life of the organization has ever since followed a see-saw evolution, enjoying few significant successes, and facing equally significant failures. The present paper focuses on the cultural meaning of this diversification process.

NOT ONE VOICE

ACT UP's diversification process has been analyzed as a typical case of "identity politics" or "cooptation," resulting from the sometimes conflicting, sometimes fragmented, constructions of treatment issues by activists based upon their various cultural and economic positionings (Burkett 1995; Gamson 1989). In some cases, activists were able to reconcile their differences, but in others, they refused because they saw these as simply irreconcilable. While some differences may have been due to the activists' socio-economic positionings, others stemmed from moral and epistemological grounds, that were hardly debatable and, instead, pointed to the multi-layered conceptualizations of HIV/AIDS. In

that sense, it is argued that while conflicts and clashes within ACT UP may have undermined the activists' work, they may have also enhanced our multiple understandings of the disease. Specifically, it is argued that whereas divisions over race, gender, and economic lines have indeniably undermined the organization, divisions over the "ontology" and "epistemology" of AIDS, that is its definition and the way it should be researched, have actually enhanced our multiple understandings of the disease. The present article therefore takes exception with the traditional view that new social movements, such as the one embodied by ACT UP, inevitably self-destruct through identity politics. Taking a more complex position, it argues instead that some divisions are destructive and others are not.

FRAGMENTATION VERSUS MULTIPLE UNDERSTANDINGS

It is quite evident that ACT UP embodies a new social movement that can be characterized as the radical AIDS movement. Like the new social movements, its members can be described as primarily cultural, postmaterial, and postmodern moral crusaders (Habermas 1983; Offe 1985; Touraine 1985, 1990). Because many sociologists argue that the new social movements are not involved in the political and economic arenas, they are quick at determining that they often fall into the trap of "identity politics." Characteristically, ACT UP has been seen as following the same process of identity diversification, (Crimp 1990; Epstein 1991; Gamson 1989; Patton 1989; Watney, Carter 1989) even self-destruction (Burkett 1995). But few analyses have gone beyond this observation, and the legacy of the new social movement, of which ACT UP is the cultural manifestation warrants, it is argued, more interpretative work. In that regard, ACT UP as a new social movement is constructed as a multilayered entity, including not only various pre-existing identities, but also various "epistemological" and "ontological" belief systems as to how AIDS and its related research are constructed from a treatment perspective. Arguably, cultural analyst Donna Haraway (1991) offers a better theoretical framework to understand the legacy of the radical AIDS movement; beyond the traditional question of identity differentiation and division, she also takes on the debate of knowledge construction. Her concept of "situated knowledges" can be used to highlight how activists, even in

their innumerable disagreements, may actually enhance our understandings of the multilayered realities of HIV/AIDS. In sharp disagreement with the conventional view that science is unitary and aspires to universal truth, Haraway argues for knowledges that can only be plural and located in specific economic and cultural contexts. Knowledges may emanate from the center (position of those who have power) or the periphery (position of those who do not have power). What constitutes knowledge is not its origin, but the extent to which it has been put under "critical examination" (Haraway 1991). Because knowledges can only be situated, therefore contested, Haraway also champions a political epistemology, where people's positionings are in tension with the productive structurings that "force unequal translations and exchanges-material and semiotic-within the webs of knowledge and power" (Haraway 1991). The history of science, she asserts, can be described as the histories of technologies, themselves ways of life, social order, practices of visualizations. Objectivity is positioned and partialled rationality, and does not exclude engagement; no one can possibly be in all positionings at the same time, or even in one location entirely. Partial location does not equate relativism, for the latter denies stakes and responsibility and assumes transcendence of the ethical and political dimensions of situated knowledges. Instead, political and ethical terms ground, Haraway concludes, what constitutes valid and critical knowledges. While social movements have contributed to improving knowledges, some social interventions were not "liberatory," according to Haraway. However, like Bruno Latour, she supports lay individuals' involvement in scientific inquiry, because ultimately science is influenced by a whole array of actors including scientists, bureaucrats, elected officials and consumers themselves (Latour 1986, 1987; Latour, Woolgar 1979). This social constructivist perspective on science explains ACT UP's rapid successes and failures as the organization became directly involved "inside the arena of biomedical sciences," and challenged areas of knowledge thought to be the preserve of experts only.

Focusing upon the area of HIV/AIDS treatment and research, this paper intends to demystify the "universalistic notion of an activist community speaking with a single voice." Using Haraway's perspective, it will show how definitional contests in which activists have

engaged illustrate their various positions with regard to treatment issues, their ethical choices, their compromise, and also their irreversible schisms. Beyond the "destructiveness" of identity division, it is argued that ACT UP members' various discussions of treatment issues have also spotlighted multiple and useful understandings of HIV/AIDS.

CULTURAL ANALYSIS

Different sources of information were used for this research. For three years (1990-1993), ethnographic observation and twenty-five semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted at the Gay and Lesbian Community Services Center of New York City where ACT UP regularly meets, or at the activists' private homes. Each interview lasted about one hour, and activists were told that anonymity would be ensured as would their right to refuse answering certain questions, or to stop the interview at any time. Because of their heavy involvement in addressing issues related to HIV/AIDS-research, members of the Treatment and Data (T&D) committee, the Lesbian Caucus, and the Alternative and Holistic (A&H) committee were selected as research subjects in a non-probabilistic fashion. Ethnographic notes were taken during the general assembly meetings on Mondays, and during the meetings organized by activists working on treatment issues. Both methods, ethnography and interviews, specifically looked at the activists' socio-economic profiles, their constructions of HIV/AIDS treatment issues, particularly as they relate to "biomedical research," and their understandings of the conflicts that both "plagued" and "enriched" the organization. The main intent of the cultural analysis was to capture the various meanings that activists attached to "HIV/AIDS treatments," and the "actions," strategies, alliances and divisions prompted by these meanings (Foote White 1984; Vann Manneim 1988). The activists' archives, the access to which was granted by ACT UP, as well as the general AIDS-related scientific literature were additional sources of information enhancing the cultural analysis of this segment of the AIDS movement, providing illustrations of issues that were sources of division among activists.

ONE VOICE, ONE COMMUNITY: A STRATEGIC NECESSITY

Noteworthy is that differences within the group existed since its creation in 1987. A

coalition, ACT UP was very well aware of these differences, but because of the sense of emergency prompted by the epidemic, activists "strategically" agreed to focus upon common goals and tactics, as illustrated by one member: "when you do coalition work, you learn to make a lot of compromises." This focus led them to understand that confronting the HIV/AIDS research establishment meant confronting a whole system involving drug companies and federal bureaucracies. With the "global" outlook, and the focus upon common goals and tactics, ACT UP registered many successes: its first massive demonstration was organized in 1987 against Burroughs-Wellcome, the manufacturer of Azidovudine (AZT), the price of which originally ran as high as \$12,000 for a yearly supply. Despite unprecedented federal support, this company and others were reaping unethical profits, activists complained. Ultimately giving in to the activist pressure, Burroughs-Wellcom lowered its price by 20 percent (Hilts 1989).

In 1989, activists "shut down" the Food and Drug Administration (FDA), castigating the federal agency for slowing down the research process. Requiring very stringent procedures in the midst of an epidemic, FDA regulations were "murderous," activists claimed, and drug testing procedures needed to be streamlined (ACT UP 1989a). Often cited by the activists was the case of DHPG, a drug which is used to treat blindness-causing cytomegalovirus, an AIDS-related opportunistic infection common among persons living with the virus. As early as 1988 doctors knew from clinical observation that the drug was both safe and effective. Yet the FDA still required that a double-blind placebo-controlled experiment be conducted, causing an uproar in the HIV/AIDS community. This decision led to massive demonstrations, and the subsequent expedited FDA approval of the drug (ACT UP 1990c). Since then activists have been part of all the decision processes leading to drug approval.

Much HIV/AIDS therapeutic research is conducted by the federal research system called AIDS Clinical Trial Groups (ACTGs), composed of AIDS Clinical Trial Units (ACTUs) disseminated throughout the United States. After identifying the ACTGs' principal investigators (PIs) responsible for designing clinical trials, activists concluded that interlocking between drug companies and government hampered research creativity (ACT UP 1990a).

They discovered that many PIs working for the federal government had also contracted with private pharmaceutical companies under the veil of "consultative arrangements" (ACT UP 1990a). One activist deplored that: "The ACTGs system created as an alternative to the private system had actually become an integral part of it" (ACT UP 1990a). While this dual function was constructed by the activists as "conflict of interest," it was viewed by the researchers as a way to enhance communication between federal and private research (ACT UP 1990a). Arguing that this dual function granted federal researchers too much influence over the research agenda, activists often cited the undue focus upon retrovirals such as AZT. Meanwhile, people living with the virus were dying of opportunistic infections, which were hardly researched. Activists organized in 1990 a massive demonstration at the National Institutes of Health to denounce "conflict of interest" and the lack of research on opportunistic infections (ACT UP 1990a). Even though private consultation remained a common practice among federal researchers, more attention was subsequently devoted to opportunistic infections.

Angered by the exclusion of women's and drug users' opportunistic infections from the official definition of AIDS, ACT UP members flew to Atlanta in 1990, and "besieged" the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) (ACT UP 1989c, 1990b). Giving in to three-and-a-half years of arduous activist campaigning, the CDC finally expanded its definition to include some of these opportunistic infections (CDC 1993). Additionally, upon a legal suit launched by a lawyer, who was also an ACT UP member, the Social Security Administration finally agreed to change its definition of disability in the case of HIV/AIDS and open eligibility to many women living with the virus. Yet while enjoying all these successes and achieving representation in major governmental and pharmaceutical committees, ACT UP seemed to be facing internal ideological differentiation and dissension upon which the analysis of the present study centers.

ACTIVISTS: NOT ONE COMMUNITY ANYMORE

Just as activists were reaping the benefits of their continued activism, they began to experience increased dissension within the organization. Women became more vocal about their differences with men in terms of

critiquing conventional science. People of color, too, started to complain about incidents of racism in the organization. The diversity of theories to explain HIV/AIDS, and their incompatibility, also became increasingly obvious. In line with Haraway's (1991) concept of "situated knowledges," an important reason explaining ideological differences and increased diversification within ACT UP is its historical origin. ACT UP can be considered as a confluence of social movements including members from the pre-existing AIDS movement, the gay and lesbian movement (ACT UP 1989b), the feminist-health movement (ACT UP 1989c), and the alternative and holistic movement (ACT UP 1989d). All of these displayed commonalities, but sharp differences as well. For example, many members of the pre-existing AIDS movement were exclusively interested in "getting drugs into people's bodies" (ACT UP 1990c), while others were promoting alternative and holistic treatments. These differences were inextricably associated with the experience of each activist in her/his respective movement. Women, a significant number of whom had been part of, or informed by, the feminist-health movement, were extremely critical of the medical establishment. They criticized the "male bias" prevailing within clinical research, especially the historical exclusion of women from clinical trials. Often times they would cite historical examples of women being used as "guinea pig" for a "male-dominated" science (ACT UP 1989c): "If we do not take research into our hands, the Dalkon Shield experience may come back to haunt us!" exclaimed an activist, commenting upon the long mistreatment of women in biomedical research during a general assembly meeting. People of color in turn were not only concerned about clinical trial designs, but also about their access by disenfranchised populations lacking economic resources and overwhelmed by family responsibilities. On a regular basis, activists of African descent would remind the membership that AIDS was "just another problem decimating communities of color". "The white boys are going to find a cure. So what? you think that people of color will be able to afford the treatment?". All these concerns were tightly associated with ACT UP members' personal positionings in relation to the power structures, of which the medical establishment was, in the eyes of many activists, a clear reflection (ACT UP 1990c).

In the early days of the organization, the activists' "enemy" seemed to be similar for all members, until they started to gain community representation in the major scientific committees. These included virology and immunology committees that make the most consequential decisions regarding HIV/AIDS research; Institutional Review Boards (IRBs) that set ethical standards for research protocols; research bureaucracies such as the National Institutes of Health (NIH) where activists have gained representation through Community Constituency Groups (CCG), and finally drug companies where activists have achieved representation through Community Advisory Boards (ACT UP 1990c). While activists were making their entrance within the biomedical establishment, issues related to representation, until then kept in the dark, started to become more apparent; differences that were only debated from within ACT UP began to be brought to light. Activists' goals were no longer the same, and in the "activist" research perspective, substantive, methodological and strategic differences started to emerge with increased sharpness.

Substantive Differences

With regard to substantive issues, Haraway's (1991) perspective is helpful in that differences can be traced back both to people's positionings relative to the economic, cultural and research power structures as well as their individual choices. A significant number of members believed in the use of medicinal drugs, and followed their "career" (study the drug) very closely. In fact, the first committee created to address research questions was called "Treatment and Data" (T&D), the members of which followed almost exclusively biomedical research conducted by pharmaceutical companies and the federal government.

Fewer individuals in ACT UP believed in alternative and holistic treatments. These involved use of naturally occurring substances, the outcome of which could only be measured, activists asserted, from combined interaction between "mind, spirit and body" (ACT UP 1989d). At first, demonstrations were primarily organized to obtain medical treatments, but as activists were being integrated into the decision-making process, differences between the two "schools" became increasingly clearer; proponents of each school were progressively acting as adversarial competitors. Conventional science activists argued that:

members of the Holistic and Alternative Committee do not understand that there is not such thing as a totally innocuous treatment; that all treatments entail some level of toxicity.

Holistic activists displayed the same sarcasm through their regular criticisms of T&D members:

Even if members of T&D are interested in research in immunology, their ultimate purpose is to find a 'magic bullet' for each opportunistic infections. They miss the point.

Interestingly enough, both types of ACT UP members had made inroads in the federal bureaucracy: conventional treatment proponents had achieved representation within official scientific committees, successfully pressuring for more research on opportunistic infections; in turn, alternative and holistic proponents had been successful at pressuring the federal government for more research on "unconventional" treatments, a struggle that contributed to the creation in 1991 of an Office of Alternative Medicine at the National Institutes of Health.

The quest for a bridge between the two paradigms led a number of activists to select a communicative approach. Words such as "complementary" therapies were frequently being used. Most significantly, the fairly recently expanded research in immunology was also a factor contributing to the rapprochement between activists. Dissensions remained prevalent, however, because many activists lacked the ability to self-criticize, whereas only a few were able to open their "partial positionings" to other perspectives. Rather than stimulating creative discussions made up of partial rationalities and yielding "situated knowledges," the organization was increasingly plagued with emotional eruptions and was constantly pressured by influential members to "win over" the rest of the membership to their positionings (Wolfe 1992).

The most consequential division, however, stemmed from a disagreement about a clinical trial—076—between many T&D members (most of them were white middle class males) and most women in ACT UP. The purpose of 076, the first trial on women, was to study the effect of AZT on perinatal transmission. Most of the women enrolled in the study were African-American. Some ACT UP members, men and women, disagreed with

the fact that 076 should focus on the fetus and not the woman, when a study had already revealed that AZT could be carcinogenic to women. In March of 1991, the dissenting activists flew to Washington and attended the 076 investigators' meeting. There, they were faced with attacks of racism for allowing themselves to speak on behalf of a community of which they were not members. Back to New York City, the same attacks awaited them. Not only was race used against them, but their serostatus as well:

Seronegative ACT UP women were presuming to tell HIV infected women of color what to do. While the CCG (Community Constituency Group) thereupon took up the issues around 076 and tried to change the trial, the factional disruption impaired ACT UP's credibility and destroyed the morale of many treatment activists for a long time to come. (Harrington 1992)

In their response, the dissenting activists questioned the "ontological" and "epistemological" superiority bestowed upon seropositive individuals, and urged the opposition to be more inclusive and open to dialogue:

The point is that not all people with HIV agree on these or other issues. That's why ACT UP was called a coalition when it was formed by people from several different AIDS and lesbian and gay organizations who could only agree on working together to end the AIDS crisis. A coalition can't work if we don't admit that in every category used to describe us and that we use to describe ourselves (HIV+, HIV-, women, men, Afro-American, Latino/a, Native American, Asian Pacific Islander, white, gay, lesbian, straight, and so on) people within those categories do not always agree with each other. To infer that one particular committee or working group in ACT UP takes its direction from people with HIV while all others don't is simply untrue. And we have to find a way to have discussions about issues precisely because it's untrue, rather than to reify any one point of view as representative (or unrepresentative) of all HIV+ people, all HIV+AIDS activists, or all HIV-AIDS activists in ACT UP NY or other ACT UPs. (Wolfe 1992)

The call for dialogue was never heeded, and these "identity" divisions led many T&D members to leave the organization. ACT UP was for the first time facing the various layers of divisions constitutive of its membership. Some

of these divisions were based upon gender, race, class, and sero-status; others were based upon "ontological" and "epistemological" differences, or the way HIV/AIDS is constructed and should be researched. The first type of divisions could have been eliminated through critical reexamination, an endeavor in which many activists failed to engage, confirming Haraway's (1991) notion that "subjugated individuals" do not necessarily question their "partialled rationalities." The second type of divisions was harder to resolve as it addressed the various ways of conceptualizing and researching the disease, an issue that modern science has yet to finalize.

Methodological Disagreements

Methodologically, what caused most discussion among activists was probably the debate over double-blind placebo-controlled experiments. Very important because it brought forward issues of ethics and personal responsibility in clinical trial designs, this debate was almost prophesied by Haraway's (1991) general discussion about science and objectivity. Two strains of thought prevailed in ACT UP. Some members tended to adopt the view that the scientific validity of double-blind placebo-controlled experiments should be "rehabilitated" in the HIV/AIDS community. They claimed that for too long ACT UP had hastily dismissed the significance of these experimental designs. In the case of anti-retroviral drugs such as AZT, ddI or ddC, and the protease inhibitors, important questions had been left unanswered. For example, when should people living with the virus take these drugs? in what amount? in what combinations? These activists argued that in some cases use of a placebo, which can be an active placebo or a standard therapy, was indeed the only way one would know the answer to these questions.

More grounded on historical and moral principles, the other camp of ACT UP members argued that even with double-blind placebo-controlled experiments, "you will never know how a drug works on your body" (ACT UP 1989c). As long as safety was demonstrated, they asserted, the decision to take the drug belonged both to the individuals and their doctors. Additionally, they argued on moral grounds that: "it is no one's right to prevent someone from taking a non-studied drug, if the person understands the risk incurred by such a personal venture". The placebo proponents and the moral/historical proponents brought

into relief the social constructivist character of biomedical research wherein choice, moral judgments, and even power seemed to be unavoidably associated. Even though the ultimate power of biomedical researchers to set research parameters had been tampered upon activists pressure, power *per se* had clearly not been eliminated. Major discussions arose as to which activist perspective would be advanced by ACT UP in terms of the organization's position *vis-à-vis* clinical trial designs. The two sides were almost incompatible, since double-blind placebo controlled experiments mandated that individuals not have the power to choose what "goes into their bodies," while the historical/moral perspective implied that individuals should be granted freedom to use whatever drug had clinically shown to be safe. These methodological differences existed among holistic activists themselves. Some of them believed that "holistic and alternative treatments" were beyond the scientific methods, in fact their efficacy could not be adequately proven by use of placebo research designs: "The very purpose of science is to break down reality, when holism is about continuity and harmony," a holistic activist asserted. Others believed that these treatments should not be immune to scientific scrutiny, as another member explained: "if a conventional treatment works, prove it; if an unconventional treatment works, prove it."

In the meantime, methodological differences among activists were gaining increased visibility in the media. While some activists attempted to think up a compromise between the two views, general discussions that should have yielded "situated, responsible and ethical knowledges" instead often deteriorated into manipulative exchanges to influence ACT UP policy recommendations. Committees that should have focused on different areas of research, also became "factions," smearing other activists' work: "scientifically" oriented members would often joke at "holistic" activists, and vice versa. However, methodological differences among activists never reached the level of destructiveness produced by differences in terms of gender, class, race and sero-status. Differences in the way activists constructed HIV/AIDS never led to a schism in the organization. The reason for this is quite evident as methodological differences appear to be inherent in the fact that the reality of HIV/AIDS and how it should be researched have not yet been definitively elucidated by

modern medicine. In that regard, methodological and substantive differences among activists are more enlightening about the reality of HIV/AIDS than actual sources of destruction for ACT UP.

Strategic Differences

Tied into substantive and methodological differences were the activists' strategic disagreements. As they achieved their original goal—inclusion in the decision-making process—they almost simultaneously found it increasingly difficult to garner consensus about questions of strategy. Also compounding strategic difficulties, and creating many dissensions within ACT UP, was the lack of consensus about what members defined as the "AIDS crisis." Disagreements over strategy arose further when ACT UP members experienced ever-increasing difficulty in defining "AIDS activism." By 1991, differences between "treatment activists" and "social activists" clearly emerged: the former argued that AIDS activism was to be about the virus and how to "restructure the National Institutes of Health" to speed up the research process, while the latter claimed that the "AIDS crisis" could not be disentangled from the larger socio-economic crisis that plagued society, involving classism, racism, sexism and homophobia. The former's position is well articulated in one member's letter sent to the ACT UP membership. Expressing annoyance at the view that AIDS activism should be about anything else but the virus, he stated:

Yet no crisis has ever been like the AIDS crisis.

Thus, while we can and have learned much from previous movements, there is much we have had to invent for ourselves.

Our tactics, new methods, lacked the ideological "purity" demanded of "the movement." ...I thought the movement I joined four years ago was devoted to lengthening and ultimately saving the lives of people with HIV or AIDS. Had I known that some in ACT UP felt it was rather merely vague aspirations towards impossible Utopias, I might have devoted my energies elsewhere. I was not then, nor am I now, interested in leaving a noble, frustrated legacy erected over a pile of our corpses so that lifelong movement parasites can move on to the next issues. (Harrington 1992)

By 1990, several T&D members had already received personal invitations by the Director of

Federal AIDS Research, a gesture which angered many in ACT UP. Acrimonious exchanges were further exacerbated when women in ACT UP requested a moratorium on all meetings with governmental officials who had refused to include more women in clinical trials and create woman-specific research designs. Concerned about "survival time," men sent the membership a letter, indicating their categorical opposition to this moratorium and stressing once again the division between seronegative and seropositive individuals:

Just as seronegative activists had presumed to tell advocates of seropositive women of color how to think and act on 076, so they now presumed to tell ACT UP treatment activists—many of whom are actually living with HIV—how to work to save our own lives. (Harrington 1992)

As a result, some T&D members kept on having dinners with AIDS bureaucrats, intensifying the division within ACT UP. Interminable and angry discussions between the two groups led to a major schism, causing members from the Treatment and Data (T&D) committee of ACT UP to leave the organization and create their own organization, "Treatment Activist Group" (TAG), the strategic orientation of which is well expressed in the following statement:

We want a family atmosphere, and a team effort. No personality, political war. Everybody must feel part of a team. We do not allow saboteurs or hot heads. We had people attack us from behind, or impose their "social activism," with their formula. We have abandoned the politically correct form of activism. We just want to get things done.

Throughout the country, the various ACT UP chapters were experiencing similar tensions between "treatment activism" and "social activism": in San Francisco, T&D left ACT UP/San Francisco to create a treatment-focused organization, ACT UP Golden Gate; in Chicago and Washington D.C., AIDS activists experienced drastic changes too. Illustrating Haraway's (1991) notion of contested reality, this split was certainly a test to ACT UP members' ability to think critically about their "positionings". In accepting one million dollars from Burroughs-Wellcome, (one of the activists' fiercest former enemies), TAG heralded a new form of activism, incensing many ACT UP members. By 1994, TAG members had

achieved representation in the executive board of the ACTGs with full voting power on a \$250,000 research budget. They would also meet on a regular basis with officials from pharmaceutical companies, Congress and the FDA.

Difficulties in reaching consensus regarding ACT UP's strategy was also reflected in the many hurdles that some ACT UP members had to overcome when promoting one of their latest initiatives, the Barbara McClintock Project or the AIDS Cure Act (ACT UP 1993). The Barbara McClintock Project was a proposed legislation written by some ACT UP members with the intent of drastically changing the structure of HIV/AIDS research in the United States. In particular, activists hoped that the AIDS Cure Act, if passed, would remove political and economic contingencies from the research arena. The AIDS Cure Act was named after Barbara McClintock to honor the courage of a woman researcher who resisted the conventional research paradigm and won the Nobel Prize for her work on DNA (ACT UP 1993). Many other ACT UP members felt challenged in their perspective by the multiparadigmatic approach promoted by the AIDS Cure Act, which ultimately did not bring the expected consensus, even from within the activist community. Some activists, prominent among whom were TAG members, thought that the AIDS Cure Act was too "unrealistic," and that AIDS activists should be working at the sides of researchers, promoting change from inside the bureaucracies. Negotiations between activists are currently in process while the AIDS Cure Act has been introduced in Congress in 1994. In turn, the same year, TAG members focused upon change within the AIDS bureaucracy. They accepted the appointment of one of its members by Bill Clinton to be part of the National Task Force on AIDS Drug Development; they also worked very closely with Congress politicians in order to "restructure the NIH." Drastically reversing their original demands, TAG members have attacked the process of accelerated approval, for which many of them had been previously fighting. Adding to the fury of ACT UP members, TAG has defended the pharmaceutical attempts to end the NIH's requirements that companies charge a "fair price" for drugs developed with the collaboration of federal scientists, arguing that profit was the "best way to entice drug companies into researching chemical components." Clearly, strategic differences

have never been so significant and consequential for the radical AIDS movement. More than internal infighting within ACT UP, the institutionalization of TAG members has the effect of weakening the activist effort by multiplying and "blurring" the enemies. ACT UP members' targets are not only the "government" or the "drug companies" anymore, but also other AIDS activists.

CONCLUSION

While activists have achieved increased representation in the federal and corporate bureaucracies, they also have experienced increased diversification, even division, among themselves. Substantive differences could be felt between T&D members and women who were concerned about female inclusion in clinical trials, and more generally about how women are affected by the "AIDS crisis." Substantive differences could also be felt between "scientifically" oriented activists and "holistic" activists, who demanded that more "unconventional" treatments be researched. Differences also emerged as to whether seropositive individuals were "ontologically" and "epistemologically" superior with regard to HIV/AIDS because of their health status. Methodologically differences were experienced between "traditional science" activists and those who were critical of it. Among the latter were many women who thought that when a drug had been clinically shown to be safe, whether or not to take a drug was an individual question. Similarly, some holistic activists thought that conventional scientific methodologies could not be applied to "unconventional" treatments. Strategically, differences emerged when people of color complained about racism in ACT UP and the indifference of white middle class activists to the question of access to HIV/AIDS treatments by disenfranchised communities. Strategic differences were probably most consequential when a group of activists decided to leave ACT UP to create their "very selective" organization. Working from within or without the government (or both) was a crucially divisive question that lethally undermined the organization, many activists thought.

Even though some of these differences could have been bridged through critical examination (Haraway 1991) of how the AIDS crisis affects differently various groups, other differences were purely ontological and epistemological, making it very difficult for ACT UP

to find even a "strategically" unifying answer: the opposition between holistic and scientific activists, for example, narrowed down but never disappeared. Meanwhile, both types of activists made inroads within the federal bureaucracies, as a large body of research in immunology militated for a rapprochement between the two paradigms. So far, however, neither paradigm has prevailed, confirming that the conflicts that ACT UP faces may actually have no solutions, and instead reflect the various ways HIV/AIDS can be constructed. In that sense, while ACT UP as a social movement has to a large extent suffered from the destructiveness of "identity politics," it still enhances our multiple understandings of the disease, particularly through its internal ontological and epistemological discords over HIV/AIDS treatments.

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HUMAN AND NONHUMAN ANIMAL RIGHTS AND OPPRESSION: AN EVOLUTION TOWARD EQUALITY

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ABSTRACT

This paper is about oppression, a commonly-studied social phenomenon, but from the unusual perspective of the relationship between humans and nonhuman animals. Those with greater social and economic power are positioned to oppress, to define personal and social worth, and to deny basic rights and privileges. Some humans are more oppressed than others; for example, women, racial and ethnic minorities, the poor, the differently-abled, children, the aged, and prisoners. I describe stereotypes and unfair treatment as they are similarly applied to disadvantaged humans and nonhuman animals. A primary obstacle in discussing nonhuman animal oppression is the seeming absurdity, according to many humans, of the mere notion of nonhuman animals having equal worth relative to human animals. One must bear in mind, though, that some humans continue to ridicule the notion that all humans have equal value and worth, despite strides in human rights movements. One of the parallels in human and nonhuman animal rights movements is the involvement of the relatively more powerful acting to alleviate the oppression of the less powerful. As expected, social and economic power are helpful to implementing rights movements, human and nonhuman.

INTRODUCTION

You and I are animals, human animals. And then there are nonhuman animals, the non-speciesist term applied to animals who are not human (Beirne 1995). While sociologists have long studied oppression by humans against other humans, we have not considered the similarities between human oppression and nonhuman oppression. Oppression is not equally distributed among humans, nor is it among nonhuman animals. All nonhuman animals are oppressable by humans, some more so than others. With humans and nonhumans, the degree of oppression is often a matter of luck (the family one is born into, living free-roaming versus confined) and a matter of belonging to a particular class (race, socioeconomic status, gender, or species).

In this analysis, I examine the nature of nonhuman animal oppression, human views on animal inequality, similarities in the oppression of human minorities and nonhuman animals, and the evolution of human and nonhuman animal rights.

THE NATURE OF ANIMAL OPPRESSION

Humans inflict pain, humiliation, and death upon nonhuman animals. We hunt, farm, slaughter, and eat them. We trap them, brand them, and test products on them. We sell them as animal companions (pets), breeders, and workers.¹ Movie companies rent them as actors. Nonhuman animals are forced to perform in races, rodeos, and circuses. They entertain us as contenders in bull, cock, and dog fights.

While some humans are relatively free from oppression (in the United States, moneyed white males), all classifications of nonhuman

animals are susceptible to oppression. Nonhuman animals may be temporarily and relatively unoppressed as when they are free to roam in the "wild" or when they have equality-minded human companions to protect them. But this freedom is precarious and highly conditional. Free-roaming animals can be trapped and hunted. Their life chances are diminished when any human encroachment occurs, when environmental de-stabilization occurs, when corporate ownership takes over wildlife refuges and national parks. As companions to humans, nonhuman animals are relatively unoppressed as long as their humans are enabled and agree to this protective arrangement.

For the most part, nonhuman animals are not considered to be worth as much as humans. For example, humans do things to nonhuman animals that they would not do to humans. With rare exception, humans do not wear human skin or eat human flesh. Yet we do wear animal skins and furs and we do eat nonhuman animals. I would expect that most humans do not think about the rightness or wrongness of behaviors such as these or others involving exploitation, neglect, and pain. Many of us who are perfectly nice people do not recognize that we engage in oppressive behaviors toward nonhuman animals and would prefer not to know about it. Humans are often surprised when other humans bring to their attention that nonhuman animals are poorly treated in any number of circumstances and that nonhuman animals have similar feelings that they, humans, have. For those humans who do think about it at all, casual conversation suggests that many of us conclude that nonhuman animals do not feel pain, stress,

loneliness, and degradation like humans do. Moreover, many humans may assume that their desires and needs for furs, animal-tested products, and so on, make the nonhuman animal's sacrifice appropriate.

The very idea of equalizing humans with nonhumans probably seems abstract, dismissable, and even ridiculous to most humans. Humans have not always had and many still do not have a generous view of other humans either. It has not always been the case and still is not globally true that humans believe in the equality of humankind. To this day, many humans retain the belief that certain categories of humans (women, African Americans, and others) do not deserve equal and fair treatment because these oppressed peoples are insensitive to oppressive conditions or are unworthy of nonoppressive conditions.

Because we do not think of nonhuman animals as having rights, value, and feelings, it does not enter all humans' consciousness to consider our own and others' treatment of nonhuman animals. With this in mind, consider that human societies not only impose hierarchies on humans but that humans also place nonhuman species hierarchically.

OF THE OPPRESSED, WHO SHALL BE THE MOST OPPRESSED?

Moral Crusades Against Minorities in the Animal (Queen)dom

A colleague recently told me that humans in Australia determine which nonhuman animals to kill in order to protect other, endangered nonhuman animals (Milovanovic 1995). In the United States, we sometimes do the reverse: We kill endangered species to protect other species. Robbins (1995) reports that Montana ranchers kill one species recovering from endangerment (wolves) in order to protect their cattle and their animal companions (dogs). In either case, humans decide which nonhuman animals are worthy to live.

Prejudice is an ugly attitude applied to any species. From the human perspective, some categories of nonhuman animals may be particularly disrespected; such as bats, rats, parana, spiders, snakes, and wolves. Tuttle (1995) describes the "age-old prejudice against bats" and how it has encouraged humans to destroy bats in large numbers with such unnecessarily cruel methods as igniting a stream of hairspray to burn the bats alive. Wolves, long considered a scourge, were

virtually wiped out by ranchers and Federal trappers, who poison the wolves, trap them, and throw dynamite into dens of wolf pups (Robbins 1995).

