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THE RESTRUCTURING OF RETIREMENT IN THE UNITED STATES AS A CONSEQUENCE OF FALLING RATES OF PROFIT

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ABSTRACT

Using data collected from the Census Bureau, the Bureau of Economic Analysis, and the Social Security Administration this paper links declining economic prospects in retirement to the structural dynamics of capitalist production. Because of a tendency toward overproduction and falling rates of profit, the extra economic costs of support for the aged have come under pressure. As a result personal savings have declined, the numbers of persons covered by pensions have fallen, and social security is threatened.

INTRODUCTION

Retirement once a rare phenomenon now is regarded by most Americans as welcome and nearly inevitable. However, as the baby boom cohort enters the retirement years many Americans fear that a secure retirement might be a distant hope. Recent stock market declines coupled with claims about the "insolvency" of the social security system have worked together to make retirement an issue of national concern. In this analysis, I argue that while a generally robust economy over the last 60 years has made retirement possible for many Americans, the tendency toward a falling rate of profit threatens the mechanisms of support older workers use to fund their retirements: savings, pensions, and Social Security. I examine this contention by considering national data concerning profit rates in relation to each of these three mechanisms of retirement funding.

AGING AS PROBLEMATIC

Modern humans are biologically the result of a long evolutionary history driven by natural selection. In their present form, humans are born, live, and die in relatively predictable stages: babies walk by about age one, talk shortly after, and reach puberty at about age fourteen. In recent years this developmental approach to the human life trajectory has been broadened to include discussions of aging - that old age is simply a human developmental stage (Cowgill 1981). But this is too simplistic. Due largely to the economic surplus created by capitalist production, only in relatively recent times have large numbers of people lived into old age. Additionally, from an evolutionary perspective all human developmental stages must be related to natural selection and biological reproduction. This fact points to the biologically problematic nature of aging. As Coleman (1986 44) points out,

> the current thinking on evolutionary development is that there is no 'biological' task for old age-that it is by definition survival beyond the time when the individual has any useful parenting function, and therefore has no natural principles to guide it.

Old age is, then, not a stage of human development but rather a latent consequence of the prolongation of life made possible by economic surplus.

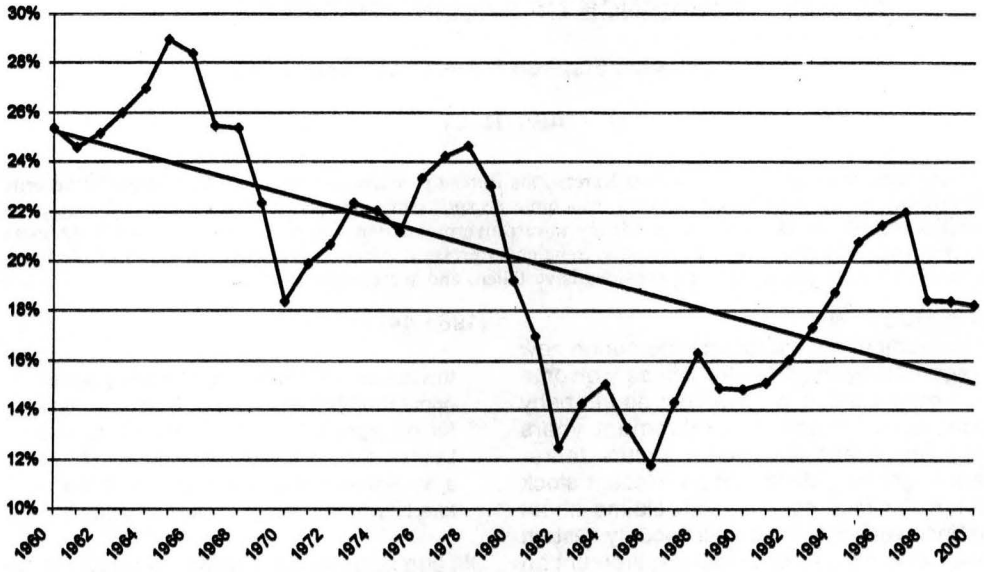
Aging is problematic in an economic sense as well. In much the same way that evolution provides no blueprint for life after the reproductive years, support for older persons in capitalist economies is "extra economic." That is, after a worker's productive years, his/her support lies beyond "market forces." Just as nature has no plan for life after reproduction, "free market" capitalism makes few provisions for the aged. No longer producers, retirees are only valuable to the system as consumers. The money they spend enables the process of capital accumulation. However, as pointed out by Marx (1977), this aspect of capitalism is a contradiction. On one hand, capitalism has a tendency toward overproduction and falling rates of profit which cause downward pressure on wages and benefits. On the other hand, declining benefits for retired workers create a lack of effective demand; retirees simply have less money to spend (Harvey 1982 91).

In the following section we further explore Marx's ideas about this central contradiction of capitalism through an analysis of declining profit rates in the United States.

FALLING RATES OF PROFIT

To date capitalism is a mode of production whose success has no contemporary

Figure 1. Profit in Relation to Total Employee Compensation 1960-2000.



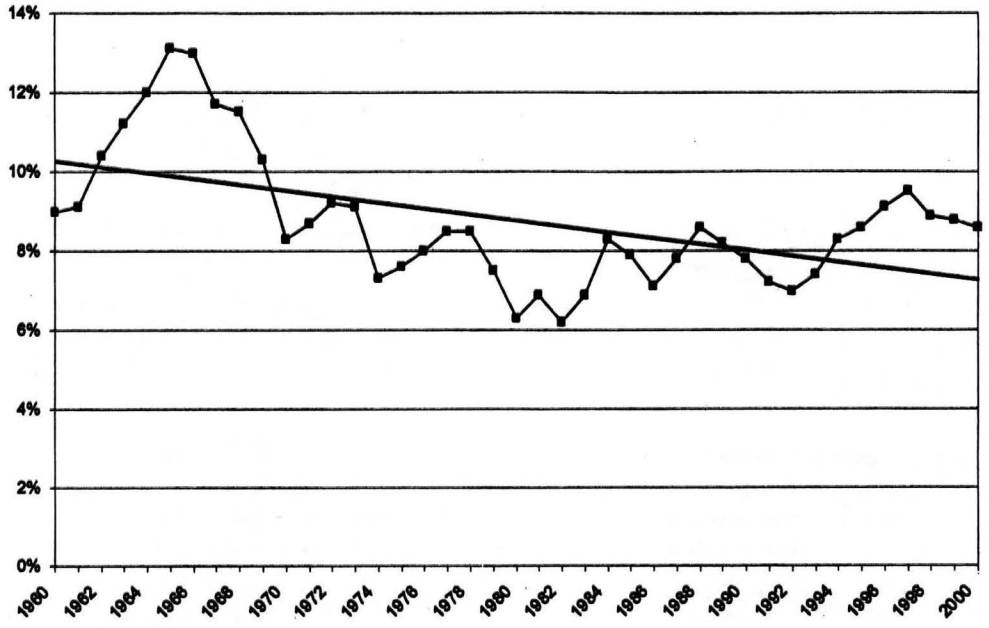
Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis (BEA) 2002

or historical peers (Marx 1977; Marx & Engels 1974). Key to this success is that capitalism is an efficient means to extract value from nature and to turn human labor into a commodity (Marx 1977). Capitalists engage in activities seeking to advantage themselves in a competitive market by investing capital and thus creating surplus (Marx 1970). Much of the technological and social advances in the last 150 years are directly connected to the competition inherent in capitalist production.

Competition, however, has an unintended consequence. As Marx (Colletti 1972; Foster & Szlajfer 1984; Marx 1977) suggests, competition also leads to overproduction, falling prices, and therefore falling profit. For example, if a capitalist entrepreneur manufactures a new and innovative product, investment in constant capital is required in terms of the means to produce the product: machines, infrastructure, etc, but also in terms of labor or variable capital. The rate of profit realized by the capitalist then is a ratio of surplus to capital investment (both constant and variable). Because the entrepreneur in this example is the only manufacturer of this new product the price charged is not responsive to competition. The rate of profit, then, is naturally quite high. However, as the capitalist realizes surplus other capitalists will likely seek to gain a share of the pie. Competition is endemic to any capitalist endeavor. Confronted with competition, manufactures of this new product must reduce price in order to remain competitive in the market. Importantly, as price falls so too does the profit realized by the competing manufacturers. One result of competition is that capitalist producers increase production to maintain or increase gross profit levels; that is, they produce more and more for a smaller and smaller rate of return. In such a competitive environment, gross profits may continue to grow, but the rate of return for capital and labor investment declines. In essence, the system becomes less efficient.

In the face of falling profits capitalists are faced with significant concerns. Reduced profit not only means less revenue but also a diminished ability to reinvest in capital (both constant and variable). In a competitive environment reduced capital investment can only have a negative outcome. That is, as stated earlier, the production of value and profit requires capital. Further, the acquisition of capital requires profit and investment. Clearly, as profits fall the ability to invest in capital does also. In the end, declining profits threaten the very basis of the system it-

Figure 2. Rate of Return on Capital Investment, Domestic Nonfinancial Corporations, 1960-2000.



Source: BEA 2002

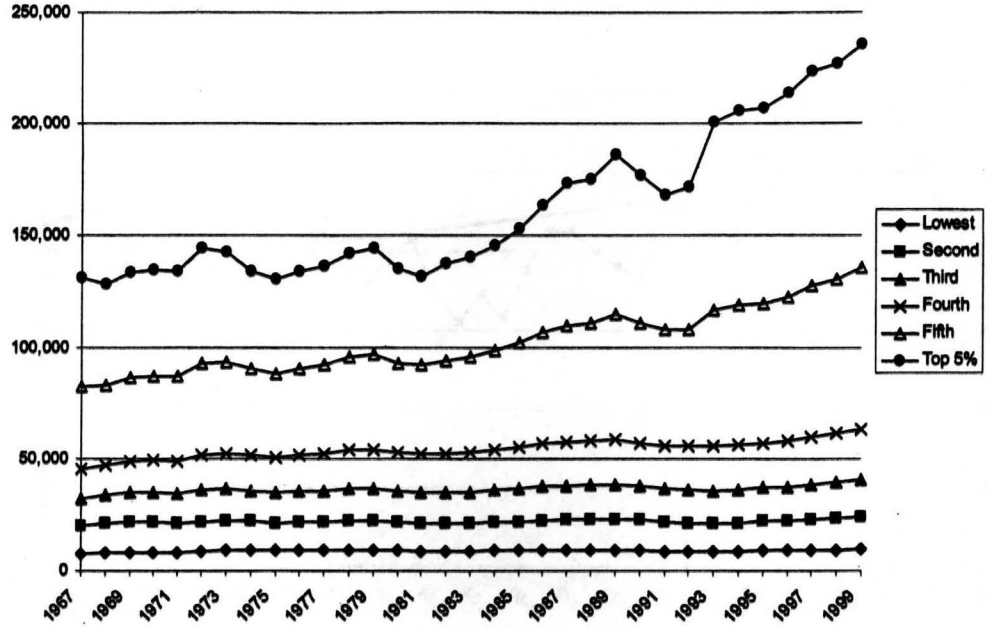
self. For this reason capitalism must grow at all costs.

Figure 1 describes the rate of profit as a ratio to employee compensation in the United States over the last forty years.[1] These data suggest that the rate of profit as a function of wages has tended downward from the period 1960 to 1982, slightly upward from 1983 to 1998 during a period when the "government rule book" was rewritten to favor the rich, and downward thereafter (Barlett & Steele 1992). These findings parallel more sophisticated analyses such as (Appelbaum 1978; Clarke 1990; Dawson & Foster 1994; Hunt 1979). Figure 2 describes profit as a ratio of to capital investment and again demonstrates the same trends. These findings suggest that overall the rate of profit in the United States has indeed taken a downward turn over the last forty years.

The consequences of falling profit for the funding of retirement are profound. In order to reverse falling profit rates capitalists must reduce capital costs. Labor forms the most logical target for these reductions because there are very real limits below which constant capital cannot be reduced. Reductions in constant capital such as rent, materials, and utilities have negative consequences. Take two examples. First, to increase profits in a grocery meat counter the owner substitutes lower quality meat. In the face of competition, the switch to an inferior but cheaper product will have disastrous results. Second, a manufacturer of automobile brake pads passes up the purchase of new machines that would increase productivity on the factory floor. Again, in a competitive environment this choice will disadvantage the owner in the marketplace. For competitive reasons, then, the reduction of constant capital costs has limited potential for addressing the falling rate of profit.

A much more likely measure to address falling profits is a reduction in wage labor costs. These costs include not only wages but also retirement benefits, health insurance, sick leave, and vacation pay. Because retirement benefits are not directly tied to the social reproduction of labor they are truly extra economic. Given this reality it seems a logical assumption that as rates of profit have fallen in the US, economic support for older people should have also declined. Indeed, in the following sections we find support for just this state of affairs. Over the last twenty-

Figure 3. Real Income Growth by Quintile 1967-1999 Including Capital Gains and Minus Transfer Payments.



Source: Census 2001

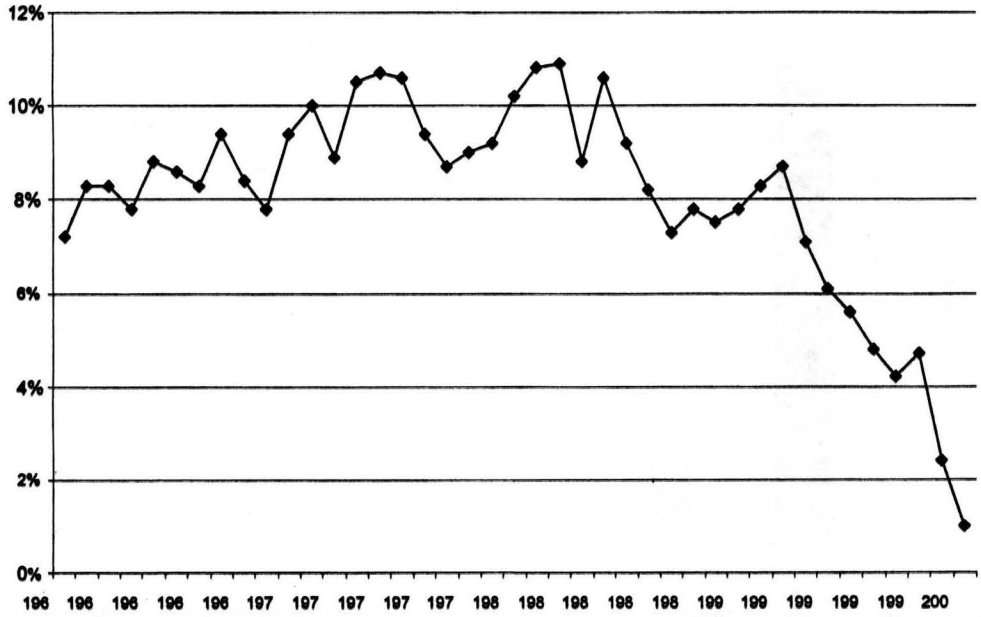
five years, in an intense class struggle, capitalist interests have advantaged their economic position at the expense of retired and retiring workers (Young 1988).

CLASS STRUGGLE IN THE 1980S

As mentioned earlier a close look at Figures 1 and 2 show that in contrast to the general downward trend in profit rates of US corporations over the last 40 years, the period from 1982 to 1998 saw a slight improvement in profitability. This is worthy of discussion. During this period gains in profitability were enabled by a major revision in the government "rule book" which favored the wealthy at the expense of the rest of American society (Barlett & Steele 1992). Beginning in the 1980s, the economic and political system was restructured in ways that shored up flagging profit rates (Dumenil & Levy 2002). A few specific mechanisms implemented for this purpose included: tax cuts for the wealthy, governmental deregulation of large sectors of the economy, deficit spending, antiunion policies, corporate mergers, and the raiding of corporate pension funds (Abramovitz 1992). Together these changes bolstered the profitability of US corporations while disadvantaging the economic interests of many working people. The net result was that during the last twenty years of the 20th century economic inequality grew at a tremendous rate (Collins, Yeskel, & United for a Fair Economy 2000).

It is important to note that economic restructuring and class struggle are paradoxical in nature. This is so for two reasons. In those periods when labor has been effective at promoting higher wages and benefits, the possibility is that these gains will interfere with profitability and capital accumulation thus creating economic stagnation (Harvey 1982 53).[2] On the other hand, when capitalists respond by reducing labor expenditures to restore profits they also naturally reduce the ability of labor to spend money on the goods and services that in the end support the system itself. In the end, both scenarios give rise to internal contradictions that threaten the capitalist system. Restructuring and class struggles, then, are two sources of the economic cycles that characterize capitalist economies. For this reason overproduction, falling profits, and declining compensation

Figure 4. Personal Savings as a Percentage of Disposable Income.



Source: BEA 2002

are dynamic and cyclical in nature.

In the following sections we look at the impact of falling profit rates upon the economic prospects of older Americans. Specifically we address income, savings, pensions, and the social security system.

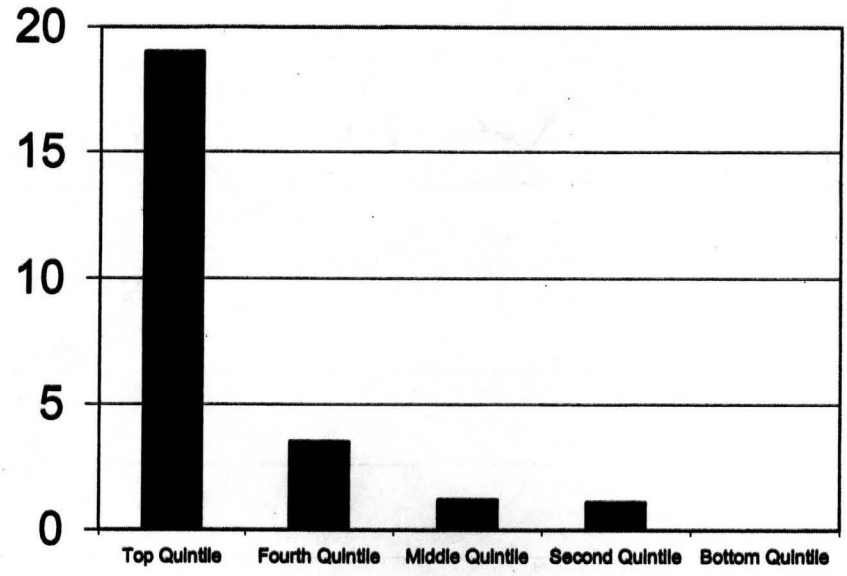
INCOME AND SAVINGS

Over the last forty years it appears that the falling rate of profit has had a substantial impact upon income levels in the United States. As Figure 3 illustrates real, after tax income for most Americans has been stagnant while the rich have seen dramatic increases. Growing inequality is symptomatic of the falling rate of profit. As rates of profit have fallen over the last forty years, attempts to stem the fall have largely involved the "restructuring of work" - a move toward low paying service sector jobs. The result of these changes has been lower or stagnant real wages for the majority of the US population and a windfall for the very rich (Beck 2000; Osterman 1999). Reduced real wages have an important consequence, however. Because of declining and stagnant wages, many Americans have a reduced standard of living. One indicator of this is the national savings rate.

Linked to declining real wages, personal saving is at a near record low in the United States. Figure 4 describes personal savings over the last 35 years. The reasons for the decline in saving are complicated. For example, one reason personal saving has declined in recent years is that American's have invested in the stock market during the record gains of the late 1990's. This type of investment is not commonly calculated as personal savings. Further, historically low interest rates have perhaps encouraged many to forego traditional savings mechanisms.[3] With this in mind, however, declines in saving seem to parallel the falling rate of profit reported in Figures 1 and 2. It is not possible to make a strong causal inference about this relationship yet the evidence is suggestive that falling profit and reduced real wages do impact national savings and therefore the ability of older people to support themselves during retirement.