Prejudice against particular species is partly due to irrational messages passed along through socialization. We hear from our siblings and peers that "bats just give me the creeps," "snakes give me the willies," and "cats are sneaky." We watch movies depicting Doberman pinschers and arachnids as murderers. In addition to peer socialization and movies, prejudice can be due to historical and present-day accounts of the dangers posed by nonhuman animals. Superficially, these accounts make the prejudice seem reasonable. For example, rats carried the fleas that carried the plague, bats transmit rabies, spiders and snakes are stealthy and can be deadly, and cougars kill human-owned sheep. Whatever the source of prejudice, there are some categories of animals for whom a special insensitivity is reserved. These are the minorities of the nonhuman animal culture and may be subject to extra-oppression.

We know from sociological studies that devalued humans are targeted for moral crusades and panics, about which I will say more in a moment. I am suggesting that crusades and panics are also leveled at particular species of nonhuman animals, especially those who are attributed with human traits. That is, some nonhuman animals are considered to be particularly bad and in need of punishment because they exhibit human traits and behaviors: bad intentions, premeditation, social organization, maternal instincts, lewd and lascivious behavior, etc.

Protective mothering, a positive behavior among humans, can be turned against nonhuman animals. A *New York Times* (1995) article describes a female moose, who attacked two people while trying to protect her calf, as a "killer moose." Witnesses on the University of Alaska campus said both attacks were due to students throwing snowballs and harassing the moose and her calf for hours. Wildlife officials killed her because of "evidence of ill disposition."

Describing wolves' predatory behavior, a rancher said they are "like a football team. They practice a lot and have a game plan" (Robbins 1995). Since wolves are perceived as organized and intentional killers, public hysteria is justified when wolves kill a human's pet. Public hysteria "is a pretty common thing

with wolves Dogs get run over all the time, but a wolf kills one and there's an outcry" according to the head of wolf recovery for the Fish and Wildlife Service in Montana (Robbins 1995). Pacelle (1996) finds the same unreasonable panic reaction to the acts of one mountain lion, considered the "lord of stealthy murder," and suggests that rare incidents "should not license us to wreak vengeance on others bothering no one".

As for humans, moral crusades target the socially disadvantaged as though they are dangerous, unworthy of just treatment, and appropriate for extra social control. The reader can do doubt come up with a number of instances of crusades against specific categories of humans but I will offer several examples. Specified categories of humans have been and are, in the name of ethnic cleansing, exterminated: Jews during the Holocaust and Bosnian Muslims presently. Some have argued that the U.S. criminal justice system's targeting of economically-disadvantaged African American males amounts to genocide (Johnson, Leighton 1995). Drug wars in the United States have traditionally targeted racial minorities (Reinaman 1994). The poor have routinely been arrested, convicted, incarcerated, executed more than the nonpoor regardless of their relative crime rates (Reiman 1995). Crusades against the poor have led to overall worsened life chances: absent health care, poor education, & poor opportunities. Women have not fared well economically or in terms of personal safety. Regarding the latter, in some cultures they remain defenseless against rape, assaults, murder, genital mutilations, and the like. People of nonheterosexual orientation have been subject to movements prohibiting their employment, marriage, and parenthood. Less formally, gays and lesbians have been beaten and murdered. The differently-abled have been denied housing and job opportunities and have been subject to violence. In sum, specifically-targeted humans and non-humans are denied health, freedom, and safety.

A Comparison of Human and Nonhuman Oppression

The following is a nonexhaustive list of more specific overlaps in perception and treatment of oppressed humans and nonhuman animals. Here we can see more clearly the myths, prejudices, and unequal treatment directed at nonhuman animals and disenfranchised humans.

Women are commonly attributed with nonhuman animal traits, as pets to be pampered and protected or as valueless beings to be used and mistreated. Women are given animals names such as foxes, pussies, chicks, and bitches. A sexually attractive woman may land a job as a Playboy bunny. African Americans are also called nonhuman animal names, such as coons, porch monkeys, and jungle bunnies. Categories of racist Asians, for instance Japanese, level charges of being less-evolved, of being primates, at other Asians, for instance Koreans. Native Americans have been described historically by white people as wild beasts:

...as a hairy, naked, club-wielding child of nature who existed halfway between humanity and animality ... [living] a life of bestial self-fulfillment, directed by instinct... (Berkhofer 1978)

Even white male humans are called animal names, such as stud, which is an objectifying term, or pig, which is by no means complimentary of the pig or the man.

Carol Adams (1992) offers an interesting perspective on the naming process. She wonders, if women or any humans are placed on the same plane as nonhumans, is that bad? Why should humans be insulted to be called a nonhuman animal? By asking this question, she drives home the point that humans are insulted to be called nonhumans, which is another way of saying that humans believe they are superior to nonhuman animals. Neubeck (1991) also notes the nonhuman names applied to women and remarks that "... men place women metaphorically on the level of animals" as a way of establishing their superiority over them.

Women and nonhuman animals can be "trophies." People possess stuffed carcasses of animals "bagged" in a hunt, live thoroughbreds, and live beautiful women ("trophy wives"). The trophy concept is closely related to the ownership concept: To own such a trophy presumably reflects well on the owner.

Nonhuman animals and women are seductresses who get what they deserve. Once upon a time in U.S. and European history, non-human animals who were raped by humans were executed. The human rapist received a lesser punishment because the nonhuman animal perpetrated the rape by being seductive (Friedman 1993). Women as rape victims are often blamed for the rape. As is true for

women and racial minorities, nonhuman animals can be sexually objectified.

Nonhuman animals can be abused as a substitute for women and as a warning to women. A woman's animal companion may be hurt and murdered by the woman's human partner as a way of controlling her (Browne 1987; Renzetti 1992). In defense of the "bunny bop" in which rabbits are killed by clubs, feet, stones, etc., an organizer of the North Carolina American Legion which sponsors the activity justifies the animal abuse thus: The men involved would be beating their wives if they were not "letting off steam" by killing rabbits (Adams 1992). This kind of behavior, along with pet abuse and pet murder, serves to threaten women vis-a-vis harm to nonhuman animals.

Nonhuman animals are assumed to not feel pain the way that humans do. It was once thought that African-American slaves did not feel pain and could withstand greater degrees of physical abuse than could (or should) whites. Indeed, African-American slaves were considered only partially, three-fifths, human (Jackson 1987).

Nonhuman animals have less worth than humans and, in many cultures, nonwhite humans have less worth than white Aryan humans. In addition to the examples above, Jews were beaten, branded, enslaved, experimented upon, and gassed by the millions during the Holocaust. Nonhuman animals are beaten, branded, enslaved, experimented upon, and gassed by the millions on ranches and farms, in laboratories, and in humane societies.

Like nonhuman animals, human minorities, probably more than nonminorities, provide sports entertainment. The *New York Times* (1997) reports on the popularity of human males, with names like "the Beast" and "the Pit Bull," beating each other bloody in boxing events that are "likened to human cock-fighting". Similarly, writing of a boxing match between two African-American fighters, Hunter S. Thompson (1979) describes

...the sickening thumps and cracks and groans of two desperate, adrenaline-crazed giants who are whipping and pounding each other like two pit bulls in a death battle...

Minority athletes, lured by big money, fame, and an avenue out of urban ghettos, are often exploited. Nonhuman animals have less of a choice in their roles as sports entertainers.

Nonhuman animals have no rights. In the United States, women, African-Americans, and the propertyless have been denied voting rights and are still denied many rights, including the right to equal pay.

According to the Thirteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution, convicted felons are "slaves of the state" and as such are denied more civil rights than probably any other category of human animal. Criminals, especially those accused of heinous crimes, are referred to as animals, brutes, and beasts. As with nonhuman animals, we have performed medical experiments upon them, tested cosmetics and drugs on them, caged them, and taken their lives. True, they have engaged in illegal conduct and are imprisoned as a result. Regardless of the circumstances and reasons, humans in prison are treated as non-humans, in a way that humans might think appropriate for "animals."

In discussions of preferred forms of human execution, lethal injection is presented as the superior method. It is said to be a quick, painless, efficient, and antiseptic way to end human lives (Trombley 1992). In a National Public Radio (1994) interview, a former attorney general is quoted as saying that lethal injection is "not a lot different from putting a dog to sleep." We can not be sure that nonhuman and human animals do not feel pain during execution. Moreover, it is interesting to note that when the state devalues a human life to the point that the state is willing to end it, human criminal offenders are likened to non-human animals who are "put to sleep."

Hapless as criminal offenders are, non-human animals have no legal defenses without the aid of humans. As with humans, they can be imprisoned, beaten, and executed. They cannot plead self-defense, incompetence, duress, hardship; they cannot plead at all. Humans sometimes plead on their behalf.

EVOLUTION IN HUMAN, INHUMAN, AND INHUMANE HISTORY

As suggested, powerful humans determine who is eligible for fair and equal treatment. Throughout human history, there have been and remain prejudices against oppressed people regarding their mental and physical capabilities, their feelings, their worth, and their utility or disutility to less oppressed people. Over time and in some cultures, oppressed humans have gained some basic rights, at least symbolically through laws. Granting

women the right to vote, the right to reproductive choices, and the right to equal pay have occurred in living memory. U.S. citizens can no longer be legally denied a job on the basis of race, gender, religion, abledness, and age. Equally importantly, a rhetoric has developed in some cultures that all humans deserve equal treatment.²

There is reason for optimism regarding nonhuman rights because there is some, albeit limited, evidence of lessening oppression of humans toward nonhuman animals. Boycotts of animal-tested products have successfully halted much animal testing. Laws have proscribed cruelty to nonhuman animals and enhanced the penalties for animal abusers. There are more offerings of vegetarian food in restaurants and the fur industry lost \$12 million in fiscal year 1995 (*PETA Animal Times* 1995). Attendance at greyhound races has decreased 27 percent between 1990 and 1994 (*HSUS News* 1996). People in general have become sensitized and are paying more attention to nonhuman animal equality.

There is a parallel phenomenon in human and nonhuman rights movements: Relatively powerful humans are a noteworthy force in reducing the oppression of less powerful humans and nonhumans. In the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s, whites were much involved in ending desegregation and ensuring voting rights. In the women's suffrage movement, well-to-do, educated women and men provided the money, negotiation skills, and entree that gained women the right to vote. The same would be true of straights' involvement in gay and lesbian rights movements, the nonpoor championing the rights of the poor, and so on. It is hard to say whether those with greater social and economic power were necessary or just helpful to the cause of human rights. United farm workers come to mind as a human rights organization that is more grass-roots in its composition. However, the participation of the relatively powerful can not be denied, and their resources improve the chances of successfully met demands.

As we have seen, the social perceptions and mistreatment of nonhuman animals and certain categories of humans are remarkably alike. While it does not seem to be the case that the oppressed necessarily support each other in their movements toward equality (witness the Million Man March), there has been at least one simultaneous rights movement for the oppressed: the women's suffrage and animal

rights movements.³ Carol Adams (1992) offers a detailed description of the sympathetic relationship between many women and nonhuman animals and reminds us that women have been at the forefront of vegetarian movements.

Nonhuman animals are entirely dependent upon humans to defend them. Animal rights advocates are to the animal rights movement more than what human rights workers have been to human rights movements. Nonhuman animal rights can only come about from human efforts.

CONCLUSION

Let me conclude with a quizzical story on the evolution of human perceptions about and behavior toward nonhuman animals. The *National Geographic* (1995) reported a gorilla being freed from duty as a "mail gorilla". Ivan, the gorilla, was captured as an infant in 1964 from the Congo and taken to the United States by a wildlife trader who sold him to a man who built a shopping mall in Tacoma, Washington.⁴ Ivan was on display for nearly 30 years in a small, bare, very grim cell. He had never seen another gorilla for most of his life. Ivan now has a home in Seattle's Woodland Park Zoo when he is not on loan to Atlanta's Zoo. His improved state, living in a zoo, albeit loaned by humans to humans, is a testimony to the evolving willingness of humans to grant equality to nonhuman animals.

ENDNOTES

1. Buying and selling nonhuman animals, for example in pet stores, is a remarkable concept given the notion of human animals buying nonhuman animals, one type of animal purchasing and owning another. In the United States, we have outlawed this practice as applied to humans.
2. I will not go into cross-cultural comparisons of nonhuman animal oppression in this analysis. It is known from animal rights literature that all cultures engage in nonhuman animal oppression and that some cultures appear to be worse than others in this regard; for example, Taiwan and China compared to the Netherlands and Germany.
3. Among the controversies over the Million Man March of October 16, 1995 was that, while a show of unity among African American people is a good idea, the march's exclusion of women, Jews, homosexuals, and others was a lousy idea in terms of equalizing social and economic power for all.
4. Purchases such as these were legal until 1973, before the Endangered Species Act.

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DOUBLE PUNISHMENT: TWO CHINESE AMERICAN OPIUM COURT CASES

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ABSTRACT

Chinese immigrants have been treated unfairly in the United States since they arrived in this country. The American legal system has played a large part in this unfair treatment of Chinese Americans and other ethnic minorities. Historically, compared to non-Chinese, Chinese offenders were frequently more severely punished by the justice system, and at times, Chinese American were victims of double punishment. This paper examines the discriminatory treatment of the Chinese in the United States via court cases of two Chinese Americans convicted of violating early twentieth century federal opium laws.

INTRODUCTION

From the nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century, Chinese Americans who were convicted of criminal offenses were often punished more harshly than their Euro-American counterparts. While Chinese American offenders were party to many different types of offenses ranging from violent crimes against the person such as murder, to minor victimless offenses such as working in a laundry after "legal hours,"¹ a large number of offenses were opium-related violations. In prosecution of these offenses, there were clear patterns of racial prejudice and discrimination ranging from the assumption that most Chinese were drug offenders to the application of harsher penalties for Chinese defendants.

The majority of early twentieth century Chinese American opium cases were tried in the lower federal courts of the western part of the United States. If a defendant was dissatisfied with the federal lower court's decision, a legal appeal could be made to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit.

This paper examines two Chinese American drug cases that were adjudicated in the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. These two cases illustrate how the legal system viewed and treated Chinese American defendants during the early twentieth century. Chinese opium offenders were more severely punished by the justice system than their non-Chinese contemporaries. Often Chinese were punished twice: first by the judicial branch under criminal law and second by the Department of Labor under immigration law. Thus, Chinese Americans became victims of double punishment.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The literature concerning opium and Chinese in the United States is neither a focused nor systematic body of information. In fact, research is found in two rather diverse

sources, the history of drug abuse in America on the one hand, and Chinese American Studies on the other. Insight into the unique experience of Chinese Americans prosecuted for opium-related offenses in the criminal justice system is gained from an examination of these two areas.

The historical study of drug abuse in America highlights the role that economics and race play in drug legislation and the anti-opium (drug) movement. In his examination of the history of narcotic drugs in the United States, Musto (1973) connects U.S. involvement in international anti-opium conventions at Shanghai in 1909 and the Hague in 1911, 1913, and 1914 and the subsequent passage of the 1914 Harrison Act, the first major federal drug law, to economic and racial concerns revolving around Chinese Americans and African Americans.

Musto attributes U.S. participation in the anti-opium conventions to its interest in securing a lion's share of the China trade by gaining a "moral" advantage over other nations with similar economic aspirations. Through its involvement and leadership in the eradication of opium in China, the United States believed it could demonstrate its good will. The desired response was that hundreds of millions of Chinese consumers would acknowledge this and reciprocate by purchasing American goods and products.

Musto further explains how Southern fear of African Americans and their use of cocaine around the turn of the twentieth century contributed to the passage of the Harrison Act. Southerners feared that African American cocaine users would abuse their social standing and begin to move beyond their lower class confines, thus threatening the structure of Southern White society (Musto 1973). This fear gave impetus to anti-drug legislation that would assist in controlling African Americans. Musto similarly associates White fear of Chinese Americans' encroachment into White

society and their use of opium in the western part of the United States. He concludes that it is no wonder that the South and West took the lead in urging federal anti-drug legislation that was viewed as the most effective weapon to thwarting African American and Chinese American threats to the established social structure.

In John Helmer's (1975) comprehensive study of the origins of the anti-opium movement and opium legislation, race is targeted as a major factor. Helmer argues that drug control efforts were a product of class conflicts involving competing elements of local and regional labor, wage differentials, business cycles, and unemployment. The overall thesis of Helmer's work is that anti-drug agitation was utilized by America's ruling class as one of the methods to control the country's working class, which included the Chinese.

By the 1870s, Chinese on the West coast were believed to be in direct competition with White labor. Regardless of skill, Chinese laborers were grudgingly accepted and paid less than White workers (Helmer 1975). When White labor became unemployed or low wage-earners, and small enterprises earned small profits, the Chinese became the scapegoat. Thus,

whites turned their attack from the source of economic power to the source of labor competition, and attacked the Chinese to drive them off the fields. (Helmer 1975)

The image of the Chinese opium addict was a product of the anti-Chinese movement and anti-opium legislation. It served both as a practical means to harass Chinese Americans and as an ideological justification for their removal (Helmer 1975).

Unlike the other drug literature, Helmer's (1975) work recognized that the first anti-narcotic campaign revolved around opium during the 1870s and was directly related to the anti-Chinese crusade. In his view of the early anti-drug movement, the humanitarian reform movement and its adherents did not play a role. Rather, the anti-drug movement was instigated by poor economic conditions, the same conditions which also created the anti-Chinese movement.

Similarly, in his investigation of the development of drug laws and policies in the United States, Pat Lauderdale (Inverarity, Lauderdale, Field 1983) claims that America's earliest drug laws were not motivated by

humanitarian and medical concerns but by concerns for preserving the economic status quo and political control. Lauderdale argues that the first drug law in the U.S., the San Francisco ordinance, which prohibited the smoking of opium in dens, was racially motivated and it initiated further local, state, and federal anti-opium legislation.

In his study of the politics and morality of deviance, Nachman Ben-Yehuda's (1990) reiterates that the anti-opium and anti-Chinese crusades in the United States were directed against Chinese workers in an effort to remove them from the white dominated labor force.

Stephen Hester's and Peter Eglin's research (1992) on crime in Canada identify similar anti-Chinese sentiments underlying drug legislation. In their analysis of the origins of Canada's drug laws, the authors note that the impetus for early Canadian anti-drug laws was to criminalize Chinese immigrants who were believed to be a major cause of the country's drug and economic problems.

Most of the research of Chinese Americans and anti-opium drug laws is found within the study of the history of drug abuse in America. This type of research has not been a main focus in Chinese American Studies. In fact, the study of Chinese in the United States is a relatively new and emerging field.² Most of what has been researched and published has concentrated on the period prior to the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. Due to the paucity of in-depth research, many authors explain Chinese American history in a rather general way. The research does not contain detailed examinations of the impact of significant historical events on the Chinese community, and little attention is given to specific topics related to or involving Chinese Americans. Some studies (Barth 1984; Chan 1990, 1991; Coolidge 1909; Lydon 1985; McClellan 1971; Miller 1969; Sandmeyer 1939; Saxton 1971; Takaki 1989; Tsal 1986) discuss the anti-Chinese movement and frequently mention the negative opium-addict stereotype that mainstream America perceived about Chinese in the United States. However, these works do not explicitly discuss how this negative stereotype and the accompany anti-Chinese racist movement was translated into social policy.

In this paper, I examine one specific social policy topic—the treatment of Chinese drug offenders by the United States criminal justice system via the court cases of two Chinese American drug offenders in 1922. As

the literature concerning the history of drug abuse in America and Chinese Americans indicate, the pattern of the racialization of Chinese Americans and drugs began even before the prosecution of these two cases.³

THE CASES OF CHARLIE GIB AND LEE KEE HOW

Two cases, *Charlie Gib v. Luther Weedin, as Commissioner of Immigration for the Port of Seattle, Washington*, and *Kee How v. Luther Weedin, as Commissioner of Immigration for the Port of Seattle, Washington* were heard together at the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit because the Court considered the charges, the circumstances, and legal issues to be similar. Chung Bar Kiup alias Jung Ngip, or better known in the broader Washington State community as Charlie Gib, was born on July 17, 1856 in Guangzhou (Canton), the Guangdong (Kwangtung) provincial capital. At the age of 19, he emigrated to the United States and arrived in San Francisco on March 1, 1876. Although Gib was already an American resident before the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act, this and other laws greatly affected his life in the United States.

In 1922, at the time of his arrest for a narcotic violation, Mr. Gib had spent the better part of his life, 46 years, in this country. He was still a resident alien because United States immigration laws prohibited Chinese from becoming naturalized citizens.

According to McNeil Island Penitentiary receiving records (February 1923),⁴ he was 67 years old, almost 5'4", 119 pounds, did not read or write English, did not have a wife and family in the U.S., and was working as a restaurant keeper. He lived in and was part owner of a house in Carson City, Nevada. During his 46 years in America, Gib never returned to China to visit friends and relatives. He probably led the typical Chinese American bachelor life: he lived alone, was devoid of an immediate family, and worked in menial jobs.

In April 1922, Charlie Gib was arrested for several narcotic violations in Gardnerville, Douglas County, Nevada. On December 5, 1922, he was indicted at Gardnerville in violation of the February 9, 1909 Act and the amended May 26, 1922, Narcotic Drugs Import and Export Act, because he was accused of concealing illegal imported opium. On January 12, 1923, the United States District Court for the District of Nevada convicted him for violating the Import/Export laws. On January 29

and February 1, 1923, the District Court sentenced Gib to 11 months at the McNeil Island Federal Penitentiary. He arrived at McNeil Island on February 23, 1923 and was scheduled to be released on February 27, 1924. However, due to his good behavior in the prison, Mr. Gib was released early on December 19, 1923.

Before Gib's release from McNeil Penitentiary, on November 12, 1923, Mr. Robe Carl White, Second Assistant Secretary of Labor, from the U.S. Department of Labor in Washington, D.C., ordered the Commissioner of Immigration in Seattle, Washington to deport Mr. Gib, who was a resident alien, to China. The document, "Warrant-Deportation of Alien," stated that:

WHEREAS, from proofs submitted to me, after due hearing before Immigrant Inspector Arthur J. Kahl, held at McNeil Island, Washington, I have become satisfied that the alien CHUNG or CHING BAR KIUP alias CHARLIE GIB alias JUNG NGIP who landed at the port of San Francisco, Calif., on or about the 1st day of March, 1876, is subject to be returned to the country whence he came under section 19 of the immigration act of February 5, 1917, being subject to deportation under the provisions of a law of the United States, to wit, the Act of February 9, 1909, as amended by the Act of May 26, 1922, in that he is an alien who has been convicted under subdivision (c) section 2 thereof.

I, ROBE CARL WHITE, Second Assistant Secretary of Labor, by virtue of the power and authority vested in me by the laws of the United States, do hereby command you to return the said alien to China the country whence he came, at the expense of the appropriation "Expenses of Regulating Immigration, 1920." You are directed to purchase transportation for the alien from Seattle, Wash., to his home in China at the lowest available rate, payable from the above-named appropriation. Execution of this warrant should be deferred until he is released from prison. (*Gib v. Weedin*)

United States citizens convicted of narcotic offenses were not deported. Only foreign aliens such as Charlie Gib were punished for their crimes and then subjected to deportation. This additional punishment was mandated despite the fact that Gib had spent most of his life in the United States, was elderly, had already been punished for his crime, had committed a victimless crime in which no one else was

affected, had no visible remaining ties to China such as family, and most significantly was not eligible to be a U.S. citizen.

The Department of Labor ordered Gib's deportation immediately after his completion of his prison sentence. Upon his release from the McNeil Penitentiary, Luther Weedin, U.S. Commissioner of Immigration, held Gib in detention at the Federal Immigration Station in Seattle, Washington.

In response to the Secretary of Labor's order for deportation, on January 8, 1924, in the U.S. District Court for the Western District of Washington, Charlie Gib's attorneys applied for a writ of habeas corpus. The grounds for this appeal was that Mr. Gib's "confinement and restraint was illegal and contrary to law" (*Gib v. Weedin*).

The narcotics case of Kee How, alias Charley Kee or better known in the Chinese community as Lee Kee How, was submitted along with Charlie Gib's in both the United States District Court (western Washington) and the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals because their cases were based upon the same laws and the same character of facts. Lee Kee How was born in 1858 in Canton. On April 13, 1874, at the age of 16 years, he left his family in China and arrived in San Francisco, California in order to try his fortune in the United States. In 1922, he was approximately 64 years old and lived in Gardnerville, Douglas County, Nevada. He had been a U.S. resident for 48 years. According to the records of prisoners received at the McNeil Island Penitentiary (May 19, 1923), Lee Kee How was 65 years old, almost 5'6", and 161 pounds. His occupation was restaurant keeper and his personal property consisted of restaurant equipment. He did not read or write English and did not claim any religious affiliation.

Mr. Lee had lived in the center of Gardnerville in the East Fork Hotel, which was also a saloon and restaurant. Across the street from his residence was the Corner Saloon, where, according to a sworn affidavit on November 18, 1922, "Charley give (sic) yenshee (opium) to an Indian known as 'Big Nosed Bill.'" The witness, Sam John, also a Native American, filed his affidavit with the United States Commissioner for the District of Nevada, which resulted in the December 5, 1922 warrant to search Lee's residence for concealed narcotics. Law enforcement officers discovered opium in Kee How's residence and he was subsequently arrested and charged

with two violations. The first was for

unlawfully, knowingly and willfully, having in his possession a quantity of intoxicating liquor, containing one half of one per cent, or more of alcohol by volume, fit for use for beverage purposes.

The second was for having in

his possession, unlawfully, knowingly and willfully a quantity of Yen Shee, a derivative of opium, fit for smoking purposes, and not having paid the required license for the possession of the same.

Lee Kee How was immediately put into a jail until his trial because he could not afford to post bond (*Kee How, alias Charlie Kee v. Weedin*).

The next month, on January 12, 1923, in the District Court of the United States of America, in and for the District of Nevada, a Federal Grand Jury indicted Lee Kee How for violating two counts of the February 9, 1909, as amended May 26, 1922 Act. First, the Grand Jurors charged (slightly different than the original charges) that he "willfully, knowingly and unlawfully conceal (sic) narcotic drugs, to-wit: yenshee, knowing the same to have been imported contrary to law." The second count claimed that Mr. Lee "willfully, knowingly and unlawfully sell (sic) narcotic drugs, to-wit: yenshee, knowing the same to have been imported contrary to law" (*Kee How, alias Charlie Kee v. Weedin*).

United States of America v. Charley Kee was adjudicated in the District Court of the United States for the District of Nevada in Carson City; the Honorable E.S. Farrington was the presiding judge. On May 4, 1923, the decision was rendered. The second count concerning selling smuggled opium was dismissed. Kee How pleaded not guilty to the first charge but the jury found him guilty as charged for concealing smuggled opium. Judge Farrington sentenced Mr. Lee to be imprisoned in the U.S. Penitentiary at McNeil Island, Washington, for one year and two months and fined him \$103.50. He was received at the Penitentiary on May 19, 1923, and was scheduled to complete the full term of his sentence on August 2, 1924. However, due to good behavior, correctional staff released him some four months prior to completion of his sentence on April 10, 1924. As with Charlie Gib,

Lee Kee How's early discharge from McNeil Island gave him only a momentary euphoria. Just six days before his release, on April 4, 1924, a federal document addressing the Commissioner of Immigration, Seattle, Washington or to any officer or employee of the U.S. Immigration Service was received by immigration authorities. The document, "WARRANT DEPORTATION OF ALIEN, United States of America, Department of Labor, Washington," declared that:

Lee Kee How is subject to be returned to the country whence he came under section 19 of the immigration act of February 5, 1917, being subject to deportation under the provisions of a law of the United States, to wit, the Act of February 9, 1909, as amended by the Act of May 26, 1922, in that he is an alien who has been convicted under subdivision (c) Section 2 thereof. (Kee How, alias Charlie Kee v. Weedon)

The order, signed by Robe Carl White, Second Assistant Secretary of Labor, further instructed Immigration officials to send him back to his home in China at the lowest possible rate and that the execution of the order should be implemented upon his release from prison. A few weeks later, on April 18, 1924, Luther Weedon, Commissioner of Immigration, in a signed, notarized statement to the U.S. District Court for the Western District of Washington, Northern Division, testified that he agreed with the deportation orders. Although the defendant had been released only eight days earlier from McNeil Island, he was immediately arrested and detained, pending deportation by the U.S. immigration authorities, at the Immigration Station in Seattle, Washington. Despite the quick turn of events, Kee How and his attorneys were able to delay his pending deportation.

On July 17, 1924, the applications for a writ of habeas corpus were made and entered on behalf of both Charlie Gib and Lee Kee How. Their attorney, John J. Sullivan, believed that the legal basis for their appeals depended upon four factors. First, the Secretary of Labor did not have the authority to issue a warrant to deport the defendants. Next, the "indictment upon which petitioner was convicted did not charge any crime whatever against the laws of the United States." Third, conviction for narcotic violations was not moral turpitude. Last, the federal government's deportation orders for Gib and Lee were in violation of the U.S.

Constitution and the 1880 treaty between China and the United States (Kee How, alias Charlie Kee v. Weedon).

Unfortunately for the petitioners, on September 8, 1924, Judge Neterer of the U.S. District Court, Western District of Washington, Northern Division, ruled that the Charlie Gib and Lee Kee How petitions and also their applications for the writs should be denied. Although Neterer may have sympathized with both defendants, he believed that the legal issue that these men were unlawfully detained was clear. In his official decision the Judge stated that:

Subdivision C, Sec. 2, Act Feb. 9, 1909, as amended May 26, 1922, Sec. 8801 Cum. Sup. C. E. provides in substance that any alien convicted after his entry shall, upon the termination of his imprisonment, upon warrant issued by the Secretary of Labor, be deported in accordance with Secs. 19 and 20 of the Act of Feb. 5, 1917. (Gib v. Weedon)

On the same day (September 8, 1924), the attorneys for the defendants filed notices of appeal to the U.S. Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. Gib and Lee were released from custody upon submitting \$1,000 contingent on the condition that they appear before the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals and abide by its judgment. For the next eight months, there was little or no activity on the case. To Gib and Lee, their court odyssey must have seemed like an endless stream of paperwork and legal maneuvering. Charlie Gib's journey started with his April 1922 arrest, and continued with the December 1922-January 1923 district court trial, his January 29, 1923 imprisonment, the November 12, 1923 deportation orders, and, beginning on January 8, 1924, his reappearance in the U.S. District Court to appeal his threatened deportation via a petition for a writ of habeas corpus. His May 4, 1925 appearance in the U.S. District Court represented only the end of court proceedings at the lower court level. On May 27, 1925, F. D. Monckton, Clerk for the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit received the Transcript of Record for Case Number 4629, Charlie Gib, Appellant, v. Luther Weedon, as Commissioner of Immigration at the Port of Seattle, Washington, Appellee, which had been officially filed on June 29, 1925 with the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. The Appeals court affirmed the lower court's ruling and available evidence indicates

that Mr. Charlie Gib was deported to China (Gib v. Weedin).

Mr. Lee Kee How's journey followed an almost identical path. Lee was arrested on December 5, 1922, on similar narcotic violations. His trial was held in January 1923, and on May 4, 1923, he too was sentenced to the Federal Penitentiary at McNeil Island. On April 4, 1924, Lee was also ordered to be deported to his homeland in China. On April 18, 1924, he petitioned the U.S. District Court for a writ of habeas corpus. His petition and appeal for a writ were denied. On June 3, 1925, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit received the Transcript of Record for Case Number 4628, but Lee Kee How's appeal was denied and the district court's ruling was affirmed. However, unlike Gib, on October 8, 1929, at the age of 71, Lee received official notice that the President of the United States of America had rescinded the order for his deportation. Reasons for this decision are unknown. Normally, pardons are a result of political connections or intense public pressure, or in this case it is possible that an appeal by the presiding judge was the impetus for the pardon (interview with Eric Yamamoto, October, 1996).

DOUBLE PUNISHMENT

The first Federal drug laws⁵, the February 9, 1909 "Act to prohibit the importation and use of opium for other than medicinal purposes," and the 1914 Harrison Act that was initially an opium taxation act did not specify any additional punishment for aliens convicted of drug offenses. However, the Immigration Act of February 5, 1917 mandated that foreign aliens, unlike their American citizen counterparts, receive additional punishment for narcotic and other violations in the form of deportation to their native countries. This Act to regulate the immigration of allens to, and the residence of aliens in, the United States (39 Stat. 874) stated:

SEC. 19. That the provision of this section respecting the deportation of aliens convicted of a crime involving moral turpitude shall not apply to one who has been pardoned, nor shall such deportation be made or directed if the court, or judge thereof, sentencing such alien for such crime shall, at the time of imposing judgment or passing sentence or within thirty days thereafter, due notice having first been given to representatives of the State, make a recommendation to the Secretary of Labor that such alien

shall not be deported in pursuance of this Act; nor shall any alien convicted as aforesaid be deported until after the termination of his imprisonment....In every case where any person is ordered deported from the United States under the provisions of this Act, or of any law or treaty, the decision of the Secretary of Labor shall be final.

Thus, if foreign aliens were convicted of committing a serious crime involving moral turpitude, Sec. 19 provided for their return to their native country.