Before turning our attention to pensions one more point must be emphasized. In regard to declining personal savings rates it is important to note that these data are skewed by income inequality. Those who make the most money naturally have more to save on average than do those who make less money.

Figure 5. Number of Months Current Consumption Can Be Sustained Using Savings.



Source: Edward N. Wolff's calculations, based on data for householders aged 25 to 54 form U.S. Department of Commerce, Survey of Consumer Finances and Consumer Expenditure Survey (Century Foundation 2000)

If savings are to be an important source of retirement income they need to be available to a broad spectrum of working Americans. As Figure 5 points out, however, this is not the case. Most savings are accrued by the wealthy. The annual savings rate reported in Figure 4 is misleading. With exception of the wealthiest Americans most Americans currently do not have the ability to save large sums of money for retirement.

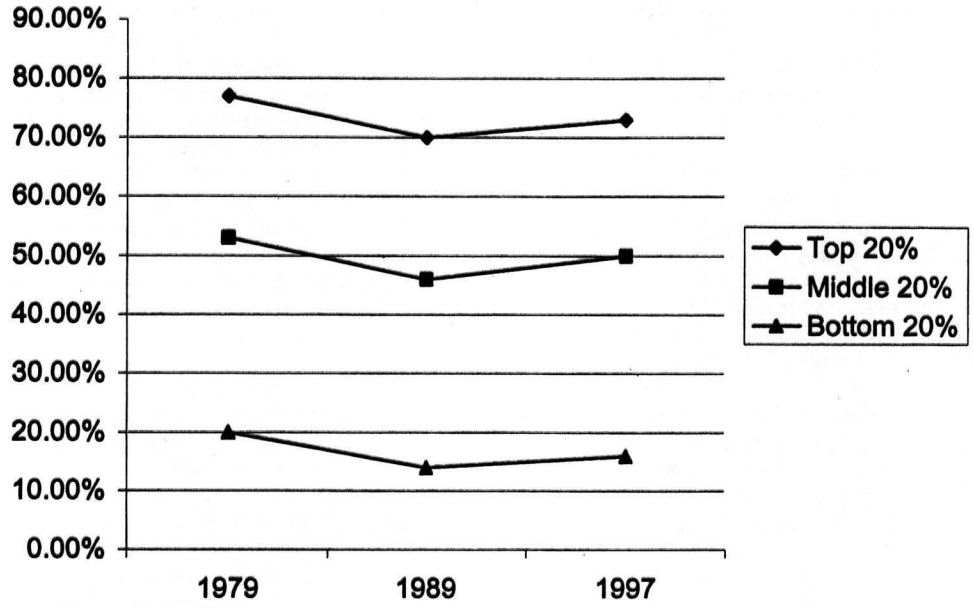
The major point to be made in this section is that at least in part because of the falling rate of profit, the ability of most Americans to save for retirement is in jeopardy. Recent declines in the US stock market and the threat of economic downturn generally suggest that decreased savings are a function not of individual choices of irresponsibility, but rather that structure problems exist in the present economic system.

DECLINING PENSIONS

Employer sponsored pensions are relatively new to the United States (Schulz 2001). Prior to the rise of labor unions after the 1930's very few Americans were covered by pensions. Often adopted by employers in response to collective bargaining, pensions have become an important source of retirement funding. As mentioned earlier, however, pensions as part of the support for the aged are extra economic expenses not directly tied to the social reproduction of labor. For this reason pensions have been impacted by the falling rate of profit in much the same way as personal savings. That is, these extra economic sources of support for retired workers have declined in the face of measures to increase profits. Figure 6 describes the declining number of workers covered by pensions over the last 20 years. Figure 6 also points out the distributional aspects associated with pension coverage. That is, higher income workers are more likely to have pension coverage and over the last 20 years have been much more likely to keep them. In all however, the number of persons covered by pensions has declined over the last 30 years.

The connection between falling profit rates and declining pensions is compelling, but it nevertheless is worth noting that the decline in the number of people covered by pensions is complicated by the competitive and adversarial nature of capitalism. As noted earlier, workers serve a dual nature in a capitalist system. They provide both labor and a mar-

Figure 6. Percentage of Persons Covered by Income Level.



Source: Collins et al 2000

ket - they both produce and consume. In regard to pensions this has an important implication. Employers wish to minimize their labor costs by reducing or eliminating pension coverage yet they also wish to profit by the money that retired workers spend in the economy. This helps to explain, for example, why government workers (federal, state, local) are covered by pensions at a much higher rate than those working for private businesses (Schulz 2001 244).[4] Government pensions funded by tax dollars enable the buying power of retirees and therefore provide a substantial market for private companies that do not themselves provide pension coverage. In essence the battle over pensions becomes a matter of profiteering.[5]

Declining pension coverage is, however, not the whole story. In addition, the types of pensions offered workers have also changed. Over the last 20 years defined contribution plans have become much preferred over defined benefit plans (Collins et at 2000). Defined benefit plans are those that guarantee a certain level of benefits based upon a calculation of years of service, age, and wages earned in a qualifying period (for example, the three highest income years x the years of service x age). Benefits in these plans are contractual and generally not indexed to market or other investment returns. Defined contribution plans assure the employee a certain pension fund contribution (for example 8% of wages). Employees in these plans are often given freedom to invest these funds as they wish, but few or no assurances are made about the benefits to be paid upon retirement. In a worst case scenario an employee's retirement fund could be entirely lost in bad economic times. This shift to defined contribution plans is also related to the falling rate of profit. While defined benefit plans provide greater security for retirees because they assure a certain level of benefit, defined contribution plans largely insulate the employer from all risk due to economic downturns. In a defined contribution plan the employer has little or no responsibility to the employee after the original contribution.

Falling profit and overproduction also threaten pension plans in two additional ways. First, because pension funds represent one of the largest sources of capital in the United States they served as one of the central motivations for corporate takeovers in the 1980s (Hebb 2001). Seeking to grasp this ready capital and to maintain economic

growth in the face of falling returns, corporations raided well-established pension funds often leaving them much depleted and even bankrupt (Hebb 2001). Second, in recent times corporations have aggressively sought institutional investment by systemically overstating profits. In this way institutional investors were encouraged to buy stock and therefore unknowingly risk pension funds in the stock market. When news of such accounting problems hit the media in late 2001 and early 2002, stock prices fell dramatically. Pension plans across the United States were hard hit. The Oregon Public Employees Retirement System, for example, faces a nearly 7.3 billion-dollar shortfall (AP 2001). Similarly, workers of the Houston based energy trading company ENRON lost most if not all of their pension funds through a series of accounting scandals (AP 2002). As these cases make clear, pension plans are threatened by falling profit in the United States not only because they represent extra economic expense but also because retirement funds are attractive sources of capital.

So far in this discussion two of the three most common mechanisms for support of older people in retirement have been discussed: personal savings and pensions. The final and most important source of economic support for Americans in old age is Social Security. Social Security is vital for the economic well being of average Americans. As important as Social Security is, however, it does not remain insulated from the effects of the falling rate of profit.

SOCIAL SECURITY

Since its inception in 1935 social security has formed a central part of retirement funding for the majority of working Americans (Schulz 2001). Enabled by Social Security payments retirement is now possible for most Americans, poverty for older persons has been reduced, and the widowed and disabled can depend upon a financial safety net. In spite of these gains, Social Security remains controversial in the arenas of public discourse. A significant number of Americans worry that the social security program is facing "bankruptcy" as a consequence of the aging population of the early 21st century. So ubiquitous are these concerns they are simply taken as common sense.

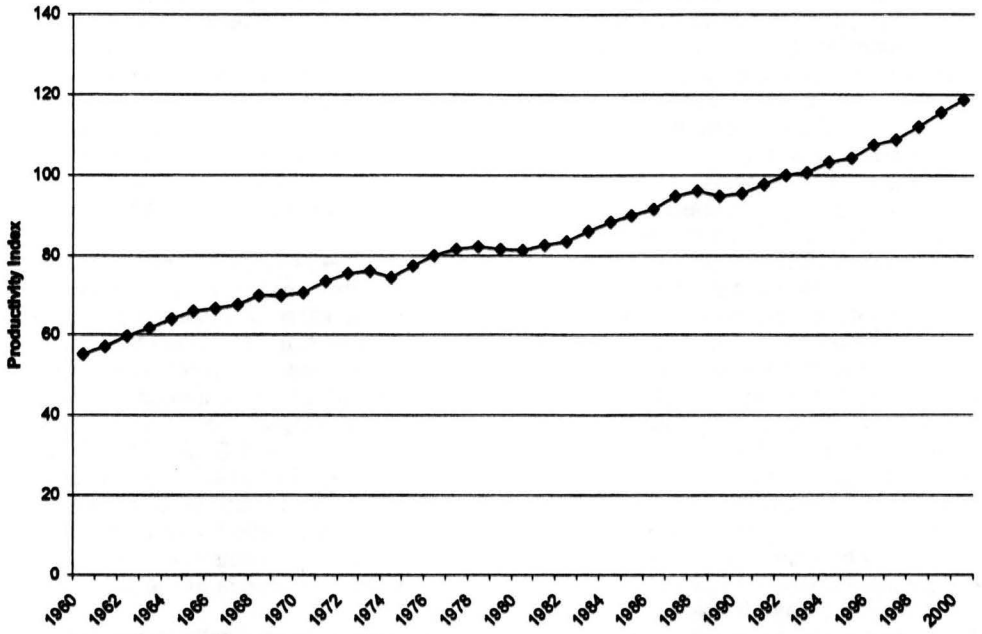
The public discourse about social security however is not what it appears. Far from a financially troubled government program, social security will remain financially viable for the foreseeable future. For example, the Social Security Trustees report for 2001 suggests that even if no steps are taken to address social security, recipients over the next 75 years can expect to receive 87 percent of promised payments. Further, full benefits could be paid to all recipients with a very small tax increase of 1.2 percent (.6% for each employer and employee). Contrary to public consensus Social Security is not a troubled program. The 2001 Social Security Trustees report states

> Over the full 75-year projection period the actuarial deficit estimated for the combined trust funds is 1.86 percent of taxable payroll, a small improvement from the deficit of 1.89 percent projected in last year's report. This deficit indicates that financial adequacy of the program for the next 75 years could be restored (under the Trustees' best estimates), if the Social Security payroll tax were immediately and permanently increased, from its current level of 12.4 percent (combined employee-employer shares) to 14.26 percent. Alternatively, all current and future benefits could be reduced by about 13 percent (or there could be some combination of tax increases and benefit reductions) (OASDI 2001).

Even in the face of clear evidence about the soundness of the program, Social Security faces vocal critics.

Criticisms and fears about social security are based in both demographic and economic misconceptions. Citing demographic information, critics often inaccurately conclude that today's aging population is a product of increased life expectancy. As a result, they argue, as life expectancy continues to increase so too will the percentages of older Americans. While it is true that life expectancy has and will likely continue to increase in the United States, the aging population in the United States is more importantly linked to reduced birth rates after the World War II "baby boom" than to increased life expectancy. In 2002 it is estimated that 12.6 percent of the US population will be age 65 or over (Census 2002). By 2075 this percentage will grow to an estimated 22 percent. Critics cite this as evidence for concern about

Figure 7. Major Sector Productivity and Costs Index, Output Per Hour for Nonfinancial Corporations Indexed to 1992.



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics 2002

Social Security, naively assuming that the growth of the older population will continue in a linear fashion. However, estimates for 2100 project an increase of only about 1 percent in the number of persons age 65 and over (to 23%) from 2075 and an insignificant rate of growth thereafter (US Census Bureau 2002). After the baby boom cohort fades into history the United States will enter a relatively stable age structure.

Critics of Social Security also often raise economic concern about the ability of younger, working Americans to provide economic support for retired workers. It is estimated that in 2002 for every person age 65 and over in the United States there are 5.16 persons between 16 and 64. By 2075 this ratio will decline to 2.72 and by 2100 to 2.47 (US Census Bureau 2002). The common sense notion is that the large numbers of older people will economically burden younger Americans. This is a misconception for two reasons. First, older Americans make provision for their retirement during their working years (Social Security insurance payments and pensions) and therefore are not dependent on younger people in the sense implied by critics. Second, aged dependency concerns are unfounded on economic grounds. While it is true that the ratio of workers to persons aged 65 and over will decline in the future, it is also important to note that the productivity of American workers has increased dramatically over the last 40 years (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2002). Figure 7 describes productivity indexed to 1992 production levels. Average American workers in 2002 produced more than twice what they did in 1960. If gains in productivity continue at the 1960 to 2002 rate, by 2100 average American workers will produce 3.5 times what they did in 2002. To put another way, productivity more than balances any concerns about aged dependency ratios into the foreseeable future.

Increases in productivity certainly provide optimism for the prospects of Social Security. However, the promise of increased productivity also raises considerable concern. While we have seen that workers produce more than two times per hour what they produced in 1960, they nevertheless have not benefited financially from these improvements. As discussed earlier, real wages for most Americans have been very stagnant

(See Figure 3). Benefits from increased productivity have accrued not with average workers but rather with the richest Americans. If increased productivity is to offset the demands created by the increasing proportion of older Americans, the benefits of increased productivity must be more evenly distributed. This has profound implications for the way Social Security is financed.

Presently, both employer and employee pay 6.2 percent of the workers salary in Social Security Taxes. In 2001 these taxes were levied on only the first $80,400 of wages. As Figure 3 demonstrates it is clear that the income benefits of increased productivity gained over the last 40 years have accrued only to those at the highest income levels, those making more than $80,400. Therefore, increases in income over the last forty years have had very little financial impact upon Social Security funding. If income gains had been achieved at all income levels, contributions to Social Security would have increased proportionally thus quieting any debate about the fiscal soundness of the program. This has not been the case however.

If, as we have seen, social security is not fiscally insecure, why then is public discourse so contrary to this reality? The disjunction between social problem definitions and "real world" conditions is a well-worn theme in social problems theory (Williams 2000). As applies to Social Security this disjunction can at least in part be explained in terms of the prior conversation. The costs of social security are borne by employee contributions and matching employer contributions. Employer contributions to Social Security are by definition extra economic costs. Such payments by the employer are made to help support workers outside their productive years. In the face of falling profits Social Security forms a natural target for those who would seek to improve profits. Current discourse about the problems of Social Security must be seen in this light. While few have called for an abolition of Social Security, many have called for the privatization of Social Security funds. For example, the first Social Security Trustee's report prepared during the Bush administration in 2002 contained the following statement.

> Closing that gap (in Social Security funding) will require innovative solutions that also present opportunities to strengthen each program. While the near-term financial conditions have improved slightly since last year's reports, the programs continue to face substantial financial challenges in the not-too-distant future that need to be addressed soon... For Social Security, the traditional solutions have focused on benefit cuts and tax increases, but could be expanded to include finding ways for workers to benefit from the economy-wide rate of return on private capital. (OASDI 2002)

Calls for the privatization of Social Security funds are in essence calls to increase the pool of capital available to American capitalism. As mentioned earlier, the reduced availability of capital is symptomatic of overproduction and falling profit rates. As the economic system stagers from overproduction, capitalists look toward Social Security as a pool of unrealized capital. Citing historically high rates of return in the stock market, proponents of privatization argue that Social Security is a bad investment, that a higher rate of return is possible in the private sector.

In a curious sense, calls to privatize Social Security as a means to access huge stores of new capital is an anachronism; Social Security funds have already entered the capitalist marketplace. From its inception until 1969 Social Security was a "pay as you go" system that did not accrue large surpluses, where current social security taxes were used to pay current benefits.[6] In 1969 Congress allowed Social Security to be included in the federal budget for the first time (Schulz 2001). In this way the small annual surpluses of Social Security could be used to offset and disguise deficit spending in the federal budget. It was not until the 1980s, however, that this debt masking scheme was used to full effect. In anticipation of the retirement of the baby boom cohort, Congress increased the size of the "Social Security Trust Fund" by increasing social security taxes (Schulz 2001). In 1969 social security surpluses amounted to 30 billion dollars. By 2002 the total of these surpluses increased to more than 1.2 trillion dollars (OASDI 2004).

In recent years various legislative attempts have been made to remove the Social Security trust funds from budget calculations. All of these attempts, however, have failed to realize this goal.[7] A 2002 Congressional Budget Office (CBO 2002) report de-

scribes how these funds are used in budget calculations:

> Focusing on an accumulating balance in the Social Security trust funds can also be misleading. The only economically significant way that the government has a surplus is if there is a unified budget surplus—when total receipts are greater than total outlays. Although separate taxes are collected for Social Security, the money left over after benefits are paid is used to fund other government programs or to pay down the debt held by the public.

Social Security money, then, is used to finance other federal spending. Importantly, however, because a significant amount of this spending involves what has come to be called "corporate welfare" the net effect is that tremendous amounts of general fund revenues disguised by the trust fund are infused into the economy (Abramovitz 2001). To privatize the Social Security System, then, would serve to make the transfer of capital more open, but more importantly it would also transfer economic risk to Social Security recipients. No longer protected by the economic might and the taxing authority of the United States government, benefits would be derived from private accounts that are subject to the uncertainty of financial markets and the business cycles inherent with a capitalist economy. From the perspective of American workers privatization would be a risky proposition.

RETHINKING THE ECONOMICS OF AGING

Early in the discussion it was pointed out that a curious dialectic exists as relates to aging in capitalist societies. On one hand capitalism has created tremendous economic surplus one consequence of which is the prolongation of human life and the improved status of the aged. Improved sanitation, medical advances, vaccinations, safe food, and clean water were all enabled by the dynamism of capitalist production. On the other hand, capitalism because of its systemic tendency toward the falling rate of profit also threatens the economic provisions for retired Americans.

In the foregoing analysis the falling rate of profit has been linked to reductions in real income, personal savings, and threats to social security. For sure, more work needs to be done to more squarely address these issues, however, the robustness with which falling rates of profit appear to predict just these outcomes suggest that capitalism is systematically antithetical to the support of workers after their productive years.

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END NOTES

[1] For a complex discussion of the calculation of profit rates see T Maniatis (1996) "Testing Marx: A Note." Figure 1 most closely resembles the way in which Marx suggested the calculation of the rate of surplus value, as a ratio of surplus value and variable capital s/v (Marx 1977 327). Figure 2 provides an additional measure of falling profit as a ration of profit to capital investment.

[2] Harvey (1982 53) points out that such stagnation can be avoided at least in the short run in an economy with growing productivity, expanding amounts of capital, and increased overall production.

[3] This trend toward stock market investment and low interest rates is also symptomatic of falling rates of profit. In the face of overproduction, wage concessions, and a resulting lack of effective demand capitalist interests urged Americans to invest in the stock market in hopes of higher rates of return thus freeing money for capital investment. Further, low interest returns on savings are the result of national policies to encourage spending by reducing consumer interest rates for borrowing. By doing so the goal is to increase effective demand.

[4] This may also be explained by the facts that government workers were also the first to be covered by pensions and are also more likely to be unionized.

[5] The issue of profiteering is discussed by Marx in his essays about the American Civil war - K Marx & F Engels, (1980) *Karl Marx, Frederick Engels: Collected Works 1849*, vol. 9. NY: International Publishers.

[6] A small surplus was always maintained in order to pay benefits in the event of unexpected economic downturns.

[7] The Social Security Amendments of 1983 and The Gramm-Rudman-Hollings act of 1985 were examples of efforts to remove Social Security from the Federal Budget calculations. The Social Security trust fund is now considered an "off budget item" but nevertheless is used in general fund budget calculations (Schulz 2001; CBO 2002).

MOVEMENT PROFESSIONALIZATION: A POSITIVE FORCE FOR THE GRASSROOTS SMO?