For the Immigration Service, the legal basis for deportation was that violations of the Narcotic Drugs Import and Export Act were serious crimes involving moral turpitude. Moral turpitude is behavior universally considered to be clearly vile wicked, and immoral and wrong such as murder, rape, arson, homosexuality, compulsive gambling to the detriment of one's family, and drug addiction. This concept was pivotal for Chinese and other ethnic minority group members. Its definition and application were vague and open to broad interpretation. For Chinese residents who were not U.S. citizens, it meant that conviction of a crime of moral turpitude such as a drug offense imposed the double punishment of incarceration and banishment from their adopted country.

Chinese Americans were caught in a double bind. According to the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act ("An Act to Execute Certain Treaty Stipulations Relating to Chinese"), Chinese who immigrated to the United States were prohibited from becoming naturalized citizens (Act of May 1882, 22 United States Statutes at Large 58). Chinese not born in the United States were considered to be foreign aliens. Chinese were ineligible to become naturalized U.S. citizens and consequently did not have the rights of citizens. Thus, according to the 1917 Immigration Act, regardless of how many years Chinese had resided in the U.S. and regardless of their contributions to this country, if they were convicted of a crime involving moral turpitude, they would be deported to China. Exceptions were made if the presiding judge recommended to the Secretary of Labor to rescind the order. In cases of threatened deportation, the judge possessed a great deal of discretionary powers.

The May 26, 1922 Narcotic Drugs Import and Export Act (the Jones-Miller Act, 21 USCA 175) amended the Act of February 9, 1909. This legislation, "An Act to amend the

Act entitled 'An Act to prohibit the importation and use of opium for other than medicinal purposes,' further clarified and reinforced the use of deportation in drug cases. SEC. 2 (e) was directed towards individuals not born in the United States.

Any alien who at any time after his entry is convicted under subdivision (c) shall, upon the termination of the imprisonment imposed by the court upon such conviction and upon warrant issued by the Secretary of Labor, be taken into custody and deported in accordance with the provisions of sections 19 and 20 of the Act of February 5, 1917, entitled 'An Act to regulate the immigration of aliens to, and the residence of aliens in, the United States.'

According to the 1922 Act, convicted drug offenders such as Charlie Gib and Lee Kee How should have been deported.

For lawmakers, judicial discretionary powers allowed too many non-citizens to successfully evade deportation. A judge could exercise a great deal of discretionary powers in deciding whether an individual could remain in the country or be deported. On February 18, 1931 an even stronger piece of legislation was enacted.

"An Act To provide for the deportation of aliens convicted and sentenced for violation of any law regulating traffic in narcotics."

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled. That any alien (except an addict who is not a dealer in, or peddler of, any of the narcotic drugs mentioned in this Act) who, after the enactment of this Act, shall be convicted and sentenced for violation of or conspiracy to violate any statute of the United States taxing, prohibiting, or regulating the manufacture, production, compounding, transportation, sale, exchange, dispensing, giving away, importation, or exportation of opium, coca leaves, heroin, or any salt, derivative, or preparation of opium or coca leaves, shall be taken into custody and deported in manner provided in sections 19 and 20 of the Act of February 5, 1917, entitled 'An Act to regulate the immigration of aliens to, and the residence of aliens in, the United States.' Approved, February 18, 1931. (Act of February 18, 1931)

It seems that Congress believed that aliens convicted of opium and cocaine

offenses were a special and significant source of drug abuse in America. As a result, the Act of February 18, 1931 clearly singles out these violators and provides for their deportation. Thus, any non-US citizens convicted of violating federal drug laws, in particular the Harrison Act and the Jones-Miller Act, after completing their sentences were subjected to deportation.

Since the Immigration Act of 1917, drug and immigration laws have continued to be further intertwined. Non-U.S. citizen offenders are punished sequentially by criminal and immigration laws. The immigration consequence of different criminal activities (not just narcotic violations) has been permanent deportation. Deportation has been part of the U.S. immigration policies to bar undesirable non-citizens from residing in this country.

CONCLUSION

In this paper, we have examined two cases, representative of how a certain group of drug violators, namely the Chinese, were subject to deportation by the Immigration and Drug Acts of 1917 and 1922. Chinese residing in the United States were one of the first and one of the major groups to fall victim to these laws which buttressed a clearly anti-immigrant policy on the part of the justice system.

During the past four decades, this policy has been further clarified, amended, and strengthened. The Immigrant Act of 1952 further integrated criminal law (including narcotic offenses) with immigration law. Later the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988, P.L. 100-690, effective November 18, 1988 broadened the strengthened laws directed towards drug, violent, and weapon violators. The Immigration Act of 1990, P.L. 101-649, 104 Stat. 4978 expanded the categories of criminal acts which could result in deportation, reduced assistance for deported alien residents, and eliminated the provision for a judge's recommendation not to deport. Unfortunately, anti-immigrant sentiments in the United States continue to underlie legislative policy. The 1994 passage of California's Proposition 187 which proposed to ensure severe restrictions upon "alien immigrants," is evidence of this.

As this paper establishes through the analysis of two court cases, expulsion for Chinese Americans defendants appeared to be unnecessary and excessive punishment, disregarding the circumstances of the crime and the personal situation of the accused. Nevertheless, even today deportation remains

an important weapon in American criminal and immigration policies. In the 1990s, many other immigrant groups besides Chinese are affected by discriminatory criminal and immigration laws and practices.

Perhaps the most significant insight the opium cases of Charlie Gib and Lee Kee How provide is how one group of American citizens and residents can be treated so cruelly, all within the confines of American law and its administration. From a non-legal humanities perspective, the cases of these two longtime United States residents provide some additional insights into the treatment of Chinese Americans by the justice system, and the type and quality of life of the early Chinese pioneers in America. Unfortunately, the precedence set by these cases help to perpetuate the legal tradition for American immigrants and non-citizens of "double punishment."

ENDNOTES

- ¹ For additional information regarding harassment laws directed towards Chinese hand laundries, see Gregory Yee Mark 1988.
- ² The field of Chinese American Studies began in the late 1960s due to three factors: 1) the emergence of publications by Chinese American historians such as Him Mark Lai in San Francisco, 2) the implementation of courses focusing on the Chinese in the United States, and 3) the establishment of Chinese historical societies nation-wide.
- ³ For information on racialization in the United States, refer to Michael Omi and Howard Winant 1986.
- ⁴ The McNeil Island Penitentiary Record is located at the National Archives—Pacific Northwest Region. There are four volumes: Vol. I - December 23, 1891 to June 26, 1909; Vol. II - July 8, 1909 to February 24, 1923; Vol. III - March 1, 1923 to March 24, 1929; and Vol. IV - March 24, 1929 to December 22, 1937.
- ⁵ The first federal law to suppress opium use was April 1, 1909 Act entitled, "To prohibit the importation and use of opium for other than medicinal purposes."

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A REVIEW OF U.S./INDIAN POLICY: A UNIQUE CHAPTER IN U.S. HISTORY**Laurence Armand French, Western New Mexico University****INTRODUCTION**

American Indian policy is a complex subject that does not easily lend itself to a brief analysis yet is a manageable task if the focus is placed upon major policy decisions. This focus needs to be tempered by two set of considerations: the Harmony Ethos versus the Protestant Ethic and physical versus cultural genocide. The Harmony Ethos reflects the generic world view (epistemological methodology) of North American (U.S./Canadian) Indian and Native Alaskan traditionalism. Here, the traditional world view sees harmony between Father Sky, Mother Earth and all life and inert matter. Man is seen as but one element on earth and not necessarily the most significant one. Intragroup cooperation, a self-image rooted in a larger collectivity (clan, extended family...), and intergroup conflict (intertribal wars and raids) comprised the basis of aboriginal (pre-Columbian) traditionalism (French 1982; Gearing 1962; Mooney 1972; Reid 1970). This contrasts with the secular version of the Protestant Ethic, that which drives the Western enculturation, and its focus on individual culpability, competition and sense of superiority over nature. The concept of Manifest Destiny became the rallying call and justification for exploitation of both natural resources and the American Indians who resided on these lands.

The concept of physical genocide refers to attempts at Indian annihilation. This policy was best reflected by the Indian wars era. Cultural genocide, on the other hand, addresses the more subtle policy of destroying Indian traditionalism (Harmony Ethos) and replacing it with the dictates of the Protestant Ethic (Weber 1958). Basically, cultural genocide involved attempts at converting American Indians, often using harsh methods such as punishment for speaking one's native tongue, from their traditional ways to that of the Protestant Ethic. Most efforts surrounding these policies began with, and continue to involve, conversion to Christianity. This conversion process is referred to as "Christianization" which has come to be synonymous with cultural genocide. A popular justification of the harsh resocialization methods employed in boarding schools was the tenet: "You need to kill the Indians to save the child." Its

implication was that you need to destroy the child's traditional culture in order to convert him/her to Christianity and subsequently accommodate him/her into the larger U.S. society.

Obviously, a marked difference between physical and cultural genocide policies is that the former was bent on removing the Indian problem, either through concentration camps or destruction, while the latter was often based on ethnocentric compassion. During the Indian wars era (which occurred sporadically from the colonial period to the 1890s) American Indians were often viewed as less than human, much like the black slaves were until emancipation. At Fort Robinson in Nebraska, official logs depict male Indians as "bucks" and females as "does" hence depersonalizing them and making it easier to target them for destruction much like the buffalo which also cluttered the northern Plains providing obstacles to white settlement. Physical genocide was the policy norm from our birth as a nation until 1849 when U.S./Indian policy changed from military (War Department now Department of Defense) to civilian control (Department of the Interior). Military interventions continued even after President U.S. Grant's Peace Policy (1870). Military or armed reactions occurred whenever the "Indian problem" reached confrontational levels such as Wounded Knee II in 1973 and the international Akwesasne Mohawk conflict involving both the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and New York State Troopers in 1990 (French 1994). The nature of cultural genocide, in contrast, oscillated from policies aimed at the total destruction of traditional ways to that of federal paternalism where the federal government controlled major aspects of tribal life, a process which continued up until the 1980s. A third, and recent, policy is that of tribal autonomy and self-determination. Many tribal leaders are cautious of this policy fearing that it is merely another disguised attempt at cultural genocide and tribal exploitation (French 1994).

Advocates for the destruction of American Indians and their culture have existed since first European contact, but so have advocates for Indian enculturation. During the colonial era, a time of both black and Indian

slavery and restricted enfranchisement even for white adult males, scholars of the Enlightenment school, including such notables as Benjamin Franklin, advocated formal (Western style) education for colonial and Canadian Indians. Albeit a faint voice among those advocating a policy of physical removal or total annihilation of American Indians, these enlightened scholars embarked on a gentle form of cultural genocide. Indeed, both Harvard College in Massachusetts and William and Mary College in Virginia had special Indian colleges on their campuses. And it was a Yale graduate, the Reverend Dr. Eleazer Wheelock, who established the first separate Indian college for colonial and Canadian Indians — first the free school for Indians at Lebanon, Connecticut (1754–1767) and later Dartmouth College in 1770 in Hanover, New Hampshire (Adams 1946; French 1987). Since the colonial era U.S./Indian policy has followed five basic trends: Removal; Reorganization; Termination/Relocation; and Self-Determination/New Federalism. A review of these policies paints a picture, in broad strokes, of the uniqueness of this chapter in U.S. history.

REMOVAL

Removal policies first pertained to the forceful displacement of the Five Civilized Tribes to west of the Mississippi River into Indian Territory, what is now the state of Oklahoma. The Removal policy was later extended to include Indians of the southwest as well as the plains tribes. The relationship between Removal to specifically designed reservations and the missionary efforts to *civilize* these displaced Indians is illustrated by the trauma faced by the three largest Indian tribes, the Cherokee, Navajo, and Sioux.

Removal's strongest proponent was President Jackson. He made this clear in his First Annual Message to Congress:

As a means of effecting this end (Removal) I suggest for your consideration the propriety of setting apart an ample district west of the Mississippi, and without the limit of any State or Territory now formed, to be guaranteed to the Indian tribes as long as they shall occupy it, each tribe having a distinct control over the portion designated for its use. There they may be secured in the enjoyment of governments of their own choice, subject to no other control from the United States than such as may be necessary to preserve peace on the frontier and

between the several tribes. There the benevolent may endeavor to teach them the arts of civilization, and, by promoting union and harmony among them, to raise up an interesting commonwealth destined to perpetuate the race and to attest the humanity and justice of this Government. (Jackson 1829)

On May 28, 1830, the U.S. Congress passed the Indian Removal Act authorizing President Jackson to exchange lands in the west for those held by Indian tribes in any state or territory (U.S. Congress 1830). This led to the *Trail of Tears*, the forceful removal of the Five Civilized Tribes of which the Cherokee were the largest group. In 1838, some 16,000 Cherokees were led at gun point and in the dead of winter on a 1,000 mile trek from their eastern homeland to Indian Territory (Oklahoma). A quarter of the Cherokees perished during the Trail of Tears (Bauer 1970; Collier 1973; Fleischman 1971; French 1978; Gulick 1960; Hudson 1970; Malone 1958; Rights 1947; Sheehan 1974; Strickland 1982; White 1970; Woodward 1963).

The Cherokee Nation recovered and rebuilt in Indian Territory. In 1841, a Superintendent of Education was appointed, and by 1843, the western Cherokee had 18 public schools. In 1851, the Cherokees added two high schools (seminaries, one of which is now Northeastern Oklahoma State University). These schools were run exclusively by the Cherokee without federal subsistence or aid. On the eve of the Civil War, the western Cherokee had a population of 21,000 including a thousand whites and four thousand black slaves, which they owned, living with them. They had over 500,000 heads of livestock and more than 100,000 acres of arable land (French 1987; Perdue 1980).

The Civil War and Reconstruction halted this progress and brought considerable hardship to the Cherokee and the other *Civilized Tribes*: the Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek and Seminole. During Reconstruction, the Five Civilized Tribes were forced to cede their western territory for the post-Civil War removal of plains tribes. These tribes included the Kaw, Osage, Pawnee, Tonkawa, Ponca, Oto-Missouri, Iowa, Sac and Fox, Kickapoo, Pottawatomie, Shawnee, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Wichita, Caddo, Commanche, and Kiowa Apache. An outcome of the removal process was the *Standing Bear v. Cook* case. Standing Bear, a Ponca chief removed along with his people to Indian

territory (Oklahoma) from his traditional land in northeast Nebraska, illegally left the reservation with a small group and relocated near their old tribal lands, now allocated to the Santee Sioux who were removed from their traditional lands in Minnesota. Captured, Standing Bear filed suit in Federal District Court in Omaha winning federal recognition for American Indians as "human beings" (Dundy 1879). A footnote to Standing Bear's efforts is the restoration of portions of the original Ponca reservation in northeastern Nebraska in 1990 by President George Bush (French 1994).

This new removal policy also affected the tribes of the southwest. In 1864, the Navajo were forced onto a reservation in New Mexico Territory, what is now parts of Arizona and New Mexico (U.S. Congress 1864). In 1862, General James H. Carleton became military commander in New Mexico and was determined to remove the Navajo so that whites could settle their land without fear of reprisal. They were forcefully removed to a barren area in eastern New Mexico known as the Bosque Redondo. Colonel Christopher "Kit" Carson was in charge of the Navajo removal. During the removal his troops killed those who resisted as well as the sick who could not keep up on the forced march to Fort Sumner. Navajo hogans and pastures were burned and livestock and game destroyed in order to discourage those who attempted to resist removal. By December 1864, 8,354 Navajos survived the Long Walk and were confined in a concentration camp near Fort Sumner at the Bosque Redondo. Following four years of starvation, disease and death, the federal government in 1868 admitted the failure of the Carleton plan and signed a new treaty with the Navajo giving back a small portion (3.5 million acres) of their original homeland (Brugge 1993).

The 1868 treaty spelled out the accommodation conditions for the Navajos new lives. Among its legal stipulations was the authority of the U.S. Government to subject non-Indian law breakers on the reservation to U.S., and not Indian, laws. Indian law breakers, on the reservation, whose violations involved non-Indians were also subjected to U.S. laws and U.S. sanctions (Johnson 1868). This legal philosophy was articulated by Indian Commissioner Price:

Savage and civilized life cannot live and prosper on the same ground. One of the two must die. If

the Indians are to be civilized and become a happy and prosperous people, they must learn our language and adopt our modes of life. We are fifty million of people, and they are only one-fourth of one million. The few must yield to the many.... (Price 1882)

The plains Indians removal control was specified by the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty. It was nearly identical to that of the Navajo's treaty of 1868. The main exception was the allocation of 80 acres per family on the reservation instead of the Navajo's 160 acres. The education stipulation was identical. Thus, we see a single pattern emerging in 1868 relevant to removal and corresponding reservation control regardless of the cultural uniqueness of the tribes involved (Mayer 1980). Closure was intended on March 3, 1871, when the U.S. Congress outlawed further treaties with American Indians (U.S. Congress 1871). The problem with the Plains tribes treaty was that the U.S. government either could not or would not enforce it once whites illegally found gold in the sacred Black Hills and Bad Lands of what is now western South Dakota and North Dakota. Again, starvation was the norm around the forts where the tribes were concentrated under the control of the civilian agency and U.S. Army. These conditions led to both the Battle of the Little Big Horn in 1876 and Wounded Knee in 1890.

Law and order issues were also in a rapid state of flux on the Indian reservations. The most notable change was an incident involving the Brule Sioux chief, Crow Dog. This case led to the *Major Crimes Act* which later became the vehicle for the Federal Bureau of Investigations, *Crime Index* and the *Uniform Crime Report*. Simply stated, Crow Dog killed Spotted Tail, a rival chief who was seen as an agent of the administration of the Red Cloud Sioux Reservation. Crow Dog was subsequently sentenced to death by the First Judicial District Court of Dakota. He petitioned the U.S. Supreme Court on the basis that the crime occurred in Indian Country and involved only Indians, hence tribal law took precedent over U.S. statutes. The high court ruled in Crow Dog's favor (Crow Dog 1883).

This decision did not please the government and the U.S. Congress retaliated with passage of the *Major Crimes Act* in 1885. Here, seven major crimes (murder, manslaughter, rape, assault with intent to kill, arson, burglary, and larceny) were brought under

federal jurisdiction. This action was seen as a major encroachment on tribal autonomy as promised in the removal treaties (French 1994). This policy, which exists to the present, is perhaps the best illustration of federal paternalism mentioned earlier.

ALLOTMENT

Allotment was the general application of deeded homesteads to all Indians at the expense of their collectively-held reservations. This time, however, instead of pertaining to the Navajo or Sioux, it was imposed upon the tribes forcefully removed to Indian Territory (Oklahoma). As usual, a new policy was offered in which earlier policies were negated, again at the expense of the American Indians. This is most evident in the realm of law and order.

Indian Territory became a haven for outlaws following the Civil War. It became known as *Robbers Roost* and *the land of the six-shooter*. What few realize is that from the 1830s until May 1, 1889, a unique form of justice prevailed in Indian Territory, one where the U.S. District Judge performed both the trial and appellate court functions. These were *federal courts of no appeal*. Shirley (1968) noted that under Judge Isaac Parker: "The death penalty was prescribed more often and for more flagrant violations of law than anywhere on the American continent."

In 1886, Indian Commissioner Atkins sowed the seeds of allotment in his annual report:

Congress and the Executive of the United States are the supreme guardians of these mere wards, and can administer their affairs as any other guardian can.... Congress can sell their surplus lands and distribute the proceeds equally among the owners for the purposes of civilization and the education of their children, and the protection of the infirm, and the establishment of the poor upon homesteads with stock and implements of husbandry. (Atkins 1886)

Again, the concern was really for the non-Indians who illegally intruded upon Indian lands. They could not vote on tribal issues. Moreover, they came under Judge Parker's jurisdiction and not the tribal courts. The outlaws and other squatters were soon joined by the *boomers*, non-Indian farmers who wanted to homestead Indian lands. In 1893, the U.S. Congress established a commission, headed

by Senator Henry L. Dawes, to negotiate the allotment of lands belonging to the Five Civilized Tribes and the dissolution of their tribal governments. This action resulted in the Dawes Act. Initially the Five Civilized Tribes were exempt (Dawes 1887).

But by the 1880s, the U.S. Congress was moving toward ending tribal government and dividing Indian lands despite what previous treaties stated. The fact that all tribes were to be affected clearly indicated that the real purpose was again to open up promised Indian lands to white settlers. In 1889, President Benjamin Harrison supported Congress' effort to open up Indian Territory (Oklahoma) to white settlers. The vehicle for breaking previous treaties was the Curtis Act of June 28, 1888. This act abolished tribal laws and tribal courts, mandating that all persons in Indian Territory, regardless of race, come under U.S. authority. The Curtis Act authorized the earlier Dawes Act to proceed with the allotment of tribal lands thus dissolving all tribes within Indian Territory. This process was completed in 1907 at which time Indian Territory became the state of Oklahoma. Unfortunately Indians did not have the same weight of law on their side under federal and state jurisdictions and many Indian allotments were stolen from them due to a conspiracy of unsavory "boomers" and discriminatory courts (Fall 1959; Shirley 1968).

Ironically, Charles Curtis, the architect of tribal destruction in Indian Territory, was of mixed Indian heritage (white, Kaw and Osage) and he went on to serve four years as Herbert Hoover's Vice President. Like many mixed blood Indians who could pass within the larger dominant society he was a strong advocate of cultural genocide and full-assimilation of all American Indians. He felt that it was his destiny to force change upon who he believed were the less enlightened traditional Indians, even those members of the so-called Civilized Tribes. History attests to the misery caused by his self-righteousness and the audacity when he spoke for American Indians who strongly opposed both the Dawes and Curtis acts (Dawes 1891; French 1987; Prucha 1975; Unrau 1993).

In 1901, the U.S. Congress granted citizenship to Indians in Indian Territory (Oklahoma). In 1919, Indian citizenship status was extended to veterans of World War I, providing they initiated this action. Finally, on June 2, 1924, nearly sixty years after all African Americans were granted citizenship, all Indians born

within the United States were granted citizenship (U.S. Congress 1924).

REORGANIZATION

Reorganization (Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934) was the master plan for the current reservation system. This 180-degree reaction to Allotment resulted from years of abuse of Indian affairs mainly by those charged with protecting American Indians either as individuals under allotment or under tribal groups. The treatment of the Pueblo Indians illustrate this phenomenon. The nineteen Pueblo Tribes in New Mexico Territory were exempt from Allotment until 1912, when New Mexico became a state thus bringing the Pueblo tribes under federal control.

Albert Bacon Fall, President Harding's Secretary of the Interior, and the first U.S. Senator from New Mexico, was instrumental in a scheme designed to divide the Pueblo tribes, so that non-Indians (his rancher friends) could claim much of this territory. The vehicle for this deed was an attack on traditional Indian religion. Fall did this through his Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Charles H. Burke. The plan was similar to others promoting the theme of cultural genocide: condemn the Indians because of their adherence to traditional customs thus deeming them *uncivilized*. The first step was to outlaw, as an *Indian offense*, traditional dances and religious ceremonies. The next step was to enact a bill designed to take land from the Pueblo Indians. This was done by the Bursum Bill (Bursum 1922; Sando 1976).

The corruption associated with the Bursum Bill led to a study by the Brookings Institute. This study on Indian affairs led to a major report: *The Problem of Indian Administration* (Meriam 1928). Consequently, the study has come to be known as *The Meriam Report*. The two year Brookings Institute study resulted in a dismal portrayal of the shocking social and economic conditions among American Indians living under federal protection. The Meriam Report recommended individualized support for American Indians, another aspect of the cultural genocide theme whereby tribes and clans would be discouraged in favor of the individual in conjunction with the tenets of the Protestant Ethic. Again, education and job training were strongly recommended (Meriam 1928).

The Meriam Report set the stage for the appointment of the first seemingly progressive Indian Commissioner, John Collier. Appointed

by President Roosevelt in 1933, Commissioner Collier lost no time in initiating New Deal relief programs for American Indians. Another outgrowth of the Meriam Report was the 1934 Johnson-O'Malley Act (J-O'M). This act allowed for federal monies to be allocated to states and territories for the provision of educational, medical, and social welfare services to Indians living off protected Indian lands (Wheeler 1934).

J-O'M provided Congressional support for Collier's progressive Indian education plan. By eliminating the Board of Indian Commissioners, a conservative group which supported Allotment and the boarding school concepts, and shifting the emphasis to near-reservation day schools, Collier set the stage for a unique form of mainstreaming. J-O'M established direct relationships between public schools and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, a relationship that continues to the present (French 1987; Johnson 1934).

The Johnson-O'Malley Act was augmented by the Wheeler-Howard Indian Reorganization Act (IRA). Indeed, these two acts were passed within two months of each other. While the IRA provided for annual funding for special Indian education, its most significant element was the prohibition of Allotment. The IRA also provided funds and governmental assistance for the purpose of expanding Indian trust lands as well as provisions relevant to tribal organization and incorporation. Again, tribes were encouraged to reorganize and to exercise their sovereignty, albeit limited, through the vehicle of tribal governments based on tribal constitutions (Wheeler 1934). Two years later this act was extended to Indians living in Oklahoma (U.S. Congress 1936).

Again, the 19 Pueblo Tribes of New Mexico were an exception. The 19 Pueblo Tribes were organized into a loose structure for centuries, however, a modern constitution recognizing this structure was adopted in 1965. Consequently, each Pueblo tribe continues to retain its own leadership and council, with an elected Governor. Together, the Governors elect a President for the all-Pueblo structure. This system is still in effect (Sando 1976). Another Pueblo group, the Hopi, were selected for Reorganization with the latent purpose of destroying their traditionalism. Toward this end, Commissioner Collier elicited the help of the Pulitzer Prize winning anthropologist, Oliver LaFarge. The idea was to both restrict the practice of traditional customs and the

reduction of their tribal lands. This policy resulted in the Hopi Reservation being reduced from the 2,499,588 acres decreed by President Chester A. Arthur to the present 631,194 acre Reservation. Thus, the Hopi, in violation of the IRA, were given a constitution they neither wrote nor adopted. This has resulted in a longstanding conflict between the Hopi and the Navajo tribes, a conflict which still remains unresolved (James 1983).

TERMINATION/RELOCATION

The duality in United States policy toward American Indians resurfaced once more during the Eisenhower administration. This time with the blatant destructive mandate of the dual policies of Termination and Relocation. Termination started with House Concurrent Resolution 108. On August 1, 1953, the U.S. Congress attempted to terminate federal supervision over American Indians, thereby subjecting them to the same laws as other citizens without protection as a special class. The sudden change in policy was strongly opposed by American Indians.

All Indian tribes in California, Florida, New York, and Texas along with the Flathead Tribe of Montana, the Lkamath Tribe of Oregon, the Potawatamie Tribe of Kansas and Nebraska, the Chippewa Tribe of Turtle Mountain Reservation in North Dakota, and the Menominee Tribe of Wisconsin were slated to be subjected to Termination. The failure of this experiment came mainly at the expense of the Menominee Tribe of Wisconsin (U.S. Congress 1953, 1954, 1973).

Public Law 280 augmented Termination by extending state jurisdiction over offenses committed by Indians in Indian Country (reservations). Again, a number of states were targeted for the initial stage of this experiment: California, Minnesota, Nebraska, Oregon, and Wisconsin. Relocation was yet another attempt at cultural genocide. The plan was to entice young adult Indians off the reservation into magnet urban areas. This process would serve to separate subsequent generations from their traditional language, culture and customs. Essentially, *Indianism* and the *Indian problem* would die with the elders who remained on the reservations (U.S. Congress 1953, 1954). Initiated in 1954, thousands of Indians were relocated. The American Indian Historical Society assessed Relocation as such:

Finally, the federal government, jockeying

precariously between policies of assimilation and the growing recognition that the tribes simply would not disappear together with their unique cultures, originated what has become known as the *Relocation Program*. ... The litany of that period provides the crassest example of government ignorance of the Indian situation. The *Indian problem* did not go away. It worsened. (Costo, Henry 1977)

Relocation survived, creating large urban populations of *marginal Indians*, individuals who are Indians in appearance but not in culture or language. Indeed, they hold membership in neither the larger dominant society nor their particular traditional culture. Moreover, in 1986, the federal government estimates that urban Indians, those the product of Relocation, will suffer most given the anticipated restriction of Indian Health Service (IHS) monies.

Termination, however, began and ended with the failed Menominee experiment. Termination was yet another attempt to force an element of the Protestant Ethic, here Capitalism, upon the existing communal tribal system. Within this model tribal enterprises would compete with those within the larger dominant society also being required to pay federal, state and local taxes. Each tribal member was assigned the status of "share holder" and would share profits and losses equally. Under this system, the Menominee fell deeper into poverty. The state and unsavory outsiders exploited the tribe in the name of capitalism. Authorized in 1954, the law did not take effect until 1961. A dire failure, Termination ended with the Menominee Restoration Act of 1973 when the tribe was restored again to federal status (Fixico 1992; U.S. Congress 1954, 1973).

SELF-DETERMINATION/ NEW FEDERALISM

The unrest of the Vietnam era spilled over into Indian Country with the emergence of the American Indian Movement (AIM). Like the Weatherman faction of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), AIM became the radical arm of concerned Indians during these turbulent years. AIM attempted to counteract the destructive policies of the past, demanding, instead, more autonomy and the right to cultural survival. This resulted in the Trail of Broken Treaties, a trek by concerned American Indians in November, 1972, with the purpose of hand-delivering their *twenty points* to

the White House. This, in effect, was the American Indian Movement's Indian Declaration of Independence from what they termed—white colonialism.

As would be expected given the government's past reaction to Indian concerns, this action resulted in a severe political backlash directed toward all American Indians and not merely toward the so-called AIM radicals. The punitive action this time took on the guise of Indian Self-Determination. In 1975, Congress passed Public Law 93-638, better known as Indian Self-Determination. On the surface, this program seemed designed to upgrade American Indian programs by placing them into the larger competitive United States pool whereby local, state, and regional agencies vie for federal subsidies through funding grants. Savvy tribal leaders feared from the start that this was just another attempt to eliminate federal support for some Indian programs thereby forcing them into greater poverty and marginality. They argued that white-run programs, which had the strongest political clout, would usually win over Indian program requests especially if the Indian requests are culturally-based and do not subscribe to the dominant culture's Protestant Ethic. The issue is mainly one of an ethnocentric interpretation of merit, given that merit is based on the values of the non-Indian reviewers.

Self-Determination was preceded by the American Indian Policy Review Commission, another Congressional attempt to ascertain the historic and legal status of American Indians within the United States. The Review Commission was initiated by U.S. Senator James Abourezk (South Dakota) in January, 1975 (Abourezk 1975). In their Final Report, the Review Commission made 206 recommendations, most being favorable to the Indian perspective such as Indian sovereignty and expanded federal trust responsibility. This process, however, was largely moot given that both the Indian Self-Determination Act of 1975 and the Indian Crimes Act of 1976 were passed prior to the Review Commission's Final Report.

The Indian Crime Act of 1976 expanded federal jurisdiction over tribes from the original 1885 Major Crimes Act. Now Indian defendants could be prosecuted in federal courts for an additional seven crimes for a total of fourteen offenses. It should be noted that this law was passed largely in reaction to the 1973 Wounded Knee uprising which resulted in the

death of two FBI (Federal Bureau of Investigation) agents. The new law states that:

Any Indian who commits against the person or property of another Indian or other person any of the following offenses, namely, murder, manslaughter, kidnapping, rape, carnal knowledge of any female not his wife, who has not attained the age of sixteen years, assault with intent to commit rape, incest, assault with intent to commit murder, assault with a dangerous weapon, assault resulting in serious bodily injury, arson, burglary, robbery, and larceny within the Indian country, shall be subject to the same laws and penalties as all other persons committing any of the above offenses, within the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States.... (U.S. Congress 1976)

Instead of increasing self rule, the tribal authority continued to erode. In 1978, the U.S. Supreme Court held, in *Oliphant v. Saguamish Indian Tribe*, that tribes held no criminal jurisdiction over non-Indians in Indian Country (Oliphant 1978). This view was reinforced and expanded to include nonmember Indians by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1990 with *Duro v. Reina*:

Nonmember Indians sought writ of habeas corpus and writ of prohibition challenging trial court's assertion of criminal jurisdiction over crime committed on reservations. ...The Supreme Court, Justice Kennedy, held that Indian tribes may not assert criminal jurisdiction over a nonmember Indian. (Duro 1990)

New Federalism (1989) emerged in the report of the Special Committee on Investigations of the Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs. This new plan called for a reduction of federal programs but with continued federal oversight:

The empowerment of tribal self-governance through formal, voluntary agreements must rest on mutual acceptance of four indispensable conditions:

1. The federal government must relinquish its current paternalistic controls over tribal affairs; in turn, the tribes must assume the full responsibilities of self-government;
2. Federal assets and annual appropriations must be transferred in toto to the tribes;
3. Formal agreements must be negotiated by tribal governments with written constitutions

that have been democratically approved by each tribe; and

4. Tribal governmental officials must be held fully accountable and subject to fundamental federal laws against corruption. (New Federalism 1989)

Tribal leaders call the New Federalism yet another blueprint for disaster like Allotment, Reorganization, Termination/Relocation, and Self-Determination. They see it as another effort by the U.S. government to renege on its treaties to American Indians. A current controversy surrounding the policy of New Federalism is Indian gaming. With a long history in Indian tradition, gaming has always been a popular pastime. However, on-reservation gaming gained prominence in the early 1980s as a direct result of cutbacks made under the Reagan administration's interpretation of Self-Determination. The Reagan administration offered the tribes gaming as a means to fill this federal fiscal shortfall. (The federal government has certain treaty obligations without guaranteed dollar amounts assigned to those obligations.) In 1982, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld Indian gaming using the Florida Seminole tribe as its test case. By 1984, tribal gaming was seen as a viable economic enterprise. At the 1984 National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) annual convention, many tribal leaders eagerly anticipated the report of the Indians' National Bingo Task Force. In October, 1988, a year prior to the New Federalism policy, Congress passed Public Law 100-497, the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (IGRA). Essentially the IGRA distinguishes between three types of Indian gaming. Class I is designated for traditional Indian games or social activities played for nominal prizes; Class II designates games such as bingo, pull-tabs, and similar games, while Class III designates all other forms of gaming including slot machines, casino games, and sports and racing gambling. Class I gaming is regulated by the tribe while Class II gaming is regulated by the tribe with oversight by the IGRA Commission. Class III gaming, on the other hand, is regulated by both the IGRA Commission and a tribal-state compact. Class II and III gaming is not allowed on reservations located in states which do not allow any form of gambling (Utah and Hawaii).