Laurel Holland, State University of West Georgia

ABSTRACT

The professionalization of a social movement has been a much debated issue among movement analysts. In this work I analyze a grassroots movement, Solutions to Issues of Concern to Knoxvillians (SICK) that has endured for over 19 years with professional leaders working in conjunction with a grassroots membership. McCarthy and Zald (1977) asserted that professionally led movements gain their support from outside sources and have a membership base that is disconnected from the roots of protest. For SICK, this is not the case. While the organization does receive the majority of its funding from large foundations, the membership base remains grassroots (i.e. directly impacted by the issues). My investigation reveals that professional staff aid the organization in 3 ways: strengthening the grassroots membership base; building budget stability and growth, and generating public appeal for campaign issues and increasing the number of campaigns promoted and initiated. In sum, this study shows that movement professionalization and grassroots involvement/membership are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

INTRODUCTION

It is generally agreed that professional social movement organizations (SMOs) with high levels of conscience constituents and paid, professional leadership mark the current movement landscape; but the implications of this shift are uncertain. McCarthy and Zald (1973, 1977) set the standard by which researchers interpret the structure of SMOs using a resource mobilization perspective. According to the researchers movements form as a result of the mass mobilization of a group of individuals who have something to gain directly from organized protest. They advance the idea that this movement model has given way to professionally led movements who gain their support from outside funding sources and a membership base that is disconnected from the roots of the protest.

Since the work of McCarthy and Zald researchers have offered competing claims of the impact of professionalization (Piven & Cloward 1977; Staggenborg 1988). In the literature professionalization has been variously associated with bureaucratization, formalization, and institutionalization. In this study I conceptualize professionalization as leadership by persons that are: paid, have prior experience in organizing, and have training in organizing skills.

Here, I explore the effects of professionalization on a grassroots movement: Solutions To Issues of Concern to Knoxvillians (SICK). Between 1982 and 1999, SICK underwent three distinct stages of development. The first stage (1982-1986) involved the emergence and maintenance of the group. The second stage (1987-1991) was a cycle of decline and resurgence, followed by another stage (1992-1999) consisting of a separate decline-and-resurgence cycle. In earlier studies the cycles of a movement have been distinct with decline or endurance usually following a period of emergence. Rupp and Taylor (1987) introduced the idea that movements may enter a period of abeyance in which they neither decline nor grow. Others have contributed to the notion that internal or external movement characteristics help movements to endure beyond periods of abeyance (Taylor 1989; Holland & Cable 2002; Kebede, Shriver & Knottnerus 2000). I suggest that movement cycles may include concurrent stages of decline and resurgence which follows the initial period of emergence. In this study decline is defined as dwindling membership, a drop or stagnation of the budget, and the resolution of a prominent campaign issue. In each period of decline in the SICK organization professional staff were instrumental in bringing about periods of resurgence in which the membership base was increased (McCarthy & Zald 1977), the budget increased or held stable, and old issues were invigorated and new issues were adopted.

In this work I analyze SICK's cycles of decline and resurgence to determine whether professionalization was a positive or negative force in the movement's endurance. Since its emergence SICK has undergone two decline/resurgence cycles. Prior to each period of resurgence, professional staff were hired

but were able to maintain an active grassroots membership base.

PERSPECTIVES ON PROFESSIONALIZATION

Prior to the 1970s the collective behavior tradition was the theoretically dominate approach to social movement research. The model maintained that rapid social change causes societal strain which can lead isolated and alienated individuals to participate in social movements. The foundation of the collective behavior framework was built upon earlier theories of crowd behavior (LeBon 1896; Hoffer 1951) that emphasized the psychological and irrational characteristics of movement participants. From this perspective social movements are the result of the breakdown of social structure which results in unregulated, contagious behavior where individuals act impulsively in reaction to inadequate personal lives. More recent psychological approaches (Oberschall 1973) suggest that movement participants act in a rational, even calculative way in their attempts at problem solving. Still, the theoretical focus was on the individual and not the underlying social conditions that stimulate movement activity. In the 1920s, Park (1972) synthesized the early crowd philosophies into a systematic and sociological study of collective behavior and emphasized the relationship between social change and collective behavior as an integral part of the normal operation of society. These so-called "breakdown approaches" were characterized by strain theories and were used to explain multiple forms of collective behavior.

In the early 1970s, social movement theorists moved away from an emphasis on the social psychological bent of breakdown theories to solidarity approaches. Significant impetus for a shift away from social psychological explanations based on individual pathologies occurred when sociologists participated in and observed the movements of the 1960s. Left with a theoretical void to frame the movement culture of the 1960s, theorists proposed a radical break from earlier models and introduced solidarity approaches that focused on mobilization processes and their resultant formal organization. Hence, resource mobilization with it's emphasis on the availability of resources, organizational structure, and opportunities for collective action became the preeminent theory of social movement researchers. The originators of this new theory focused on the development of social movement organizations (SMOs) that have full-time, professional leadership and a highly developed, bureaucratic organizational structure which has the potential for a paper membership base to replace an aggrieved constituency (McCarthy & Zald 1973).

Thus, studies of movement outcomes tended to associate professionalization with movement decline. McCarthy and Zald (1973, 1977) considered the prerequisites necessary for a social movement to be professionalized. The first condition was a leadership that devotes full time to the movement. They noted that the possibility of full-time careers within SMOs is made possible by increased funding sources. They noted that:

> The 1960s was a period of increased social movement activity. It was also a period in which institutional support for social movement organizations became increasing available and in which life careers in movements were more and more likely to be combined with established professional roles. (1977 12)

Piven and Cloward (1977) reiterated the ill effects of professionalization for a movement by arguing that poor people's movements derive their gains from mass defiance of the institutions with which they routinely interact. Consequently, the best way to accomplish goals is through a flexible, decentralized structure that is less vulnerable to the bureaucratic tendencies of an SMO, such as internal conflict and external co-optation. They maintained that insurgency is the key to goal attainment; the end of insurgency is the end of the movement. Thus, movements that endure over time become dependent on the resources of elites and soon cease to represent the aggrieved group adequately.

Claims of the negative influence of movement professionalization led to competing explanations of the impact of professionalization on the success of a movement. In a study of Pennsylvanians for Biblical Morality, a state chapter of the Moral Majority, Cable (1984) recognized organizational structure, shared ideology, and political opportunities as important factors contributing to the professionalization of a SMO. In her study the absence of mass mobilization essentially forced the group to become professionalized

in order to meet its goal. The financial support of religious institutions with similar ideological views allowed the organization to hire a full-time staff person who lobbied for the group at the state legislative level. An analysis of the black movement by Jenkins & Eckert (1986) revealed mixed results of professionalization. They indicated that elite patronage represented only financial support and that in the civil rights movement the professional SMOs "frequently played an effective role by following up on the victories of the indigenous movement" (1986 827).

Staggenborg (1988 597) suggested that: "formalized SMOs do not necessarily defuse protest as Piven and Cloward (1977) argue; rather, they often perform important functions". In an analysis of the Pro-Choice Movement she argues that professionalization of leadership and institutionalization may positively impact the movement via structural maintenance, successful strategies and tactics, and participation in coalition work. In response to McCarthy and Zald's charge that movement professionals become movement entrepreneurs who initiate movements, Staggenborg presents both movement entrepreneurs and professional managers in a more positive light. She argues that movement entrepreneurs:

> may become paid activists who benefit from the existence of the same resources that support professional managers but they typically do not make careers our of moving from one cause to another and they may never find paid positions that suit them. (1988 593)

Likewise, professional managers:

> are not likely to be the initiators of social movements. They make careers out of service to SMOs that already have formal structures or are in the process of becoming formalized. Professional leaders are likely to care very much about the cause of the SMO... (1988 594)

McAdam also presented an optimist view of the potential of professional leadership:

> I am increasingly persuaded that movement leaders and organizations are most critical to the struggle not during the peak of a protest cycle, but rather during what Rupp and Taylor term the 'doldrums.' During the 'lean years' career activists and the formal organizations and informal networks they maintain serve a critically important 'keeper of the flame' function. That is, they serve to maintain and nourish a tradition of activism, making it available to a new generation of activists during the next protest cycle. (1995 230)

This study seeks to answer the question, "Was movement professionalization a positive or negative force for the SICK organization?"

METHODS

Data sources for this study include participant observation, in-depth field interviews, and archival sources. The author collected data as a participant observer between 1996 and 1999. Data collection took place while she served as a SICK member, board member, Welfare Rights Committee member, and Finance Committee member. She also attended general membership meetings, fundraisers, forums, and protests. Audio-taped interviews were conducted with 42 members of the organization. Interviews were conducted with a semi-structured questionnaire and were on average one to one and one-half hours in length. Interview participants were selected by way of snowball sampling. In an effort to uncover the chronological development of the organization, charter members were interviewed first. From the initial interviews other members who were no longer active but who had at one time played pivotal roles in the organization were identified and interviewed. Efforts were made to contact anyone who had ever been a member of the organization. Requests for interviews with past members who were no longer active were made via telephone. Many of these individuals declined to be interviewed. Current members of the organization were approached for interviews at various meetings and social functions. The author was able to conduct interviews with five of the 12 charter members. The remaining charter members were deceased or were aged and unable to undergo the interview process. Nineteen members from Cycle I and 20 members from Cycle II were interviewed. Of the five charter members who were interviewed, two were active during Cycle I only and 3 remained active throughout Cycle I and Cycle II. The

third data source is archival and covers the history of the organization from its' emergence in 1982 to 1999. Materials that were analyzed include: local newspaper articles, board and committee minutes, and organizational newsletters. Materials were obtained from the organizations' library, the Museum of East Tennessee History.

After a discussion of the development of SICK during the emergence period I will elaborate on the movement dynamics during the two decline/resurgence periods. I pay particular attention to three factors that were influenced by the hiring of professional staff: membership, budget, and issue(s). In the summary section I conclude how professionalization impacted the overall function of the organization.

SICK: A History of Healthy Leadership

Here, I present a case study of a local, grassroots movement that has undergone two cycles of decline and resurgence following an initial period of emergence. Solutions to Issues of Concern to Knoxvillians (SICK), a Knoxville based social movement organization has endured for 19 years and achieved a significant degree of success in effecting social change at the local and state level. The original organization "Solutions to Indigent Care in Knoxville" formed in response to a proposed $4 million cut in the local indigent health care program. SICK members helped raise the visibility of the indigent care issue and persuaded the Knox County Commission to adopt a new indigent care plan containing many of the elements that the group had proposed. Initial success did not precipitate the demise of the group but rather prompted it to broaden its scope under a new name, "Solutions to Issues of Concern to Knoxvillians." Since 1982, SICK members have pursued numerous local and statewide campaigns.

Emergence (1982-1986)

SICK was initially mobilized by a Knoxville Legal Aid employee who after graduating from Seminary came to Knoxville to participate in community-based organizing. His first project was to form a neighborhood group in inner-city Knoxville which he described as urban Appalachia. Later, he was sought out by Knoxville Legal Aid to do community organizing on a larger scale. He says of the position:

> They wanted pro se advocacy from community organizations, in other words, assistance with community organizations in developing their own voice, their own ideas, their own effectiveness. It was a quite good vision and they didn't know how to do it, they're lawyers, so when I applied and they explained it to me, I said, 'Yeah...I know how to do that' and they knew I did...

The founder of SICK is still highly regarded by many older members. He is credited with bringing in the funds to keep the organization strong in the early years. One member recalls:

> People like to give when they see something accomplished and energy and the whole concept of SICK and how it was and why it was, has to go to [the founder]...That willingness to go and sit on somebody's porch and talk with them for two hours to get one additional thing. I learned everything I know about organizing from him.

The organization's first task was to mobilize support for the ailing Knox County Indigent Health Care program (KCIHC), a city program which contracted with local hospitals to provide health care for indigent patients. In 1982, the program was jeopardized because of disagreements among hospital administrators and city officials about how the funds would be dispersed. Since no affirmative requirement existed to force the county to provide such health care, KCIHC seemed to be headed for collapse. SICK members worked from September 1982 to April 1983, pressuring Knox County officials to reinstate the program. Approximately 150 people were actively involved in the issue. Tactics included pressuring key officials from the Knox County Health Department and forming alliances with individual county commissioners. The group was informed by insiders that a new indigent health care program was being proposed by the city in which all local hospitals must agree to participate. All but one local hospital had agreed to the plan. In response, SICK members wrote a letter to [the abstaining hospital] administrators describing the importance of indigent care and requesting a public meeting to discuss their refusal to participate. The letter stated

> Meeting with you is of such importance that if you are unable to meet with us at [a local community center], we're going to have our community meeting at your hospital.

The letter was hand-delivered on a Wednesday; the answer came by way of Thursday morning's front page headline in the newspaper: "Indigent Health-Plan Approved." The Knox County Commission's Finance Committee Chairman praised the work of SICK members:

> There wouldn't be an indigent care program without the SICK organization. You are better organized than the County Commission is.

After the resolution of the initial campaign the group made a commitment to continue to organize for change in other areas and they became "Solutions to Issues of Concern to Knoxvillians." In 1983 SICK members worked to stop a city proposal to close six inner-city fire halls and opposed rate increases by the local telephone company. The group received much media attention and was well respected by local leaders. In August 1983, the city council voted to keep the fire halls open. The mayor inadvertently praised SICK when he chided city council members for their vote: "The only reason you voted the way you did...was because of the pressure of these citizens." As a result of SICK's efforts the local telephone company decreased a proposed $280 million rate increase to $39.4 million. The Chairman of the Public Service Commissioner also praised SICK members:

> I think they had a great effect on Congress. I think they have had a great effect on the Federal Communications Commission. I think they have had a great effect on the Public Service Commission. I think it is very sobering and positive for us to hear from consumers and not just the utilities that we regulate.

The first professional staff person paid by SICK was hired in 1984 with funds from the first grant that the organization received. He recalls that the decision of the group to hire an employee was the result of much deliberation:

> They had put [the grant money] in the bank and had not touched it. They were so scared that they would mess it up. So, this money had been sitting in the bank for several months. They were waiting till they found somebody that they felt comfortable with...

The first staff person was described by charter members as professional, experienced, and charismatic. Under his leadership issues were selected in a democratic fashion, usually suggested by the staff and voted on by the membership. One long-time member commented that: "...he wasn't a forceful leader, he let the people mostly decide."

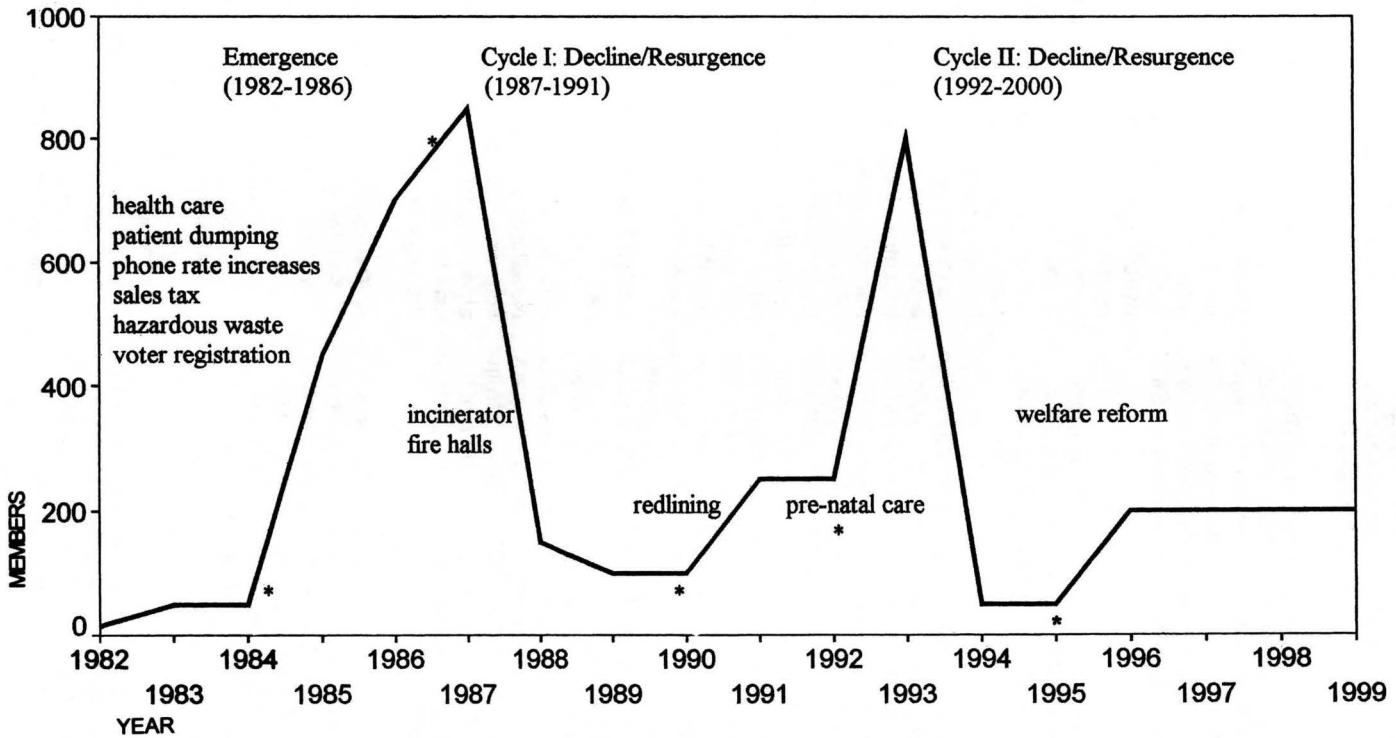
During the emergence phase SICK members worked on six local issues including: indigent health care, halting an attempt to close inner-city fire halls, re-routing of hazardous waste, the initiation of an annual Martin Luther King, Jr. observance day, patient dumping, and indigent dental care. Alliances with other groups allowed SICK members to be involved in four statewide campaigns: protests against telephone rate increases, tax reform, tort reform, and voter registration. By the end of stage one, the budget was over $50,000 and three staff had been hired to assist the organizer.

CYCLE I: DECLINE AND RESURGENCE (1987-1991)

SICK experienced its first period of decline when the first paid organizer resigned. Newsletter accounts reveal that the membership was not optimistic about finding a suitable replacement and the loss of leadership was harmful to the successful functioning of the organization. The founder recalls:

> The first four years of the organization, the first two years when there was no paid staff and the two years [the first paid organizer] was there, that was like a really good time. Then after [the first paid organizer] left there was money and there were like three organizers hired and one guy that was hired was...very disruptive. There was some work through SICK then about community reinvestment, redlining and stuff but that was carried mostly by [another community group]. So, I think there for a while, it was sort of tumultuous, organizers came and went.

Figure 1 - SICK Membership by Year



*Denotes Hiring of New Staff

For almost a year (late 1989 to late 1990) there was no paid staff. A committed cadre of volunteers held the organization together but without the resources to take on any new campaigns. When the second professional staff person was hired as director in the later part of 1991, the organization pulled out of its slump. In 1993 a second professional person was hired and things really began to pick up.

Membership Base

During the early part of Cycle II member participation dropped significantly (see Figure 1). The remaining active membership was mostly aggrieved, grassroots, African American females with prior activism experience who were long-time members of the organization. On the fringes, a small number of conscience constituents kept abreast of SICK's activities via the newsletter. This situation prompted several charter and long-time members to take a more active role. It was this committed cadre that worked expeditiously to hire a new, professional staff person.

The new director recognized the discontinuity of the general membership and the staff. She recalls:

> ...when they hired me, who are they hiring? A white women who's getting a Masters degree. My heart was in it but I am not the constituency that either the board is made up of or should be made up of or the population that we're supposedly empowering. I look like another social worker to a low-income woman with 3 kids...On the other hand, at least in my case, it took somebody as dynamic and pushy as I am to make an issue like pre-natal care really happen.

The director did not act alone but encouraged and led the active membership in the recruitment of new members. Efforts were made to express to the constituency that the organization was experiencing a period of renewal. Prompted by the director, SICK's chairperson related this message to the membership in the Fall edition of the newsletter:

> I know that you think SICK is dead, but that is not the case. We are well and working hard. Right now, we are working on improving prenatal care for Medicaid mothers-to-be, on finding out why they can't get in to see a doctor. That is our big issue these days. Another thing we're working on is trying to get our membership built up. If you are a member and haven't paid your dues, we'd like to hear from you one way or the other on whether you want to continue to get our newsletter for another year. Please let us know if you're still with us, because to keep SICK going strong we need everybody to help on dues and to volunteer their services, too...

Budget Stability/Growth

According to McCarthy and Zald (1973), the factor that distinguishes professional movements from their predecessors is the broad level of support from which a modern, professional movement benefits. They note that during the 1960s, organizations that had not previously been connected to movements such as foundations, churches, and business corporations, began to support social movement activities. Comparing the income earning potential of modern SMO professionals to the 1930s labor movement activist, McCarthy and Zald note,

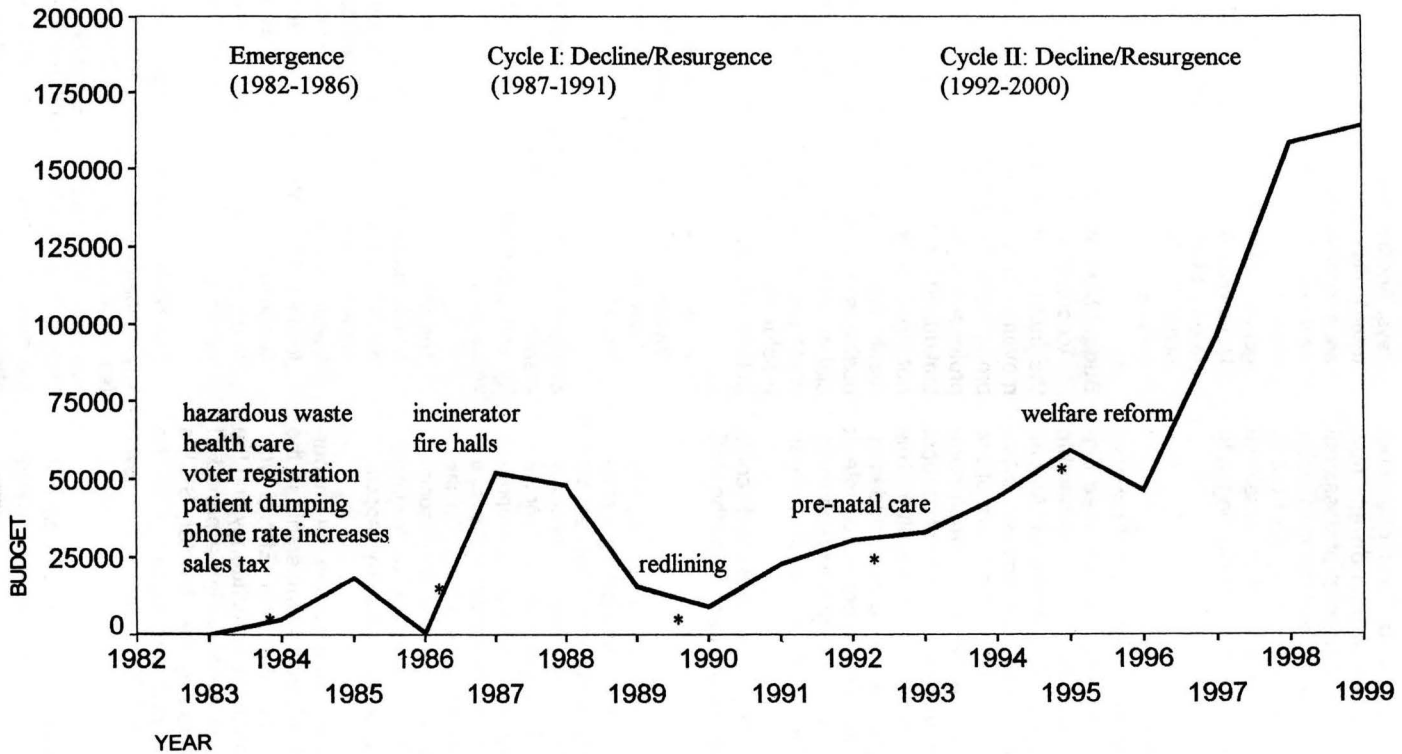
> To become a full-time advocate of social change, saintliness was required and vows of poverty would have only reflected reality... (1973 15)

Staggenborg argues that professional leadership is crucial to providing financial stability and a formalized division of labor. She writes that:

> The ability of formalized SMOs to obtain foundation funding is part of a broader capacity for organizational maintenance superior to that of informal SMOs. Paid staff and leaders are critical to the maintenance of formalized SMOs because they can be relied on to be present to carry out tasks such as ongoing contact with the press and fundraising in a routine manner. (1988 597)

For SICK increased budget stability is a key indicator of the positive function of professional staff during Cycle I. During the first two years the organization operated with no budget. The members of the group provided the needed funds for travel, mailings, telephone calls, etc. In 1984 a foundation grant was secured that allowed the group to hire

Figure 2 - SICK Budget by Year



*Denotes Hiring of New Staff

their first staff member. During the period of decline in Cycle I, funds dwindled with the loss of professional staff. SICK members and inexperienced office staff were unable to secure grants or make successful appeals for funding at the local level. As a result the budget plunged to less than $9,000. During the period of resurgence professional staff were hired and the money started to come back in. The director that was hired at the end of Cycle I was able to secure several foundation grants and the budget was increased to over $43,000. By the end of the emergence period, the organizational budget was over $50,000.

The director noted that: "I could write grants. That's when the money started back up." A healthy budget allowed for a second professional organizer and office administrator to be hired (see Figure 2).

Issue Selection

The director explained her ability to bring the organization out of a rut as a function of both her personal appeal and the energy behind a proposed new issue:

> ...at least in my case, it took somebody as dynamic and pushy as I am to get them off of their asses and keep them alive to make an issue like pre-natal care really happen. It was a great issue to work with and I was lucky as a staff person in that way...It was such a powerful issue, anybody that was dynamic, wanted to put the energy into it could have made it happen...I could write grants. That's where the money started back up. We went for that six month period with no staff and then I came on and then [the assistant] was hired.

The fall 1991 issue of the "SICK Speaker" introduced the need for prenatal care and the lack of access for Medicaid mothers. SICK members conducted 57 telephone surveys of obstetric-gynecologists in the Knox County area and found that only two doctors were both taking new patients and would accept Medicaid while forty-one were accepting new patients but refused to take Medicaid patients. The burden of prenatal care was borne by the University of Tennessee Obstetric-Gynecologist Clinic and the Knox County Health Department; a huge burden since approximately half of the 5,500 births in Knox County in 1989 were to Medicaid recipients. At the time of the survey the university hospital had a three-month waiting list for a first visit and the Health Department had a two-month delay. The problem particularly affected low-income and black women. Lack of pre-natal care in Knox County was 50.3 percent for black women, twice the rate for white women.

In August 1992, the new director aided the members in coordinating a community forum with the aim of presenting pre-natal care concerns to local citizens. The forum was co-sponsored by 16 organizations: the state's Black Health Care Commission, the Knox County Community Council, Headstart, the Tennessee Health Care Campaign, March of Dimes, and the board of the Knox County Community Health Agency. Women from across the state shared stories of inadequate pre-natal care. The forum prompted commitments from key decision makers. The state legislator representing the Select Committee on Children and Youth, and the Chairperson of the Black Legislative Caucus agreed to promote a policy to ensure access to pre-natal care. The Chairperson of the Department of Obstetrics and Gynecology at the University of Tennessee Hospital committed to organizing and administering the plan. The Assistant Dean of the College of Nursing at Vanderbilt University agreed to continue her commitment to a training program for nurse midwives.

The pre-natal care issue was selected in part because of it's statewide appeal. The director encouraged the membership to focus on larger campaigns and advocated aggressive networking with other SMOs throughout the state of Tennessee. This strategy was successful in bringing more attention to the organization as well as the issue at hand. She also helped the organization to recognize the urgency of the issue and its strong emotional appeal. She stated that "it was the perfect issue for the people to coalesce around..."

CYCLE II: DECLINE AND RESURGENCE (1992-1999)

In 1995 the pre-natal care issue was resolved, the director resigned, and SICK went into its second period of decline. The length of the second stage of decline was shorter than the first because long-time members recognized the need to hire professional staff and set out in quick order to find a new direc-

tor. This individual was hired in late 1995 and three additional staff members were hired in 1996.

The director testified to the necessity for meeting administrative tasks and building comradery with a membership that was grassroots based. When asked about her role as staff she responded that her job was:

> To facilitate their [the memberships] feeling of a sense of ownership and feeling capable of taking on new leadership roles, providing training as folks are open to it, to help the organization do strategic thinking about issues and what's going to happen. As the director, it's a matter of making sure that we have the income to meet our program goals. Making sure that staff have the support they need from me to succeed. The more mundane administrative stuff—by-laws, charter, etc. making sure that we're obeying regulations and all that. I, of course, do it not for the administrative piece but for the visionary organizing piece but it sometimes seems to recede. I would see it ideally as organizing slews of people to fundamental take over Nashville and the rest of the state and decentralize the whole decision making process in the community.

Membership Base

The professional leadership of Cycle II was crucial in bringing diverse groups together at a time when a younger constituency outnumbered the older, long-time, and charter members. One of the first tasks of the new director was the purging of the mailing list of members who had not been involved in the organization for several years. The 800 member list was cut to 80. Guided by the new director, SICK members combed the low-income neighborhoods of Knoxville to inform potential members of the work of the organization. They were also encouraged to bring friends and neighbors to membership meetings. By 1997 the membership had more than doubled; increasing to 200 individuals.

New leadership also focused on a more formal organizational structure. Professional leaders and grassroots members made intentional efforts to keep the democratic nature of the organization intact while building a strong organization support base. The director initiated a "Visioning Retreat" to gain insight into the desired future of the members. After the retreat several committees were formed to met the challenges of a growing organization. Members were also encouraged by the director to consider an organizational name change from SICK to "Solutions." The director emphasized that because the organization had expanded it's issue work beyond health care that a new name would be more appropriate and more appealing to newcomers. Initially, this proposal was met with some resistance from long-time members but the name was eventually adopted and potential members responded to the name "Solutions" more favorably. The name change was beneficial in the coalescence of ideologically differentiated members and served as a culturally significant frame transformation (see Snow, Rochford, Worden & Benford 1986; Snow & Benford 1992; Benford 1993).

On a more concrete level, the director led the membership in making the decision to relocate the organizational office to a larger building to accommodate a growing membership. The new location was only a temporary solution for a growing organization; in 1998 SICK/Solutions purchased its first permanent office space in the neighborhood where the majority of the members lived.

Budget Stability/Growth

During the period of decline in Cycle II, the budget did not decrease significantly for two reasons: 1) grant monies that had been secured in Cycle I had not reached the end of their funding cycle; and 2) with no staff and little campaign work being done, few funds were expended. In the resurgence period of Cycle II, the budget was stable as a result of grants secured by professional staff. The new director was adept at securing grants and was successful in helping the members to organize local fundraising events. As in Cycle I, professional staff played a crucial role in budget security. The budget increased approximately $50,000 from 1996 to 1997 and remained stable. More prominent issues with a larger audience also generated income. During campaign events members and those who were not members but were concerned about the issue were more likely to give a financial contribution.

Issue Selection

A new issue was central to the resurgence period of Cycle II. The adoption of the welfare

reform issue in 1997 brought a younger constituency to the membership. Tennessee's welfare reform program, "Families First," brought new concerns to Knoxvillians and Solutions members. In August, 1996, the Welfare Reform bill decreased anti-poverty programs by $55 billion and decisions regarding welfare benefits were assigned to the states. Each state had the responsibility to decide how federal block grant funds would be utilized under the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act. In Tennessee this charge took shape in the form of "Families First" legislation. "Families First" is a temporary cash assistance program which emphasizes work, training, and personal responsibility. SICK/ Solutions members argued that the new program was punitive in nature.

The SICK/Solutions membership formed a Welfare Reform Committee consisting of concerned members of the community and those directly impacted by Families First legislation. The membership attended local meetings of the Families First Council and the 99th Tennessee General Assembly of the State Legislature to lobby for improving Families First legislation. Behind the scenes, the professional staff researched the specific needs of welfare recipients and aided the membership in the development of letter writing campaigns, protests, public theater demonstrations, speaking engagements with the House Health and Human Resources Committee and the Senate General Welfare Committee, and the preparation of a House Joint Resolution for Welfare Rights and Responsibilities proposal.

SUMMARY

McCarthy and Zald attributed the proliferation of SMOs in the 1960s to changes in funding patterns and the resulting changes in career patterns of professional social movement leaders. The professional SMO was not a new phenomenon in the 1960s; rather McCarthy and Zald argue that the era featured larger numbers of such organizations. They noted that professional SMOs were characterized by: 1) a leadership that devotes full time to the movement; 2) a very small or nonexistent membership base or a paper membership; 3) attempts to impart the image of speaking for a potential constituency; and 4) attempts to influence policy toward the same constituency (1973 20).

This study diminishes the validity of the resource mobilization perspective and suggests that professional staff contribute to the mobilization of grassroots participants and aid the movement toward campaign successes and movement endurance. At SICK/ Solutions the increase in professional staff did promote an increased level of organizational formality but professionalization did not precipitate the exclusion of potential beneficiaries. In both Cycle I and Cycle II, the hiring of professional staff was followed by an increase in grassroots membership levels. At the highest level of professionalization (Cycle II) the majority of the membership was not comprised of paper members but the organization remained successful in attracting aggrieved members from the community. In the modern movement model professional staff are charged with manufacturing grievances. This claim suggests that professional staff are more interested in job security than the goals of the movement. Once again, this was not the case at SICK/Solutions. Charter and long-time members carefully chose staff according to their ideological commitments to the goals of the group and served as watch dogs for continued democratic leadership. Rather than hindering democratic decision making processes, staff provided the framework that allowed the grassroots membership base to pursue their goals aggressively.

This study reveals that professionalization was a positive force in the ability of a grassroots movement to succeed and endure. Contrary to the findings of this study, resource mobilization still dominates the theoretical landscape for social movement analysts. Skocpol (2003) recently argued that professionally run and donor-funded organizations are trampling America's real grassroots. For Skocpol, the threat of diminished participation in institutions of democracy is very real. She proposes that professionally managed agencies have nullified earlier forms of membership-based voluntary associations and greatly reduced the opportunity for the average citizen to participate in social change. It is important to note that Skocpol's work is a macroscopic one and may not be appropriately compared to a local, small-scale movement. Still, if inconsistencies exist in the literature, it is important to ask why? It is beyond the scope of this work to offer a comparative analysis of professionally led national and grassroots organizations but such an under-

taking might prove beneficial. I suggest that future research should address the variability of the role of professionalization in movement maintenance, decline, and resurgence so that the discrepancies in the literature may be resolved. Researchers would also benefit by clarification of the ways in which professionalization is conceptualized as there seems to be no explicit agreement on the term. Additionally, the terms professionalization, institutionalization, and formalization are often used interchangeably and it would be useful to research whether these processes are closely related or if they occur independently. The role of leadership in studies of social movements has long been debated. Theoretical developments have moved researchers beyond the study of charismatic individuals that shaped the will of the crowd to the role of professional organizations in dismantling activism at the local level. The questions are many, yet the direction of social change may very well depend on our understanding of movement participation.

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IMAGES OF POWER: AN ANALYSIS OF THE MILITARIZATION OF POLICE UNIFORMS AND MESSAGES OF SERVICE

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the symbolic order of the American policing system. By symbolic order we refer to the various codes of communication between police and community members that reinforce "boundaries" in social relations. In the paper we argue that the militaristic symbolic vessels "worn" by the police reflect the institution's perceptions of worth and value regarding the public. Furthermore, we contend that these symbolic forms identify and perpetuate power inequalities and serve as mechanisms of social control. We conclude the paper with specific recommendations on how police may openly foster and communicate messages of service to community members.

INTRODUCTION: SYMBOLISM DEFINED

Generally a symbol is any spoken or visual form meant to represent or recall a collective meaning (Wolff & Wogalter 1998). Such meanings, encapsulated within, for example, language and art, are products of a particular human culture for the purpose of communication (Babuts 2003; Russell 1999). In any symbolic analysis however, it is important to discern what is being communicated. In its most basic form the symbol functions to organize shared thought and manifest meaning. By this, we refer to the learning process in which individuals are made "responsible for the objects constituting [their] daily environment" (Mead 1934 79). Examples of this include an individual's acquisition of a language in which objects are named and held (i.e., this is a "bird," a "tree," a "chair").

In another context however, a representation is made symbolic when its depiction speaks to an "underlying meaning." Gusfield and Michalowicz (1984 419) assert:

> Words are not, of course, the same as their referents. The word tree cannot yield shade. The denotation of symbolism is rather that in which something stands for something else...as the poet or the Freudian analyst uses symbols [to identify the] lion [as] a symbol of strength or a banana [as] a phallus.

Phrased differently, symbols often hold latent messages whose statements of meaning lie just beneath the surface. They are, as Gustfield and Michalowicz (1984 419) continue, a view of cultural reality "not immediately apparent but perceptible." Sociologically considered a symbol is symbolic when its presence identifies a social relationship. When speech patterns (vocabulary, accent, pronunciation, annunciation, tone) are made to identify one's membership to social class, then language becomes symbolic (Mills 1939; Goffman 1959; Bourdieu 1977, 1991). When consumption patterns (leisure activities, home and fashion decoration, choice of food, drink, art) are put on display, these "consumables" act as symbols of distinction and interactive power (Warner 1959; Veblen 1973; Bourdieu 1984). Such symbolic displays are what Bourdieu (1989 19) terms the marking of "one's place" in the social order and the naming of a "sense of place for others." Here, the symbolic display of power identifies signs (verbal or otherwise) that "impose upon others a vision...of social division...[and] social authority" (1989 23). To state in another manner, symbolic articulations mark one's rank in the social hierarchy and draw differences between persons based on conceptions of value and worth.

In this paper, we discuss the symbolic imagery of the police and the power they reflect. We argue that the symbolic vessels worn by the police reflect the institution's perceptions of worth and value regarding the public. Furthermore, we contend that these symbolic forms identify and perpetuate power inequalities and serve as mechanisms of social control. We define the militarization of the police uniform as the military battle dress fatigues (BDUs) that are increasingly being fashioned by police. These BDUs are black in color and sometimes camouflage. Likewise this attire is usually worn with black gloves and a black military style com-

bat helmet. First we discuss the symbolic presentation of police institutions, focusing specifically on the police uniform and messages of service. We conclude the paper with commentary urging the abeyance of police messages of control and advance specific actions to foster police-community relations.

AN ACT OF SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE: THE MILITARIZED POLICE UNIFORM

Conceived traditionally, violence is any physical act committed against a person or object for the purposes of instilling harm. Symbolic violence, on the other hand, is a cultural action used to inspire fear and subservience (Bourdieu 1977; Bourdieu & Passerson 1977). In this sense, symbolic violence is always "misrecognized violence," for it appears in the guise of integrity, respect, prominence, or reverence. Symbolic violence is "in the guise of everything, that is, but the overtly maleficent" (Hummel 1996 1). Bourdieu (1977) argues that the power of symbolic violence lies in its ability to set up relationships that perpetuate themselves in a form of seduced coercion. Powers (1995) asserted that the legitimacy we grant to persons in uniform is in our psychology, and in our socialization into relationships of command. In this sense, the police uniform commands respect, yet exists with the power to seduce the public into subservience over police violations. For as Powers (1995) continues, [non-traditional] black [and camouflage] law enforcement uniforms tap into associations between the color black and authority, invincibility, the power to violate laws with impunity. Thus the actions of the wearers of black (that is the wearers of power) go rarely unquestioned.