Tribal gaming has become a viable resource among American Indians much like the lottery has become for state revenues. Yet

fifteen years from its federal initiation, Indian gaming success appears to have many detractors including federal policy makers—those same bodies which claim to support Self-Determination. Again the dominant society appears to have a serious problem about American Indians when they succeed while, at the same time, retain their traditional tribal autonomy. As in the past, federal Indian policy waxes and wanes as it most likely will in the future. Nevertheless, most tribal leaders realize that federal oversight is necessary given the often blatant hostility which looms just below the surface within state and local jurisdictions and the public sector. The answer seems to lie in a balance between objective, unbiased, federal oversight and sufficient cultural latitude for the tribes.

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BARS AND BULLFIGHTS ON THE BORDER

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INTRODUCTION

This paper outlines an interview/ ethnographic research assignment which involved students living in the border city of Laredo in a total process of data collection, data analysis, and data presentation. Data were collected on leisure time activities popular in the border communities of Laredo (Texas)/Nuevo Laredo (Tamaulipas, Mexico), including data on bars, bullfights, bingo and boxing. The research process is discussed here, along with summary reports on bars and bullfights, the two leisure activities which involved border crossing experiences.

PERSPECTIVES ON LEISURE ACTIVITIES IN A CROSS-CULTURAL SETTING

The cities located on the border between Mexico and the United States are dynamic arenas of intermingling cultural patterns. People from both sides of the border migrate to the border to take advantage of economic opportunities. As people move from rural to urban areas, they bring with them their familiar ethnic identities and expectations of social and interpersonal ties. The practice and preservation of ethnic culture and association is particularly evident in leisure activities. Culture can be defined as the way of life of a group of people, including shared norms, beliefs, emotions, attitudes, aspirations, values, and symbols. Leisure time activities develop as shared expressions of the cultural expectations. Leisure represents time which can be enjoyed in its own right, a relief from the necessity and drudgery of work. People make recreational and leisure choices which allow them to participate in activities of personal meaning and self-expression (Bryjak, Soroka 1994; Fox 1977; Kabagarama 1993; Luce, Smith 1987).

Arreola and Curtis (1993) examined the development of the border cities and border culture. They observed that the 2000 mile border corridor has developed over the last 30 years

as one of the most urbanized regions in Mexico. Its largest cities are among the fastest growing in the Western Hemisphere... They exhibit aspects of Latin American as well as North American cities, but contain elements that are unique to the border as a place....

This bicultural zone...has been called 'the common ground' and a 'third country' between Mexico and the United States. Along this frontera, as the Mexicans call it, there is evidence of a cultural nationalism as well as a popular or vernacular culture specific to the zone. (Arreola, Curtis 1993)

Although the border communities are 'Americanized', they share the Mexican culture and influence in fundamental ways. This bicultural influence can be noted especially in the popular cultures related to leisure time activities. Along the border, cross-cultural encounters are strong tourist attractions which promise excitement and variety. Crossing the border represents an exotic attraction luring thousands of visitors. Border cities are distinct and popular tourist regions. Clare Gunn (1972) discussed four major components of tourist regions: people with the desire to participate, transportation to and from attractions, attractions which offer services and facilities for participation, and information to assist users in finding the attractions. Gunn also notes that visiting friends and relatives constitutes a strong motivation for leisure and vacation time activities.

Leisure activities along the border exhibit the characteristics of the Mexican fiestas in many ways. In his analysis of fiestas in rural Mexico, Brandes (1988) notes that fiestas operate as mechanisms of social control. Recreation and leisure provide important sources of tension release by providing socially approved outlets for pent up feelings and aggressions which cannot be expressed in the home or work setting. Brandes notes that fiestas are a time of excess and squandering, and an experience of pure being. Eating, drinking of alcoholic beverages, music and dancing are usually included. "Fiestas, in other words, are literally feasts, shared events that people plan for and participate in jointly" (Brandes 1988 9).

Pierre Bourdieu (1991) identifies a social class distinction in leisure activities. He notes that spectator sports provide the important function of imaginary participation for working class and lower middle class adolescents. The working classes choose

sports requiring a considerable investment of effort, sometimes of pain and suffering (e.g. boxing) and sometimes a gambling with the body itself. (Bourdieu 1991)

LAREDO (TEXAS) AND NUEVO LAREDO (MEXICO)

Laredo, with a population of 155,000 (Explore 1995) is located on the banks of the Rio Grande River. In 1990, 90 percent of the population was of Mexican ancestry. Because of its location as a gateway for trade between the United States and Mexico, the economy is booming. However, it is also the poorest city in America, with 37 percent of the residents living below the federal poverty line. The population of Laredo is predominantly young. Over 50 percent of the population is below 25 years of age. One fourth of the families are headed by single parents, predominantly women (Loe 1992; Quilodran 1992). Laredo's growth as a boom town is seen by its growth of 31,000 residents between 1980-1990. Unemployment hovers around 10 percent. Much of the growth is attributable to immigration from Mexico and Latin American countries in search of jobs in the maquiladoras.

With the exception of Nuevo Laredo, a city of about 350,000 located across the Rio Grande in Tamaulipas, Mexico, Laredo is isolated from other metropolitan areas by 140 miles of scrub brush and desert. The origins of Laredo extend back to the 1700's. The twin border city of Nuevo Laredo was established in the nineteenth century when the Rio Grande River was designated the boundary between the United States and Mexico.

The founders of Nuevo Laredo were former residents of Laredo who preferred to remain Mexican and so crossed the river to establish a new community. (McKee 1992)

Many friendship and family ties exist between these two communities separated by the Rio Grande. Weekends often become times of reunion with friends and family. Two major bridges link the towns of Laredo and Nuevo Laredo providing access for cross border visiting. Partying across the river is a popular weekend activity. Weekend traffic on the international bridges becomes jammed as revelers cross the border to celebrate the weekend. Friends and families reunite to relax and enjoy their leisure. The following excerpt from a promotional brochure distributed by the

Laredo Chamber of Commerce (1991) captures the drama of the twin cities.

Los dos Laredos. The two Laredos. Conquistadores and cowboys. Haciendas and mansions. Old world charm and new frontier spirit. Laredo has a dual personality. She's a little bit of Mexico, a little bit of Texas and a little bit something more. Seven flags and seven cultures have created Laredo's special aura. Spain. France. Mexico. Texas. The Republic of the Rio Grande. The United States and the Confederate States.

STUDENT RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES ON BORDER LEISURE ACTIVITIES

This paper represents the process and results of sociology class research assignments which were compiled over several semesters and presented at the Southwestern Sociological Association (SSA) Meetings in Dallas, Texas in March of 1995. The process began with an ethnographic research paper which was assigned as a requirement in the summer (1994) class of Study of Society. The students were free to observe and write about an experience of their choice. Interesting studies dealing with visits to bars, bullfights, bingo parlors and boxing matches formed the incentive to explore further these leisure time activities. A fall (1994) class on group work discussed these activities, forming a list of questions that could be used to develop a questionnaire. In the fall of 1994 the author committed to present a paper at a regional meeting discussing these leisure activities. In spring 1995, the Study of Society class was drawn into the process of data collection. At the beginning of the semester, the students were informed that the class would include 'active sociology' through data collection, analysis, compilation, and paper presentation. The author agreed to spend the first two weeks of March preparing the paper from the data which would be collected by the students in February. Students were assured that all of their names would be included on the research report.

The class was divided into groups by each member choosing the leisure activity which he/she wanted to study. The groups met to develop questionnaires to be used for data collection. Each student in the class interviewed 10 respondents about the leisure activity of his/her respective group. Several class sessions were used to instruct the students in perspectives and orientations of research

collection and interview techniques (Backstrom, Hursh 1963; Frankfort-Nachmias, Nachmias 1992; Sullivan 1992). The importance of confidentiality and anonymity was emphasized. The students introduced themselves with the following statement.

Hello, My name is _____ and I'm a student in the Study of Society class at Texas A&M International University. We're doing a survey on leisure activities in the community. Would you take a few minutes to share your opinions and experiences at (bars, bullfights) in the area. I don't need your name, but I am interested in your insights.

The students located respondents for their ten interviews through convenience sampling. They were given the option to attend an event and interview people at the setting or to interview other college students about their leisure activities. They were instructed not to interview friends or acquaintances. Because the sample was not randomly drawn, it should not be concluded that the responses are representative of general behaviors.

After the interviews had been conducted, the students met in their groups to report, tabulate, examine, and analyze the data. Group meeting time was allowed in class, but most groups also found it necessary to meet outside of class to complete the project. The groups turned in a composite tally of responses along with a group generated evaluation and conclusion of the responses. All of the individual interviews and the group reports were turned in to the author for grading. A 27 page written paper consisting of survey tallies, selected ethnographic summaries and discussion was developed by the author in early March. Four students who attended the SSA Meetings in Dallas assisted in the presentation of the paper at the meetings. Copies of the paper were given to all of the class members with the instructions to thoughtfully read and analyze the information collected about leisure activities. Twenty-five percent of the final exam involved personal evaluation and discussion of the data and the research process.

Interviews and ethnographies are successful teaching tools because students become personally involved in observation and analysis of social relationships. These learning experiences are particularly useful in the exploration of border cultures. Many of the students have lived most or all of their lives on

the border. They have the advantage of being an insider familiar with both the 'American' and 'Mexican' cultures. Because most of the students are fluent in both Spanish and English, they are able to interview in Spanish, which is often necessary, and then translate and report the interview in English. Their bilingual and bicultural advantage places them in a position to be able to compare, interpret, and translate the feelings, attitudes, values, and experiences of one culture to another. This research experience increased the perception of the students, as they became aware of subcultures within their own community which many had previously overlooked or thought little about. The experience of analytically and critically examining these subcultures helped the students see with greater awareness familiar and local cultural behaviors. The following comments by students evaluate the usefulness of interviews, interaction and group work as learning devices and teaching tools.

This was a learning experience without a doubt. By going out and interviewing people on various topics we get first hand experience about the field of sociological research. This sort of research is more exciting than regular research projects and book reports. Personally, I had never been to a bullfight, and probably would never have gone if it hadn't been for this project.

I was actually surprised by the fact that people wanted to answer my questions.

Working in a group helped us to get to know each other and each others' beliefs. I believe that these surveys should be continued in future classes. One learns much more in going out and experiencing different situations and places.

Working in groups was a good idea. We communicated with each other and gave feedback on the surveys.

This assignment was a very interesting project. In order to learn a little bit of our society, interacting, communication, and learning about different cultures helps us look at society in a clearer way.

BARS ON THE BORDER

Sixty surveys and four ethnographies are used here to focus on the leisure activity related to visiting bars on the border. The six

Table 1: Characteristics of Respondents Who Visited Bars

- (N=Number of responses to item)
- (57) 93% were below 30 years of age
 - (50) 100% were high school or college students or graduates
 - (54) 40% go to bars at least once a week
 - (54) 84% go at least once a month
 - (48) 66% had family income below \$30,000 a year
 - (51) 18% expressed feelings of concern/anxiety
 - (59) 49% agreed that they sometimes drink more than they should
 - (60) 63% go to bars in Nuevo Laredo
 - (49) 6.6 = average drinks per visit (range 3-14)
 - (54) \$33 = average \$ spent per visit (range \$10-69+)

students who surveyed bar behavior conducted interviews in many locations in the community, including the community college, the university, commercial gyms, bars, workplaces, and the mall. The data show that the respondents were primarily college students in their 20's who visited bars 2-10 times a month. Five of the respondents said that they do not or seldom visit bars. The survey respondents were evenly divided by sex, with 31 females and 29 males. They spent (an average of) \$33 on (an average of) 6.6 drinks per visit. Sixty-six percent were from a family with income below \$30,000 per year. Table 1 presents a profile of the respondents who visited bars.

Some of the respondents (N=9) had concerns about bar related behaviors and about half of the respondents (N=29) agreed that they sometimes drink more than they should. However, most of them felt comfortable with their participation, enjoying the socializing, dancing, flirting, music, eating, and drinking. Table 2 lists the causes of concern which were expressed.

Sixty-one percent of the respondents said that they go to bars in Nuevo Laredo. Students in the class noted that because identification is not required for drinking in Nuevo Laredo, many high school students and under-age young adults cross the bridge on the weekends to 'party'. Many bars charge one price for unlimited drinks, and some stay open all night. These are pull factors for partying across. However, there were also dangers and concerns expressed. The weekend traffic of people, mostly young people, crossing the border to party creates traffic jams on the bridges across the Rio Grande. Reasons for going (or not going) to Nuevo Laredo are listed in Table 3.

Table 2: Causes of Concern About Visiting Bars

- Too many teenagers at the bars across border
- Too many drunk drivers
- My wife gets mad when I stay out late
- People sometimes get into fights
- People are getting too drunk
- Hearing gunshots
- Calories in a drink
- My temper and getting into fights

Excerpts from ethnographies develop vivid snapshot images of the leisure activity of visiting bars. "A bar is a place where you go to have a good time, but each bar has it's own different atmosphere. It all depends on which bar you go to" (Guerra 1995).

Bars are interesting places to go and observe how people interact with others. Even though Laredo is considered a small city, it has its share of different bars to choose from. There are sports bars where one can go to have a drink and watch a favorite sports event. These types of bars are mostly frequented by men. Their conversation is focused mainly on the event that they are watching. The more people drink, the louder they become. (Garcia 1995)

Certain bars have a karaoke system. This is where anybody can go up to the stage to sing a song chosen using the lyrics. It's a lot of fun because people usually sing after they get drunk because they wouldn't dare go sing if they were sober. It's really funny because people make fools of themselves because some of them don't know how to sing. (Noyola 1995)

The bar I visited is located at a mall & is very popular among young adults. Most of the people at the bar were in groups of 4-6 individuals. There were a few individuals who came in by themselves, but by the time I left, they had met people there...The majority of the young people at the bar were mostly single. Some came with a partner, but others were not going with anybody at that time. A single lady that was there stated that she had just broken up with her boyfriend, and had come to the bar to try to get over her loss. She just needed to talk to other people her own age.

Whatever the reason for being there, everybody seemed to be having a good time. People that go to bars seem to be the type that like to be with other people. Most of them agreed that even

Table 3: Reasons for Going/Not Going to Bars in Nuevo Laredo

| Reasons for Going | Reasons for Not Going |
|--|---|
| Most places don't ask for ID. | Too many teenagers at bars across. |
| Out of town guests suggest going. | Cars get stolen/windows broken. |
| I get to meet young girls. | Too risky. |
| I don't like bars in Laredo. | Don't like the law across. |
| They close late. | It's easy to get in trouble with the police. |
| A different atmosphere. | It's too dangerous. |
| More classy clubs. | Too many kids and people looking for trouble. |
| Because I'm underage and can get in. | |
| It's cheaper to party across. | |
| One price lets you drink all you want. | |

though they enjoyed drinking, they were not there to get drunk. (Garcia 1995)

I've gone to several bars in Laredo and Nuevo Laredo and they get really wild. When I mean wild, I mean that there is a lot of heavy drinking, and people are dancing on top of the tables. There are also fights because people get so drunk or just because they spill a drink on each other. (Noyola 1995)

I'm from Zapata (about an hours drive from Laredo) and I visited a bar there. Zapata is not a good place to visit bars. The bars are full of low class people, or shall I say 'cholos'. When they attend bars they seem to cause trouble. For some reason they end up in fights because they cannot control their drinking.

I interviewed college students from Zapata. The majority said that they visit bars in Nuevo Laredo, and that they spend an average of 20 to 30 dollars on drinks. Some of them had concerns about drinking and driving back to Zapata. (Guerra 1995)

I visited a bar in Nuevo Laredo. I was surprised because there were people that weren't even 18 and they were drinking. In Nuevo Laredo the legal age is 18 but these youngsters were about 15 or 16. Some of them were so drunk that they didn't know what they were doing. They were dancing on top of the tables with their partners... I asked why they come to Nuevo Laredo to drink rather than staying in Laredo. They responded it was because at some bars across the river it is only necessary to pay a cover charge at the door of about \$10-\$20 and they get to drink all night until 4am. They enjoy that instead of having to pay for every drink. (Noyola 1995)

The following ethnography describes an

afternoon visit to a bar in Nuevo Laredo. This account describes several activities related to the underground economy, such as street peddlers selling jewelry and tamales, shoeshine boys, and strolling mariachis. These economic activities are an important and necessary part of the third world survival strategy.

My son, three of his friends, and I visited this establishment (in Nuevo Laredo) on a Friday afternoon. The entrance of the bar is down a flight of stairs. The stairs lead into a small basement type room. A jukebox was at the opposite end of the entrance. Booths lined the wall opposite the bar. The room was dimly lit and the motif on the walls is bullfighting. The pub was old, but seemed to be relatively clean.

Ninety-nine percent of the people in the bar were Spanish speakers. Folks came in, had a beverage or two and left. Nothing out of the normal. The interesting people were the regulars that would wander in and out.

One of these regulars I will call 'Ring man'. He is a young man in his twenties, very polite and gentle. 'Ring man' designs and crafts rings made of nickel or bronze. His rings sell for about ten dollars. He learned his skill from his father. He is saving money to emigrate to the United States. He wants to live in New Orleans and sell rings in the French Quarter section of the city. He comes to the bar every night to sell his rings.

Next, I want to describe 'tamale lady'. She comes to the bar each evening about six o'clock. She carries a baby blue porcelain bucket on her head. The 'tamale lady' did not sell any tamales the evening we were there. People did not pay any attention to her. The people would wave her on to the next table.

There were several groups of shoe shine boys who walked through the establishment. This was rather sad to see. The boys were very young, not much older than nine or ten years. All

of the patrons just waved them on to the next table.

Groups of mariachis would stroll around the tables wanting to play music for hire. These people were also waved away by the patrons, probably because the jukeboxes were always playing. I learned that there are so many different ways of living. I felt safe while in this establishment. I never once felt uneasy. (Porter 1994)

Several of the ethnographies describe experiences of excess and wild excitement similar to the descriptions of Mexican fiestas outlined by Brandes (1988), who identified these events as important sources of tension release. In summarizing the response data, it was found that the 55 respondents made approximately 46.75 visits per week to bars. At an average expense of \$33 per visit, \$1542.75 per week was spent by them at the local bars in Laredo and Nuevo Laredo. This leisure activity represents a significant economic contribution and tourist industry for these border cities. Student comments in class confirmed that the interview summaries were representative of their personal bar experiences with their high school and college friends. One student interviewer poetically portrayed the drama and ambiance of bars.

There is something unique and different about the environment which permeates bars. There is that overwhelming aroma of spilled liquor and stale cigarette odor that in a strange way reminds one of past experiences, friends, lovers, and even sad times. Within the confines of bars people laugh and talk. They share experiences with friends and even strangers whom they will probably never see again. The liquor that flows from the reserves of these bohemian lodges creates a liquid euphoria that is reflected in the loud and continuous laughter of many who consume the intoxicating spirits. Within these barracks, friends are made and lovers lost. Ideas that are supposed to change the world are sketched on paper napkins and disposed of, along with dreams, ambitions, and cigarette butts...

Bars are sanctuaries for the happy and the sad, for the lover and the adulterer, for the friend and the foe. An artificial escape that allows many to enter a vacuum where problems do not co-exist with their lives and where solutions are just one more drink away. "Cheers everyone". (Ehrenzweig 1995)

BULLFIGHTS ON THE BORDER

Five students examined the leisure time activity related to bullfights. Thirty survey interviews and 4 ethnographies were included. Twenty interviews were obtained in Laredo and ten were obtained at a bullfight across the border in Nuevo Laredo. Most (N=17) of the 20 respondents from Laredo were of Hispanic descent who had lived in Laredo, Mexico, or south Texas all of their lives. When asked about frequency of attendance, the responses were 'only once', 'seldom', 'several times', and 'now and then'. Although the respondents did not attend the fights often, many of them had first attended bullfights at an early age with their family or a family member. Seven respondents stated that they first attended the bullfights with their father, their parents, or their family before they were 10 years old. One student observer who has attended bullfights with his family since childhood writes the following descriptive account.

Ole! Ole! These are the cheering words that the bullfighting fan (aficionado) hollers when a "faena" (pass) is being executed by the bullfighter. Ole! is an expression that is shouted by the "aficionados" when they are excited about a well-performed pass...

Bullfighting is big business... The posters that announce the fights are actual reproductions of paintings created by famous artists of yester-year. These paintings fill the top part of the poster, along with the name of the bulking (plaza de toros), while the bottom section is used to announce the date and hour of the fight (corrida), the matadors, the number of animals to be fought, the name of the ranch (ganaderia) and color of the emblem (divisa)... A normal "corrida" is one in which three matadors alternately fight six bulls.

One of the most exciting and emotional things to me is the entrance to the bulking. The smell of cigar smoke and mezcail make me go into a trance which takes me all the way back to when I was a small child, for I remember how my grandfather and my uncles used to smoke and drink before and throughout the "corrida"...

A matador who has performed brilliantly with cape and muleta can have his triumph turn to disaster if he does not kill well. I guess that is why they call it the moment of truth. It is the most dangerous part of the fight...

There are many mixed feelings about the "fiesta brava"... bullfighting is like wine, if you drink it for the first time and like it, you will

Table 4: Expressions of Purpose and Meaning in Bullfighting

N= number of respondents mentioning item

Purpose

- 8 It is a symbol representing man's power to control the beast.
7 It is a historical Spanish tradition.

Bullfighter

Brave, Courageous, Skillful, Awesome, Graceful

Feelings

It is a thrilling feeling that keeps you off your seat. The adrenaline pumps inside your body.
Very exciting, thrilling.
I love to watch an animal get killed with honor and dignity.
I like the fact that it's a Spanish tradition, but the bull does get hurt.
I feel sorry for the bull.
I did not enjoy it.

What happens to the bull?

- 7 He is butchered.
4 He is butchered and given to the poor.

What does the matador do after the fight?

- 7 He prays and thanks God for his life.
4 He celebrates.
2 He gets drunk.

Highlights of the event

The moment of truth - who will die? the bull or the matador.
Seeing the skill of the matador.
When the matador sticks the sword in the bull.
When the horse jumps over the dead bull.
The whole thing is fascinating!

continue to drink it, and if you taste the wine and you don't like it, let it be - the wonderful world of bullfighting. (Rivera 1995)

The following ethnographic report describes how the love of bullfighting is passed on from one generation to the next.

A bullfight signifies beauty, art, grace, passion, determination, excitement, skill, but most importantly, danger, bravery and bloodshed. It is an event which, once you've seen, will either cause you to abhor it or love it.

I never thought I'd ever find myself witnessing a bullfight one Sunday afternoon, recently in Nuevo Laredo, Mexico. My mother, an avid bullfight fan, grew up attending bullfights with her father and developed a passionate taste for the art. She had, on many occasions, told me about the above mentioned characteristics... I never expected to feel the thrill, excitement, and bubbling anticipation that I began to experience once I got to the bullring arena. As I listened to the band begin to play "La Virgen de la Macarena", which is always played before the fight,

my grandfather's and my mother's love for bullfighting began to take root in me...

How can I describe the thrilling, yet fearful, excitement I felt in my entire being as I first heard the drum and trumpet signal, then as the crowd hushed and the toril gate jerked open, and finally, as I saw that first bull charge out of the bullring? I remember my mother relating to me what her father would say to her as each bull charged out. "Mira nomas, que lindo animal!" which in English means "Look at that beautiful animal!"...

I couldn't help but admire the courage and bravery exhibited by the bullfighter as he faced the charging bull. Each pass he made looked so simple, and yet it was so dangerous for him. I was overwhelmed with the grace and skill with which he handled the cape.

Then came time for the two picadores to enter the arena on horseback. Each picador carried a lance which was forced into the bull's neck to weaken the bull's muscles. The horses were blindfolded and protected by padding...

After the picadores left the ring, the banderilleros entered. Two of them took turns placing

three pairs of banderillas behind the bull's neck. A banderilla is a wooden stick decorated with colored paper and has a sharp barbed steel point...

The trumpet sounded for the last part of the bullfight, and the matador entered the ring carrying a sword and a muleta, a red cloth draped over a stick...I found myself shouting "Ole!" with the rest of the crowd...I had become a part of the cheering crowd, applauding for the matador and praying that he be kept safe from the bull's horns. (Cruz 1994)

Respondents were asked to explain their understandings and feelings about many aspects of bullfighting. They were asked to discuss the purpose and meaning of the bullfight, the feelings they had when attending, their description of the bullfighter, the highlights of the event and what they thought happens to the bull and matador after the fight. The bullfight is portrayed as an historic and symbolic event which exalts the bravery and courage of the matador as he overcomes the wild, savage beast. Although the feelings of excitement are predominant, concern for the bull was expressed by several respondents. A justification for the death of the bull is seen in the perception that the meat of the butchered bull is given to the poor. These responses are outlined in Table 4.

One student interviewer stated,

Most of the individuals were entirely supportive of the event. They cited reasons for support of bullfighting from symbolic religious importance to heritage and tradition in the Mexican culture. Bullfighting was as relevant to them as apple pie and baseball are to Americans. Their support was evident in their passion as they spoke of the event, citing favorite parts of it such as the kill or the artistry in the bullfighter himself...

The best justification for killing the bull lies in man's dominance over beast. This is important from a symbolic point of view, as the pre-civilized society provided many occasions by which man would battle beast as a means of pure survival. The symbolic gesture of a bullfighter dominating the bull provides for the viewer a sense of security, in knowing that man would prevail over beast if in fact he had to.

Further justification lies in its historical value. Bullfighting was an integral part of the Spanish (European) culture, one which holds much relevance & is strong in tradition. (McDonald 1995)

Another student interviewer who collected 10 interviews at a bullfight in Nuevo Laredo writes:

It's 4 o'clock on a Sunday afternoon at the Lauro Luis Longoria Plaza, which will be the sight of a celebrated tradition in Mexico known as the "corrida de toros" also known as bullfights.

As people start arriving, an ambiance of anticipation and excitement fills the air from the excited voices in the crowd. People with tickets are shuffling in a hurry to enter into the plaza, while others are still waiting in line to buy their tickets. It is from these people that I collected my data (N=10) on feelings and opinions about bullfighting in Mexico.

When I asked what is the intriguing and fascinating excitement about watching a bullfight, many responded by saying that they enjoyed watching the bull fiercely charge toward the matador as he gracefully and skillfully moves away from the bull's gorge by passing him through his cloak with either a Veronica pass or a chest pass. Some admire the bullfighters skill and courage to choose to fight against a beast ten times his strength and size. Others stated that they liked to watch the cuadrillas (the matador helpers) make the bull run in the ring. This serves the purpose in helping the bullfighter study the bull, and letting the crowd observe the fierceness of the beast, while at the same time raising the anticipation of the crowd. Most of the people I asked stated that aside from the fact that they enjoyed watching bullfights, they also came to have fun, relax and have a few beers with friends. (Gutierrez 1995)

Two of the student interviewers questioned the respondents about whether or not they thought the bulls were being tortured or subjected to cruelty. The respondents in Mexico did not see bullfights as cruelty. They contended that the bull loves to fight, and that the fight is fair because the man also can be killed. Seven of the respondents in Laredo admitted that they could see some cruelty in bullfighting. Two respondents were unequivocal in stating that cruelty was involved. One said, "The bull is being provoked I feel to defend itself from harm of the bullfighter". Another said, "The bulls are starved and tortured before the event. They are raised to be mean and tortured throughout their growth." Although attendance at bullfighting events was an occasional occurrence, the 30 interview respondents and 4 ethnographers presented vivid and emotional

impressions of their visits to bullfights. The predominant impression was the drama and excitement of the Spanish tradition which symbolized the struggle of man to overcome the savage beast.

SUMMARY AND ANALYSES

Leisure time activities and popular culture along the border exhibit the bicultural blending of influences from Mexico and the United States. This paper reports the results of student research on two leisure time activities popular in the border cities of Laredo and Nuevo Laredo. Interviews and ethnographic reports were used to examine behaviors, experiences, characteristics, and attitudes of people who participate in border crossing leisure activities related to bars and bullfights. Because most of the students in the class were bilingual and bicultural, the research process provided them the opportunity to evaluate and analyze their bicultural heritage. The following evaluations and analyses of the study were written by students in the final examination for the class. Similar statements have been grouped to form a composite summary of the research process and leisure experiences.

Laredo is highly influenced by the Mexican culture. This interdependence was evident in the data that were gathered on bars and bullfights. Conducting this research brought to realization the strong association between Mexico and the U.S. in Laredo. My group really worked hard to get all the information necessary for the paper. I was proud of our group. I learned a lot from the whole survey process, more than I would have by reading a textbook. At the same time, it has been fun. The booklet developed from the data we gathered was very interesting to read. The research shed light on some topics that may lead to more research, but this study provides a start in figuring out what is wrong in society.

The data on bars suggest that most people go to unwind and socialize. A significant amount of money is being pumped into the economy by the people who frequent bars. Many in Laredo say that there is nothing better to do in the Gateway City, so they go to bars to relieve stress. This is why, especially for the young population, that so many go to Nuevo Laredo to dance, drink, and have a good time. I was surprised (though I should know better) by the number of minors found at bars, especially across the bridge. Bars in Nuevo Laredo are catering with cheap prices to youngsters

who want to live their lifetime in one evening. People who went to bars usually had a lot to drink, and most had no concerns about their drinking. I do agree that bars provide a good place for meeting new people and spending time with your friends, but the overdrinking part really bothers me. Alcohol in our society is responsible for great social problems such as spouse abuse, drunk driving, crime and substance abuse. Very few people were concerned about their health and what alcohol does to the body. There was also little concern about driving while intoxicated. This explains why there are so many accidents among young drinkers. Data from this research makes me believe that people, especially here on the border, need to be educated about the effects of alcohol on our society.

The survey data on bullfights provided a descriptive view of the feelings and attitudes surrounding the tradition of bullfighting. I can now understand the meaning behind this cultural tradition which I once thought to be only inhumane. I still do not approve of them, but I won't condemn them. Respondents identified bullfighting as a rich Spanish/Mexican tradition, stressing the honor and dignity of the bullfighter, praising his bravery and skill. The common symbolic belief of killing the bull represented the superiority of 'man over the savage beast'. This was especially true of the respondents interviewed in Mexico. Those interviewed in Laredo had a similar but somewhat contrasting view. Most of these respondents had attended a bullfight only once or a few times in their lives. A portion of them did feel that the bull is subject to cruelty, and they were not in favor of bullfights. The findings stress that the importance of bullfights lies in tradition, heritage, dominance over animals, culture, pride, and religion - elements and values that are important to the Mexican people. Understanding this provides a clearer picture of this special event.

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STUDENT RESEARCHERS and THEIR SUBJECTS OF STUDY

| Name | Subject |
|--------------------------|------------|
| Cruz, Denise Y. | Bullfights |
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GENDER AND SPOUSAL VIOLENCE: A TEST OF SOCIAL CONTROL AND POWER-CONTROL THEORIES

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ABSTRACT

This research will provide an explanation of spousal violence that previously has been lacking in the family violence literature—a social control approach. This research tests the hypothesis that those with stronger bonds to society will be less likely to engage in spousal violence. Furthermore, this research will incorporate the role that family structures have in stratifying social control for males and females by testing power-control theory. This theory suggests that women from egalitarian households of origin will be more likely to commit wife-to-husband violence than those from patriarchal households. Results derived from logit models provide partial support for social control theory; however, there is a lack of evidence to support power-control theory's explanation of wife-to-husband violence.

INTRODUCTION

According to the literature, there are multiple reasons for the occurrence of spousal violence. Scholars of family violence note several characteristics of American society that are associated with the likelihood of spousal violence, including male dominance in the family and society as well as cultural norms that permit spousal violence (Straus, Gelles 1990; Straus, Gelles, Steinmetz 1980).