The modern militarized police uniform (with its emphasis on camouflage and/or black colors) is a force of symbolic violence used primarily to distance community inquiries of police action. The removal of traditional police uniforms are symbolic acts used to distance outsiders (e.g., the community) from the practice of policing. Specifically, the removal of traditional police colors attacks the policing of the police. As Manning and Singh (1997 347) write:

> An important irony is that much state violence in the past (i.e., policing) was covert and, although public, not subject to review or criticism...The increase in the mobility of television cameras, satellite feeds, and constant television news coverage...means the probability of viewing...backstage activities, the untoward, the violent, the corrupt, and the venial may readily come front stage news.

The police, as a control agent, are made legitimate only when their ability to use violent (and sometimes fatal) force goes unquestioned. However, when public scrutiny enters this arena, the police's central role (the threat of applying violence) is questioned. Conceived here, the militarization of symbolic forms is an act of violence used to structure social relations between the police and the community. The militarization of police uniforms functions to: 1) maintain an internal legitimacy within the department by enhancing their role as enforcers of public violence; and 2) serves to symbolically construct a hierarchy between the police and the public.

MESSAGES OF SERVICE: THE VIOLENCE OF SILENCE

The above passage by Manning and Singh calls additional attention to the role of symbolic violence in shaping social relations. Specifically, focus is placed on particular police logos and their function as control agents. The authors have noted the increasing removal of police banners on cars and uniforms which read similar to the following: "To Protect and Serve," "Serve, Protect, and Defend." We contend that such actions are forms of symbolic violence fostered in silence. In this case, the act of silence (the removal of police logos) further attacks community inquiries of police action. Stated differently, the stripping away of police service logos is a cue to observers to remain silent and distant. Silence, as language, is essentially a "system of symbols" that functions to coordinate collective action. As Ganguly (1968 197-198) argues:

> Our language is also full of silencers—statements through which we request others to be silent...To use a silencer is to request others not to pursue the desire to argue any further; metaphorically speaking, the silencers can be regarded as the 'red light' area of our language.

We argue that the loss of communications

of service is silencers — techniques used to distance community members from observing police actions. And we hold that they are effective, but potentially damaging to police-community relations. Ganguly (1968 198) notes, "As soon as we come across such an area of silence the best and wisest thing to do is to keep quiet." To illustrate these theses, we highlight the various social acts that inspired the militarization of the police uniform and messages of service.

Police Militarization

The initiation of the Drug War in the early 1980s prompted an almost obsessive congressional determination to insert a military presence into domestic drug law enforcement (Parenti 2000; Reiman 2004). In 1981 Congress passed the Military Cooperation with Law Enforcement Official Act which encouraged the spread of military equipment, training, and technology with civilian enforcement agencies. Similarly, in 1986, President Ronald Reagan officially designated drug trafficking as a national security threat thus perpetuating the use of military hardware by civilian police. A year later, Congress set up an administrative apparatus, with a toll-free number, to encourage local civilian agencies to take advantage of military assistance; and in 1989 President George Bush created six regional joint task forces in the Department of Defense to act as liaisons between police and the military. A few years later, Congress ordered the Pentagon to make military surplus hardware available to state and local police for enforcement of drug laws. And in 1994, the Department of Defense and the Department of Justice signed an agreement enabling the military to transfer wartime technology to local police departments for peacetime use in American neighborhoods, against American citizens. Further, as a result of the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 and the war effort in Afghanistan and Iraq, military equipment sharing with local police has increased significantly.

No issue has had more impact on the criminal justice system in the past two decades than national drug policy. The "war on drugs" has perpetuated the militaristic method of operation on the part of a great many law enforcement agencies. Moreover, the military mindset on the "war on drugs" further exacerbated police–community relations, especially in minority communities (Walker 1998). Research throughout the 1990's that examined self-reports of drug use revealed that 76 percent of illicit drug users were white, 14 percent black, and 8 percent Hispanic (Miller 1996). The irony here is that African Americans make up about 35 percent of all drug arrests, 55 percent of all drug convictions, and 74 percent of all sentences for drug offenses (Mauer 1999; Mauer & Huling 1995).

The impact of greater emphasis on militaristic law enforcement as a strategy for fighting the "war on drugs" has had a dramatic impact on African Americans as a result of three overlapping policy decisions: the concentration of drug law enforcement in inner cities areas; harsher sentencing policies, particularly for crack cocaine; and, the war's emphasis on law enforcement at the expense of prevention and treatment (Cole 1999; Austin & Allen 2000; Jensen, Gerber & Mosher 2004). The front line in the "war on drugs" is on the streets, primarily carried out in poor and minority neighborhoods. Police dressed in military gear saturate specific neighborhoods performing what they call "drug crackdowns." For example, arrests for drug offenses increased 115 percent in the 1980's, reaching a total of 1 million by 1990 (Walker 1998). As a result of the war's increased law enforcement, incarceration rates increased which subsequently swelled the nation's prisons. The brunt of those incarcerated for drug crimes disproportionably fell on minorities (Austin, Bruce & Carroll 2001). The drug war's stigmatization and incarceration particularly of such a high percentage of African-American males for drug crimes will have significant adverse long-term effects on the black community (Cole 1999).

A declaration of war suggests an imminently threatening national crisis or open conflict requiring the use of extraordinary power and authority, and the mobilization of massive resources to curb the threat and vanquish the enemy (Merlow & Benekos 2000). These events have enabled the proliferation of military equipment (camouflage and "ninja style" uniforms, flash-bang grenades, assault rifles, armored personnel carriers) that make symbolic statements of war. Consider, for example, the following statement:

> There won't be a subtlety in security uniforms anymore, or casualness. Because of the current war effort, the military influ-

> ence will show up more and more in uniforms across all industries. At least part of the rationale for a military trickle-down look is emotional. When we wear these details, we are wearing safety; we wrap ourselves in a little bit of that military security and feel more protected somehow. (Doran 2002 1)

Social Significance of Militarization: Action and Appearance

Some contemporary scholarship has reported a disturbing growth of military tactics and ideology within United States law enforcement agencies (Kraska & Paulsen 1997; Kraska & Cubellis 1997). For example, Kraska and Kappeler (1997) reported that 89 percent of police departments have paramilitary units, and 46 percent have been trained by active duty armed forces. The most common use of paramilitary units is serving drug-related search warrants. According to Kraska and Kappeler (1997) 22 percent of police departments use paramilitary units to patrol urban areas. When police organizations look and act like soldiers, a military mind set is created that declares war on the American public. In this mentality the American streets become the "front", and American citizens exist as "enemy combatants" (Weber 1999 10). Once an organization with a militaristic orientation becomes institutionalized, the members exist within a culture wherein they believe that they are literally engaged in combat. McNeill (1982 viii) writes:

> [When] the police constitute a quasi-military warrior class [they act as warriors]. In common with warriors generally, they exhibit bonds of solidarity [that] are fierce and strong. Indeed, [their] human propensities find fullest expression in having an enemy to hate, fear, and destroy and fellow fighters with whom to share the risks and triumphs of violent action.

When police organizations train officers to act and think like soldiers they alienate them from the community which they are supposed to be a part of. Soldiers at war operate under a code of domination, not service. Thus, all actions (or perceived offenses) by civilians must be handled by domination—by force and control. Stated boldly, no longer do police officers operate as officers of the law; they act as the law itself. Within this mentality laws are applied arbitrarily without the validation of civilian voices and the courts. Weber (1999 10) writes,

> The job of the police is to react to the violence of others, to apprehend criminal suspects and deliver them over to a court of law.

A soldier on the other hand,

> does not think; [he/she] initiates violence on command and doesn't worry about the Bill of Rights. (Weber 1999 10)

The mentality of war has additional consequences for the American community. Specifically, the paramilitary model of policing destroys the very fabric of social life, trust. Simmel (1990 178) asserts that, "without the general trust that people have in each other, society itself would disintegrate." The only alternative to trust is as Luhmann (1979 4) argues, "chaos and paralyzing fear." When community residents distrust and fear the police, cooperation becomes void. The police cannot stop or control crime without the help of ordinary citizens. And citizens won't help a cop unless they trust her or him.

It is a commonly accepted law enforcement notion that police agencies are designed on the military model of organization and leadership (Cowper 2004; Birzer 1996). For the police to be paramilitary assumes that they take on many of the traits and culture of the military. The paradox here is that the military and the police are strikingly different in philosophy and mission. For example, Cowper (2004) points out that there are numerous concepts or doctrines within the military that support and encourage an organizational war fighting mentality that are almost completely missing from policing. According to Cowper (2004), the military actively employs concepts such as combined arms, which views successful war fighting as the highly coordinated employment of every organizational function or specialty in a mutually supportive manner and actively integrates all of the actions of an organization's resources and personnel to best operational advantage. We argue that a true military mentality in police organizations would be disastrous for democratic civilian policing. However, the salience here is that American policing has slowly evolved more and more toward what Kraska and Kappeler (1997) refer to as the

rise and normalization of paramilitary police units.

There is some literature that speculates that the very nature of the mentality of the drug war, and the militaristic culture that law enforcement has created in fighting this war, has perhaps perpetuated police corruption (Lersch 2001). A report by the United States General Accounting Office (1998) indicated that drug related corruption differs in a variety of ways from other types of corruption including, protecting criminals, stealing drugs and/or money from drug dealers, selling drugs, and lying under oath about illegal drug searches. The report also revealed that the most commonly identified pattern of drug-related police corruption involved small groups of officers who protected and assisted each other in criminal activities, rather than the traditional patterns of non-drug related police corruption that involved just a few isolated individuals or systemic corruption pervading an entire police department or precinct.

In the end we argue that the militarization of the police creates a social arena that is less safe and more violent. Persons targeted as criminals become more combative in their interactions with the police because of the potential for increased harm fostered in the military mind set; while the average citizen (now seen by the police as a "criminal in wait") loses trust in the institution designed to protect them (Parenti 2000; Derber 2004).

Recommendations for Change

As an important symbolic step, law enforcement should give up their military style clothing and gear. Camouflage and black or near-black uniforms and similar military hardware should be replaced with symbols more representative of service and democracy. Rosselli (2002 1) writes,

> When you think of police uniforms, the color blue ultimately comes to mind...Perceived as authoritative, the color conjures up images of professionalism and competency, making it a natural color for police uniforms.

Ironically even O.W. Wilson (Wilson & McLaren 1977), a staunch advocate of the military command and control culture, acknowledged that police agencies are equipping at least a portion of their uniformed force with blazer jackets in an attempt to add a businesslike, nonmilitary appearance.[1]

Scholarly literature discusses the police uniform and the effect the uniform may have on police culture, community relations and perceived professionalism. One rather dated essay reports the results of a small experiment where a police department traded the typical police uniform for civilian type clothes and an informal survey revealed that the community residents favored the change by a ten to one margin (Cizanckas 1970). Similarly, Gunderson (1987) studied the effects of police officers' uniforms on their credibility. Gunderson reported that a large difference emerged in perceived professionalism, favoring the blazer uniform over the traditional uniform. With the growing trend of military tactics and ideology in American policing, empirical evaluations of the effects of the military style uniform and the like on the community are sorely needed.

Police officers should openly foster and communicate messages of service to community members. The authors argue that this can be best accomplished by 1) returning messages of service and 2) implementing community policing policies. Our first suggestion speaks to the end of communicative silencers by returning slogans of service (i.e., To Protect and Serve) to officer's patrol cars and uniforms. The second suggestion of community policing is relatively simplistic inso-much that the police take on a role of being more community oriented and the citizens take on a role of being more involved with assisting the police with information (Thurman, Zhao & Giacomazzi 2001). Community policing requires police officers to identify, and respond to a broad array of problems such as crime, disorder, and fear of crime, drug use, urban decay, and other neighborhood concerns. For example, as Trojanowicz (1990 125) observes:

> Community policing requires a department-wide philosophical commitment to involve average citizens as partners in the process of reducing and controlling the contemporary problems of crime, drugs, fear of crime and neighborhood decay; and in efforts to improve overall quality of life in the community.

Community oriented policing beckons police executives to examine their organizations and effect change in support of community

policing strategies. This requires changes in organizational structure, decision making, leadership, and in training and education which socializes personnel into the community policing ethos (Birzer & Tannehill 2001; Weisburd, McElroy & Hardyman 1988; Zhao 1996).

Community oriented policing is a strategy which entails crime prevention, problem solving, community partnerships and organizational transformation (Bennett & Lupton 1992; Eck & Spelman 1987). Many scholars argue that with community policing, police officers will be expected to become partners with the community in maintaining social order (Carter & Radelet 1999). This differs from traditional law enforcement because it allows police the freedom to expand the scope of their jobs. Police in this sense are challenged to become community problem solvers and encouraged to use their time creatively. Likewise, police will be required to discern vast amounts of information and recognize available resources in order to apply them to problem solving.

Considerable theoretical scholarship on community policing has speculated on the importance of the police to work in partnership with citizens, and other private and public organizations in order to solve problems and improve the quality of life in neighborhoods (Maguire & Mastrofski 1999; DeJong & Mastrofski 2001). We argue that through the implementation of community oriented policing strategies which require, in part, organizational transformation will begin to strengthen ties between the police and communities. Community policing recommends changes which include, allowing for more participative decision making, eliminating the traditional paramilitary command and control culture, and increased and renewed partnerships with the citizenry to identify and solve community crime and disorder problems. The vast majority of the studies which have examined the impact of community policing on citizens' attitudes towards the police have uncovered positive effects (Cordner 2005).

CONCLUSION

A symbol is an object of communication made material within a social and cultural context. As such, any symbol object reflects the social order, the hierarchies of status and power, and the general conceptions of value and worth that reside within the group, community, or society of its origin. In this paper we have argued that the symbolic form serves to make and/or perpetuate social boundaries, and we have provided examples within the world of police-community relations. We present the notion that the militarized appearance of the police is an act of symbolic violence used to distance community inquiries into police actions. Specifically, the militarized police image attacks, the "policing of the police." In the end we have suggested the reformation of the American policing system within a broader system of organization that focuses on community service, trust building, and changes to the police's symbolic order of social control. We hold that such measures could alleviate the polarization that exists in police-community social relations.

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END NOTES

[1] In the 1970s several police departments traded in traditional police uniforms for blazers and ties in order to foster an alternative public vision of police officers. As Bill Huffman, former Cal State Fullerton Public Safety Chief, notes,

> During that time, the Cambodian War and Vietnam War [was] erupting and the Chicago Seven had just protested the Democratic National Convention in Chicago...It was really ugly. You were automatically discriminated against as a whole for being a police officer...You were seen as part of the system...So departments turned to blazers and ties to help improve the image of police officers. (Cited in Brennan 1998).

We reject the idea of putting police officers in blazers. The reason, as Huffman contends, "If you are in trouble and looking for police, you will look for a uniform, not someone in a blazer." (Cited in Brennan 1998). We argue that the uniform is a necessary element of police duty and that said uniform should communicate service and authority, not fear or invisibility.

EXCEPTIONS TO RAPE SHIELD LAWS

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ABSTRACT

Almost all states and the federal government have statutes designed to protect sexual assault victims from harassing and intimidating questions regarding their past sexual experiences and reputations for chastity. During the Kobe Bryant's sexual assault preliminary hearing, Bryant's attorney was accused of violating Colorado's rape shield statute when she asked whether the alleged victim's reported injuries could have been caused by having sex with three men in a short period of time. Bryant's attorney was immediately attacked for attempting to smear the victim and violating Colorado's rape shield statute. Unknown to many persons, all rape shield statutes have exceptions; and some exceptions are constitutionally required. A complete ban on questions regarding victims' past sexual experiences would violate defendants' Sixth Amendment right to confront the evidence against them and the Fourteenth Amendment right to due process of law of the U. S. Constitution. The authors discuss the right to confrontation, including a table that shows the exceptions for all states and the federal government.

Pressed by advocates for women's issues, numerous state legislatures and Congress passed laws limiting the type of information that defense attorneys could explore in sexual assault trials (Bayliff 2003; Young 2002). The view was that many sexual assault victims were reluctant to report sexual assault and testify in court because some defense attorneys were asking questions about their sexual history and clothing at the time of the alleged assault (Katz 2003). Thus, numerous women thought that this problem had been resolved because almost all states have passed what is frequently called rape shield laws or modified their laws regarding admissible evidence (Call, Nice & Talarico 1991; Spohn & Horney 1991).

Advocates for rape shield laws were shocked and angry when the attorney for basketball star Kobe Bryant asked a state witness during Bryant's preliminary hearing whether the alleged victim's injury was consistent with a woman having sex with three different men in consecutive days (Bayliff 2003). Eagle County Court Judge Fred Gannett halted the preliminary hearing and ordered the attorneys into his chambers (*"Bombshell question clears court"* 2003). Numerous commentators and advocates vilified the defense attorney as going over the line and violating Colorado's rape shield law (CBSNews.Com 2003;*"Prosecutors Say Kobe's Defense is Smearing Accuser"* 2003). When the proceedings commenced again, the defense attorney continued with her questions regarding whether the injuries could have been caused by the alleged victim having sex with other men. Because the attorney was allowed to continue with this question, it signaled that the question was not improper (Post 2003).

This situation involving Kobe Bryant's attorney signals further that rape shield laws contain exceptions which must be because of the Sixth Amendment right to confrontation. A complete ban on questions about a rape victim's sexual history would violate the U.S. Constitution and many state Constitutions because defendants have a constitutional right to confront the evidence against them.

Although the issue of rape shield laws has been discussed extensively in the literature, these papers are found mostly in law review journals. For example, a search of LEXIS/NEXUS legal database shows that 581 articles that have been published in the last ten years with the term rape shield in them. In the social work database, there is 1 article and it is a criminal justice article. The sociological abstracts database shows 9 articles. Of this 9, 1 was a dissertation, 3 were from the social sciences, and 5 were from legal journals. The psychological abstracts database shows 6 articles. For the most part, lay professionals in the social sciences do not read law review journals because law review journals are written by and for law students, law professors, judges, and attorneys. A review of the reference pages of the paltry number of articles on rape shield laws in the social sciences indicates that an article on rape shield laws in a social science journal is sorely needed. This is especially the case given that the criminal case against Kobe Bryant was ultimately dropped and critics have attributed the dismissal to mistakes by the judge, including his ruling that portions

Table 1: Exceptions to Rape Shield Laws

States	Synopsis of Exceptions
Alabama	If past sexual behaviors directly involved the participation of the accused.
Alaska	Any evidence that is relevant and the probative value of the evidence is not outweighed by the probability that its admission will create undue prejudice, confusion of the issues, or unwarranted invasion of privacy of the complaining witness.
Arizona	If evidence is relevant and is material to a fact in issue in the case and that the inflammatory or prejudicial nature of the evidence does not outweigh the probative value of the evidence and if the evidence is one of the following: 1. evidence of the victim's past sexual conduct with the defendant. 2. evidence of specific instances of sexual activity showing the source of semen, pregnancy, disease or trauma; 3. evidence that supports a claim that the victim has a motive in accusing the defendant of the crime; 4. evidence offered for the purpose of impeachment when the prosecutor puts the victim's prior sexual conduct in issue; and 5. evidence of false allegations of sexual misconduct made by the victim against others.
Arkansas	If relevant to a fact in issue, and its probative value outweighs its inflammatory or prejudicial nature.
California	The judge weighs the proffered evidence under the admissibility guidelines set out in California law which requires the weighing of prejudicial effect versus probative value.
Colorado	Evidence of the victim's or witness' prior or subsequent sexual conduct with the actor; evidence of specific instances of sexual activity showing the source or origin of semen, pregnancy, disease or any similar evidence of sexual intercourse offered for the purose of showing that the act or acts charged were or were not committed by the defendant.
Connecticut	(1) Offered by the defendant on the issue of whether the defendant was, with respect to the victim, the source of semen, disease, pregnancy or injury, or (2) offered by the defendant on the issue of credibility of the victim, provided the victim has testified on direct examination as to his or her sexual conduct; (3) any evidence of sexual conduct with the defendant offered by the defendant on the issue of consent by the victim, when consent is raised as a defense by the defendant; (4) otherwise so relevant and material to a critical issue in the case that excluding it would violate the defendant's constitutional rights.
Delaware	If the evidence proposed to be offered by the defendant regarding the sexual conduct of the complaining witness is relevant.
District of Columbia	The evidence is constitutionally required to be admitted or shows past sexual behavior under circumstances where consent is an issue in the case before the court.
Florida	If the evidence may prove that the defendant was not the source of the semen, pregnancy, injury, or disease or when consent by the victim is at issue, such evidence may be admitted if it is first established to the court...that such evidence tends to establish a pattern of conduct or behavior on the part of the victim which is so similar to the conduct or behavior in the case that it is relevant to the issue of consent.
Georgia	If the past sexual behavior directly involved the participation of the accused and finds that the evidence expected to be introduced supports an inference that the accused could have reasonably believed that the complaining witness consented to the conduct complained of in the prosecution.
Hawaii	If past sexual behavior with persons other than the accused, offered by the accused upon the issue of whether the accused was or was not, with respect to the alleged victim, the source of semen or injury; or past sexual behavior with the accused and is offered by the accused upon the issue of whether the alleged victim consented to the sexual behavior with respect to which sexual assault is alleged.
Idaho	Evidence of specific instances of sexual behavior where such is constitutionally required or involves persons other than the accused and bears upon the issue of the source of semen or injury or involves the accused and bears upon the issue of consent.
Illinois	If the evidence is relevant and the probative value of the evidence outweighs the danger of unfair prejudice.

of the alleged victim's sexual behavior immediately before and after the encounter with Kobe Bryant.