What is lacking in the literature on spousal violence is the link to social control theory which is employed in the sociological deviance literature. One exception, Richard Gelles (1993), contends that privacy of the home contributes to the problem of family violence (Gelles 1983; Gelles, Straus 1988); however, no comprehensive attempts to date have been made to test social control theory's explanatory power with regard to family violence. Control in this sense (social) is based on an individual's bond to society. Social control researchers posit that as a person's bond to society is weakened, he/she will be more likely to commit deviant acts (Becker 1960; Hirschi 1969; Piliavin, Briar 1964).

The power-control approach to deviance is an application of social control theory that synthesizes resource and social control theories. Its focus is the influence of male power in the family & different social controls of males and females (Hagan, Simpson, Gillis 1979, 1985, 1987, 1990; Hill, Atkinson 1988). Most generally, Hagan et al (1979) argue that male power in the family and society results in men's higher rates of deviance (Hagan et al 1985, 1987, 1990). More specifically, Hagan et al (1987) assert that it is within patriarchal families that males are more likely to deviate because they possess more power and more freedom to violate norms.

Hagan et al (1987) contend that

presence of male power in the family and the absence of control create conditions of freedom that enable delinquency (Hagan et al 1979, 1985, 1990). From their research one may also deduce that fathers and sons in such families also may be endowed with conditions of freedom that allow battering to occur (Cassidy 1995). This research will show that gender differences in power in the family and different types and amounts of social controls placed on men and women results in differences in the likelihood that spousal violence will take place.

LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Social Control Theory and Its Application to Spousal Violence

One of the foundations of social control theory is Travis Hirschi's "A Control Theory of Delinquency." According to Hirschi (1969), violation of norms is appealing to most individuals, so they are inclined to commit deviant acts. However, deviant motivation alone does not account for why individuals engage in behavior that violates norms. Because people do not engage in deviance most of the time, the focus here is on factors that prevent individuals from committing deviant acts.

Hirschi (1969) asserts that it is the individual's bond to society that is the explanatory factor of why one conforms to conventional behavior and follows accepted rules. He establishes four elements of the individual's bond to society, which include: 1) *attachment* to conventional others, 2) *commitment* to conventional behavior, 3) *involvement* in conventional behavior, and 4) *belief* in conventional behavior (Hirschi 1969). Each of the elements of the social bond is related to one another and may influence the likelihood of whether an individual decides to engage in deviant behavior.

Attachment consists of those affective ties individuals have to significant others (Hirschi 1969). As individuals develop ties to conforming others in society they internalize the norms that are shared and defined by society. To violate these agreed upon norms is to go against the expectations of others. Attachment to others assumes that people are sensitive to the opinions of others. Thus, to the extent that one is concerned about jeopardizing his/her ties to conventional others he/she will be less likely to commit deviant acts. Much support can be found in the literature for Hirschi's (1969) assertion that attachments to others has an inverse relationship to committing deviant acts (Hagan, Simpson, 1978; Hindelang 1973; Jensen, Eve 1976; Nye 1958; Toby 1957; Wells, Rankin 1988; Wiatrowski, Griswold, Roberts 1981).

Commitment is what Hirschi (1969) describes as "acquiring a reputation for virtue" by investing time and energy in conventional activities. The assumption here is that when one considers deviant behavior that costs must be calculated. The cost factor is losing his/her investment in conventional behavior. These investments are also referred to as "stakes in conformity" (Piliavin, Briar 1964) or "side bets" (Becker 1960). These stakes are society's insurance that people will abide by the rules.

Involvement is the amount of time one spends engaging in conventional activities. Hirschi (1969) asserts that the more time that one spends engaging in conventional behavior, the less time one will have left over to participate in deviant behavior. Krohn and Massey (1980) have suggested that involvement constitutes the temporal dimension of commitment (Conger 1976). Much support can be found in the literature for Hirschi's (1969) assertion that commitment and involvement tend to vary together and share an inverse relationship to deviant behavior (Hagan, Simpson 1978; Hindelang 1973; Jensen, Eve 1976; Kelly, Pink 1973; Krohn, Massey 1980; Rankin 1976; Rhodes, Reiss 1969; Wiatrowski et al 1981).

Belief is one's assessment of the moral validity of society's values. To the extent that one believes in the shared value system within society, one will be more likely to conform to norms and believe that deviant acts are morally wrong (Hirschi 1969). Hirschi's (1969) finding of the inverse relationship between belief in legitimacy of conventional rules and

deviant behavior has additional empirical support in the literature (Cernkovich 1978; Hindelang 1973; Jensen 1969).

While most tests of social control theory have been conducted with regard to delinquent behavior, Richard Gelles (1993) has suggested that social control theory may also be useful in explaining spousal violence (Gelles 1983). Partial tests of social control theory have been conducted (Cazenave, Straus 1990; Smith, Straus 1988); however, no comprehensive attempts have been made to test social control theory's explanatory power when applied to spousal violence.

Gelles (1993) defines social control with regard to spousal violence as those ways in which spousal violence may be prevented through formal and informal sanctions that raise the cost of participating in spousal violence (Gelles 1983). These sanctions may range from police intervention (e.g., direct controls—see Nye 1958; Wells, Rankin 1988) to disapproval of friends and relatives (e.g., attachment). According to Gelles (1993), violence in the family should be more prevalent where costs of committing violence are low (e.g., in the absence of effective social controls over family relations).

It is a bit more complicated applying social control theory to spousal violence than delinquency, because there are conflicting norms concerning the use of violence in families and thus some confusion as to whether the normative social order in families is one of harmony and peace or conflict and violence. Publicly, we think of the family as a peaceful and loving social institution. However, privately, the family may be one of society's more violent social institutions (Straus et al 1980). There is a general acceptance of some forms of violence in families, such as corporal punishment. However, when asked about spousal slapping, at least 70 percent of Straus and Gelles' sample disapprove of such violence.

Furthermore, Gelles (1983) asserts that the private nature of the modern family serves to reduce the degree of social control exercised over family relations (Laslett 1973, 1978). Gelles and Straus (1979, 1988) posit that the contemporary American family is believed to be a private institution, often insulated from the rules of the rest of society. According to Gelles (1983), privacy of the family results in a lack of formal and informal social control of behaviors taking place "behind closed doors." Privacy reduces accessibility of outside

agencies of social control. For instance, neighbors don't want to be involved. Thus, Gelles (1983) asserts that while the family tended to have strong attachments within, it often lacked attachment to members outside of the family due to the modern family's private nature. Additionally, family violence is more common when friends and relatives outside of the nuclear family are unavailable, unable, or unwilling to be part of the daily system of family interaction and thus unable to serve as agents of formal and informal social control (Gelles 1983, 1993). Thus, Gelles (1983) is suggesting that lack of attachments to conforming others outside of the family increases the possibility of spousal violence taking place. Research findings based on feminist studies of wife abuse also indicates that social isolation contributes to violence against wives (Browne 1987; Walker, 1989).

This lack of attachments to conforming others is included as an explanation of spousal violence in both the deviance and spousal violence literatures (Browne 1987; Carlen 1983; Cazenave, Straus 1990; Eaton 1986; Gelles 1983, 1993; Walker 1989). Within the spousal violence literature, Cazenave and Straus (1990) test the relationship between social isolation (e.g., lack of embeddedness in social networks) and spousal violence based on a large, representative sample and found partial support for Hirschi's (1969) assertion that lack of attachment increases the likelihood of deviant behavior (e.g., spousal violence) taking place. Similarly, feminists such as Walker (1989) and Browne (1987) find support for the relationship between lack of ties to conventional others and being victims of wife abuse from their interviews with battered women.

Gelles (1993) adds that certain family structures reduce social control in family relations and therefore reduce the costs and increase the rewards of being violent. More specifically, Gelles (1993) asserts that in more patriarchal households husbands tend to have more resources (e.g., higher status and more money), so wives lacking these resources cannot inflict costs on their attackers. Because of this, husbands are not likely to lose their investments in society. Thus, Gelles (1993) makes reference to the commitment dimension of the social bond as part of his explanation of an individual's propensity to engage in spousal violence. More specifically, men's "stakes in conformity" are not at high risk due to gender inequality in patriarchal family

structures that prevent women from inflicting social costs on their violent husbands (e.g., leaving, divorce, police intervention) due to a lack of resources (Gelles 1983).

Smith and Straus (1988) tested for the relationship between commitment and spousal violence proposed by Gelles (1993). They suggest that couples who are cohabiting are less committed to conventional rules than married couples and would be more likely to engage in violence against their partners. Smith and Straus (1988) provide partial support for Hirschi's (1969) social control theory, because they found that cohabiting couples were more likely than married couples to engage in violence against one's partner.

While research has been conducted to test the relationship between the attachment and commitment dimensions of the social bond and spousal violence, there is a lack of research conducted on how well *all* the dimensions of the social bond simultaneously explain participation in spousal violence. This research will attempt to confirm prior research on attachment's and commitment's inverse relationships to spousal violence. Thus, I plan to show that those who form attachments to conventional others and are sensitive to their opinions will be less likely to engage in spousal violence. Furthermore, those who devote more time and energy to conventional activities (e.g., commitment and involvement dimensions) will be less likely to commit spousal violence due to risks incurred by such behavior. This research will also incorporate the notion that one's belief that spousal violence is not appropriate will reduce the likelihood that one will commit acts of spousal violence (Cazenave, Straus, 1990).

In sum, the structure and privacy of the family may lessen social controls over family interaction and allow spousal violence to occur. Propositions can be derived from social control theory to explain spousal violence more generally. These propositions are organized around the four elements of the social bond. These propositions include:

Proposition 1: (Attachment) The more affective ties one has to conventional others the less likely one is to commit spousal violence.

Proposition 2: (Commitment) The more investments one has in conventional behavior the less likely one will be to commit spousal violence.

Proposition 3: (Involvement) The more time one spends performing conventional behaviors the less likely one will be to commit spousal violence.

Proposition 4: (Belief) If one believes that spousal violence is wrong one will be less likely to engage in it.

In sum, social control theory demonstrates why individuals do not engage in spousal violence based on their sensitivities to others' opinions (e.g., attachment) and their investments in conventional society (e.g., commitment). What is missing from social control theory is an explanation of why women's participation in deviance, including spousal violence, is usually less than that of men. Social control theory, for the most part, has ignored gender and is not as fruitful as it might be if a feminist lens sharpened its focus (Yllo 1990). Power-control theory incorporates gender stratification into a social control model. More specifically, power-control theory demonstrates that males and females are subject to different types and amounts of social controls and that this accounts for the gender gap in committing deviant behaviors.

Power-Control Theory and Its Application to Spousal Violence

Power-control theory combines assumptions of social control theory with neo-Marxian analyses of social structure and feminist analyses of family and gender. Hagan et al (1979) joined parts of these theoretical traditions to form a power-control theory of deviance (Hagan et al 1985, 1987, 1990).

Generally speaking, Hagan et al (1979) maintain that gender variations in deviance are rooted in historical processes that have assigned men and women to different social spheres: a sphere of consumption composed mostly of women and a sphere of production occupied primarily by men (Hagan et al 1985, 1987, 1990). These separate spheres contain patterned differences in the kinds of social control processes men and women engage in and to which they are under influence.

Hagan et al (1979) argue that the family and household, which compose the sphere of consumption, have come to be characterized by informal control (e.g., exercised by family and community) processes in which women are more involved than men. Thus, social control processes are stratified, asserted

Hagan et al (1979), such that women more than men have become the instruments and objects of informal control (Hagan et al 1985, 1987, 1990).

In addition, Hagan et al (1979, 1985) maintain that because the family is the social agency responsible for primary socialization, it provides the fundamental means by which these gender differences are reproduced across generations. The implication of the stratification of social control is that mothers more than fathers are assigned responsibility for the control of children, and daughters more than sons are subjected to these control processes. Hagan et al (1979, 1985) argue that the foremost mechanism through which this takes place is a differential effect of these control processes upon children's attitudes toward risk taking. Female socialization encourages passivity and discourages risk in order to prepare daughters for their future roles in the sphere of consumption; however, the socialization of sons frees them from many of the controls that might discourage risk taking and prepares sons for their future roles in the sphere of production (Hill, Atkinson 1988; Linden, Fillmore 1977; Morris 1964). Because deviance contains forms of risk taking, the gender differences in such behavior follow logically from the way in which social control is structured in the family (Austin 1978; Detsman, Scarpitti 1975; Krohn, Massey 1980).

Since its earlier conception, Hagan et al (1987, 1990) have developed more explicit theoretical links between family and class relations. Hagan et al (1987, 1990) argue that the variable role of women in the workplace affects the social organization of domestic control such that as mothers gain power in the sphere of production, daughters gain freedom relative to sons in the home. This modification suggests that domestic control processes interact with family class position to affect gender differences in deviant behavior (Hagan et al 1987, 1990).

More specifically, two ideal forms of class relations are identified by Hagan et al (1987, 1990). First, Hagan et al (1987, 1990) identify patriarchal households as maintaining strict gender separation of production and consumption. In other words, the household consists of a father as breadwinner holding authority in the workforce, while the mother stays home to be a homemaker. According to Hagan et al (1987, 1990), it is in this environment that males and females are most

different in how they define risk taking. In egalitarian households, both mothers and fathers are employed in authority positions outside the home and take more equal roles in childrearing. Hagan et al (1987, 1990) posit that it is in this environment less gender differences in defining risk taking will result.¹

Hagan et al (1987, 1990) suggest that parental control is stratified by gender, concluding that girls are not inherently different but treated differently than boys in terms of types and amounts of social controls placed on them (Hill, Atkinson 1988). More specifically, girls are exposed to more informal controls than boys (Austin 1978; Datesman, Scarpitti 1975; Morris 1984); this causes them to be more averse to risk taking. This is part of the explanation for their lower rates of delinquency and deviance more generally (Hagan et al 1987, 1990).

In sum, power-control theory predicts that the link between gender and deviance is more evident in patriarchal than egalitarian families. In other words, gender relationships that involve male dominance and women's subordination are a source of differences in controls that serve the function of intervening variables in the relationship between gender and deviance.

Power-control theory shares many similarities with research offering a feminist perspective on spousal violence. Both traditions investigate how social conditions produce and maintain differences in men's and women's participation in deviant behaviors. Both power-control theory and feminist perspectives on spousal violence share an interest in the repercussions that result from male domination within and outside of the family. An important issue for feminist scholars of spousal violence is how macro-level institutions represent and uphold male authority (Dobash, Dobash 1984; Schechter 1982; Walker 1989; Witt 1987), a concern shared with that of power-control theory (Hagan et al 1985).

Both of these traditions view the consequences of the subordination of women as being their lesser participation in deviance. While power-control theory examines gender stratification of social control and males' greater participation in delinquent behaviors (Hagan et al 1979, 1985, 1987, 1990), feminist theories on spousal violence discuss how patriarchal societies render women "appropriate victims" of violence and make men more likely to be perpetrators of spousal violence than are

women (Dobash, Dobash 1984; Schechter 1982; Walker 1989; Witt 1987).

Another similarity of power-control theory and feminist research on spousal violence is a focus on family structures and the occurrence of deviant behaviors. While family violence research offering a feminist perspective has focused on the relationship between family structure and wife battering (Straus, Gelles 1990; Straus et al 1980), power-control theory has investigated the relationship between family structure and delinquency (Hagan et al 1979, 1985, 1987, 1990).

One difference, however, between these theories is that feminist and resource theories focus on one's family of procreation while power-control theory focuses on one's family of origin. In other words, by employing a power-control perspective there is a focus on one's past household rather than one's current household and its relationship to one's participation in spousal violence. Thus, power-control theory offers a socialization perspective on spousal violence, suggesting that where boys and girls are treated differently in households, the gender gap is larger for them as adults in their participation in spousal violence. This research will integrate both approaches in its explanation of spousal violence suggesting that both families of origin and procreation share a relationship to one's participation in spousal violence.

Power-control research has shown that in patriarchal household structures greater informal social controls are exercised toward women than men, making them subsequently less likely to engage in delinquent behaviors (Hagan et al 1979, 1985, 1987, 1990). From Hagan et al's research one may deduce that because presence of male power in the family and the absence of control create conditions of freedom that enable delinquency, that fathers and sons in such families are also endowed with conditions of freedom that allow battering to occur (Cassidy 1995).

According to power-control theory males are more prone to engage in risk taking behavior than are females, so they might be willing to take the risk of exceeding the patriarchally defined boundaries of controlling the behavior of their wives. Additionally, opportunities to challenge this gender stratification of social control are limited for women, particularly women restricted to the home (Cassidy 1995). Thus, power-control theory assumes that patriarchy has an important role in defining

conditions under which family members are free to deviate from social norms, and that both presence of power and absence of social controls contribute to these conditions (Cassidy 1995).

What is particularly interesting to spousal violence is that little research to date has linked spousal violence to processes of social control and how this relates to family structure (Gelles 1983, 1993 for exceptions). The following propositions may be derived from power-control theory:

Proposition 3: Amounts of informal social controls placed on individuals is related to family structure.

P3A: In patriarchal family of origin structures, higher amounts of social controls are placed on women, making women subsequently less likely to engage in spousal violence.

P3B: In egalitarian family of origin structures differences in amounts of social controls placed on males and females are smaller, subsequently making women and men similar in their rates of spousal violence.

In sum, power-control theory asserts that as a result of male dominance within and outside of the family that gender stratification of social control exists. Furthermore, this process is related to family structure where these differences are more pronounced in patriarchal families.

METHODS

Sample

This study employs data from the 1975 National Family Violence Survey,² which is a national probability sample of 2,143 families in which one adult family member was interviewed (960 men; 1183 women). These households were drawn from a sample of locations that were stratified by geographic region, type of community, and other population characteristics (Straus, Gelles 1990).

Measures

Dependent Variable: Spousal Violence is measured by the Conflict Tactics Scales (CTS) developed by Straus and Gelles (1990). This scale is designed to measure a variety of behaviors used to settle conflicts among family members during the past year. This research employs the minor violence rate for

husbands and wives, which includes: 1) items being thrown at the spouse, 2) pushing, grabbing, or shoving, and 3) slapping a spouse.³ Minor violence is collapsed into a dichotomous measure of two categories, including: no violence and minor violence.⁴

Attachment: Nearby Relatives is measured as the number of family members of the respondent and his/her spouse who live within an hour of the respondent. **Interpersonal Resources** is measured as whether or not one has friends or relatives someone to turn to when a problem arises.

Commitment: Commitment to Institutions is measured as how connected the respondent is to institutions in society. Specific measures include: 1) how many organizational meetings one attends in a month and 2) how often one attends church services. **Importance of Marriage** is measured by how important one perceives his/her marriage to be in comparison to other things such as job and friends. **Involvement: Employment Status** is measured as whether one works full-time, part-time, or is unemployed.⁵

Belief: Belief in Spousal Violence is determined by whether or not the respondent believes that slapping of a spouse is normal as measured by a Likert scale.

Gender is measured as male or female as reported by the respondent.

Power-Control Measure: Family of Origin Authority Structure is determined by mother's educational attainment in years.⁶

Controls: Education is measured as the number of years of education reported by the respondent. **Husband's/Wife's Age** is measured in years as reported by the respondent. **Household Race** is measured as white or nonwhite/mixed as reported by the respondent. **Household Income** is measured as total family income before taxes.

Analysis

This research employs a statistical model which allows for the estimation of the conditional probabilities of spousal violence under different conditions of social control and power in the family. Because the dependent variable in this analysis is dichotomous—either spousal violence is present or not, without concern for how much may be present—OLS regression is not appropriate. The technique used to estimate this limited dependent variable model is logit, which produces Maximum Likelihood Estimates (MLE) that may be converted into

Table 1: Social Control Model of Husband-to-Wife Violence

| Variables | B | Sig | S.E. |
|-----------------------------|----------|--------|--------|
| Nearby Relatives | 0.0040 | 0.6373 | 0.0084 |
| Interpersonal Resources | -0.9152 | 0.0001 | 0.2296 |
| Meetings Attended | 0.0017 | 0.9627 | 0.0359 |
| Church Attendance | -0.0350 | 0.5132 | 0.0536 |
| Marriage Importance | -0.0142 | 0.9206 | 0.1424 |
| Employment Status | -0.2824 | 0.4104 | 0.3431 |
| Slapping Normality | 0.2772 | 0.0001 | 0.0686 |
| Education | 0.1172 | 0.0651 | 0.0635 |
| Age | -0.0328 | 0.0584 | 0.0173 |
| Household Race | -0.2239 | 0.5599 | 0.3841 |
| Household Income | -0.1688 | 0.0030 | 0.0569 |
| Constant | 1.3439 | 0.1316 | 0.8913 |
| -2 Log Likelihood | 513.0610 | | |
| Goodness of Fit | 811.5600 | | |
| Model Chi Square | 140.0840 | | |
| Significance | 0.0000 | | |
| Degrees of freedom | 12 | | |
| Percent Predicted Correctly | | | |
| Overall | 86.0700 | | |
| Nonviolent Cases | 97.5500 | | |
| Violent Cases | 27.5000 | | |
| N | 722 | | |

probabilities.

The first model will determine how well the variables derived from social control theory explain husband-to-wife violence. The second model will determine how well these variables explain wife-to-husband violence. Furthermore, comparisons will be made to determine which variables best explain husband-to-wife versus wife-to-husband violence.

A third model will be employed to investigate power-control theory's assertion that women from egalitarian families of origin will be more likely to commit spousal violence than are those from patriarchal families of origin. In order to do this, mother's education will be added to the social control model of wife-to-husband violence to determine whether or not there is a difference in rates of violence in patriarchal and egalitarian households of origin.⁷

RESULTS

The findings presented in Tables 1 and 2 provide partial support for the hypothesis that that the stronger one's bond is to society, the less likely one will be to commit acts of

Table 2: Social Control Model of Wife-to-Husband Violence

| Variables | B | Sig | S.E. |
|-----------------------------|----------|--------|--------|
| Nearby Relatives | -0.0056 | 0.5766 | 0.0101 |
| Interpersonal Resources | -0.9250 | 0.0000 | 0.2043 |
| Meetings Attended | -0.0457 | 0.1602 | 0.0326 |
| Church Attendance | -0.0301 | 0.4645 | 0.0411 |
| Marriage Importance | -0.0150 | 0.8991 | 0.1183 |
| Slapping Normality | 0.2980 | 0.0000 | 0.0618 |
| Education | 0.0477 | 0.4345 | 0.0611 |
| Age | -0.0169 | 0.2366 | 0.0143 |
| Household Race | 0.1209 | 0.7510 | 0.3538 |
| Household Income | -0.1168 | 0.0045 | 0.0411 |
| Constant | 0.6116 | 0.4133 | 0.7477 |
| -2 Log Likelihood | 738.3330 | | |
| Goodness of Fit | 812.9690 | | |
| Model Chi Square | 131.1710 | | |
| Significance | 0.0000 | | |
| Degrees of freedom | 11 | | |
| Percent Predicted Correctly | | | |
| Overall | 80.9100 | | |
| Nonviolent Cases | 96.7500 | | |
| Violent Cases | 15.7000 | | |
| N | 944 | | |

violence against one's spouse. The overall predictive power of the social control models is not significantly better than that of the modal category. While these models are able to correctly predict nonviolence toward spouses with a great deal of accuracy (97.55% and 96.75% respectively), they are unable to accurately predict cases in which violence is taking place against a spouse. In addition, the social control model has slightly more predictive power for husband-to-wife violence and nonviolence.

Mixed support exists for how well each of Hirschi's (1969) dimensions explains spousal violence. Interpersonal resources has a significant, negative relationship to spousal violence. This suggests that individuals with others to turn to when problems arise may be sensitive to their opinions and therefore unlikely to engage in deviant behaviors such as spousal violence. However, I am unable to account for why nearby relatives did not have a significant effect on either husband-to-wife or wife-to-husband violence.

Additionally, one's belief in the normality of slapping one's spouse has a significant,

**Table 3: Power-Control Model of
Wife-to-Husband Violence**

| Variables | B | Sig | S.E. |
|-----------------------------|----------|--------|--------|
| Nearby Relatives | -0.0002 | 0.9963 | 0.0105 |
| Interpersonal Resources | -1.1014 | 0.0000 | 0.2281 |
| Meetings Attended | -0.0378 | 0.2622 | 0.0337 |
| Church Attendance | -0.0164 | 0.7102 | 0.0442 |
| Marriage Importance | -0.0274 | 0.8305 | 0.1281 |
| Slapping Normality | 0.3254 | 0.0000 | 0.0666 |
| Family of Origin Structure | -0.0509 | 0.8762 | 0.3268 |
| Education | 0.0429 | 0.5399 | 0.0699 |
| Age | -0.0107 | 0.4955 | 0.0156 |
| Household Race | 0.0061 | 0.9884 | 0.4172 |
| Household Income | -0.0966 | 0.0319 | 0.0450 |
| Constant | 0.2857 | 0.7332 | 0.8382 |
| -2 Log Likelihood | 631.0740 | | |
| Goodness of Fit | 670.8970 | | |
| Model Chi Square | 114.0780 | | |
| Significance | 0.0000 | | |
| Degrees of freedom | 12 | | |
| Percent Predicted Correctly | | | |
| Overall | 80.6500 | | |
| Nonviolent Cases | 96.6400 | | |
| Violent Cases | 16.7800 | | |
| N | 944 | | |

positive relationship to incidence of spousal violence. This confirms Hirschi's (1989) notion that one's belief system has an impact on one's actions and participation or non-participation in deviant behaviors.

The dimensions of commitment and involvement did not have significant relationships with either wife-to-husband or husband-to-wife violence.

Adding the power-control measure of family of origin structure does not improve the model for wife-to-husband violence (see Table 3). In fact, this variable failed to produce a significant effect on spousal violence. This is unusual, considering that one's family of procreation structure is largely documented in the spousal violence literature as having a significant effect on spousal violence (Straus et al 1980; Straus, 1990).

CONCLUSIONS

The findings here indicate that one's participation in spousal violence is partly based on one's bond to society. In particular, those individuals who have interpersonal resources and beliefs that spousal violence is not a

normal response to marital conflict are least likely to engage in such behavior. These findings provide qualified and limited support for Hirschi's (1989) social bond theory. What is surprising is the lack of support for Hagan et al's (1979, 1985, 1987, 1990) power-control theory. The problem may be due to the measure employed in this analysis. If additional measures are available that could gauge mothers' and fathers' gender role attitudes one could more accurately assess the relationship between family structure and spousal violence. Gender role attitude measures are similar to measures of family structure in family of procreation households that are documented in the literature as having a significant relationship to incidence of spousal violence.

Although the models failed to produce strong empirical evidence to support social control and power-control theories, this study is among the first to assess the existence of a relationship between one's social bond to society and whether or not one engages in spousal violence. Only partial tests of social control theory had been conducted prior to this study (Cazenave, Straus 1990; Smith, Straus 1988). Cazenave and Straus (1990) concluded their study by stating that future research should stress "interactive and more dynamic aspects of primary networks," including variables that capture the intensity, nature, quality, and meaning of relationships that are important in further delineating differential rates and outcomes of spousal violence. This research included variables such as importance of marriage, interpersonal resources, and beliefs in an attempt to add such variables to the structural measures used by Cazenave and Straus (1990).

Future research should be directed toward additional tests of social control theory's and power-control theory's ability to explain participation in spousal violence. If additional measures become available, one could more accurately assess how well these theories explain spousal violence. Furthermore, one may have the ability to assess the effects of each dimension of the social bond which would provide us with preliminary information on determining how to eliminate this social problem.

END NOTES

¹ Traditional families only represent approximately 12-15% of current American households. Thus, one should keep this in mind when applying the theory. However, regardless of how many households

- comprise traditional families, the same social control processes Hagan et al refer to are present.
- 2 This study uses the National Family Violence Survey conducted in 1975 rather than that of 1985. This is because the main objective of the 1975 survey was to gather data that could be used to test causal theories. The 1985 survey was designed to collect information on how families cope with violence and the consequences of violence.
 - 3 One shortcoming of the National Family Violence Survey is that it does not account for reactive versus initiative violence. Furthermore, violent acts are measured the same regardless of whether they are initiated by men or women despite the fact that men on average are stronger and bigger than women and produce more injuries as a result of their violence.
 - 4 Subjects who committed higher levels of violence but not minor violence are not included in the analyses.
 - 5 Employment status will only be employed in the men's analysis.
 - 6 Mother's employment was not used because when the survey was conducted (1975) only a minuscule number of mothers of respondents who were interviewed as adults in 1975 were employed in professional, managerial, or supervisory positions.
 - 7 Power-control theory may also be applied to investigate the difference in spousal violence rates for men from patriarchal versus egalitarian households of origin.
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POSTMODERN-FEMINIST APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF WIFE ABUSE: A CRITICAL REVIEW

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ABSTRACT

This paper is a critical review of the emerging postmodern-feminist literature on wife abuse. The review functions as an early test of the hypothesis that postmodern ideas can be applied to help solve important problems that women face in daily life. This early reading of the literature suggests that current postmodern applications in the area of wife abuse, on balance, have more potential for harm than for good.

INTRODUCTION

A postmodern-feminist literature on wife abuse has begun to appear (Fraser 1990; Goldner, Penn, Sheinberg, Walker 1990; Gordon 1988; Riessman 1992; Serra 1993; Websdale 1993; White 1986, 1993; White, Epston 1990), and its appearance marks the earliest efforts to employ postmodern philosophy and criticism to help explain and/or ameliorate this significant social problem. Feminists have debated whether postmodernism can contribute to feminist theory and whether its principles should be applied in feminist practice (Allen, Baber 1992; Benhabib 1992; Bordo 1992; Flax 1990; Fraser, Nicholson 1988; Gagnier 1990; Hare-Mustin, Marecek 1990; Horley 1991; Lather 1991; Nicholson 1990; Offen 1990; Pierce 1991; Scott 1990). In light of the recent wife abuse literature, that debate must now extend to the question of whether postmodernism has helped us to better understand or to solve some of the concrete problems that women face in daily life.

This paper critically reviews this recent postmodern-feminist literature. In selecting items for review, my first criterion was that the item deal in a significant way with the problem of wife abuse, defined here as physical force used by men against their intimate cohabitating partners (Bograd 1988). Secondly, I included items if the author, in his/her treatment of wife abuse, in any way borrows concepts or theories from postmodernism and feminism, avoiding if possible any *a priori* designation of an author as being either a postmodernist or a feminist.

This selection process was difficult because feminism and postmodernism are terms that defy a neat or succinct definition. For instance, instead of "feminism" it is more appropriate to speak of "feminisms." After the first wave of contemporary activist feminism over thirty years ago (Friedan 1963), a second wave can be identified in the 1980s, a period when modernist liberal and radical feminisms

emerged (Acker 1989; England 1992; MacKinnon 1989; Vogel 1984). Then, surfacing around the middle to late 1980s was a third wave, postmodern-feminism, so designated because of the acclimation of this cohort of writers to postmodern ideas. This group was especially cognizant that feminisms of the past reflected the viewpoints of white, middle class women of North America and Western Europe (Aptheker 1989; Brewer 1989; Fraser, Nicholson 1988; Pemberton 1992).

Postmodernism proved equally difficult to define. Rosenau (1992) offered that postmodernism is a cultural critique that emphasizes method and epistemological matters, and consists of poststructuralism as well as postmodern philosophy. (A third component, postmodernity, refers to a period in time [Jameson 1991; Mills 1959]). Rosenau found a useful distinction between affirmative and skeptical postmodernists (Agger 1994; Flint 1993; Fuchs, Ward 1994), which is basically a distinction between postmodernism's activist and nihilistic wings. This division is important because feminists, be they of first or second wave feminism, were more likely to align with the affirmative postmodernists than with the skeptics.

I found it useful to consider postmodern-feminist philosophies as existing along a continuum. This allows the rich diversity of viewpoints in both postmodernism and feminism to merge, congeal, interact, and at some point, separate. At one pole are writers whose primary orientation is postmodernism, and though engaging feminist ideas in their work, believe that feminism can be nothing more than a subcategory within postmodernism (Flax 1990). At the opposite pole are writers who are primarily traditional feminists and who believe that postmodern concepts or theories should be employed only if they strengthen a woman-centered approach (Avis 1994). Points along the middle of the continuum are occupied by such writers as Richardson (1993), whose

work shows postmodern sensibility - blurring genres, probing lived experiences, demolishing dualisms - yet at the same time, in a feminist tradition, creating a female imagery and inscribing emotional labor and emotional response as valid. Authors of all of the items reviewed in this paper can be located somewhere along the continuum just described.

The review of the literature yielded four observations that are germane to the postmodern-feminist approach to wife abuse. First, the deconstruction of wife abuse in clinical therapy is sometimes done in a way that places women at great risk. Second, the decentering of women in the therapy obfuscates the male-female power dimension in the couple's relationship, and when applied in joint therapy can be dangerous to the woman. Third, new histories of wife abuse are not always relevant to the problems abused wives face today. Fourth, a potential new political agenda for abused women appears at a level of abstraction too high to attract the critical mass needed to initiate local ameliorations. Before proceeding to these points, I will discuss the theoretical perspective that is the basis for the review and how it is both repelled away from, and attracted to, postmodern thought.