For these reasons, the purpose of this paper is first to discuss rape shield laws and present in tabular form rape shield laws exceptions in all states and the federal government. The process for deciding whether a victim's sexual history would be admissible at trial will then follow. Critical to understanding the exceptions in rape shield laws is the Right to Confrontation within the Sixth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which also will be discussed. The authors end with some discussions and thoughts about rape shield statutes.

A FEW RAPE SHIELD STATUTES

Most states have similar rape shield laws and similar processes for determining whether evidence about an alleged rape victims' sexual history will be admitted. (Please see Table 1). Many states' exceptions permit defendants to introduce evidence regarding past relationships with a victim when the defense is consent or to show that the defendant was not the source of pregnancy, disease, or injury to the victim (Winters 1989). Before such evidence may be admitted or a witness questioned, defendants must, prior to trial, proffer, supported by affidavits, of the evidence that they intend to offer. The judge conducts a hearing *in camera* (i.e., in chambers) and decides which questions, if any, may be asked. A judge may find that some evidence about a victim's sexual history is legally admissible, but may bar its admission at trial because the prejudicial nature of the evidence outweighs its probative value. Further, not all evidence is admissible in a trial. Only relevant evidence is admissible, which is evidence that shows whether a purported fact is more or less probable (*Colorado v. Harris* 2002).

Colorado's exceptions permit a defendant to present evidence of the victim's or witness's prior or subsequent sexual conduct with the defendant. An additional exception permits evidence of specific instances of sexual activity showing the source or origin of semen, pregnancy, disease or *any similar evidence of sexual intercourse offered for the purpose of showing that the act or acts charged were or were not committed by the defendant* [Emphasis by Authors] (Colorado Revised Statute 18-3-407). Citing Colorado rape shield law, the Supreme Court of Colorado reinstated a sexual assault conviction because there existed an issue of fact of who was responsible for an injury—the defendant or the woman's boyfriend (*Colorado v. Harris* 2002).

Kobe Bryant was accused of causing an injury. Thus, Bryant's attorney had a right to, as the statute states, refute and challenge,

> *any similar evidence of sexual intercourse offered for the purpose of showing that the act or acts charged were or were not committed by the defendant.* (Colorado Revised Statute 18-3-407)

Bryant's attorney was not attempting to assert that if someone else caused the injury, then Kobe was not guilty. The attorney appeared to have been challenging the nurse's assertion that the woman was injured during a sexual assault.

THE RIGHT TO CONFRONTATION

The Sixth Amendment to the United States Constitution provides that in "all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to be confronted with the witnesses against him." The Court has stated that confrontation includes the right to challenge witnesses in an adversarial process (*Washington v. Texas* 1967). As with much of American jurisprudence, the genesis of most American legal concepts is rooted in the Common Law that developed in England. However legal historians tend to disagree over the exact meaning of many of these legal concepts, including the Confrontation Clause, and what they were designed to prevent. As Justice Thomas wrote, "there is virtually no evidence of what the drafters of the Confrontation Clause intended it to mean" (*White v. Illinois* 1992 359).

One conservative guess of what the Confrontation Clause was designed to prevent was the legal practices that occurred in the sixteenth century in England. During that period, the magistrates interrogated prisoners and witnesses prior to trials. These interrogations were essentially for the courts, then, to learn the details of cases. When witnesses were interrogated, the prisoners were not present. When the trials were conducted, the proof of the crimes was provided by the reading of depositions, confessions of accomplices, letters, or affidavits. Often to no avail,

Table 1: Exceptions to Rape Shield Laws Continued

States	Synopsis of Exceptions
Indiana	If the evidence of (1) the victim's or a witness' past sexual conduct with the defendant; (2) which in a specific instance of sexual activity shows that some person other than the defendant committed the act upon which the prosecution is founded; or (3) that the victim's pregnancy at the time of trial was not caused by the defendant and is material to a fact at issue in the case and that its inflammatory or prejudicial nature does not outweigh its probative value.
Iowa	Relevant evidence that has any tendency to make the existence of any fact that is or consequence to the determination of the action more probable than it would be without the evidence. However, all relevant evidence is not admissible and is subject to a balancing test regarding whether its probative value is outweighed by its prejudicial or inflammatory effect.
Kansas	Evidence that is relevant, which the judge determines to be relevant.
Kentucky	If (1) evidence of past sexual behavior with persons other than the accused, offered by the accused upon the issue of whether the accused was or was not, with respect to the alleged victim, the source of semen or injury; (2) evidence of past sexual behavior with the accused and is offered by the accused upon the issue of whether the alleged victim consented to the sexual behavior with respect to which an offense is alleged; or (3) any other evidence directly pertaining to the offense charged.
Louisiana	If (1) evidence of past sexual behavior with persons other than the accused, upon the issue of whether or not the accused was the source of semen or injury; provided that such evicence is limited to a period not to exceed seventy-two hours prior to the time of the offense, and further provided that the jury be instructed at the time and in its final charge regarding the limited purpose for which the evidence is admitted; or (2) evidence of past sexual behavior with the accused offered by the accused upon the issue of whether or not the victim consented to the sexually assaultive behavior.
Maine	(1) Evidence, other than reputation or opinion evidence, of sexual behavior with persons other than the accused, offered by the accused upon the issue of whether the accused was or was not, with the respect to the alleged victim, the source of semen or injury; or (2) evidence, other than reputation or opinion evidence of sexual behavior with the accused offered by the accused on the issue of whether the alleged victim consented to the sexual behavior with respect to which the accused is charged; (3) evidence the exclusion of which would violate the constitutional rights of the defendant.
Maryland	(1) If the evidence is relevant; (2) the evidence is material to a fact in issue in the case; (3) the inflammatory or prejudicial nature of the evidence does not outweigh its probative value; and (4) the evidence (i) is of the victim's past sexual conduct with the defendant; (ii) is a specific instance of sexual activity showing the source of semen, pregnancy, disease, or trauma; (iii) supports a claim that the victim has an ulterior motive to accuse the defendant of the crime; or (iv) is offered for impeachment after the prosecutor has put the victim's prior sexual conduct in issue.
Massachusetts	Evidence of the victim's sexual conduct with the defendant or evidence of recent conduct of the victim alleged to be the cause of any physical feature, characteristic, or condition of the victim.
Michigan	Evidence of the alleged victim's past sexual conduct with the defendant and evidence of specific instances of sexual activity showing the source of origin of semen, pregnancy, or disease.
Minnesota	(1) Evidence of the victim's previous sexual conduct tending to establish a common scheme or plan of similar sexual conduct under circumstances similar to the case at issue (in order to find a common scheme or plan, the judge must find that the victim made prior allegations of sexual assault which were fabricated); and (2) evidence of the victim's previous sexual conduct with the accused.
Mississippi	Constitutionally required to be admitted and past sexual behavior with persons other than the accused, offered by the accused upon the issue of whether the accused was or was not, with respect to the alleged victim, the source of semen, pregnancy, disease, or injury; or past sexual behavior with the accused and is offered by the accused upon the issue of whether the alleged victim consented to the sexual behavior with respect to which a sexual offense is alleged; or false allegations of past sexual offenses made by the alleged victim at any time prior to the trial.

prisoners demanded that their accusers be present in court and state their charges to the prisoners' faces. For example, in 1603, charges were leveled against Sir Walter Raleigh for treason, a capital offense. The primary evidence against Sir Walter Raleigh was that of an alleged co-conspirator, who was later reported to have been induced by torture to implicate. Raleigh was locked in the London Tower for 12 years (*White v. Illinois* 1992).

Through the years, the U.S. Supreme Court has decided cases in which the contention was that defendants' right to confront their accusers was denied. These cases have involved homicide or murder cases, but more recently child sexual abuse cases, in which the courts have permitted hearsay evidence as exceptions to the right to confrontation (*Maryland v. Craig* 1990). Normally, hearsay is not permitted in a trial, but there are some exceptions, such as dying declarations and reports given to medical personnel.

While the Justices agree that hearsay is admissible in some cases, some Justices take a literal reading of the Confrontation Clause and that it specifically guarantees a defendant's right to be confronted in court with the *witnesses* against him or her. The U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that a child sexual assault victim may testify out of the courtroom and that this does not violate a defendant's right to confront his or her accuser (*Maryland v. Craig* 1990). The Court ruled that confrontation was assured when the defendant could communicate with her attorney and help the attorney to ask questions of the victim, thus fully confronting him. In one case, the defendant was a day care owner who was accused of sexually abusing some of the children in her care. She was subsequently convicted and sentenced to a prison term (*Maryland v. Craig* 1990).

According to the Court, it had never ruled that the Confrontation Clause guaranteed criminal defendants the absolute right to a face-to-face meeting with witnesses against them at trial. Rather, the central concern of the Confrontation Clause is to ensure the reliability of evidence against criminal defendants by subjecting the evidence to rigorous examination within the context of the adversarial process before the trier of fact. This means defendants' right to confrontation is assured by personal examination, which includes requiring the witnesses to testify under oath, cross-examination by the defense counsel or the defendants, and giving the jury the opportunity to observe the demeanor of all the witnesses, including the defendants, even if they do not testify (*Maryland v. Craig* 1990).

In a very rare coalition, Justice Scalia, one of the more conservative Justices on the U.S. Supreme Court, joined the more liberal Justices in the minority opinion in denouncing what the majority had done to the Confrontation Clause in *Maryland v. Craig* (1990). Justice Scalia wrote,

> seldom has this Court failed so conspicuously to sustain a categorical guarantee of the Constitution against the tide of prevailing current opinion. The Sixth Amendment provides, with unmistakable clarity, that 'in all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right...to be confronted with the witnesses against him.' The purpose of enshrining this protection in the Constitution was to assure that none of the many policy interests from time to time pursued by statutory law could overcome a defendant's right to face his or her accusers in court. (*Maryland v. Craig* 1990 pp 860-861)

In one U.S. Supreme Court decision, the Court ruled unanimously that a Texas man was denied due process of law because a Texas statute forbade a codefendant from testifying for the defendant in a trial. The State could call a codefendant as a state witness against the accused, but not the accused for his or her defense. The U.S. Supreme Court held that such a rule violated both the Sixth Amendment and the Fourteenth Amendment. The Court noted that the codefendant's testimony was relevant, material, and vital to the defense (*Washington v. Texas* 1967).

While the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in a case involving a defendant's Sixth Amendment right to put on evidence relevant, material, and vital to the defense, other courts have ruled that a defendant's Sixth Amendment right to confront the evidence against him or her is violated by the trial court restricting the defense of cross examination designed to produce relevant, material, and vital evidence (*Washington v. Texas* 1967).

The U.S. Supreme Court has only ruled in a couple of cases involving the right to confrontation as it conflicts with rape shield laws.

Table 1: Exceptions to Rape Shield Laws Continued

States	Synopsis of Exceptions
Missouri	(1) Evidence of the sexual conduct of the complaining witness with the defendant to prove consent where consent is a defense to the alleged crime and the evidence is reasonably contemporaneous with the date of the alleged crime; or (2) evidence of specific instances of sexual activity showing alternative source of semen, pregnancy or disease; (3) evidence of immediate surrounding circumstances of the alleged crime; or (4) evidence relating to the previous chastity of the complaining witness in cases, where, by statute, previously chaste character is required to be proved by the prosecution.
Montana	Evidence of the victim's past sexual conduct with the offender or evidence of specific instances of the victim's sexual activity to show the origin of semen, pregnancy, or disease which is at issue in the prosecution.
Nebraska	(a) Evidence of past sexual behavior with persons other than the defendant, offered by the defendant upon the issue whether the defendant was or was not, with respect to the victim, the source of any physical evidence, including but not limited to, semen, injury, blood, saliva, and hair or (b) evidence of past sexual behavior with the defendant when such evidence is offered by the defendant on the issue of whether the victim consented to the sexual behavior upon which the sexual assault is alleged if it first established to the court that such activity shows such a relation to the conduct involved in the case and tends to establish a pattern of conduct or behavior on the part of the victim as to be relevant to the issue of consent.
Nevada	Evidence that is relevant, which the judge determines to be relevant.
New Hampshire	The evidence is constitutionally required; or the evidence relates to past sexual relations with the alleged by others than the accused, and the evidence is offered by the accused on the issue of the source of semen or injury with respect to the alleged victim; or the evidence relates to past sexual behavior between the accused and the alleged victim, and is offered by the accused upon the issue of consent.
New Jersey	If the court finds that evidence offered by the defendant regarding the sexual conduct of the complaining witness is relevant, and that the probative value of the evidence offered is not outweighed by the probability that its admission will create undue prejudice, confusion of the issues, or unwarranted invasion of the privacy of the complaining witness.
New Mexico	The evidence is material to the case and that its inflammatory or prejudicial nature does not outweight its probative value.
New York	(1) The evidence proves or tends to prove specific instances of the victim's prior sexual conduct with the accused; (2) proves or tends to prove that the victim has been convicted of an offense....within three years prior to the sex offense which is the subject of the prosecution; or (3) rebuts evidence introduced by the people of the victim"s failure to engage in sexual intercourse, oral sexual contact, anal sexual conduct or sexual contact during a given period of time; or (4) rebuts evidence introduced by the people which proves or tends to prove that the accused is the cause of pregnancy or disease of the victim, or the source of semen found in the victim; or (5) is determined by the court after an offer of proof by the accused outside the hearing of the jury, or such hearing as the court may require, and a statement by the court of its findings of fact essential to its determination, to be relevant and admissible in the interest of justice.
North Carolina	Unless (1) such behavior was between the complainant and the defendant or (2) is evidence of specific instances of sexual behavior offered for the purpose of showing that the act or acts charged were not committed by the defendant; or (3) is evidence of a pattern of sexual behavior so distinctive and so closely resembling the defendant's version of the alleged encounter with the complainant as to tend to prove that such complainant consented to the act or acts charged or behaved in such a manner as to lead the defendant reasonably to believe that the complainant consented; or (4) is evidence of sexual behavior offered as the basis of expert psychological or psychiatric opinion that the complainant fantasized or invented the act or acts charged.
North Dakota	(1) Evidence of specific instances of sexual behavior by the alleged victim offered to prove that a person other than the accused was the source of semen, injury, or toher physical evidence; (2) evidence of specific instances of sexual behavior by the alleged victim with respect to the person accused of the sexual misconduct, offered by the accused to prove consent or by the prosecution; and (3) evidence the exclusion which would violate the constitutional rights of the defendant.

In one case, a White female claimed that two African American men who had given her a ride sexually assaulted and sodomized her twice. The men stated that the woman consented to sex and concocted the rape charges to protect an affair that she was having with another African American male. At that time, both the woman and her lover were married, but by the time the case came to trial, the woman and her lover were living together. The defendants wanted to cross examine the woman about her living arrangement, especially after she testified under oath that she lived with her mother. Based on the exceptions in Kentucky's rape shield law, the trial judge ruled that the woman's living arrangement might prejudice the jury against her—a White woman living with an African American man. The men were acquitted of some charges, but one defendant was convicted of sodomy and given 10 years. The Kentucky appellate court agreed with the trial judge in restricting cross-examination of the woman. But the U.S. Supreme Court reversed, ruling that the right to confrontation includes the right to cross-examination. The Court ruled that the defendant was entitled to show that the woman had a motive to lie and that her lying on the witness stand regarding living with her mother unfairly prevented the defense from showing that the victim has a habit of lying or a tendency to lie (*Olden v. Kentucky* 1988).

In another U.S. Supreme Court case, the issue was more of a technical case involving a defendant's failure to provide notice of his intent to question an alleged rape victim, who was an ex-girl friend, about their past sexual relationship. The defendant's defense was one of consent, but the judge, in a bench trial, refused to accept such testimony because the Michigan statute had not been followed. A Michigan appellate court ruled that a per se rule restricting testimony about a prior sexual relationship between an accused and victim was unconstitutional. However, the U.S. Supreme Court reversed the Michigan court, holding that a strict ruling that preclusion of evidence is unconstitutional contradicts its jurisprudence regarding the Sixth Amendment and the right to confrontation (*Michigan v. Lucas* 1991).

In a case from the Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals, *United States of America v. Beday* (1991), the Court ruled that a defendant charged with sexual abuse of a child was unfairly convicted because cross examination about a previous sexual abuse of the child was restricted. The defendant, Beday, was charged with sexual abuse of his girlfriend's child and abusive sexual contact with a child due to injuries sustained by the child. The couple and the child all slept in the same bed. The mother stated she saw the defendant on top of her daughter, and the defendant claimed that he was too drunk to remember anything. Several months before the incident with Beday, another adult pled guilty to sexual abuse and this adult was said to have had sexual intercourse with the child more than once. Because the prosecution emphasized the injuries to the child as having been caused by Beday although a physician testified in a pretrial hearing that he could not state when the injuries were caused, the defendant was prevented from eliciting information from the child victim and also from testing whether the child was clear as to who did what to her.

COMMENTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Although rape shield laws enjoy wide public support, a few critics, including feminist critics, have pointed out problems with these laws. For example, Tilley (2002), a feminist, argued that all rape shield laws should be abolished because they were based on faulty logic and do not advance feminists' goals to change the public discussion over female sexuality. Particularly, Tilley stated that the notion to exclude women's sexual history in a sexual assault trial was based on a chauvinistic model of juries, which consisted of all men and their oppressive views of female sexuality. She stated that contemporary juries tend to be mixed with women making up a substantial number of jurors. In Tilley's view, a discussion of a woman's sexual history would not necessarily lead to fewer sexual assault convictions. Tilley believes that mixed gendered juries could discuss frankly the connection between sexual history and consent and still convict a defendant.