TRADITIONALIST FEMINISM AND THE POSTMODERN TURN

The literature is critically reviewed from a contemporary traditionalist feminist position that is woman-centered and concerned with the power relations between men and women. This position is basically a melding of ideas from the first two waves of contemporary feminism. Traditionalist feminism is praxis oriented, having roots in the activism of the Women's Liberation Movement. That movement questioned what it is to be a woman, how femininity and sexuality become defined for women and how women might begin to redefine them for themselves. This awareness led to campaigns against the objectification of women as sexual objects for male consumption, and against pornography, rape and other forms of violence against women within and outside the family.

Philosophically, this feminism can be traced to liberal-humanist and Marxist thought. Both highlighted the role of history in social theory and the idea that social organization could change to provide a greater happiness (Hekman 1990). By the time contemporary feminism arrived it was increasingly

understood that women's problems were tied to the particular social context in which they occur: to the historical development of the isolated nuclear family in a capitalist society; to the separation of the public domain from the private/domestic domain; to the specialization of "appropriate" male and female family roles; and to the position of wives as legally and morally bound to husbands (Bograd 1988).

A traditionalist stance on wife abuse centers on this modernist concern with the sociohistorical context of the family and particularly upon the issue of gender and power. Wife beating creates and maintains an imbalance of power between the battering man and the battered woman (Adams 1988; Dutton 1994). All men can potentially use violence as a powerful means of subordinating women. Men as a class benefit from how women's lives are restricted because of their fear of violence (Bograd 1988). Moreover, this violence is a normal part of patriarchal social relations that is expected and even condoned by culture. Assaultive men are normal men who believe that patriarchy is their right, that marriage gives them unrestricted control over their wife and that violence is an acceptable means of establishing this control (Avis 1992).

Postmodernists, especially the more skeptical or nihilistic ones, believe that traditional feminists replace one set of repressive ideas with another when they posit that historically situated, patriarchal social relations are the cause of women's oppression, or of social problems such as wife abuse. This argument, they say, only replaces the hegemony of patriarchy with the hegemony of the feminist. Postmodernists tend to avoid grand explanatory schemes ("metanarratives") and consequently are less concerned than feminists about finding the "cause" of anything in the social world; in fact, they are relatively unconcerned with the asking of questions or the seeking of answers. They reject the grounds upon which we traditionally claim to be able to know something, and dispute that the usual methods of inquiry will allow us to discover anything. They despise dualisms that have guided scientific and humanistic inquiry for centuries, such as scientist/subject and man/woman. Social criticism, freed from a base of universal knowledge or principles, becomes in the postmodern mode more pragmatic, ad-hoc, contextual, and local (Fraser, Nicholson 1988; Rosenau 1992).

Intellectual work to the postmodernist is

often "de-centered," meaning it is not pre-occupied with norms, the normal, the usual, or the expected. Derrida (1978) for instance was hostile to the idea that a universal system of thought could reveal truth, rightness or beauty. This universality of thought had suppressed writing since Plato and only by dismantling the universality can writing be freed from the repression imposed upon it (Ritzer 1996). Using the theater as an example of such repression, Derrida wanted it to move away from its traditional center, its focus on the writer (the authorities) and their expectations, and to give the actors more free play. Only by going to the margins, where "play and difference" are prominent, can theater forego its decline and death. Derrida thus reduced language to writing that does not constrain its subjects. He saw social institutions as nothing but writing and therefore unable to constrain people. This freeing of language and institutions from their constraints, called *deconstruction*, reveals that language is disorderly and unstable (Ritzer 1996).

Postmodernists also develop a unique counterintuitive view of time, geography and history. Everything that is taken for granted about these concepts is now in question, including the idea that knowledge of history is essential for comprehending the present. The postmodern concern is with "genealogy," or "history of the present" (Rosenau 1992). This exercise begins with problems relevant to current issues and looks to the past for insight into today. But because the present cannot be fully comprehended but is more amenable to being deconstructed and liberated from dominating discourses, knowledge of history does not prepare societies to improve themselves; and there is little need for any kind of highly complex political activity that might seek to change conditions that have been traditionally viewed as problematic.

The traditional feminist case against postmodernism attacks the latter's relativism and its nihilism. The feminist foil is particularly sharp for those Rosenau (1992) called "skeptical" postmodernists, the nihilistic followers of Nietzsche who reject altogether the positivistic notion that there is an objective reality, that there are "things out there" that can be "found out." She points out that writers in this mode had their belief in progress dashed by the events of the 1960s, and they intentionally interpret the world in ways that have no implications for praxis: their world is increasingly disintegrating and is characterized by

fragmentation, meaninglessness, and malaise (Flint 1993; Kroker, Cook 1991; Pfohl 1993; Rosenau 1992). To feminists this thinking is unacceptable because it is politically bankrupt. From the outset feminism has been an explicitly political program that has challenged not just one aspect of the status quo but the basis of social structure itself: male privilege (Hekman 1990). Because postmodernism smashes the man/woman dualism, it marginalizes women just as it marginalizes other oppressed or disvalued groups, and does so at a time when women are gaining power and beginning to realize the possibility of overcoming their marginalization (Hartssock 1989). Postmodernism reverses the progress made by the Women's Liberation Movement and offers no way for women to recoup their losses, because of its lack of interest in using politics as a vehicle of social change. Finally, postmodernism offers little possibility for the creation of knowledge that can be applied to the problems women face in daily life. The emphasis on deconstruction precludes the reconstructing of new knowledge.

THE POSTMODERN-FEMINIST ALLIANCE

Despite the clash of viewpoints, postmodernism and feminism are not irreconcilable philosophies. There is enough common ground to suggest a natural alliance between the two. As Hekman (1990) notes, both are radical movements that challenge fundamental assumptions of the modernist legacy; in particular, both challenge the epistemological foundations of Western thought and argue that all epistemology that is definitive of Enlightenment humanism is fundamentally misconceived. Both assert that this modernist epistemology must be displaced, that a different way of describing human knowledge and its acquisition must be found.

True to this natural attraction, feminists found fertile ground in the work of the affirmative postmodernists, who believe that important social facts are "out there" that can be discovered, interpreted and acted upon. Like traditional feminists, they are oriented toward process, and are said to be open to positive political action, i.e., struggle and resistance, or to visionary, personal, or nondogmatic projects (such as New Age religion) that could be described as "new" social movements. They believe that an ethic can be affirmed, and that certain value choices are superior to others (Flint 1993; Handler 1992; Rosenau 1992).

Some contend that deconstruction is incomplete without reconstruction (Milovanovic 1995; Young 1992), that is, the production of new knowledge or a new politics that is upbuilding to society. Thus, traditional feminists did not have to reject postmodernism as a total package, and some crossed the fluid boundary into postmodern-feminism via the avenue of affirmative postmodernism. Once across the imaginary line, they found within the affirmative school opportunities for human agency that were compatible with the feminist goal of political change for the benefit of women.

Nicholson (1990) for example avers that postmodernism (in its affirmative mode) opened up multiple sites for women to be politically active, i.e., there were multiple opportunities for women to engage in struggle and resistance, and those struggles might be more effective than those of the past. Rosenau (1992) provides an example of what Nicholson is referring to. In 1988 the University of California at Irvine permitted a franchise of Carl's Jr. Hamburgers to open on campus. A temporary coalition of women's groups, animal rights groups, Japanese Americans, lesbians, gays and people with disabilities joined to organize a boycott and picket. Each group had a different complaint against the franchise, but all agreed it had to go. Nicholson would argue that such resistance is more effective than if women had participated in the protest by themselves. Crossover participation in the struggles of other oppressed groups, even if on a temporary basis, opens up more opportunities than if women's groups remain committed only to their own interests.

There was, additionally, an affinity between feminists and a movement among historians called New History, which is said to have greatly influenced affirmative postmodernists (Rosenau 1992). New Historians employ deconstruction, subjective interpretations, and symbolically construct reality; and like postmodernists, unravel texts, raise questions about meaning in a text, and invent micro-narratives as alternatives to history. The work of feminist historians resembled that of new historians in that the feminists deconstructed the patriarchal view of history and allowed suppressed female voices from the past to be recognized and heard. They also raised questions about how traditional, patriarchal history that was written by and for men minimized and marginalized women as a class and presented an oversimplified portrayal of women's

experiences.

THE DECONSTRUCTION OF WIFE ABUSE

Wife abuse, as a text, is something postmodern-feminists endeavor to deconstruct, or tear apart so that its assumptions and contradictions can be laid bare. The deconstruction is supposed to liberate the couple from the constraints of the abusive relationship by developing new words and concepts to describe or explain the abuse that transpired and the relationship in which it occurred. However, when this deconstruction is performed in couples therapy it entails great risks for the women involved.

The work of Goldner et al (1990) serves as an example. Their work is postmodern in the sense that it takes a "both/and" approach to therapy, which means they reject the dualistic binary approach of attaching a diagnosis to the couple's problem (thereby rejecting alternative diagnoses) and prescribing therapy that pursues one theoretic line of reasoning to the exclusion of others. Goldner et al hold simultaneously contradictory models about wife abuse, tolerating the contradictions and oppositions of each, and understanding how they enrich each other, how they challenge and check each other, and in certain places how they are irreconcilable (Goldner 1991). Thus, in this kind of therapy, a feminist approach that is sensitive to the sociopolitical needs of the woman coexists, uncomfortably, with a systems approach that emphasizes the family as a social system and the need for conjoint therapy to reconcile the couple's problem.

Goldner et al (1990) discovered that abuse occurs within the context of the very strong bond between husbands and wives, a bond that over time, especially for the violent couple, develops because of role reversals between the partners. The woman may have initially been attracted to the man because of his strong (masculine) qualities, and the man was attracted to the woman because of her feminine qualities. With time these initial roles break down to the point where each partner adopts qualities of the other. This reversal of roles within the relationship is one of the secrets of the marriage, part of the glue that keeps the couple together. When the couple is able to admit to the strength of the bond, the bond has been effectively deconstructed. The therapy calls for multiple revisitings of the abusive incident, so that the man may draw

multiple meanings from it. Whenever the couple begins to acknowledge the strength of the bond between them, a therapeutic "time-out" occurs so that the couple can begin to "unpack" the strong feelings that they feel for one another. Goldner's approach does not intend to eliminate the abuse, only to make love safer for both of the partners.

There is great danger in placing the woman in joint therapy with her abuser because the proximity of the woman to the man only invites further abuse. Battered women have reported that past family therapy sessions were followed by violent episodes. The potential exists in more extreme cases for the woman to be seriously injured or killed. Consequently, a lethality assessment of the male should be made prior to initiation of the therapy (Bograd 1994). Further, any rules that the therapists established to assist the woman in terminating the therapy if she feels she's in danger need to be made explicit and given a much higher priority. If a safety plan is not part of these rules, it should be. Safety plans document the man's commitment to respect the woman's fears and limits about the relationship, to comply with restraining orders, to abstain from drug or alcohol use if it has accompanied violent behavior, and to cease any intimidation tactics intended to change his partner's plan or to deny her contact with others. Separate contacts by the battered woman with a local battered woman's program is also recommended to assist the victim with legal, support, advocacy and emergency shelter services if needed (Adams 1988).

Though Goldner et al (1990) refer to the terror of the male and how his violence is a manifestation of that terror (because he is not sufficiently different from his woman, as culture prescribes he must be), we must consider the terror that the woman feels as the emotional, violent episode is unraveled during the therapy. In the multiple revisitings of the abusive incident, each revisit recalls the woman's terror during the event, and amplifies the terror that may be experienced daily as her man controls her in numerous ways, for example, by making her economically dependent upon him, by abusing her sexually, by isolating her, by intimidating her, or by threatening her (Ylo 1993). The combination of the psychological and physical violence is especially frightening, because the physical act reinforces the psychological abuse, and the mental abuse -e.g., yelling, swearing, sulking or angry accusations-

reminds the victim of the potential for repeated violence. Revisiting these multiple terrors in the presence of her abuser cannot help the woman.

Among the documented sequelae of wife abuse are cognitive distortions, chronic depression, anxiety, and low self esteem (Carden 1994). Concerning the latter, the woman's sense of self esteem is reduced by placing her in therapy with the man because the joint therapy clouds the issue of who is responsible for the violence and indicates to some women a joint responsibility for the violent episode (Adams 1988). Furthermore, the woman's ability to contribute to the therapy has also been questioned. The mental disorder that most closely describes the psychological status of the battered woman is Post-traumatic Stress Disorder (Walker 1994).

The fear that women have in joint therapy is significant and cannot be underemphasized. If the woman does not tell the truth the therapy is invalid, yet if she is open about her feelings, airing her grievances and reporting accurately her husband's physical abuse, the result could be a renewal of the violence. The threat of continued violence leads battered women to communicate their feelings and concerns in an indirect manner, which is often misinterpreted by couples counselors as noncompliance (Adams 1988).

Men who abuse or control must be seen as responsible for their violent, coercive, and abusive behavior and must be held accountable for it. Therapy must be dedicated to the changing of the violent behavior itself, and treatment must focus on the details of this behavior, on its impact on others, and on the belief system that supports it. The therapy must carefully avoid the abuser's often deft tactics of denial, minimization, avoidance, or projection. The abuser should not be allowed to describe his behavior as an attempt to meet nonsexual needs for mastery, nurturance, intimacy or anything else, or by focusing on the behavior of his wife or daughter, or mother, or anyone else in the family system (Avis 1992).

Serra (1993) was also intrigued by the strong marital bond that draws women to stay with their partners despite being victims of violence. Like Goldner et al (1990), she is able to tolerate the ambiguity and instability of gender categories. But while Goldner's group viewed battering within the context of the bond of love, Serra sees it, as many family therapists do, as existing within the context of

marital communication. Because violence occurs within a sequence of other interactions that do not imply physical coercion, she sees it as only one communication in a continuous sequence of messages that may or may not be violent. It can be categorized both as a physical clash and as the expression of the batterer's interior world. Serra hypothesizes that if the woman perceives the violence she is subjected to as the expression of her partner's inner world, and she considers the act as a symptom or a message, she will tend to disregard her own suffering and physical helplessness and will interpret her partner's behavior as a sign of distress. This makes it very difficult for her to leave her mate, especially if he later expresses remorse for the deed and begins to demonstrate his dependence upon her. Reconciliation in fact empowers the woman by helping to heal her mate's inner distress-giving her rehabilitative "power" over the man.

For Serra (1993), deconstruction impacts explanation but not therapy. Her knowledge about how the battered woman comes to have power over her mate was gained from interviews with 68 women who had repeatedly experienced some form of violence in the couple relationship and who had been referred to psychotherapy centers due to psychological problems resulting from the abuse. Serra believed that the descriptions of violence in the interviews reflected and was conditioned by the dichotomies typical of our culture, the ones Goldner et al (1990) try to dissolve - subject/object, mind/body, ethics/knowledge. The victims' sense of guilt, so often reported in the literature, also stems from the dichotomies in the perception of violence.

To avoid placing the women in a situation where they would blame themselves for the abuse, Serra explained to them that their symptoms were not psychopathologies requiring psychotherapy, but were sociocultural and ethical problems. The women were sent for outside aid at centers for victims of violence, which were qualified in the use of social and pedagogic techniques appropriate for the cultural and moral nature of the problem. Serra's individualized approach puts women at less risk, puts the emotional and sociopolitical needs of the woman first, and absolves her of any blame for the battering. Deconstruction at the level of explanation (but not therapy) is employed in a manner that avoids the decentering of the woman.

THE DECENTERING OF WOMEN IN THERAPY

The narrative family therapy of Michael White and David Epston (1990) represents another use of the deconstructive method, and as in Goldner et al's (1990) therapy, there is a decentering of the abused wife during clinical treatments. Decentering is more pronounced in White and Epston's therapy, however, due to the therapists' preoccupation with language and with freeing of the couple from the language that bound their previously flawed relationship. Unfortunately, this decentering obfuscates the male-female power dimension in the couple's relationship, and when applied in joint therapy can be dangerous to the woman.

White and Epston (1990) proffer the social constructionist view that reality is created through human interaction and language; individuals engage in conversational exchanges that co-create realities through a process of deriving at mutually agreed upon meanings. The written word plays a key part in their narrative therapy, which to them is a process of storying and/or restoring the lives and experiences of persons who present with problems. White and Epston routinely write letters to clients or their families after almost every therapy session. The letters are not simple recapitulations of what transpired in therapy but are confirmatory of the reauthored stories that have healing potential that emerged during the session. In those sessions, externalizing the person from the problem is a counter-practice that opens space for persons to re-author or reconstitute themselves and their relationships according to alternative stories or knowledges; such stories or knowledges effectively deconstruct the original story. In counseling battering couples the therapist helps locate "facts" about the couple's life and marital relationship that did not match the problem-saturated account that the couple presented with. This externalizing of the problem enables the man and woman to separate from the dominant stories that have been at the heart of their relationship. The couple is then able to identify previously neglected but vital aspects of lived experience-aspects that could not have been predicted from a reading of the dominant story.

White and Epston (1990) apply narrative therapy to wife abuse much as they would to any other family problem. Wives are decentered persons, "individuals", with stories to tell along with their husbands. Though narrative is

employed successfully with individual women who have been battered, it is employed recklessly during joint therapy. White and Epston allow the couple to tell the original (*presenting*) story of their abuse and then attempt to make space to allow them to reauthor an alternate account that is a construction of the man's aggression and violence within the terms of patriarchal ideology (White 1986). Though sensitive to the feminist concern with patriarchy as a causal factor in the abuse, the fundamental responsibility of the man for the abuse is relatively unemphasized and there is an appalling lack of concern with safeguarding the safety of the woman while in therapy. Instead, the therapist helps the man locate "facts" about his life and his marital relationship that did not match the problem-saturated account that the couple presented with. Those facts provide the nuclei for the generation of new stories. As in Goldner et al's (1990) therapy, one worries here about implicitly blaming the woman, the authenticity of the therapy, and most important, the danger and damage that the woman faces both physically and mentally. I am encouraged that Michael White (1993) has recently begun to document specific safeguards for abused women in his Australian family therapy practice. He requires abusive men to meet with representatives of his partner's family (blood relatives) to develop a contingency plan should any family member feel a threat of renewed violence.

A much different use of the narrative method by Riessman (1992) attempts to bring women back to the center of the narrative. She analyzes in considerable detail 110 lines of a transcript of an interview she conducted with a woman who was raped by her husband and who later filed for divorce. Riessman makes no claim that the interview was therapeutic, though it may well have been: the narrative retelling of her story enabled the abused woman to transform her consciousness by naming the abuse, interpreting it as oppression, reexperiencing anger, and making the transition from victim to survivor. She took control of her situation, ironically, by losing control, breaking out of a violent relationship when she was sure that she could no longer contain her own violence. Dissection of the transcript allows us to see that the woman provided a coherent interpretation of the connections between her rape and the violent feelings that later enveloped her. As valuable as the narrative may have been to the woman Riessman interviewed, an

accumulation of such narratives without attempts to incorporate them into a model or relate them to a body of knowledge means that such narratives have little utility in helping women overcome the abuse they are suffering daily.

THE WRITING OF NEW HISTORY

New History was attractive to both post-modernists and feminists. For the former, it was a counterintuitive reordering of all the assumptions previously held sacrosanct in historical writing, and for the latter, it amplified previously unheard or suppressed female voices. The question for purposes of this review is whether or not new histories of wife abuse have implications for praxis, that is, do they translate into an action plan that women can adopt to deal with the problem of wife abuse as it exists today. The answer is that the histories may or may not be relevant.

Linda Gordon's (1988) book on the history of family violence in Boston gives voice to the previously unheard story of what women did to help themselves to solve the problem of wife abuse throughout eighty years of American history. Her purpose was to show what social service agencies were doing about family violence and how the clients themselves were trying to cope with the violence during the period from 1880-1960. She examined over 500 cases from the files of private social work agencies that included 2,274 incidents of family violence. Though her major interest was abused children, along the way she discovered insights about wife battering as well.

Wife beating was common in the case records; thirty-four percent of all the cases she looked at had wife-beating problems. This should not have occurred, logically, because the agencies studied were exclusively devoted to child welfare. But women frequently and energetically attempted to force child-welfare agencies to defend their own interests as well as their children's. The child protection agencies originally tried to avoid intervention between husbands and wives, but their clients, mainly mothers, virtually dragged the child protectors into wife-beating problems. Battered women kept up a remarkably steady level of complaints to child protection agencies throughout eighty years in which there were periods of strong professional disinclination to acknowledge the existence of wife beating. They demanded support for leaving abusive men, and persuaded case workers to

support them in obtaining separations, divorces, and independent households. In doing so they influenced social and legal policy. In the worst of times, they kept the issue of family violence from being completely forgotten, and in better times they provided social pressure for some of the solutions we have today—liberalized divorce, AFDC, and prosecution.

Gordon (1988) tells a collective story of battered women in their own voices, a story much different from the one told by traditional history. That brand of history posits a linear and cumulative scheme that is often underpinned by a sense of development or progress. Power is often seen to be imposed upon dominated and subordinated subjects from above by a sovereign or a centralized state. Websdale (1993), like Gordon, tries to correct this view by adopting an ascending analysis of power which prioritizes the experiences of hitherto disqualified subjects. He looks at female suffrage and the possible impact of women's voting rights on the incidence of domestic violence in Lane County, Oregon from 1853-1960. He wants to know if the acquisition by women of the right to vote translates into any discernible shift in the incidence of male violence within families. After combing through divorce case data and interviewing longtime police officers, his conclusion is inconclusive: suffrage rights appear to have made little difference to women's experience of battering in Lane County. If historians consider the right to vote such a liberating experience that made a difference to women, then Websdale asks why domestic violence continued in the persistent manner it appears to have done. He urges us to consider the possibility that histories that present women's suffrage rights in laudatory terms are part of the hegemony of patriarchy itself.

Gordon's (1988) work, with its implicit call for self-help, appears to set the stage for a new battered women's movement of the 1990s. The subjects in her historic, collective story in many ways remind us of those involved in the ad-hoc, ameliorative movements now underway to solve problems in just about every major metropolitan area in the United States. The example provided by Rosenau (1992) in Irvine, California (discussed earlier) is but one instance of a national trend. Websdale (1993), while sharing Gordon's dedication to an ascending analysis and the telling of an accurate collective story, does not sound a similar call to arms. One wonders what his

New History of wife abuse in Oregon has to do with the thousands of women now being assaulted by their husbands each month.

POLITICS AND DISCOURSE

Affirmative postmodernism attracted feminists because it was process oriented, calling for grass-roots activity, participation in voluntary organizations and an openness to other world views and divergent political orientations (Rosenau 1992). There was tolerance of alternative political ideologies and a cultivation of a wide variety of political perspectives, some of them having little common context and at times contradicting one another. Within this heterogeneous mix there was room for a new political agenda for abused women and the possibility of ameliorative social action. My concern about the political writings of postmodern-feminists, represented here by philosopher Nancy Fraser, is that they are too abstract to be translated into much-needed action at the local level.

Fraser (1990) contends that there is a contestedness to social policy in late capitalist societies that is manifest in the way that we speak about social services, services to battered women being only one example. She is concerned with the "social sphere" that expresses not only a particular form of late capitalist economy but also the rise of particular social movements, that is, movements outside the sphere of conventionally defined political activity. Then she identifies the increasing usage of the rhetoric of "needs" in a late capitalist culture and how this needs talk is used by one group to depoliticize policies and transform them into matters requiring expert, supposedly nonpolitical, administration.

Her basic argument is that in welfare state societies, the discussion of human needs or "needs talk"—be it about wife abuse or any other problem—has been institutionalized as a major vocabulary of political discourse. It co-exists with talk about rights and interests at the very center of political life. This peculiar juxtaposition of a discourse about needs with discourses about rights and interests is one of the distinctive marks of late capitalist political culture.

She contends that three major kinds of needs discourses appear in late capitalist societies: oppositional forms of needs talk which arise when needs are politicized from below; reprivatized discourses, which emerge in response to oppositional forms; and

"expert" needs discourses, which link popular movements to the state. It is the polemical interaction of these three strands of needs talk that structures the politics of needs in late capitalist societies.

The battered women's movement is a case study in the tendency in welfare state societies to transform the politics of need interpretation into the management of need satisfactions. Feminist activists renamed the practice of wife beating with a term drawn from criminal law (wife battery) and created a new kind of public discourse. They situated battered women's needs in a long chain of in-order-to relations that spilled across conventional separations of spheres (e.g. in order to be free from dependence on batterers women needed jobs that paid a "family wage"). This significant victory was not without cost. Municipal funds brought new administrative constraints and professionalization requirements. Professionals were more likely to frame problems in a quasi-psychiatric perspective and the needs of battered women were substantially reinterpreted.

Fraser (1990) notes several trends of client resistance towards how their specific needs are interpreted, using Gordon's (1988) research as one example. Having involved case workers in their situations by invoking an interpreted need that was recognized as legitimate and as falling within the agency's jurisdiction (child abuse), Gordon showed how battered women managed to interest case workers in a need (wife battery) that was not so recognized.

Fraser thus reinforces Gordon's implicit call for local initiatives and provides a philosophic and explanatory rationale for it. She argues that resistance is critical to the satisfaction of needs and the creation of new discourses about those needs that are not being currently met. However, her message is abstract and needs filtering. The word must be simplified and spread at the street level where women are being abused (Marecek 1993), or at the very least should be stated in clearer language. One could argue that if the new movement for abused wives is ad-hoc and local, with participants at multiple sites, there's no need for any kind of philosophy or message to hit the street: the street *is* the movement, much like the battered woman's movement of the 1960s evolved from the ground up with neighbors helping neighbors. Yet, just as the 1960s movement drew strength from

philosophic and political writings attacking androcentrism, the Nineties movement needs similar writings to draw upon for strength and sustenance. More battered women might become politically involved if they read a distilled version of Fraser's (1990) work and understood how it relates to the self-help movement that is currently underway. What could be developing here is a conflict between "experts" such as Fraser and "nonexperts" (e.g., advocates for abused women) on the street, one similar to that which developed between family experts and battered women's shelter activists in the 1970s and 1980s. The two groups need to communicate and coordinate, but it is increasingly difficult if they speak different languages, and are engaged in different kinds of political discourse.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

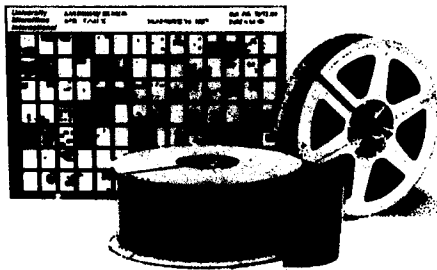
This paper reviewed the new postmodern-feminist literature on wife abuse from a traditionalist feminist perspective, explicating some of the deficiencies in the application of postmodernism to this serious social problem. Postmodern-feminism was not set up as a straw man that would serve as an easy foil for the traditionalist position; in fact, portions of the new literature were compatible with the stance I adopted. However, looking at the big picture, and returning to the question posed at the beginning—can postmodernism help us better understand or solve problems that women face daily—the question must be answered, at least for now, in the negative. Deconstructive, decentered joint therapies place women at risk. Where risks are great and no precautions are being taken to protect the women in therapy, such precautions need to be undertaken now and must be thoroughly documented. The risks that currently exist are great enough to counterbalance the benefits of other types of applications, applications that, despite some imperfections, have potential for good. For instance, Serra's (1993) approach to therapy is individualized and stresses the woman's sociopolitical needs; Gordon's (1988) book sets the stage for a new battered women's movement; Fraser's (1990) message, if simplified, could spur that movement on. On balance however, postmodern-feminist ideas, as applied to the problem of wife abuse, have more potential to harm women than to help them.

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ORGANIZATIONAL CLIMATE, LEADERSHIP AND INDIVIDUAL RESPONSES TO SEXUAL HARASSMENT IN THE ACTIVE DUTY MILITARY

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ABSTRACT

This analysis explores patterns of response to the harassment experiences that had the greatest effect on the respondents to the "1988 Department of Defense (DoD) Survey of Sex Roles in the Active-Duty Military." We analyze the respondent's perceptions about effectiveness of their responses, and respondents' opinions about the efforts of senior military leadership, and their own immediate supervisor's efforts to "make honest and reasonable efforts to stop sexual harassment in the active-duty military" (DoD, 1988). Results indicate that attempts to stop sexual harassment must focus on two efforts simultaneously: lowering actual incidence, and providing a safe organizational environment in which policies to redress incidents can be utilized without fear of negative consequences.

INTRODUCTION

This study focuses on responses to sexual harassment and perceptions of the effectiveness of those responses. Data are taken from the 1988 Department of Defense (DoD) Survey of Sex Roles. This sample is large enough to identify patterns and effectiveness of responses by type of harassment experienced. We begin with a review of the legal and organizational context of sexual harassment, followed by a discussion of possible responses by those harassed, as well as the perceived effectiveness of those responses. Then the context of the military is assessed to place our findings in a generalizable framework.

ORGANIZATIONAL CLIMATE AND SEXUAL HARASSMENT

Legal definitions of sexual harassment have been in existence for fifteen years, and most large organizations have policies against sexual harassment in place.¹ In spite of laws and organizational policies, it is evident that sexual harassment in the work place remains commonplace (Firestone, Harris 1994; Fitzgerald, Shullman, Bailey, Richards, Swecker, Gold, Ormerod, Weitzman 1988; Harris, Firestone 1997; Martindale 1991). This pervasiveness suggests that present legal and organizational structures are inadequate in controlling harassing behaviors (Hulin, Fitzgerald, Drasgow 1996). This inadequacy is further supported by research which suggests that employees seldom respond to harassment by using established grievance procedures (Bingham, Scherer 1993; Gruber, Bjorn 1986; Hulin et al 1996; Riger 1991).

Most incidents involve male harassers and female targets. This has led to arguments that men and women have different definitions about what actions become defined as

intimidating, hostile, or offensive (Saal 1996; Saal, Smalley, Gruver 1993; Thomas 1995), which may contribute to the ineffectiveness (whether real or perceived) of current policies. Sociologist Barbara Gutek (1985) in a survey of 1200 respondents in Los Angeles County, found that 67 percent of the men said they would feel flattered if a colleague of the opposite sex propositioned them, while 63 percent of the women would be offended. Such ambiguities of definition supposedly lead to problems in establishing and implementing effective policies against sexually harassing behaviors because only individuals who define a situation as sexual harassment will report it (Malovich, Stake 1990; Saal et al 1993).

Specific organizational characteristics such as type of technology, worker proximity, sex ratios, availability of grievance procedures, etc. may moderate the extent of harassing behaviors as well as the nature of responses to such behaviors (Gruber, Bjorn 1986; Gutek, Morasch 1982; Hulin et al 1996; Kanter 1977; Martin, Fein 1978). As a result, policies regarding sexual harassment tend to be organization specific.² Lack of consistency in policies across organizations could also aggravate enforcement problems, which could in turn reinforce underreporting of incidence. Lack of clear and consistent policies across organizations could contribute to concern about whether the complaint will be taken seriously and confusion about appropriate steps to be taken. Both whether incidents are reported and the type of response initiated by the target impact perceptions about the effectiveness of solutions (Bingham, Scherer 1993; Grauerholz 1989; Livingston 1982; Maypole 1986; U.S. Merit System Protection Board 1988).

POSSIBLE RESPONSES TO SEXUAL HARASSMENT

Responses to sexual harassment can be formal or informal, as well as individual or institutional in form. Most informal responses are individual attempts by the target to confront the harasser, although "off the record" discussions with supervisors are possible. Formal responses typically entail utilizing institutional procedures.

After experiencing harassment, the largest proportion of individuals either attempt to ignore the situation or ask the harasser to stop (Bingham, Scherer 1993; Grauerholz 1989; Gruber, Bjorn 1986; Harris, Firestone 1997; Loy, Stewart 1984; U.S. Merit System Protection Board 1988). Both responses overtly put the burden of ending the behavior on the person being harassed.³ Perhaps even more importantly, both presuppose a safe environment in which the person being harassed feels comfortable telling the harasser to stop. While it is clear that women typically use individual rather than organizational venues when they respond to sexual harassment in the work place, it is less clear why that is the case.

Other research illustrates how rather than furnishing a safe reporting environment, organizations provide the opportunity structures which perpetuate sexual harassment and inhibit formal responses (Fain, Anderson 1987; Gruber, Bjorn 1986; Kanter 1977). In other words, individuals use their structural positions within an organizational system to compel others to provide sexual gratification. Individuals in a position to compel such behavior may also be in a supervisory role. Under such a scenario the person to whom the incidents are supposed to be reported may be the very perpetrators from whom the women seek relief. Filing a complaint through formal organizational channels may depend on perceptions that the complaint will be taken seriously, and that the prevailing policies will assist in a fair resolution (Hulin et al 1996; Tangri, Burt, Johnson 1982). As the Clarence-Thomas Hearings and the Tailhook scandal clearly illustrate, fear of retaliation discourages formal reporting of incidents (Staples 1994; Zimmerman 1995.)

PERCEIVED EFFECTIVENESS OF RESPONSES TO SEXUAL HARASSMENT

Perceptions about the expected effectiveness of the available strategies may be related to the type of response used by

individuals who have been harassed. Research which examined the effectiveness of response strategies indicates that satisfaction with outcome may be related to the severity of the harassment (Hulin et al 1996; Terpstra, Baker 1986); perceptions of organizational tolerance of harassment (Hulin et al 1996); gender (Bingham, Scherer 1993); and type of response used by sexually harassed individuals (Bingham, Scherer 1993; Grauerholz 1989; Livingston 1982; Maypole 1986; U.S. Merit System Protection Board 1988).