Most criticisms of rape shield laws center on unfairness in sexual assault against defendants, preventing them from confronting the evidence against them, giving juries distorted pictures, and impeding a defendant from showing that a victim may have a motive to lie. A female newspaper columnist recounted a series of cases in which excluded evidence about victims' sexual practices mis-

Table 1: Exceptions to Rape Shield Laws Continued

States	Synopsis of Exceptions
Ohio	Unless the evidence involves the origin of semen, preganancy, or disease, or the victim's past sexual activity with the offender, and only to the extent that the court finds that the evidence is material to a fact at issue in the case and itsinflammatory or prejudicial nature does not outweigh its probative value.
Oklahoma	(1) Specific instances of sexual behavior if offered for a purpose other than consent, including proof of the source of semen, pregnancy, disease or injury; (2) false allegations of sexual offenses; or (3) similar sexual acts in the presence of the accused with persons other than the accused which occurs at the time of the event giving rise to the sexual offense alleged.
Oregon	Evidence that relates to the motive or bias of the alleged victim; is necessary to rebut or explain scientific or medical evidence offered by the state; or is otherwise constitutionally required to be admitted.
Pennsylvania	Evidence of the alleged victim's past sexual conduct with the defendant where consent of the alleged victim is at issue and such evidence is otherwise admissible pursuant to the rules of evidence.
Puerto Rico	(1) Evidence of specific instances of sexual behavior by the alleged victim offered to prove that a person other than the accused was the source of semen, injury, or other physical evidence; (2) evidence of specific instances of sexual behavior by the alleged victim with respect to the person accused of the sexual misconduct offered by the accused to prove consent or by the prosecution; and (3) evidence the exclusion of which would violate the constitutional rights of the defendant.
Rhode Island	Notice must be given if the accused plans to offer evidence that the victim engaged in sexual behaviors with others.
South Carolina	Evidence of the victim's sexual conduct with the defendant or evidence of specific instances of sexual activity with persons other than the defendant introduced to show source of semen, pregnancy, or disease about which evidence has been introduced previously at trail is admissible if the judge finds that such evidence is relavant to a material fact and issue in the case and that its inflammatory or prejudicial nature does not outweigh its probative value; evidence of specific instances of sexual activity which would constitute adultery and would be admissible under rules of evidence to impeach the credibility of the witness may not be excluded.
South Dakota	Evidence of a victim's prior sexual encounters may be admitted if the trial court finds that it is relevant and material to a fact at issue in the case.
Tennessee	Evidence required by (1) the Tennessee or United States Constitution; (2) offered by the defendant on the issue of credibility of the victim, provided the prosecutor or victim has or presented evidence as the victim's sexual behavior, and only to the extent needed to rebut the specific evidence presented by the prosecutor or victim; or (3) if the sexual behavior was with the accused; on the issue of consent; or (4) if the sexual behavior was with persons other than the accused; (i) to rebut or explain scientific or medical evidence; or (ii) to prove or explain the source of semen, injury, disease, or knowledge of sexual matters; or (iii) to prove consent if the evidence is of a pattern of sexual behavior so distinctive and so closely resembling the accused's version of the alleged encounter with the victim that it tends to prove that the victim consented to the act charged or behaved in such a manner as to lead the defendant reasonably to believe that the victim consented.
Texas	Evidence that is necessary to rebut or explain scientific or medical evidence offered by the State; that relates to the motive or bias of the alleged victim; that is constitutionally required to be admitted and its probative value outweighs the danger of unfair prejudice.
Utah	(1) Evidence of specific instances of sexual behavior by the alleged victim offered to prove that a person other than the accused was the source of the semen, injury, or other physical evidence; (2) evidence of specific instances of sexual behavior by the alleged victim with respect to the person accused of the sexual misconduct offered: (A) by the accused to prove consent; or (B) by the prosecution; and (3) evidence the exclusion of which would violate the constitutionally rights of the defendant.

led juries regarding what occurred between the defendants and them. In one case, the victim and defendant had a previous sexual relationship that included biting, but the defendant was not allowed to show that this behavior was common between them (Young 2002). LaTesta (1998) was particularly critical of rape shield statutes that prevented defendants from showing a victim may have a motive to lie. In one case, LaTesta related a case of a man accused of sexual assault by a 10-year-old girl. The defendant stated that he caught the young girl having sex with his 14-year-old son and told her that he intended to tell her mother. However, the trial court ruled that the defense's reference to this contention created a mistrial. The defense appealed and an Oregon court ruled that the rape shield law in which the mistrial was based was an error and violated the defendant's right to confront. Thus, a second trial was barred (*State v. Jalo* 1976).

Although one case decided by the Georgia Supreme Court did not involve Georgia's rape shield law, it showed where allowing the defense to bring in a victim's sexual history would be constitutionally required. The case involved an 18-year-old African American male who the jury believed had consensual sex with an almost 16-year-old white female. They were caught having sex on school grounds, and the defense contended that the girl fabricated the sexual assault charge because she was afraid of her father, a Ku Klux Klansman. The jury acquitted the defendant of rape, statutory rape, aggravated assault, sexual battery, and false imprisonment. The charge on which the jury reluctantly convicted, according to interviews with jurors later, was aggravated child molestation, which carried a sentence of 10 years with no chance for probation, parole, or pardon. According to the instructions given to the jury, the jury must convict the defendant of aggravated child molestation if the child was under 16 years old, and the sex resulted in an injury to the child. The injury in this case was that the girl purported to be a virgin and lost her virginity during the consensual sex with the defendant, as the jury concluded. If the girl was not a virgin and had sex with other boys, then the defendant would be entitled to introduce this evidence of previous sexual intercourse because the charge was based on her being a virgin and losing her virginity (Gregory 2004).

Another situation illustrates how a defendant should be able to ask an alleged victim about a past sexual assault but might be prevented from doing by rape shield statutes. First, bias and prejudice are always explorable during cross examination as part of the right to confrontation (*Pointer v. Texas* 1965). As one Oklahoma court stated, witness bias is always relevant and impeachment evidence which establishes bias is always relevant (*Mitchell v. State of Oklahoma* 1994). For example, suppose a young woman is sexually assaulted by someone of a different race and as a result develops a deep hatred for all males of that race. She tells friends, relatives, and therapists that she hates all men of that race. Later, she accuses a person of that race of robbery. At trial, information comes to the defense about a sexual assault involving this woman and her deep hatred for men of the race of the defendant. A defense attorney would engage in malpractice if he or she chose not to cross examine the witness about her bias and the cause for this bias. A rape shield statute that forbids any questions about a past rape would likely violate the defendant's Sixth Amendment right to cross examine the accuser. Sexual assault is the only crime where this shield exists. If a minority person killed a White store clerk and wounded a White customer, the customer's bias against the defendant's race or ethnicity would be explorable in any subsequent trial.

CONCLUSION

No one disputes that some aspects of a victim's sexual history should be irrelevant in a sexual assault trial. Some defendants who have been convicted have contended that the pendulum has gone too far. Justice Carrigan of the Supreme Court of Colorado wrote that evidence of a rape victim's sexual history may be relevant and material in certain cases and a total ban on this history would indeed violate a defendant's right to confrontation (*Colorado v. McKenna* 1978). Although Justice Carrigan seemed to suggest that the pendulum could swing too far, the exceptions in Colorado's rape shield statute provide a good balance. However, as this paper suggests, society, or the public, is very close to going too far because it seems to want absolute, ironclad rape shield laws. Rape shield laws serve a useful purpose, but they should not become shields prevent-

Table 1: Exceptions to Rape Shield Laws Continued

States	Synopsis of Exceptions
Vermont	Evidence of prior sexual conduct of the complaining witness shall not be admitted; provided, however, where it bears of the credibility of the complaining witness or it is material to a fact at issue and its probative value outweighs its private character, the court may admit (1) evidence of the complaining witness' past sexual conduct with the defendant; (2) evidence of specific instance so the complaining witness' sexual conduct showing the source of origin of semen, pregnancy or disease; (3) evidence of specific instances of the complaining witness' past false allegations of violations of this chapter.
Virgin Island	(1) Evidence of specific instances of sexual behavior by the alleged victim offered to prove that a person other than the accused was the source of semen, injury, or other physical evidence; (2) evidence of specific instances of sexual behavior by the alleged victim with respect to the person accused of the sexual misconduct offered by the accused to prove consent or by the prosecution; and (3) evidence the exclusion of which would violate the constitutional rights of the defendant.
Virginia	(1) Evidence of specific instances of sexual behavior by alleged victim offered to prove that a person other than the accused was the source of semen, injury or other physical evidence; (2) evidence of specific instances of sexual behavior by the alleged victim with respect to the person accused of the sexual misconduct offered by the accused to prove consent or by the prosecution; and (3) evidence the exclusion of which would violate the constitutional rights of the defendant.
Washington	Evidence that the perpetrator and the victim have engaged in sexual intercourse with eacch other in the past, and when the past behavior is material to the issue of consent, evidence concerning the past behavior between the perpetrator and the victim may be admissible on the issue of consent to the offense.
West Virginia	Evidence of the victim's past sexual conduct with the defendant... and as to the victim's prior sexual conduct with persons other than the defendant, where the court determines at a hearing out of the presence of the jury that such evidence is specifically related to the act or acts for which the defendant is charged and is necessary to prevent mainfest injustice.
Wisconsin	(1) Evidence of the complaining witness past conduct with the defendant; (2) evidence of specific instances of sexual conduct showing the source of semen, pregnancy or disease, for use in determining the degree of sexual assault or the extent of injury suffered; (3) evidence of prior untruthful allegations of sexual assault made by the complaining witness.
Wyoming	The probative value of the evidence substantially outweighs the probability that its admission will create prejudice...and this section does not limit the introduction of evidence as to prior sexual conduct of the victim with the actor.
Federal Government	(1) Evidence of specific instances of sexual behavior by the alleged victim offered to prove that a person other than the accused was the source of semen, injury, or other physical evidence; (2) evidence of specific instances of sexual behavior by the alleged victim with respect to the person accused of the sexual misconduct offered by the accused to prove consent or by the prosecution; and (3) evidence the exclusion of which would violate the constitutional rights of the defendant.

ing fairness and justice for the accused.

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LIVES INTERRUPTED!: A CASE STUDY OF HENRY LOUIS WALLACE - AN AFRICAN-AMERICAN SERIAL MURDERER IN A RAPIDLY EXPANDING SOUTHERN CITY*

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ABSTRACT

This work is a case study of an African American serial murderer, Henry Louis Wallace, who stalked and preyed on a rapidly industrializing southern city. The study begins by examining the city and the overall context of the murders within it. We proceed to look back on the police department, examine national and local crime trends, and explore the case and the victims. We also review the developmental history of the killer and attempt to understand his motivations. Finally, we consider some lessons learned which further emphasize the importance of crime prevention planning during the development of a rapidly growing city.

Conditions of a society at its center tell us a great deal about the nature of behavior at the fringe. - Bruce Arrigo, Ph.D.

INTRODUCTION

We are fortunate that very few communities within our country have had a serial killer stalk and prey victims within their local borders. While often bringing passing fame or notoriety to local police and prosecutors, involved citizens, and media personalities, the presence of a serial killer in any city creates panic, fear, and sometimes results in a temporary or permanent loss of confidence in law enforcement. The end result often includes orphaned children and grieving parents, distraught friends, neighbors and employers, and past and future lives left in ruins.

This case study examines important social, political, and psychological issues surrounding an episode of serial killing in a southern, medium-sized city from 1989 to 1997. By exploring, describing and explaining the phenomena of serial murder using the case of Henry Louis Wallace, several themes are examined and relevant scientific literatures are applied from sociology, economics, criminal justice/criminology, victimology and serial murder. We explore and scrutinize the effective and ineffective processing of the case, from investigation through arrest, sentencing, and ongoing appeals. Social policies, including a discussion about important lessons learned, are considered and offered as evidence of our continued struggle to understand and deal with the full impact of serial murder.

Much of the previous research on serial killers has taken the form of descriptive data with very small samples and/or single case studies. This work can best be described as an ecological case study of a fairly prolific serial killer in a dynamic southern city. The sources of information for this article include existing crime and population statistics, personal interviews with individuals involved with the case, content analysis of local and national newspaper articles, reviews of official documents (e.g., trial transcripts), and reliance on scholarly research.

This case study should be helpful to researchers studying the phenomenon of serial murder. We also offer a series of considerations and recommendations for homicide detectives, city planners, social service providers, mental health professionals and our average citizens who might live and/or work in rapidly developing urban areas. Additionally, this study might be useful in terms of crime prevention as we consider law enforcement and judicial mistakes or oversights, identify observations that were missed or ignored, and discuss patterns that might have inadvertently been overlooked during the investigation of this particular murder spree.

The Setting - Charlotte, North Carolina

Most, but not all, of the murders discussed here occurred in or near the city of Charlotte, a rapidly growing, vibrant city located in southwestern North Carolina. Mecklenburg County's (population of 747,000) land area encompasses 527 square miles, of which approximately 268 square miles comprise the City of Charlotte. As is common among larger counties, Mecklenburg County continues to incorporate additional outlying rural areas and, as a result, growth of the County

and Charlotte continues at a rapid pace. The recent U.S. Census identified Charlotte as the 21st largest city in the United States, with an estimated 2003 population of 584,658 citizens, and the City's population continues to grow at a healthy 4.8 percent a year (U.S. Census Bureau 2004).

The bulk of the ongoing population growth occurred over the past 20 years (Clay, Orr & Stuart 1999), as approximately thirty-seven percent of the residents in Charlotte moved to the city over that time frame (U.S. Census 2004). Local estimates indicated that there were an estimated 315,000 citizens in Charlotte back in 1980. The City grew to 470,000 citizens by 1994 (the year in which Henry Louis Wallace was finally captured), and subsequently expanded to 579,000 residents as of 2002. As such, while Charlotte grew by a respectable 49 percent from 1980 to 1994, the city's urban population swelled by a staggering 84 percent over the 22 year timeframe from 1980 to 2002. Corresponding figures for Mecklenburg County suggested that there were an estimated 404,000 county citizens in 1980, growing to 585,000 by 1994, and further expanding to 746,000 residents by 2002. Again, this increase represents an 85 percent population growth over this 22 year timeframe and a 45 percent increase in population from 1980 to 1994 (Charlotte Chamber of Commerce 2004).

Therefore, whether the City of Charlotte or Mecklenburg County is considered, local and regional population growth was quite significant from 1980 to 1994, and that growth continued into 2002 and beyond. The Charlotte Chamber of Commerce estimated that the County could house approximately 910,000 citizens by 2010, which would represent another 48-57 percent increase in the metro area population depending on the various estimates considered (Charlotte Chamber of Commerce 2004). In summary, Charlotte was a modest size city that was experiencing a tremendous population surge when Henry Louis Wallace arrived in 1992. Any city that is experiencing rapid growth, significant population transition, and the social disorganization that ultimately results provides an ideal setting for a serial offender who is interested in staying under the radar.

Local Population Demographics

The age range of Mecklenburg County residents varies, of course, although 18-49 year olds comprised just over half of the population in recent years. There were slightly more women than men in the county, and the women were slightly older (median age of 34.4 years compared to 32.3 years for males). In 2003, African-Americans comprised about 28 percent of the population while whites represented about 63 percent of the population, and the remaining 9 percent was a racially diverse mixture of Hispanics, Asians, and American Indians (Charlotte Chamber of Commerce 2004).

From a demographic perspective, the residents of Charlotte paralleled residents of many other comparably-sized cities in our country. However, the proportion of African-Americans in Mecklenburg County was significantly higher than their prevalence in the general population. In 2000, the United States had an estimated population of 281,421,000 citizens, 75.1 percnet of whom were white, 12.3 percent were Black/African American, and 12.5 percent were Hispanic/Latino (U.S. Census Bureau 2004). As such, the proportion of African Americans living and working in the Charlotte area was more than twice as high as their proportion in the general U.S. population.

The Charlotte-Mecklenburg Police Department

In 1980, the Charlotte Police Department (prior to a merger with the Mecklenburg Police Department) had 594 sworn officers and an additional 152 civilian employees for a total of 746 full time staff.[1] In 1993, the Charlotte Police Department merged with the Mecklenburg Police Department, and the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Police Department subsequently reported crime statistics for the Charlotte area going forward. By 1995, the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Police Department (CMPD) employed 1,208 sworn officers and 326 civilian employees for a total full time staff of 1,534 (FBI 1995). By 2002 (the most current year of data available), the CMPD sworn ranks had grown to 1,501 officers, and another 501 civilians were also on board for a total of 2,002 employees (FBI 2002). As such, from 1980 to 1995 the sworn force of the department grew by 103 percent while the overall full time staff increased by a healthy 105 percent. Over the 22 year time frame considered here, CMPD increased its sworn force by 154 percent, and their overall full time staff grew by 168 percent (Bureau of

Justice Statistics 2002).

Considered within the context of the corresponding population data, it appears that the police department's growth (in terms of sworn officers and overall staff) kept fairly close pace with the ongoing influx of citizens from 1980 to 2002. While the population grew in the City of Charlotte by 84 percent and in Mecklenburg County by 85 percent, the sworn force grew by 154 percent and the overall law enforcement staff increased by 168 percent during that time frame. Whether the department was adequately staffed and adequately allocating resources to specific units such as the homicide division is another matter of course. Examining officers-per-citizen ratios, for example, might lead one to conclude that CMPD remained relatively understaffed compared to similar sized cities and counties throughout the United States. Further, the homicide unit in particular appeared to be significantly understaffed as we discuss later.

Local Economic Conditions

The major economic factor driving the City and County growth was the finance sector. Charlotte is considered to be the second largest banking area in the United States following New York City (Clay et al 1999). The tremendous financial success of the finance and banking industry in the late 1980s and early 1990s had substantially increased external interest in the local area and correspondingly resulted in rapid and increased sales in real estate markets (Clay et al 1999). Statistics also indicate, however, that the manufacturing sector (primarily the textile industry) suffered financially over the past 10 years in the face of cheaper imports and lower cost labor offered by nearby countries (Sanford 1996).

Henry Louis Wallace Arrives

As Charlotte was experiencing a shift from a small close-knit society (a Geimenschaft type of society) to a society that relied primarily on secondary relationships due to the rapid influx of people moving into the City (a Gesellschaft type of society), Henry Louis Wallace arrived. In 1992, Wallace moved to Charlotte from Barnwell, South Carolina when he was 28 years old. Research suggests that many serial killers usually begin acting on their fantasies of violence and murder during their twenties (Hickey 2002) and it appears that Wallace was not an exception to this general rule. He found a city in rapid transition from a small, friendly town to a growing medium-sized city, a setting that allowed him to remain under the law enforcement radar for a couple of years. Other cities that experienced comparable rapid growth have also been victimized by serial murderers (Seattle, Washington, for example, battled with the Green River Killer for years).

Did Victim and Offender Race Matter in the Henry Louis Wallace Case?

Henry Louis Wallace, an African American, was an intra-racial killer who was ultimately convicted of murdering nine African American women over a 22-month period in a Charlotte urban area. Criminologists have consistently concluded that the majority of crime is committed intra-racially. Further, murders and serial murders are primarily intra-racial (FBI 2002; Hickey 2002; Warren, Hazelwood & Dietz 1996). In 2002, for example, in cases where the race of the offender *and* the victim were known, 84 percent of white victims were murdered by white offenders and 91 percent of black victims were murdered by black offenders (FBI 2002).

The fact that Wallace was an African American serial killer, living and working in a growing city with a large African American population, may have allowed him to escape capture for some time. In fact, a common misperception exists which suggested that few serial killers have been African American, at least according to media sources and many scholars (Jenkins 1993). Much of the previous academic research also suggests that serial killers are typically white males (Lent 2003; Hickey 2002; Jenkins 1993).

In truth, the known statistics vary slightly but generally indicate that African American serial killers comprise anywhere from 13 to 20 percent of the serial killer population (Hickey 2002; Winzer 2002; Jenkins 1993; Kuhns & Coston 2004). A recent examination by Kuhns & Coston (2004) also identified over 130 African American serial killers that operated and murdered in our country over the past century. Very few (if any), however, have been the subject of case studies or the focus of movies, books, or media attention. Jenkins (1993 47) opined that:

> ...it may be that African Americans are in fact less involved in serial murder activity

than are Anglo Whites or Hispanics; but it must also be asked whether this is simply an impression gained from the ways in which serial murder is investigated. For a number of reasons, law enforcement agencies might be less likely to seek or find evidence of serial murder activity where the victims are Black. As homicide is primarily an intra-racial crime, this would mean that Black serial killers would be far more likely to escape detection.