According to the Merit Systems survey (1988) the simplest and most effective way to put an end to harassment in most instances is to ask or tell the person to stop. This tactic worked for 61 percent of the women who tried it. Telling or threatening to tell other colleagues proved the second-best response, effective 55 percent of the time. Pretending to ignore the behavior, which was the most common response of the women in the Merit Systems study, usually did not work at all. These findings are consistent with other research indicating that a majority of those harassed believed directly confronting the harasser was either effective or somewhat effective in alleviating the situation (Bingham, Scherer 1993; Grauerholz 1989; Livingston 1982). Both direct confrontations and telling other colleagues require perceptions of a safe work environment in which colleagues will take the complaints seriously.

In contrast, use of formal organizational structures is associated with more mixed opinions about the outcome. Livingston (1982) found that 50 percent of those who filed formal complaints felt it made the situation better, while 33 percent thought that the situation became worse. Grauerholz (1989) found that all who filed a formal complaint found it "somewhat effective," while only half of those employing informal complaints found that type of response "somewhat effective." However, Bingham and Scherer (1993) reported that using formal procedures was unrelated to whether or not the person harassed was satisfied with the outcome. Regardless of perceived effectiveness, researchers agreed that formal channels were the least utilized methods of resolving harassment situations.

THE U. S. MILITARY.

The U. S. military provides an interesting context for analyzing data regarding sexual harassment in public service organizations.

First it is large enough to provide an adequate sample of individuals across categories of gender, race, ethnic and organizational position (as measured by rank). Second, leadership claims it as the largest equal opportunity employer in the United States. Third, following orders is ingrained in the organizational culture so that personal opinions/prejudices are supposed to be irrelevant while on duty. Thus, the military provides both a representative sample of public sector workers and a bureaucratic structure typical of public sector organizations.

The military organization is also unique in several important ways which may exacerbate the problems associated with individual responses to harassment. First, the military is governed by the U.S. Code of Military Justice rather than by the national and state laws which regulate other organizations.⁴ Second, organizational cohesion is very highly valued within the military, thus divulging negative information about a fellow soldier is considered taboo.⁵ Finally, harassment in general is part of the culture of the military, thus sexual harassment is sometimes a subset of general harassment (see for example, Patrow, Patrow 1986; Rogan 1981; Schneider, Schneider 1988; Steihm 1989; Zimmerman 1995). All of these factors may combine to reinforce an organizational climate which is neither open to informal complaints nor a safe place in which to lodge formal complaints.

Much of the published research on sexual harassment is based on case studies, small specialized samples and/or responses to hypothetical scenarios. As a result, it is difficult to assess the generalizability of the findings. Using freedom of information access, data from this very large probability sample are now available, providing an opportunity to confirm and expand upon earlier findings.

Our analysis explores patterns of response to the harassment experiences that had the greatest effect on the respondents to the "1988 DoD Survey of Sex Roles in the Active-Duty Military." We analyze the respondent's perceptions about effectiveness of their responses. Additionally, we report their opinions about the efforts of senior military leadership, and their own immediate supervisor's efforts to "make honest and reasonable efforts to stop sexual harassment in the active-duty military" (DoD 1988).

DATA AND METHODS

The "1988 DoD Survey of Sex Roles in the Active-Duty Military," conducted for the Office of the Secretary of Defense by the Defense Manpower Data Center, provides the data base for this analysis. This was a "worldwide scientific survey of how men and women work together in the four DoD Active-duty Military Services..." (Martindale 1990, 1991). The stated purpose of the survey was to ask about "...observations, opinions and experiences with ALL KINDS of sexual talk and behavior that can occur at work." The instrument emphasized the importance of responses both from those who have not been sexually harassed as well as those who have been harassed. Responses were voluntary, but the instrument indicated that "...maximum participation is encouraged so that data will be complete and representative..." and that the "...information will assist in the formulation of policies which may be needed to improve the working environment." Almost all results comparing differences between men and women are statistically significant due to the large sample size; therefore a comparison of the magnitude of differences in results is the key to interpreting our evidence. As reported in Martindale (1990, 1991) and Firestone and Harris (1994) a stratified random sample of 20,249 respondents was drawn for the survey, representing male and female enlisted personnel and officers in the Army, Navy, Marines, Air Force and Coast Guard. The original sample includes 10,752 males and 9,497 females, illustrating the oversampling of women. Marines and Coast Guard members were also oversampled. A weighting scheme was developed by the original survey team at the Defense Manpower Data Center tied to branch of service, rank, sex and race. The full weights provide estimated numbers of respondents that approximate the total active force at the time of the survey. For the analyses that follow, the full weight was divided by the mean weight, retaining estimates of the approximate total number of cases in the original survey. See Firestone and Harris (1994) for more detail.

RESULTS

The overt official policy context regarding sexual harassment in the military is addressed by measuring two different types of perceptions of the respondents. One set of questions focuses on whether particular persons or organizations make "...honest and

Table 1: Perception of Leadership Efforts to Make Honest and Reasonable Efforts to Stop Sexual Harassment in the Active-Duty Military by Harassment Experience

| | Senior Military Leadership | | | | Immediate Supervisor/Commanding Officer | | | |
|----------------|----------------------------|-----------|-----------|-------|---|-----------|-----------|-------|
| | Never | Env. Only | Ind. Only | Both | Never | Env. Only | Ind. Only | Both |
| | Males | | | | Males | | | |
| Yes | 68.9 | 65.0 | 72.0 | 62.2 | 65.0 | 61.2 | 65.0 | 54.6 |
| No Opinion | 21.6 | 22.1 | 15.6 | 18.9 | 20.7 | 19.4 | 20.5 | 16.7 |
| No | 4.0 | 8.5 | 7.3 | 14.6 | 7.8 | 13.9 | 9.7 | 24.8 |
| Not Applicable | 5.5 | 4.4 | 5.1 | 4.3 | 6.7 | 5.5 | 4.7 | 3.9 |
| Col.% | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| N | 13235 | 1293 | 536 | 1138 | 13166 | 1305 | 528 | 2210 |
| Row% | 75.3 | 7.4 | 3.0 | 12.7 | 75.3 | 7.5 | 3.0 | 12.6 |
| | Females | | | | Females | | | |
| Yes | 61.4 | 59.5 | 57.7 | 52.0 | 68.0 | 66.9 | 69.4 | 55.0 |
| No Opinion | 28.5 | 26.9 | 31.1 | 29.1 | 20.8 | 18.5 | 16.7 | 19.9 |
| No | 3.2 | 8.3 | 7.9 | 14.6 | 6.2 | 11.8 | 11.1 | 23.5 |
| Not Applicable | 7.0 | 5.3 | 3.3 | 4.3 | 5.0 | 2.8 | 2.8 | 1.6 |
| Col.% | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| N | 441 | 315 | 87 | 1163 | 442 | 315 | 86 | 1168 |
| Row% | 21.8 | 15.5 | 4.3 | 57.5 | 21.8 | 15.5 | 4.2 | 57.5 |

reasonable efforts to stop sexual harassment in the active duty military, regardless of what is said officially." Another question measures perceptions about the "...attitude toward sexual harassment of the commanding officer at your base/post." Additionally, respondents are classified on whether they report having been ever sexually harassed while in the active duty military and, if so, on the nature of the harassment. As developed in Firestone and Harris (1994), harassment is classified into two major types: environmental (sexual teasing, jokes; suggestive looks, gestures; sexual whistles, calls, hoots) and individual (actual or attempted rape; pressure for favors, dates; sexual touching, cornering; phone calls, letters). Here these concepts are further refined to identify four distinct categories of experience: those never sexually harassed, those experiencing environmental harassment only, those experiencing individual harassment only, and those experiencing both forms.

Table 1 provides data on the perceptions of "honest and reasonable" efforts on the part of the Senior Military Leadership and the Immediate Supervisor/Commanding Officer by type of harassment experience separately for males and females. Note first the overall row percentages that establish the extent of self-reported sexual harassment. Only about 22 percent of the females report that they have never been sexually harassed while in the

active duty military, while three fourths of the males indicate that they have never been harassed. Nearly 58 percent of the women and nearly 13 percent of the men report both environmental and individual harassment experiences. Reporting environmental only or individual only occurs, but less frequently. As established in Firestone and Harris (1994), individual harassment is only rarely reported in situations where no environmental harassment is portrayed.

Overall, a majority of men and women in all categories indicate "yes" they believe that honest and reasonable efforts are made to stop sexual harassment. Interestingly, males are slightly more likely to have a positive sense of the senior military leadership than their immediate supervisors, while the opposite is true for the women. Comparing the responses about immediate supervisors to those about senior military leadership, the women are more likely to say both "yes" and "no," with substantially fewer expressing no opinion. Type of harassment experience makes a difference in respondent assessment only in the situation where both environmental and individual harassment are reported. In that case, both males and females report a less favorable perception of the efforts of both administrative levels. It is noteworthy that nearly one quarter of both males and females who report both types of harassment say "no" they do not

Table 2: Attitude Toward Sexual Harassment of the Commanding Officer at Your Base/Post Harassment

| | Males | | | | | Females | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------|-----------|-----------|------|-------|---------|-----------|-----------|------|-------|
| | Never | Env. Only | Ind. Only | Both | Total | Never | Env. Only | Ind. Only | Both | Total |
| Actively discourages | 39.2 | 30.4 | 35.8 | 31.5 | 37.4 | 36.9 | 31.0 | 33.8 | 24.4 | 28.6 |
| Spoken against & wants it stopped | 19.3 | 25.2 | 19.3 | 20.7 | 19.8 | 15.1 | 24.1 | 18.1 | 20.9 | 20.0 |
| Not spoken against wants it stopped | 5.7 | 5.8 | 6.7 | 5.9 | 5.8 | 3.8 | 6.8 | 4.3 | 6.1 | 5.6 |
| Spoken against but doesn't care | 1.7 | 2.1 | 0.7 | 5.8 | 2.2 | 1.7 | 3.0 | 3.7 | 6.4 | 4.8 |
| Seems uninformed | 1.7 | 1.0 | 5.8 | 3.5 | 1.9 | 0.4 | 1.6 | 0.7 | 2.4 | 1.8 |
| Seems to condone | 1.8 | 0.7 | 1.1 | 2.9 | 1.9 | 2.6 | 1.4 | 1.7 | 2.1 | 2.1 |
| Not spoken against & doesn't care | 1.1 | 2.7 | 3.2 | 4.9 | 1.8 | 1.2 | 2.1 | 1.6 | 4.5 | 3.3 |
| Seems to encourage | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.5 | 0.2 | 0.4 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.5 | 0.4 |
| Attitude unknown/CO is new | 29.5 | 31.7 | 27.4 | 24.3 | 29.0 | 37.8 | 29.9 | 35.8 | 32.6 | 33.4 |

believe honest and reasonable efforts are made to stop sexual harassment by the immediate supervisor/commanding officer. This could reflect failure in the effectiveness of implementing current policies, including failure to communicate effectively about existing policies/procedures and failure to make it clear that charges will be taken seriously. In this situation, those experiencing harassment may be unwilling to respond through official channels.

Table 2 presents results of the respondent's assessment of the attitude of the commanding officer. Overall, only 37 percent of the men and 29 percent of the women think that the commanding officer "very actively discourages sexual harassment." Another twenty percent of both men and women indicate that the commanding officer "has spoken out against it and does seem to want it stopped." This means that well over forty percent of the men and over fifty percent of the women are not aware of any overt action by the commanding officer to stop sexual harassment. Interestingly again, those reporting harassment experiences are only a little less likely to think the commanding officer wants to prevent the behavior. This suggests that, in the aggregate, both those never harassed and those reporting some form of harassment have similar perceptions about commanding officers. Such perceptions clearly could shape the pattern of individual responses to their own sexual harassment experiences.

Table 3 presents results on behavioral responses to the "one experience that had the greatest effect on you" in terms of uninvited and unwanted sexual attention within the last twelve months, and the perceived effect of the action. Most immediately noteworthy is the

small proportion of both men and women who reported the behavior to an official — 11 percent and 23 percent respectively. Of these, only 51 percent of the women and 45 percent of the men thought this action made things better. Over one out of five men who reported to an official actually thought this made things worse, while 14 percent of the women thought it made things worse.

The predominant responses for both men and women, though not in exactly the same rank order, include ignoring the behavior, avoiding the person, telling the person to stop, and making a joke of the incident. Obviously, there might be several patterns of responses to the same incident over a period of time. It is clear that most men and women employed individual level responses and, in most cases, a substantial majority did not think that their responses made things better.

Interestingly, the category "I did something else (Specify:)" also ranked among the next most frequently used responses, and this response is the one that has the highest percentages of both males and females reporting that it made things better. Apparently these unidentified mechanisms provide the most effective means of managing a situation in which a formal response may be too costly. Unfortunately, none of the open-ended qualitative data from the survey are available to determine the nature of these alternative, but effective responses.

CONCLUSION

Our results are consistent with previous research in finding that only a small proportion of individuals experiencing sexual harassment respond through official channels. To cope with their harassment experience, both men

Table 3: Effect of Individual Responses
Percent Ever Used

| | Percent Ever Used | | Result if Used | | | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------|--------|----------------|--------|---------------|--------|--------|--------|
| | Male | Female | Worse | | No Difference | | Better | |
| | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| Ignored Behavior | 64.8 | 69.7 | 11.7 | 16.2 | 63.9 | 66.3 | 24.4 | 17.5 |
| Avoided Person | 50.5 | 66.2 | 8.9 | 10.7 | 54.7 | 59.3 | 36.4 | 30.0 |
| Told Person to Stop | 48.1 | 69.3 | 10.9 | 11.0 | 40.6 | 50.2 | 48.5 | 38.8 |
| Threatened/Told Others | 21.5 | 38.5 | 12.9 | 15.6 | 48.3 | 45.6 | 38.8 | 38.9 |
| Reported to Official | 11.4 | 22.6 | 21.0 | 13.8 | 34.3 | 35.6 | 44.7 | 50.6 |
| Made a Joke of It | 64.9 | 47.6 | 18.9 | 26.6 | 56.9 | 51.4 | 24.2 | 22.0 |
| Went Along With Behavior | 27.4 | 12.4 | 28.8 | 36.1 | 53.1 | 50.2 | 18.2 | 13.9 |
| Trans/Disc/Poor Report | 5.6 | 5.0 | 18.3 | 15.1 | 40.7 | 26.1 | 41.0 | 58.7 |
| Asked Other to Speak | 17.8 | 31.6 | 20.2 | 11.5 | 47.8 | 35.1 | 32.1 | 53.5 |
| Threatened Harasser | 12.8 | 9.8 | 18.9 | 14.1 | 28.4 | 39.3 | 52.8 | 46.7 |
| Did Something Else | 24.0 | 40.0 | 3.5 | 7.4 | 28.5 | 18.8 | 68.0 | 73.8 |

and women were most likely to use individual, informal strategies such as ignoring the behavior, making a joke of the incident, or telling the harasser to stop. Of the responses employed most frequently, ignoring the behavior or making a joke of it were least likely to be perceived as making the situation better.

While few of those in our sample who were harassed reported the behavior to an official, of those who did about 50 percent of the women and 45 percent of the men thought it made things better. It seems unusual that such an infrequently used response has among the highest levels of reported effectiveness. Perhaps the individuals who use official channels are either more familiar with the organizational procedures for dealing with harassment incidents, or more likely to perceive the organizational climate as actively discouraging sexual harassment. In either circumstance they may be more likely to find the situations resolved to their satisfaction.

The decision to report harassment through official channels may, of course, be a costly one. The cost may be particularly high in the military where complaints about sexual harassment, whether formal or informal, may be viewed both officially and unofficially as disrupting cohesion and a sign that the individual complaining does not "fit" into the organization. Such perceptions would have negative consequences for an individual's job rating and ultimately on that person's career.

Even attempts to deal with the problem outside the formal channels may appear a rejection of the masculine culture of the military. Thus, the large proportion of respondents who say they "did something else" may reflect

attempts to find mechanisms which are both effective and less likely than formal responses to hold negative consequences for the individual experiencing the sexual harassment. While we cannot know the nature of these other responses, their prevalence and reported effectiveness clearly call for further research.⁶

The small numbers of those reporting harassment who use official channels to seek help suggests the lack of clear understandings about policies and procedures, or a lack of trust in them. In either case, the result may be part of a vicious cycle: the unwillingness of those reporting harassment to use official channels could aggravate enforcement problems, which could in turn reinforce underreporting of incidences. The evidence portrayed here clearly indicates that two types of initiatives are required. One line of effort should be directed to actions that would lower the actual incidence of sexual harassment. This would include strong public statements regarding existing policies and enforcement strategies, as well as educational programs designed to increase understanding of what constitutes harassment. The other line of effort should be directed to providing effective options to redress the sexual harassment incidents that continue to occur. At a minimum, this must include safe reporting channels outside of the normal chain of command and protecting the complainant in her or his usual job assignment. The tendency to "blame the victim" must be overcome before those experiencing harassment will operate through official channels.

END NOTES

- ¹ Most organizations use the U.S. Office of Personnel Management policy statement as the model for defining sexual harassment. The original statement defined sexual harassment as "deliberate or repeated unsolicited verbal comments, gestures, or physical contact of a sexual nature which are unwelcome" (reported in U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board 1988). In 1980 the initial definition was expanded to include any conduct of a sexual nature which created "an intimidating, hostile, or offensive working environment" (reported in U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board 1988).
- ² The U.S. military offers a good example of this problem. One finding of the Report of the Task Force on Women in the Military (January 1988) included difficulty in assessment of the extent of sexual harassment because each service branch keeps separate statistics and has different policies regarding grievances.
- ³ Note that filing a formal complaint does not necessarily shift the burden of handling the situation to the organization. The process of completing the formal procedures may be so onerous and difficult that the burden is still primarily on the person experiencing harassment.
- ⁴ Of course, sexual harassment is illegal in the military as well as in civilian organizations.
- ⁵ While cohesion is highly valued in the military, it has been used to exclude rather than include women into the organization. Thus, women are accused of intruding on the male bonding which creates strong cohesion among members.
- ⁶ According to Defense Manpower Data Center personnel, the qualitative responses to open-ended questions were "lost."
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CAN WE TALK?: GENDER DIFFERENCES IN DISCLOSURE PATTERNS AND EXPECTATIONS

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ABSTRACT

A review of the literature on communication in relationships suggested that while the differences may be small, women disclose more than men. Recent research suggests that these differences may have been overestimated and may be changing as women's roles change. Data for this study were collected from a total of 360 undergraduates at two universities to assess gender differences in disclosure patterns and expectations of disclosure. Women were significantly more likely to disclose and to expect their partner to disclose more than men. The authors suggest that sex role socialization is still operative in relationship disclosure differences and expectations.

INTRODUCTION

Gender differences in relationships is a major theme in contemporary trade books. Gray (1992) asserts that men are "from Mars" and women are "from Venus" which provides a different basis for understanding each other. Researchers have also focused on differences in communication patterns. Tannen (1990) observed that men and women, in general, focus on different content in their respective conversations. Men tend to focus on activities; women, relationships. To men, talk is information; to women, it is interaction.

A central theme in the literature on gender differences in communication has been disclosure patterns in intimate relationships. Previous research has identified self disclosure as associated with the development of relationships (Parks, Floyd 1996), their stability (Attridge, Berscheid, Simpson 1995) and their satisfaction (Rosenfeld, Bowen 1991). However, as sex roles have changed, researchers have begun to question whether differences in disclosure patterns and disclosure expectations have also changed. Are communication disclosure patterns becoming more similar?

The purpose of this research was to focus specifically on differences in communication patterns in self disclosure and expectations of disclosure between men and women. We have attempted to determine 1) whether there are differences in what men and women disclose to each other, 2) whether there are differences in what men and women expect their partners to disclose to them and 3) whether there is specific content that is more or less likely to be disclosed.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Numerous early studies documented

that females are more disclosing than males (Cozby 1973; Jourard, Lasakow 1958; Rubin, Hill, Peplau, Schetter 1980). Jourard (1971) suggested that sex role socialization provided the theoretical explanation for lower disclosure among males:

The male role requires men to appear tough, objective, striving, achieving, un sentimental and emotionally unexpressive... The male role and the male's self-structure will not allow man to acknowledge or to disclose the entire breadth and depth of his inner experience to himself or to others. Man seems obliged, rather to hide much of his real self—the ongoing low of his spontaneous inner—experience from himself and from others.

Dindia and Allen (1992) reviewed 205 studies involving 23,702 subjects to determine if there was a sex difference in self-disclosure. In general, women were found to disclose more than men. This was particularly true when the same sex disclosure patterns were observed - women disclosed more to other women than men to other men. Women also disclosed more if they had a relationship with the person to whom they were disclosing.

Nevertheless, differences between disclosure patterns of women and men have been small. Pegalis, Shaffer, Bazzini, and Grenier (1995) charged that the proclivities of men for intimate self-disclosure may have been "underestimated" and those for women "overestimated".

Where the differences in disclosure patterns between women and men exist, they are not only explained in terms of male sex role socialization, but female sex role socialization with females displaying a greater interest in relationships. Females disclose slightly more

because they associate closeness with self-disclosure (Parks, Floyd 1996).

But gender roles are changing. Twenge (1995) observed that U.S. college women are becoming more "masculine" in terms of being assertive, action-oriented, and goal-driven than they were twenty years ago. There is a real question as to whether differences observed in the 1970s and 1980s have persisted into the 1990s. *Given the present state of gender roles, we hypothesize that there will be no difference in actual disclosure between men and women.*

Professional literature is also largely non-existent in two other issues explored in this research. First, theoretical discussions from sex role socialization through symbolic interaction always suggest the importance of "expectations" and the "significant other." Yet, while research has investigated who discloses more, it has failed to investigate what men and women expect the significant other to disclose. Do they expect more or less than they themselves disclose? Theoretically, we expect that those who disclose more will expect more disclosure in exchange. However, as there exists no pertinent literature, *we hypothesize that there will be no differences between men and women in terms of the level they expect their relationship partners to disclose.*

Third, while the literature focuses upon the overall level of disclosure, it has neglected the content of that disclosure. This research hopes to add to existing literature by focusing upon specific areas of disclosure. While we would expect more disclosure from innocuous items like grade point average than sensitive items such as homosexual thoughts, whether the disclosure would vary by sex is unknown. We hope to add to existing literature by testing a null hypothesis - *that there is no difference in the content of disclosure or expected disclosure from partners between men and women.*

METHODS

The Data

The data for this study are based on the responses of 268 undergraduates from East Carolina University and 92 from Indiana University Northwest. Questionnaires were handed out in six undergraduate sociology classes in a manner to guarantee confidentiality. East Carolina University is a southern university where the majority of students live on campus, in off-campus housing or in fraternities and

sororities. Indiana University Northwest is an urban commuter campus with no live-in facilities. Since no significant differences in the responses from the two universities emerged, the data were combined.

Respondents (N=360) were predominately white (80%), female (88%), in their first two years of college (64%) and under age twenty (64%). About fifty-nine percent (59%) reported that they were currently involved in a relationship. Of those who were involved, sixty-one percent had been involved for a year or more.

The Questionnaire

The questionnaire was developed to assess general areas where specific disclosure differences might emerge. We included a number of items about the self, the significant other and background factors, as well as specific issues of a sexual and non-sexual nature. Included were two items each about the self (thing most ashamed of and most afraid of) and the significant other (partner's best liked quality and partner's faults). Three items were included to determine disclosure of background factors—grade point average, family secrets such as an alcoholic parent, and previous sexual abuse. Since sexual issues are serious issues to developing relationships, five items were included—homosexual thoughts, previous abortions, having had a sexually transmitted disease, a previous pregnancy, and previous sexual relationships. Lastly, degree of disclosure on non-sexual items included items on previous love relationships - previous engagements, true feelings for the partner and the future desired of the current relationship.

Disclosure on the above sixteen items was assessed by asking students to rate on a ten point scale from zero "no-disclosure-tell nothing" to "full disclosure-tell everything" the degree to which the student had or would disclose information and secondly, the degree to which the respondent expected their partners to disclose that same information.

FINDINGS

Hypothesis one: There is no difference in actual disclosure between men and women.

As indicated in Table 1, in every single instance, women disclosed more than men. Items showing statistically significant differences in disclosure patterns include the following:

Table 1: Mean Difference in Actual Disclosure by Sex of Respondent

| Item | Men (N=114) | | Women (N=243) | | T-value | Sig |
|--|-------------|------|---------------|------|---------|--------|
| | Mean | Rank | Mean | Rank | | |
| Partners Best Liked Quality | 8.7 | 1 | 8.8 | 1 | .08 | .935 |
| True Feelings for Partner | 8.5 | 2 | 8.7 | 2 | .72 | .474 |
| Future Desired of Current Relationship | 7.4 | 3 | 8.4 | 3 | 2.17 | .03* |
| Personal Thing Most Afraid of | 6.8 | 4 | 7.8 | 5 | 2.79 | .006** |
| Previous Sexual Relationship | 6.7 | 5.5 | 7.3 | 6.5 | 1.33 | .184 |
| Previous Love Relationship | 6.7 | 5.5 | 8.0 | 4 | 2.82 | .005** |
| Partners Faults | 6.5 | 7 | 7.3 | 6.5 | 2.32 | .021* |
| Family Secrets, such as Alcoholic Parent | 6.4 | 8 | 7.1 | 8 | 1.39 | .165 |
| Previous Pregnancies | 5.5 | 9 | 6.1 | 9 | 1.15 | .251 |

*p<.05; **p<.01, two-tailed test

Table 2: Mean Differences in Expecting Partner to Disclose by Sex of Respondent

| Item | Men (N=114) | | Women (N=243) | | T-value | Sig |
|--|-------------|------|---------------|------|---------|---------|
| | Mean | Rank | Mean | Rank | | |
| Partners Best Liked Quality | 8.0 | 2.5 | 8.9 | 2.5 | 2.94 | .004** |
| True Feelings for Partner | 8.5 | 1 | 9.1 | 1 | 2.26 | .025* |
| Future Desired of Current Relationship | 8.0 | 2.5 | 8.0 | 2.5 | 2.81 | .006** |
| Personal Thing Most Afraid of | 7.0 | 5 | 7.8 | 4 | 2.36 | .019* |
| Previous Sexual Relationship | 7.1 | 4 | 7.9 | 4 | 1.97 | .049* |
| Previous Love Relationship | 6.6 | 7 | 7.8 | 6 | 3.30 | .001*** |
| Partners Faults | 6.9 | 6 | 7.8 | 6 | 2.47 | .014* |
| Family Secrets, such as Alcoholic Parent | 6.4 | 8 | 7.6 | 8 | 3.35 | .001*** |
| Previous Pregnancies | 3.9 | 9 | 4.5 | 9 | 1.97 | .05* |

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001, two-tailed test

Disclosure of Previous Love Relationship. Women were significantly more likely than men to tell about previous love relationships. On the disclosure continuum described above, the average disclosure was 8.0 for women versus 6.7 for men.

Disclosure about future of relationship. Consistent with the above finding, women, in contrast to men, were more revealing about what they wanted for the future of the relationship with their partners. The means were 8.4 and 7.4 respectively and clearly indicate that women disclose more than men about what they want for the future.

Personal Thing Most Afraid of. The results indicate that women are, again, more likely to be open about their fears than men. The average disclosure was less than the other significant areas, 7.8, but higher than for men who averaged only 6.8.

Disclosure about partner's faults. Women disclosed more to their male partners about what they did not like about them than male partners disclosed to their female partners (7.3 versus 6.5).

Hypothesis Two: There is no difference in expected disclosure from partner between men and women.

Table 2 leads to a rejection of hypothesis two. The results show that women consistently have a higher expectation that their partner will be open with them than men have about what women disclose. Table 2 demonstrates that in every one of the nine items, there is a statistically significant difference between men and women. Women expect their partners to disclose more information about their true feelings (9.1 versus 8.5), best liked quality (8.9; 8.0), future desired of the current relationship (8.9; 8.0), previous sexual relationship (7.9; 7.1), personal thing most afraid of (7.8; 7.0), partner's faults (7.8; 6.9), previous love relationship (7.8; 6.6), family secrets (7.6; 6.4) and previous pregnancies (4.5; 3.9).

Hypothesis Three: No difference in content of disclosure.

Of the sixteen items, nine indicated in Tables 1 and 2 showed statistical significance. No significance was found for disclosure or expected disclosure for grade point average,

personal thing most ashamed of, previous engagements, homosexual thoughts, any previous sexual abuse, previous abortions and have an STD.

The results of Tables 1 and 2 indicate that both men and women follow a similar rank order pattern in the degree of full disclosure. For both men and women they are most likely to disclose the partners best liked quality (Table 1) and expect their partners to disclose their true feelings (Table 2). They are least likely to disclose previous pregnancies (Table 1) and least likely to expect their partners to make such disclosure (Table 2). The results show an underlying pattern of similarities. Based upon this analysis, we must accept hypothesis three. The issues of the self (most afraid of), significant other (best liked quality, partners faults), background (family secrets), sexual (previous sexual relationship, pregnancy) and non-sexual (previous love relationship, true feeling for partner, future desired of current relationship) are all involved in disclosure. Men and women tend to treat the content similarly, with the rank order of disclosure nearly exact.

DISCUSSION

First, in terms of actual disclosure in relationships, the data suggest that women are more likely to report disclosure than men. Previous research has demonstrated that women more than men are focused on relationship issues (Silliman, Schumm 1995) and that they tend to be more realistic about love (Shepard 1993). Expressing what they want for the future of the relationship and expecting that their partners disclose what they desire for the future of the relationship is consistent with a strong relationship focus for women.

The theoretical explanations of sex role socialization in which men are socialized to be tougher, unsentimental and emotionally unexpressive (Jourard 1971) appears correct. Certainly, if such often discussed behavior is declining, these data offer no support. These data provide no evidence to support the views of Twenge (1995), Pegalis et al (1979) and others who suggest sex role disclosure differences might be diminishing or over estimated. These results point to the strong, consistent, and universal disclosure difference between men and women. In each and every issue, women disclosed more. For example, in discussions of "personal thing most afraid of", men do not open up to women, while women

do open up to men.

Our results also fit with the more expressive sex role socialization often suggested for women. The fact that women are more likely to disclose partners faults is consistent with previous research on negative feedback by college students (Knox, Harris in press). A higher level of negative feedback on the part of these undergraduate women may also be related to the frustration they feel in not knowing where the relationship is going.

A comparison of Tables 1 and 2 also reveals that women expect men to disclose more than vice versa. For example, women average 7.9 for expecting men to disclose about previous sexual relationships; men average 7.1

One explanation for women wanting men to disclose previous sexual partners at a higher rate than men want women to disclose is that women have less to hide than men. Women tend to have fewer sexual partners than men. Based on national data, 1.6 percent of adult women in contrast to 4.1 percent of adult men report that they have had "five or more sex partners in the past twelve months" (Michael, Gagnon, Laumann, Kolata 1994).

Similarly, a university study on the number of sexual partners of 346 non-Asian students, four percent of women in contrast to seven percent of men reported predicting that they would have between six and ten sexual partners in the next five years (Meston, Trapnell, Gorzalka 1996). A hidden agenda for women in disclosing information about previous sexual partners may be to elicit disclosure on the part of men to ascertain if they will be as faithful about sexual partners as they (the women) plan to be. Hence, women are willing to expose themselves but they expect, like exchange theorists, such disclosure in return.

CONCLUSION

Our analysis shows strong support for hypothesis one, that women disclose more than men. This supports some prior research. In every single instance women disclosed more than men in relationships. For women, we suggest that disclosure is a defining characteristic of closeness in their relationships. Hence, to have a close relationship means to disclose information (Rubin 1976 and Cancian 1986 for a discussion of how men and women define, talk about, and practice love). The data in this study clearly show that women disclose more to their partners, have higher

expectations that their partners disclose to them than men have disclosure expectations of women.

We were also surprised to find similarities in that although men are less revealing, they follow almost the same pattern of what they are willing to disclose from most to least likely. Further research should consider these similarities which may suggest that in relationships, similar issues are important to both men and women.

Our findings also support the literature on communication patterns between men and women, between men and men, and between women and women (Tannen 1990). Men communicate as a way of expressing "one-upmanship", women talk about feelings, ideas, relationships. Our findings are strengthened by examining the socialization processes for boys and girls, and for men and women. Studies of the homosocial bonding process (Gallmeier 1992), what Brod calls "homosociality" (1987) are useful in understanding the issues of disclosure and non-disclosure for both men and women (Todd, Fisher 1988). "School Talk" among adolescents (Eder, Evans, Parker 1995) confirms the previous literature. Boys talk to boys and acquire their sexual identity through intensive social interaction with the same gender not with the opposite gender. Young girls do the same although their groups are organized more into dyads or triads, whereas boys often congregate, talk, and play in much larger groups, (Adler, Kless, Adler 1992; Lever 1978; Thome 1993; Thome, Luria 1986). Girls also talk about boys by stressing human attributes, "he has a sense of humor," "such pretty eyes," "he's really smart," (Eder et al 1995; Holland, Eisenhart 1990; Simon, Eder, Evans 1992).

These studies and others like them, especially in the social world of sports (Curry 1991; Gallmeier 1992; Schacht 1996), also reveal that young males as well as adult males talk about women in ways that objective, dehumanize, and neutralize. Words are used to strip females of their human attributes, thereby making them non-human or what sociologists call "non-persons" (Curry 1991; Fine 1986, 1987; Gallmeier 1992; Messner, Kimmel 1989; Nelson 1994; Schacht 1996).

Even when boys and men do talk to each other they hesitate to disclose and prefer to engage in "insult contests," (Gallmeier 1982) "joking relationships" (Lyman 1987), "doing the dozens," (MacLeod 1995; Kotlowitz 1991).

Sociologists and anthropologists suggest that men engage in such verbal assaults because it decreases the tension brought on by competition and develops a form of solidarity. Nevertheless, when men often greet each other they readily utilize negative, crude comments or clutch a body part and shout obscenities (Gallmeier 1992; Messner 1992; Nelson 1994). The authors can think of no incident when they have observed or overheard two women greeting each other with the same vulgar salutations.

Finally, in order to understand disclosure differences between men and women further research must focus on the traditional dating and non-traditional dating patterns. The traditional dating pattern is formal (Bailey 1988). Each person has his or her role. The male initiates the date; the female waits to be called. She must appear demure, she can only express her interest indirectly by glances, tone of voice, body language, or playing helpless (Bailey 1988).

On formal traditional dates, both males and females play traditional sex roles. The male decides where to go, pays for the date, opens doors, is a gentleman. He talks about himself but withholds personal and intimate information. The dating couple often attend a movie, dance, concert, or sports event. Each dresses up appropriately for societal gender role expectations. The symbolism of the male paying is important, for it signifies the female's economic dependence on the male, which allows him to control the conversation, and serves as anticipatory socialization to traditional marriage (Bailey 1988). If the male pays, he often expects that he will get something in return, usually something sexual. The woman knows it. Depending on her age, she may feel obligated to kiss her date good night, "make out," or have sexual intercourse with him (Eder et al 1995; Moffatt 1989).

The female on a formal date is passive, expects to have her date pay her way, and tries to please the male without truly giving in. In accordance with the traditional female stereotype, she is expected to display less sexual interest than the man and to curtail the sexual advances of her date (Asmussen, Shehan 1992; Fine 1988). These processes clearly affect disclosure and non-disclosure patterns as well as other communication patterns.

Over the last decade an alternative to the traditional dating pattern has emerged (Eder, Parker 1987; Kessler et al 1985). It is

often referred to as "getting together," or "hanging out," (Eder et al 1995; Adler, Adler 1992) and is represented well by the popular situation comedy, *Friends*. Egalitarian sex roles probably more than any other factor are responsible for this emerging pattern. Getting together is based on mutuality and sharing. Equality is an important value, and to symbolize equality, each person pays his or her own way. Since each pays, the feelings of obligation that accompany one person spending money are absent. A man does not expect the woman to kiss him or go to bed with him in exchange for his showing her a good time. The woman does not feel that she owes the man anything. They go out together as equals.

Traditional sex roles are deemphasized in the getting-together pattern of dating. The woman may call up the man rather than wait for his call. Because there is less emphasis on traditional sex roles, masks that hide the real person are discouraged. Honesty and intimacy are highly valued and self-disclosure is considered an important quality for men and women (Eder, Parker 1987; Franklin 1988; Kinney 1993).

Instead of being centered around an event, getting together emphasizes spontaneity. Males and females do not necessarily get together as couples, but often meet in groups (Adler, Kessler, Adler 1992; Eder et al 1995; Moffatt 1989). Sexuality is moved from the realm of an exchange of favors to mutual involvement and satisfaction. Individual feelings are important. Expressing one's innermost thoughts, goals, trepidations, and aspirations are encouraged regardless of one's gender. Sexual involvement, intimacy, personal relationships reflect true feelings and desires rather than the need to prove oneself or pay a debt. Friendship, respect, communication, and common interests serve as the basis for decisions about whether to become intimate, sexually involved, or coupled.

What is needed is research focusing on this different form of mate selection. A comparison of the traditional dating process with "getting together," or other alternative mate selection processes could provide insight in the differences between disclosure and non-disclosure patterns and expectations between men and women. Such research focusing on these interactive contexts and situations might answer more than the question "Can We Talk," but include the just as important answer to the question "What Can We Talk About?"

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SEXUALITY AND PARAPLEGIA: MYTHS AND MISCONCEPTIONS AMONG COLLEGE STUDENTS

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ABSTRACT

Individuals with disabilities are often seen exclusively in terms of their disabilities, resulting in the perception that they possess limitations in all areas of life. This has led to a myth of nonsexuality for individuals with disabilities. This paper reports an exploratory study of the knowledge college students have of sexuality among individuals with spinal cord injuries. Over 120 students at a small southwestern university participated in an in-class exercise in which a male and female student volunteered, alternately, to sit in a wheelchair and portray an individual with a serious spinal cord injury. Students wrote two papers, anonymously, on what the issues would be if the disabled male, and then the disabled female, were establishing an intimate relationship with the able-bodied person standing next to him or her. The student responses were then analyzed for recurrent themes, stereotypes, and attitudes concerning sexuality. Results indicate that students consistently believe that sex would be a major problem, or that sex would be impossible, for a couple in which one partner had a physical disability. Other issues inextricably linked with being disabled were also prominent themes (stigma, pity, relationship and childbearing problems). Stereotypical gender roles and norms were also promoted, especially in the realm of sexuality. Responses evidenced an overwhelming concern for the male's sexual enjoyment.

INTRODUCTION

Sexual expression is a crucial aspect of one's identity and self-concept. Yet, in the last three or four decades the sexuality of individuals with disabilities has witnessed fewer shifts in attitudes than has the sexuality of other groups such as women, the aged, and homosexuals. According to Knight (1989) we have made great strides since the 1970s in eroding the myths concerning the sexuality of individuals with disabilities. While this may have occurred for those individuals possessing a physical disability as well as for those professionals and health officials caring for them, our findings suggest that myths and stereotypes are thriving within the college environment and thus we argue most likely within the society at large.

The most recent comprehensive survey on sexual behavior, conducted at the University of Chicago and led by Edward Laumann, John Gagnon, Robert Michael and Stuart Michaels (1994), ignored the sexual behavior of individuals with disabilities. This denial or oversight is most surprising given the explicit theoretical premise guiding this study of the "social organization of sexuality" (Laumann et al 1994). The major theoretical premise of the Chicago study is that culture, the constraints imposed by culture, and one's interaction with others determines or affects one's sexual behavior.

In the United States, individuals with disabilities number somewhere between 35 and 43 million, depending on what disabilities are included (Shapiro 1993). To exclude such a large group from a major national scientific research project might be evidence enough

that our society does not quite see individuals with physical disabilities as sexual beings. In fact, this oversight lends further support to Goffman's (1963) contention, that we see individuals who possess a physical disability stigma as not quite human. This oversight becomes more apparent when one acknowledges that sexuality permeates everything we are as human beings. In other words, it is crucial to one's self-concept and self-esteem. Further, it might be argued that the myth of nonsexuality for individuals with disabilities is part of the larger purview of a general stigmatization for these individuals (Longmore 1985). Much of the literature suggests that belonging to a stigmatized group leads to strained interaction, misunderstanding, discrimination and negative responses from others (Davis 1961; Elliott, Ziegler, Altman, Scott 1982; Jones, Farina, Hastorf, Markus, Miller, Scott 1984; Makas 1988). Indeed, to deny the sexuality of individuals with disabilities is itself discriminating and evidence of misunderstanding.

However, to say that our society has totally denied the sexuality of individuals with disabilities is somewhat misleading. Literature and films are available regarding sexual issues for individuals with disabilities, but there is some question as to the extent or consistency of that which is provided to these individuals, especially to those who acquire a disability through trauma. For example, one 26-year-old male quadriplegic who participated in an earlier research project on disability indicated that his sexual counseling consisted of a ten minute presentation by a female nurse and a bound handout containing diagrams of stick figures in wheelchairs (Ifcic

1991). Furthermore, if knowledge is not presented in a systematic manner through education, it does little good for the individual with the disability to know that he or she is sexual if others do not know.

This paper reports an exploratory study of the knowledge college students have of sexuality among individuals with spinal cord injuries. Spinal cord injury was chosen as a means to emphasize a high-cost disability that makes disability visually explicit because it places the individual in a wheelchair. In addition, "Spinal cord injury is a low-incidence but high-cost disability that imposes tremendous changes on a person's lifestyle" (Trieschmann 1989). This research emphasizes the stereotypes and assumptions held as well as their implications. Also discussed are the benefits of incorporating a scholarly understanding of the sexuality of individuals with physical disabilities into the classroom, as well as into the larger culture.

METHODOLOGY

Over 120 students in a human sexuality class at a small southwestern university participated in this study in the fall of 1994. The sex composition of the class was two-thirds female and one-third male. We devised an in-class exercise in which a male and female student volunteered, alternately, to sit in a wheelchair and portray an individual with a serious spinal cord injury. The students were told that the person in the wheelchair had no feeling below the chest, but no other information was given. The exercise occurred early in the semester prior to any discussion of disability and sexuality.

We asked students to write two papers, anonymously, on what the issues would be if the disabled male, and then the disabled female, were establishing an intimate relationship with the able-bodied person standing next to him or her. The responses were then analyzed for recurrent themes, stereotypes, and attitudes concerning sexuality.

There were 117 usable responses of which 74 were from females and 43 were from males. Three prominent themes became apparent almost immediately from the data. Two other themes emerged with less frequency, but still merit comment. The following sections discuss the themes in context of whether the male or female is disabled.

DISABLED MALE WITH NONDISABLED FEMALE PARTNER

Sex as a Major Problem

According to McKown (1986) the belief that individuals with disabilities are asexual is a common myth. It is perpetuated by the generalization that having a physical disability permeates all aspects of one's life and that all other areas of the individual's life also have limitations. The students' papers strongly reflected this myth of asexuality.

We were not surprised, since this was a sexuality class, that issues of sexuality were mentioned the most frequently even though we did not specifically mention sex in our instructions. Most informants mentioned sex, but more importantly viewed sex as a problem for the two. Sixty-four of 74 females and 37 of 43 males mentioned sex as a problem. The following is representative of the comments suggesting sex would be problematic:

If he has no physical feelings in his lower body, will he be able to participate and/or enjoy sexual activity? (32 year-old female)

She may feel kinda sad about a lack of intimacy although they can still hold each other, kiss, snuggle, and so on. (19 year-old female)

They probably would have trouble with the sexual part of the relationship and eventually the strain might break them apart. (21 year-old male)

Will she feel inadequate because she can't make him feel anything. Is their relationship strong enough to withstand a potentially limited sex life? (32 year-old female)

While a number of informants made similar comments, many of them simply wrote, "sexual problems." They tended to use negative terms such as dysfunctional sex, incomplete sex, lack of satisfaction for the woman, lack of sexual capability, and even a comment from some that a sexual relationship would be impossible.

This is indicative of a narrow definition of sexual behavior and fulfillment. It also reflects lack of knowledge concerning alternatives in the spectrum of sexual activity and pleasure.

Very few males or females spoke positively to the issue of exploring or experimenting with alternatives to penile-vaginal sex. The feelings of those few are conveyed by the following statement:

Sex will definitely be an issue, if the relationship progressed to a more serious level. There are many ways to have a healthy sexual relationship within their means. It's just an issue of their comfort with each other and themselves as they are. (19 year-old female)

Unfortunately this level of understanding was quite rare.

Issues of Stigma

The stigma of possessing a disability was reflected in many of the students responses. This response was more prevalent for females than for males as 30 of 74 females included comments related to the stigma of disability and only 8 of 43 males mentioned such issues. The issue of prejudice toward disabilities emerged in a Goffman-esque way with comments such as "What would people think?" (particularly friends and family). Some took the broadest approach and asked, "How will society react?" The following are representative comments:

Probably both will be discriminated against... society might treat them bad. (20 year-old female)

They may take flack from society why would a pretty young girl want to date someone in a wheelchair? (19 year-old female)

Comments from males tended also to focus on societal discrimination:

The couple should expect ridicule and lack of support from the community...and would probably spend a lot of time focusing on the concerns of others. (33 year-old male)

Males also mentioned the issue of the reaction of friends and family, and commented on the frustration that the couple would probably feel. As one stated:

What would normally be seen to be dating like holding hands and hugging would be different and not normal. (21 year-old male)

Interestingly, although seventeen percent of the sample had a friend or family member with a physical disability, they had the same percentage and type of responses as those who did not have a friend or family member with a physical disability. Thus, we find

evidence to support other research indicating that even though the potential exists to overcome stereotypes, anxieties, and false perceptions toward those we know on a personal, or intimate basis, this does not necessarily generalize to others in the same situation (Desforges, Lord, Ramsey, Mason, Van Leeuwen, West 1991; Wilder 1984). Thus, our findings provide evidence that intimate or close contact with an individual possessing a disability may not reduce the stereotype of non-sexuality for others. The stereotype of non-sexuality for individuals with disabilities is pervasive within society and is resistant to change.

Having Children

Another emerging theme focused on the issue of having children. More females (37%, 28 of 74 females) than males (30%, 13 of 43 males) discussed the question of having children or mentioned it as a problem. Many simply listed children as a issue without elaborating further. Others raised questions:

Would they be able to have children should they become more serious, and would she want to adopt or try an alternate method of having kids if he cannot have kids? (21 year-old female)

Another female questioned whether the male with a disability would be able to help care for children were they to become a reality.

One 41-year-old male combined not only the issue of childbearing, but also stigma when he wrote:

There would be the stress of childbearing and the image of a disabled father with which to contend.

Relationship as a Whole

As might be expected, there were many comments on the nature of the relationship itself. These responses are separate from the other responses as these go beyond sex and children to encompass the entire relationship. For example, one 19-year-old female indicated that "his handicap might have an overbearing effect and could cause great stress for the relationship." Other quotes indicative of relationship concerns are the following statements:

...What all would you have to give up if your relationship turned serious? (32 year-old female)

His ability to be an equal partner in the relationship if it develops. (40 year-old male)

The following quote is indicative of the larger issue pertaining to feeling trapped in the relationship because of the handicap present in the partner. As one 20-year-old female commented:

She could feel pressured into the relationship feeling that if she rejects him it will hurt him so bad he will no longer want to be her friend.

He might become dependent on her help and then if they have troubles in the relationship, she might feel guilty or sad to leave him alone. She starts to think that she is all he has. (19 year-old male)

It is apparent that this disability is such a strong master status that it literally colors every aspect of the couples relationship. Often students mentioned the issue of felt obligation resulting from the disability. One student summed up this issue in the following way:

She may feel guilty if she gets angry at him because of his handicap and if it didn't work out she would feel obligated to stay in the relationship anyway. (26 year-old female)

The Theme of Pity

As mentioned above, some students fear that a woman may get into a relationship and then feel trapped in that relationship. This issue is inextricably bound up in feelings of pity and obligation. These are powerful forces which often will unite and lead to the initiation of a relationship. However, because of the constancy and the unchanging nature of the disability itself, the woman becomes bound to the relationship. Therefore the question emerges as to whether she is feeling obligated because of his dependency or pity for his disability. These issues are evident in the following statements:

Does she really love him or does she just feel sorry for him? (26 year-old female respondent)

She might take pity on him, feeling as if he needs someone to help him...she wants to fix all of his problems. (19 year-old female)

He's basically helpless and dependent on others. (21 year-old male)

Will he feel like she only accepted the date to be nice or does she really care about him and will accept him for what he really is? (23 year-old male)

Also, he may be concerned with how she feels about his disability wanting her to care for him without pity. (37 year-old female)

DISABLED FEMALE WITH NONDISABLED MALE PARTNER

Of the 117 respondents, 30 recognized no differences between the couple in which the male was disabled and the couple in which the female was disabled. Of the 30, thirteen were male and seventeen were female. Most of the 30 simply stated that there were no differences in issues for either situation. An additional eleven (six females and five males) stated that the issues were essentially the same, but then provided some important qualifying statements. For example, several noted that the issues would be the same in both situations except that the nondisabled male might need other sexual outlets.

Sex as a Major Problem

As in the former situation (male disabled), sex was often considered problematic. Thirty-seven of 74 females and 26 of 43 males mentioned sex as problematic. Although these numbers indicate less concern for, or view of, sex as problematic for the female in the disabled condition, this is somewhat misleading as problems of sexuality in this situation reveal more gender-based stereotypes. First, whether the individual with a disability was male or female, the focus remains primarily on the issues of male sexuality. That is, in the male-disabled condition, issues of problematic sex, although sometimes recognizing a lack of satisfaction for the female, overwhelmingly addressed concerns for the male's ability to perform and to "enjoy" sexual activity. In the female disabled situation only four respondents indicated a concern for the female's "enjoyment" of sex. The focus on male sexuality continued to emphasize concern for the male's sexuality in two ways. First, there remains concern for the male's enjoyment of sex, or lack thereof, with a clear emphasis on the disabled female's inability to satisfy her man.

If sex does come up, she might do it to please him even though she can't feel anything. She

might be apprehensive to tell him she can't feel so as not to make him feel bad if they do have sex. Anyway, she could always fake it so as not to let him find out. (23 year-old male)

Another 22 year-old male suggested that the male's sexual enjoyment would be hindered due to the disabled female's condition. He merely wrote "Dead Sex. (No Movement)." Another 20 year-old male stated "She will always wonder if she makes him happy." Another 41 year-old female recognized the disabled female's feelings, but from the perspective of how this affects the man's enjoyment: "Feelings of not being as feminine sexually unresponsive (man must have his sex)."

Second, the following comments are indicative of the focus on the male's sexuality. They address his questionable sexual attraction to a female with a disability:

She may fear he will not be sexually attracted to her due to her disability. (37 year-old female)

Possible aversion of male to sex with paraplegic. (33 year-old male)

So prominent is the issue of a lack of sexual fulfillment for the male with a female partner who has a disability that many respondents, both male and female, concluded that the able-bodied male would be less likely to be faithful and would need other sexual outlets:

He may be more likely to become frustrated with her, a man may be more likely to cheat on her. (20 year-old female)

Will she be able to cope if he needs and/or seeks alternative sexual partners? (32 year-old female)

Several just stated that the man would be "less likely to be faithful" to a woman who is disabled. These statements are significant when one considers that this was mentioned only once as a probability or option for the female in the disabled condition.

As before, we found that many respondents either questioned the possibility of sex or assumed that it would undoubtedly be impossible:

...He would have trouble dealing with the fact that it could only be a nonphysical relationship.

(21 year-old male)

He must resign to no sex life if they marry. (46 year-old female)

Lack of physical contact. (24 year-old female)

Issues of Stigma

Stigma was again the most common theme after sexuality. Eleven males mentioned stigma while 27 females mentioned it, reflecting proportions quite similar to those in the previous scenario. Concerns ranged across the spectrum from societal stigma to stigma from family and friends. Comments concerning societal reaction included the following:

Society would seem to say that the female is undesirable like a widow or a single woman... even probably if the woman was very attractive. Terrible, but seemingly true. (21 year-old male)

The following comments are indicative of those who expressed general concerns from the public:

She might be afraid of the public's acceptance. (25 year-old female)

He (the male) might have a problem with people staring at them. (19 year-old female)

Many comments were made concerning the reaction of family members. For example, one 21 year-old female simply wrote, "major family problem." Another 21 year-old female discussed the problem of "overcoming the stigma from ignorant family members." The general concern here was the potential embarrassment and nonacceptance on the part of family members, which of course does not portend well for the relationship in general.

Some of the more revealing comments came in reference to the imagined reaction of friends and peers:

He might be embarrassed by being seen with her in front of his friends. (24 year old)

The guy may be chastised by his friends for having a disabled girlfriend. (23 year-old)

But guys would make fun of him for dating a girl that was handicapped. They would probably say something like can't you get a real girl? Guys would expect another guy to do better than that.

(20 year-old female)

Having Children

The issue of children remained as important, but no more so, than in the previous section. Twenty-seven females and ten males mentioned children. Typical of their comments were: "can she carry to term and have children?" However, there was a concern on the part of seven females and two males with the ability of the woman to prominently participate in the role of caregiver and rearer of children. This is somewhat mystifying in that men who are not typically socialized as caregivers have little to say on this potential issue. It is possible that the male respondents are not likely to view the disabled woman as a marital partner and future mother.

Relationship as a Whole

A major sex difference was evident in remarks concerning the relationship as a whole. Twenty-one of the females, but only three males mentioned issues in the relationship that did not relate directly to sex or children. Women were obviously more cognizant of potential relationship issues. Typical statements included the following:

Gays are not mature at this age and they are not going to be willing to be tied down with a relationship, let alone with a handicapp(ed) female. (22 year-old female)

Concerns also addressed recreational/social concerns:

Where will they go and what will they do? (21 year-old female)

There were also concerns with the issue of nurturing responsibility. Fourteen females commented specifically on this issue. They tended to use terms such as "caregiver" or "dependency," and they often worried about the inability of the woman to take care of traditional female obligations:

They might end up resenting each other, he'll have to help her out a lot. (20 year-old female)

I don't see him in a caregiver role. Would he think of her as being fragile? (31 year-old female)

He might be too overprotective and treat her like a doll that can't do anything for herself. (19 year-

old female)

The comments from males were not only few in number but few in words.

The Theme of Pity

While the theme of pity was mentioned by nine males and twelve females in the previous scenario involving the disabled male, only five males and five females mentioned pity concerning the disabled female scenario. Clearly the students worried more about the problem of pity and self-pity regarding the male. The implication is that men have a more difficult time with disability and are more likely to be "pitiful," whereas it would be less difficult for the woman to be dependent and confined to a wheelchair. One 26 year-old male student wrote that the disabled female scenario would be "more easily adapted to." A number of the students used the word "burden" more often with the disabled male. Still, there seems to be some ambivalence as to how sympathetic an able-bodied male could be toward a female partner who was disabled:

Women might have more sympathy for a paralyzed man and could understand, but a man may have a hard time dealing with a paralyzed woman. (21 year-old male)

The male (would) feel sorry for her. (26 year-old male)

Will he feel sorry for her? (39 year-old female)

GENDER STEREOTYPING

This research supports most major studies on gender. Gender distinctions, in terms of appropriate role expectations, were so prominent within the data that we believe this topic should be addressed in a separate section.

While it is recognized that gender is a salient status characteristic and as such not only orders society, but is ordered by it, it was surprising to discover the extent to which stereotypical gender roles and norms were promoted. Perhaps naively we thought that disability would be the more prominent issue rather than gender. Instead we found gender to confound the issue of disability.

Responses were most stereotypical and sex biased in the realm of sexuality. As previously discussed, a male partnered to a disabled female was considered likely to seek alternative sexual partners. Only once was this

mentioned as an option for a female partnered to a disabled male. Thus, there is clear evidence of a double standard. The emphasis or prominence of the male's option to seek other partners outside of the relationship is greater evidence of a stereotypical gender bias when one considers that the respondents reasoning for this seems to imply that the male is more in "need" of sex than is the female. Thus, we see bias in two ways: first, sexual promiscuity is an option for the able-bodied male while not typically so for the able-bodied female; second, there is the implication that the male "needs" sex more than the female.

Congruent with the bias that men "need" sex and females do not is, as previously discussed, the gender bias is represented by the salience of a male centered sexuality in the data. That is, there was an overwhelming concern for the male's sexual enjoyment.

Traditional gender stereotypes were apparent in that there was recognition by both males and females of "normal" role expectations for both sexes. The following response is representative of traditional gendered stereotypes:

A woman's and man's feelings are different a woman might have more sympathy for a paralyzed man and could understand, but a man may have a harder time dealing with a paralyzed woman. (21 year-old male)

Traditional stereotypical gender role expectations were expressed as women were regarded as the nurturers and men were regarded in need of nurturance. Thus, many respondents expressed concern that the disabled female would be incapable of fulfilling her role as nurturer:

Will she be able to work or take care of home and children? (21 year-old female)

The [disabled] male would be more temperamental. He needs someone to take care of him. (20 year-old female)

In addition to promoting the sole nurturing ability as embodied by the female, these comments once again support the myth that a physical limitation results in limitations (i.e. the ability to nurture) in all other areas of life (McKown 1986). It seems most problematic that a woman would be considered incapable of being nurturing due to possessing a

physical disability.

Also apparent was that role reversal was a prominent concern for both males and females. This is evident in that it was considered more difficult for the male to be with a disabled female than vice versa because he would have to care for her. One 20 year-old male stated that a problem would be the fact that "He [the able-bodied male] would have to take care of her [the disabled female] all the time." This is a role that is not, in the traditional sense, a normative expectation for males. It is a role that the male is considered ill prepared for, even in contemporary society. While in the first scenario there was recognition that the able-bodied female would have to care for the disabled male, and that it would be difficult, this was often considered problematic as it was thought that the male may find it difficult to be in a dependent position, one in which he could not work to support a family. Thus, the primary concern was often not that the female would have a great deal of responsibility caring for her disabled partner, as being caring and nurturing is considered a gender appropriate role for a female. Thus, we conclude that there is gender stereotyping, evident in a perceived lack of ability to engage in reciprocal role responsibilities.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

These findings have serious implications for individuals with disabilities as well as for the larger society. First, the confounding effects of traditional gender expectations within this study has implications for the status of gender relations within society. Gender inequality is a prevalent issue and one in which much effort has been spent attempting to reach some resolution. We speculate that because respondents probably did not perceive gender to be relevant to this assignment, we were able to tap into strongly held, stereotypical, expectations of gender roles. This reminds us that although gender roles within society may have shifted from the extremes, we are far from permitting a full range of behaviors from males and females that would free them from the inequality produced by traditional gender stereotyping.

Second, these findings have serious implications for the self-concepts of individuals with disabilities. A key theoretical premise of self-concept formation is that self-concept is shaped by the reactions of others in social interaction. That is, one acquires images of

oneself through the treatment received from others. Individuals reflect upon the treatment received from others to discern how others perceive them as well as to discern the value-judgment placed upon them. This in turn results in either a sense of pride or shame for who or what one is (Cooley 1983). The impact upon self-identity of the perceived responses from others has been demonstrated in earlier research. That is, self-concepts have been found to move closer over time to the views held by others (Mannheim 1966). Given this knowledge, the present study's findings suggest a major impact upon identity of the reflected appraisals of nonsexuality from others. Furthermore, should an individual be able to overcome these stereotypes, they may still be hindered by social evaluations to the contrary.

McCall (1987), commenting on the evolution of role-identity theory, recognizes the empirical development in the demonstration of the reciprocity between the self and society. In citing Park (1927), McCall recognizes that one's identity is negotiated, not only with oneself, but also with society:

Often enough it happens that [one] is not fitted to the role which [one] chooses to play. In any case, it is an effort for any of us to maintain the attitudes which we assume; all the more difficult when the world refuses to take us at our own estimates of ourselves.

If social evaluations do not place the individual with a disability in the role of a sexual being, it will be difficult for the individual to acquire the adaptive behavioral expectations of that role. That is, if we assume that individuals with disabilities do not have the same needs for physical affection and sexual expression, we will not likely provide them the opportunity or the social acceptance to realize it.

Moreover, stereotypes of nonsexuality are misinformed on two levels. First, studies show that 72 percent of men who are quadriplegic due to spinal cord injury can have intercourse (Madorsky 1983). Second, if society fails to acknowledge that nonambulatory individuals (those in wheelchairs), who may or may not have the capacity for penile vaginal penetration, are sexual beings with the capacity for physical affection and sexual expression, we are essentially reifying the belief that only penile vaginal penetration is real sex. These attitudes deny that individuals with

disabilities have the same sex-related needs and desires as the nondisabled. That is, they need an intimate relationship with another person; they need the same sexual outlets of expression such as touching, caressing, holding and kissing, the soft-gentle expressions of sexuality and perhaps creative solutions within boundaries of individual limitations. We as a society should recognize a multitude of behaviors as sexual activity and evidence of one's sexuality as a human being. We need to recognize other forms of expression other than focusing on penile-vaginal penetration as the only "real" sex. Moreover, we need to acknowledge that sex can be satisfying without either or both partners reaching orgasm.

Thus, the importance of focusing more classroom discussion of the sexual needs and capabilities of individuals with disabilities can broaden the understanding of what it is to be sexual beings. It should be noted that when human sexuality texts for college courses address sexuality and disability, they do so only in a cursory manner. Furthermore, these texts tend to lump all disabilities together which does little to delineate the various social factors affecting sexual behavior. A much more in depth examination of the breakdown of the wide range of disabilities is necessary. Thus, a more comprehensive study of disability and sexuality would encompass the ways in which sexuality is affected by an acquired or traumatic disability versus a congenital disability, a chronic versus short term disability, a conspicuous versus a nonconspicuous disability.

It is important to recognize that, although society has fought hard for the mainstreaming of individuals with disabilities through the removal of physical barriers, we prevent integration on a social psychological level through the denial of sexuality.

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AUTHOR INDEX, VOLUME 25, 1997: Title listed with first author

| | | | |
|--|-----|--|-----|
| Berry, Bonnie <i>Human and Nonhuman Animal Rights and Oppression: an Evolution towards Equality</i> | 155 | Knox, David with Charles Gallmeier | 219 |
| Bourgeois, Philippe <i>Overachievement in the Underground Economy: The Life Story of a Puerto Rican Stick-Up Artist in East Harlem</i> | 023 | La Beff, Emily E. with Beverly Stiles | 227 |
| Clark, Robert E. with Beverly Stiles | 227 | Lovell, Rick with Carl E. Pope | 117 |
| Coppock, Marjorie L. <i>Bars and Bullfights on the Border</i> | 179 | Mark, Gregory Yee <i>Oakland Chinatown's First Youth Gang: The Suey Sing Boys</i> | 041 |
| Dukes, Richard with Alex Stoll | 075 | Mark, Gregory Yee <i>Double Punishment: Two Chinese American Opium Court Cases</i> | 161 |
| Dukes, Richard with Robert Hughes | 097 | Mata, Alberto with J. Ferreira-Pinto | 109 |
| Elbaz, Gilbert <i>Aids Activism, Communities and Disagreements</i> | 145 | Monti, Daniel J., Jr., <i>On the Relation Between Gangs and Social Organization</i> | 003 |
| Ferreira-Pinto, Joao B. <i>Dangerous Relationships: Effects of Early Exposure to Violence in Women's Lives</i> | 109 | O'Sullivan, Ralph G. <i>Cursillo in Social Movement Literature</i> | 131 |
| Firestone, Juanita M. <i>Organizational Climate, Leadership and Individual Responses to Sexual Harassment in the Active Duty Military</i> | 211 | Page, J. Bryan <i>Vulcans and Jutes: Cuban Fraternities and Their Disappearance</i> | 065 |
| French, Laurence A. <i>A Review of U.S./ Indian Policy: A Unique Chapter in U.S. History</i> | 169 | Pope, Carl E. <i>Gang Prevention and Intervention Strategies of the Boys and Girls Clubs of America</i> | 117 |
| Gallmeier, Charles P. <i>Can We Talk?: Gender Differences in Disclosure Patterns and Expectations</i> | 219 | Ramos, Rebeca L. with J. Ferreira-Pinto | 109 |
| Gibson, Laurin with Charles Gallmeier | 219 | Sanders, William B. <i>Preliminary Test of Theory of Grounded Culture and Gang Delinquency</i> | 059 |
| Gordon, Jacob U. <i>Black Leadership in Gang Movements: Toward New Directions</i> | 051 | Smith, Brian J. <i>Inner-City Youths, Gangs, and School: Conflict and Resistance</i> | 033 |
| Hanrahan <i>Gender and Spousal Violence: A Test of Social Control and Power-Control Theories</i> | 189 | Smith, Christine A. with Alex Stoll | 075 |
| Harris, Richard J. with Juanita M. Firestone | 211 | Stiles, Beverly L. <i>Sexuality and Paraplegia: Myths and Misconceptions Among College Students</i> | 227 |
| Hoffman, Thomas <i>Women in Church Leadership: An Analysis of Religious Beliefs</i> | 137 | Stoll, Alex <i>The Impact of Gangs and Gang Violence on Contemporary Youth: An Assessment of the Problem in Colorado Springs</i> | 075 |
| Hughes, Robert H. <i>The Effects of Gang Membership on Deviance in Two Populations: Secondary School Students and Adolescent Serious Habitual Offenders.</i> | 097 | Waldorf, Dan with Geoffrey Hunt | 009 |
| Hunt, Geoffrey <i>Culture and Ethnic Identity Among Southeast Asian Gang Members</i> | 009 | Weeber, Stan C. <i>Postmodern-Feminist Approaches to the Study of Wife Abuse: A Critical Review</i> | 199 |
| Joe, Karen with Geoffrey Hunt | 009 | Yates, Donald L. <i>Street vs. "Mafia" Gang Pursuit: The Social Racism of Contemporary Criminal Justice Gang Policy</i> | 087 |
| | | Zusman, Marty E. with Charles P. Gallmeier | 219 |

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