The fact that Henry Louis Wallace was an African American male seeking and stalking African American female victims bears some significant attention. Linkage blindness, or the inability to connect serial crimes together, has been proposed as a contributor to serial murders (Godwin 2000; Egger 1984), and it also might have allowed this case to escalate from one or two murders to an ongoing serial murder investigation.

City, County and Neighborhood Crime Statistics

As with other cities of comparable size, Charlotte continues to deal with their share of crime and violence. In 1980, the Charlotte Police Department reported 9,579 violent crimes to the Federal Bureau of Investigation including 60 homicides. Meanwhile, Mecklenburg County reported an additional 2,874 violent crimes, of which only eight were homicides (FBI 1980). Overall crime rates (including violent crimes) across the nation consistently dropped in the late 1990s and into the early 21st century, and Charlotte experienced those crime drops as well. In 1995, the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Police Department reported 9,228 violent crimes to the FBI, including 89 murders, and by 2002, the agency had reported only 7,583 violent crimes (almost an 18% decrease from 1995 and a 21% decrease from 1980) including 67 murders (about a 25% decrease from 1995, but a 12% increase from 1980).

Meanwhile, 1992 local crime statistics indicated that within the one mile area surrounding Wallace's home, there were 223 violent crimes (including homicide, rape, robbery, and aggravated assault) reported to police out of a total of 8,943 crimes reported for Charlotte that year. Violent crimes within this city sector increased to 285 in 1993 (out of a total of 9,234), but decreased to 207 of 8,541 by 1994 (Charlotte-Mecklenburg Police Department 2003), the year after he was arrested. In other words, violent crimes in Wallace's sector of the city comprised anywhere from 2.4 percent to 3.0 percent of the overall crime in the City. More importantly, these statistics represented the highest crime increases among any sector in the city and these increases occurred during the period of time when Wallace was killing and engaged in other crimes as well.

Serial Murderers and Mobility

Another common myth suggests that many serial killers roam the country and the world in search of their prey (e.g., Ted Bundy and Henry Lee Lucas). However, previous research has indicated that serial killers do not all travel across the country seeking victims and continually escaping detection. Serial killers operate locally more often than not, and they often prefer to stalk in areas where they can blend in and get lost among strangers (Hickey 2002; Egger 2001, 1984).

Again, Wallace was not an exception to this general rule. Charlotte provided an opportunistic environment where a meticulous serial murderer could operate in relative obscurity and continually escape detection. According to the Research, Planning and Analysis Section of CMPD, which has the responsibility for collecting departmental statistical data and mapping crime trends, Wallace committed five of his murders within one mile of his primary residence.[2] Two additional murders were committed within three miles of his home. Wallace worked as a cook and manager at several fast food restaurants within a half of a mile from home, and about half of his victims also worked within a mile from Wallace's home. In other words, Wallace was not interested in crossing the country in search of prey. His mobility was generally restricted to the surrounding area within his community and near his workplace.

Descriptions of the Victims and Murders[3]

Wallace began his murders of nine, young adult African-American women on June 15,1992, and he continued killing for 22 months, culminating with his last murder on March 12,1994. Literature often purports that most serial killers are strangers to their victims (Hickey 2002; Resseler, Burgess & Douglas 1988). However, the relationship between Wallace and his victims ranged from close friends to passing acquaintan-

ces. Some of his victims were enrolled in college while others worked in the fast food industry or were employed as bank tellers, clothes merchants or grocery store managers. One of his victims was the roommate of his girlfriend of two years, and another was good friends with that same girlfriend. However, none of the victims knew one another personally, although their paths had indirectly crossed from time to time.

Police investigators revealed that during the murder investigation friends and acquaintances of the victims always remembered and mentioned a neighborhood friend - Henry Louis Wallace. Wallace himself reported befriending his victims by acting as a big brother, lending a caring and listening ear, offering advice about boyfriend problems, helping with handyman duties, going out "clubbing", offering rides, organizing barbeques, and/or just making the women laugh. Once he had charmed his targets he turned, and murder, rape, robbery, burglary, car thefts, and arson were the eventual results.

Most of the women were killed inside their homes. Wallace reported that he would sometimes bring murder weapons with him (e.g., a pillowcase or a towel) although in a few situations he admitted using whatever was nearby. His primary method of homicide was double ligature strangulation, and he reported sometimes taking his victims in and out of consciousness while he repeatedly engaged in sexual relations with them. Some of the sexual acts included necrophilia. Two of his victims were stabbed a multitude of times, and in one particularly horrifying case a 10 month old baby was also strangled and left for dead (although mercifully the infant survived).

Transition from an Organized Killer to a Disorganized Arrestee

Henry Louis Wallace revealed characteristics that are associated with both organized and disorganized serial killers (Egger 2001; Resseler et al 1988). Initially Wallace went to great lengths to clean up his crime scenes by wiping off fingerprints, washing and redressing the bodies, and positioning the corpses in bed beneath the covers. He would occasionally pluck pubic hair from his victims and plant it in clothing that belonged to a boyfriend. Wallace reported dousing one of his victims with liquor and setting her house on fire in order to cover his tracks. Wallace also reported that after he meticulously cleaned up a crime scene, he would often go back and see if their bodies had been found. While there he would often try to eliminate additional evidence, make phone calls, and even smoke crack cocaine if the opportunity presented itself.

Consistent with other serial killers, Wallace sometimes stole items and sold them to feed his drug habit. He gave pieces of stolen jewelry to friends and to his girlfriend at the time, who later reported having seen the jewelry before but could not place it (Hickey 2002; Egger 2001; Heyman 1997). Wallace, like some other successful serial murderers, was simply hidden in plain sight (Douglass & Olshaker 1998). He attended the funerals of some of his victims, conversed with family members after their deaths, conveyed compassion to friends, and even sent sympathy cards to a few.

During this timeframe, however, he continued to smoke crack cocaine. As his drug habit worsened, he became more careless and disorganized. He did not bathe or redress later victims, and he carelessly left his fingerprints and other damaging evidence around. Interestingly, as his killing spree continued, his later victims were almost double the size of his earlier victims. The larger women, according to Wallace, were more difficult to physically subdue, providing yet another indicator of his escalating carelessness and/or his growing confidence in his ability to escape detection. Toward the end of his killing days, Wallace murdered three of his victims within a short but frantic 72 hour period, and two of the victims even lived in the same apartment complex. His increasing sloppiness clearly facilitated his identification and eventual capture.

THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM RESPONDS

Arrest and Confession

Wallace was arrested within 48 hours after he murdered his last victim. The police had recovered an identifiable fingerprint on the car of one of his victims and they subsequently staked out his home. Wallace later claimed, consistent with the modus operandi of other serial killers (Douglass & Olshaker 1998; Dietz, Harry & Hazelwood 1986), that he watched the news to find out if the police were onto him or not. Regardless, he was

ultimately arrested without incident at the residence of a friend.

Over a ten-hour period Wallace described, in a tape-recorded confession, when and how he murdered nine Charlotte woman and two others before his Charlotte killing spree began: a known prostitute in Charlotte and another woman from South Carolina.[4] Wallace indicated that although he stole items from the women, sexual gratification, power, and domination were his primary motivations. After his taped confession and a brief phone conversation with his girlfriend, he was placed on suicide watch at the jail. According to police investigators his girlfriend did not know that he was a serial killer, which again is not entirely unusual (Hickey 2002). Serial killers often have girlfriends during their killing spree, and some have even had wives (e.g., Albert DeSalvo, also known as "The Boston Strangler", was married with two children).

According to city planners, to date this case represented the largest murder investigation in North Carolina history. Early in the investigation, the Federal Bureau of Investigation had informed Charlotte homicide investigators that they did not appear to have a serial killer operating in Charlotte, apparently because the killer seemed to know his victims and the modus operandi was not "typical" of most serial offenders. In other words, serial murder profiling had apparently failed in the Wallace case.

Unfortunately, the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Police Department was later criticized as a result of their failure to link the murders together more quickly. Police were also accused of being less diligent about investigating the murders because the victims were African American and generally lived and worked in working class areas of the city.

Police disputed these claims, suggesting that they lacked financial and manpower resources. At the time, CMPD had outdated computers and only assigned six homicide detectives to handle a heavy workload. During 1993, Charlotte also experienced their highest number of homicides in a year (122) and 94 of the homicide victims were black. Local homicide detectives further noted that his initial cleverness and meticulous attempts to remove and destroy evidence made Wallace particularly difficult to identify and apprehend. In other words, if Wallace had not become careless, the victim total could have probably been much higher.

Pre-Trial Challenges Raised (and Generally Ignored)

Following Wallace's arrest, a number of pre-trial motions were presented by the defense, yet essentially every one of the motions was denied. The 11 hour taped confession was allowed even though the defense claimed it was a violation of the McNabb/Mallory Rule (*McNabb v. U.S.* 1943; *Mallory v. U.S.* 1957). The McNabb/Mallory rule states that the arrestee must be brought before a magistrate without undue delay (in a timely fashion) so that a judicial confirmation of probable cause can be determined, or the case could be thrown out of court. The defense claimed that Wallace should have been brought before a magistrate more efficiently than the 19 hours that it actually took. The defense also claimed that Wallace was not read his Miranda rights until 3.5 hours had elapsed. To help ensure a fair trial process, a gag order was requested but the order was not imposed. The judge refused to provide police escorts for defense attorneys who visited the crime scenes, and he also refused a change of venue request. Further, the judge refused a request to deny the presence of uniformed sheriff's deputies in the courtroom (the defense thought that by allowing the tight security it made their defendant appear more dangerous to the jury). The defense wanted the jury to be allowed to consider second degree murder based on a claim that Wallace had a mental illness which made it impossible for him to develop intent, an essential element required for first degree murder prosecutions. The judge, however, decided that the case was a capital offense that could result in the death penalty because the murders were committed during the course of other felonies (e.g., burglaries, robberies).

The Trial Phase

Henry Louis Wallace, who was 180 pounds and 6'1" at the time of his arrest, weighed in excess of 300 pounds by the time the trial started eighteen months later. His attorneys suggested that his significant weight gain was due to excessive inactivity, his use of anti-psychotic drugs, and continued exposure to unhealthy jail food. During the trial, Henry Louis Wallace wore glasses, a shirt, khakis, and a sweater. Some in at-

tendance thought that he resembled a stereotypical victim that a schoolyard bully might pick on.

Wallace's trial lasted for four months, and there were more than 100 witnesses and about 400 exhibits presented. After deliberation, the jury found Henry Louis Wallace guilty of the first degree murders of nine women in Charlotte, North Carolina. He was also found guilty of a myriad of other felonies, including the attempted murder of the 10 month old son of one of the victims.

The subsequent sentencing hearing lasted for over a week. During the sentencing phase the jury listened to prosecutor and defense attorneys present evidence of aggravating factors (evidence in support of death sentences) versus mitigating circumstances (evidence that would strengthen an argument for a sentence of only life in prison). Henry Louis Wallace also read a written statement expressing remorse for his actions. He based his statement in a Bible verse citing Mark 11:25-26.

Nevertheless, after deliberating for 15 hours over four days, the jury found Wallace's crimes to be especially atrocious, heinous, and cruel. They recommended death for each of the nine first degree murder convictions. The judge upheld the jury recommendations and sentenced Wallace to nine death sentences, 10 life sentences, and another 322 years for the other felony convictions. Following sentencing, Wallace was immediately taken to death row at a North Carolina maximum security prison located in Raleigh, NC. He was then sent directly to the prison hospital for medical and psychological screening.

Death Row in North Carolina

Death sentences in North Carolina (and elsewhere) are automatically appealed, and so far the North Carolina courts have upheld Wallace's convictions and death sentences. There are currently 3,487 inmates awaiting execution in the United States, and 41.9 percent of them are African Americans (NAACP 2004). Death row in North Carolina currently houses 190 inmates, 106 (56%) of whom are black; only one of the seven women is a black female (North Carolina Department of Correction 2004). Wallace shares a double bunk in a 4x12 foot cell. Each cell has a metal cabinet welded to the wall, a stainless steel sink, and a topless commode. Most of Wallace's contact visits come from psychologists and attorneys. Other visitors are allowed to see Wallace once a week, but they must be cordoned off by a partition. One of the visitors, for Wallace, is his long time supporter and current wife Rebecca Torrijas.

Marriage on Death Row

Rebecca Torrijas was a nurse and administered medication to patients at the Charlotte/Mecklenburg County jail. Torrijas met Wallace while he was held at the jail awaiting trial and fell in love with him. Throughout his trial and incarceration she has been a staunch supporter and protector of Wallace, although once her relationship was discovered by jail administrators her employment was quickly terminated. During the trial phase, Rebecca was in court every day and made sure that Wallace had some money and freshly laundered clothes.

On April 17, 1998 in a 15 minute service, Torrijas (by then in her mid 50's) married Wallace (32 years old at that time) in a hearing room next to the North Carolina death chamber. The ceremony was brief and without significant fanfare. There were no flowers or invited guests in attendance. There was a corrections officer, a spokesperson, and one of Wallace's defense attorneys who served as the official witness and photographer. The bride and groom exchanged their vows, a passage from the book of Ruth was read, and then Torrijas and Wallace were officially married at 11:15am. Given death row restrictions, their marriage was not consummated. Regardless, Wallace's ability to attract women apparently continued into his incarceration period.

THE DEVELOPMENTAL HISTORY OF HENRY LOUIS WALLACE

Henry Louis Wallace was born on November 4, 1965 in Barnwell, South Carolina, located about 60 miles south west of Columbia, South Carolina and about two hours south of Charlotte. Based on the social service and developmental histories of Wallace (Albarus 1996) and information presented by defense attorneys during the sentencing phase of the trial, Wallace's mother rejected Henry because of the hatred she had for men and because Henry's father abandoned her. Wallace and his older sister were raised in poverty in a fairly hostile environment which included a cinderblock dwelling without in-

door plumbing. Records also indicated that Wallace was sometimes an object of ridicule in his family (Albarus 1996), and presentence reports suggested that, according to Wallace, his mother used to torment and humiliate him. According to Henry's pre-sentence investigation report, Wallace's mother used to have sexual relations with a variety of men in front of him. Wallace was beaten before he was two years old because he often soiled himself and his mother wanted him potty-trained more quickly so she could return to work. She often berated Henry by telling him that she wished that she had never had him, calling him names, and otherwise rejecting him through her actions and her words.

Along with the physical and psychological abuse, his mother reportedly exposed him to true crime detective magazines and hardcore sexual pornography which, according to some psychiatrists, impacted Wallace's psychological and sexual development. As a young boy he sometimes served as a sex toy for young girls in the community, and his need for affection was reportedly so severe "that he mistook sexual exploitation for affection" (Albarus 1996; Sanford 1996).

Stemming from a background filled with physical, psychological and perhaps sexual abuse (Albarus 1996), Wallace was eventually overcome with violent urges. His psychiatrists, after many hours of intensive interviews, were able to diagnose Wallace with sexual disorders, depression, and a personality disorder. Trial transcripts revealed that Wallace also confessed to his psychiatrist that he had committed between 35 and 100 rapes during his lifetime. As such, his sexual aggression clearly escalated and contributed to his later violence and eventual murders. His distorted psychological development probably equipped Wallace with the rationale for his later rapes and killings, as he perceived his victims as having abused him. He sometimes described himself as an avenger for other male victims who had suffered similar abuse.

Serial killer typologies are not mutually exclusive or exhaustive. However, most serial murderers have experienced some childhood trauma, whether it is abuse, neglect, sexual abuse, or other forms of trauma (Hickey 2002; Holmes 2002; Merry 1981). As a result, they retaliate with anger, aggression, and violence. Norris (1988) claims that homicidal rage and the temporary satisfaction achieved through killing is comparable to an addiction for the serial offender, and further compares this addiction to common drug addiction. In Wallace's case, it appears that he may have experienced both drug and homicidal addiction during the same time frame with one perhaps facilitating the other.

Despite his childhood challenges, Wallace still managed to finish 80th in his class of 126 in high school. He participated in school activities as a cheerleader (the only male cheerleader on the team), a student council member, and a part-time deejay. Trial testimony indicated that Wallace had a history of developing easy friendships with women. He would charm and impress his dates and mothers referred to him as helpful, well-mannered, and responsible.

Following high school, Wallace joined the Navy in 1984 and he served as a weapons technician aboard the U.S.S. Nimitz. Unfortunately, he found himself in trouble in 1987, when he was suspected of stealing and was given the choice of accepting an honorable discharge or facing criminal charges. Wallace took the honorable discharge.

Henry later began having contact with civilian police in 1988. Another fairly common characteristic of serial killers includes a history of property crimes and/or sexual assault violations (Hickey 2002; Egger 2001; Lederer & Delgado 1995). Wallace started to develop a history of arrests for property crimes (mostly burglaries) and he even served four months in prison. In 1990, Wallace was arrested for an attempted rape (at gunpoint) of a 16 year old female and placed in an intervention program for *non-violent* offenders. This was obviously an important mistake for the criminal justice system and, in particular, for Wallace. After moving to Charlotte in 1991, Wallace was also caught shoplifting a rifle on one occasion, although his motivation was unknown as he preferred to use other weapons during his killings.

In addition to his criminal involvement, Wallace also reported, and court officials were able to verify, that he had a child from a previous marriage, was currently estranged from a previous wife, and up until his final arrest he lived with a girlfriend (Albarus 1996). Another woman was allegedly having his baby at the time of his arrest, and he claimed he was having consensual sexual relations with about 10 other women. Most

of these relationships could be independently verified.

LESSONS LEARNED

The case of Henry Louis Wallace warrants further examination and consideration from city planners, law enforcement executives, victimization groups and scholars among others. We also encourage ongoing review of this case as it continues to develop, and continued critical assessment of the processing of this case through our criminal justice system. In the meantime, some lessons were learned in Charlotte that may be useful elsewhere.

First, communities that are experiencing rapid growth and development should plan for and consider crime prevention efforts at early stages. Illegitimate as well as legitimate enterprises develop and thrive when an area is experiencing significant business and population expansion, and the growth of law enforcement, victimization services, and other support networks needs to keep pace with overall community growth. Unfortunately, the criminal justice system is often an afterthought for city councils, mayors, and other town leaders who tend to operate with tight fiscal budgets and other political priorities.

Ensuring that the police department keeps pace with population growth is especially important. Every time a serial killer is arrested, local citizens always ask why he or she was not apprehended sooner. Charlotteans certainly asked this question. Prior to the Wallace case, the Charlotte/Mecklenburg Police Department had not encountered a prolific serial killer before. After Wallace was caught, however, the department responded by changing many practices, procedures and resource allocations.

During Wallace's killing spree CMPD simply had too few detectives and homicide investigators managing too many violent crimes. CMPD currently has over 25 homicide detectives and they have significantly increased investigator and officer training protocols. They established a cold case squad which focuses exclusively on stale and unsolved homicides. CMPD also enhanced communication between the department and families of victims (e.g., keeping families posted about investigations and becoming more sensitive to families of victims). Several task forces were formed which continually probe for common clues among unsolved murders nationwide. There is now more departmental reliance on the Violent Criminal Apprehension Program (VICAP), which offers assistance to federal, state, local and foreign law enforcement in investigating unusual or repetitive violent crimes. The Wallace case also facilitated the development of a local forensic/DNA laboratory.

In essence, a significant serial murder case precipitated many departmental, procedural, and training changes within the local police department. Other police departments that are serving rapidly growing populations should spend significant time learning and understanding where crime priorities will likely emerge, how to allocate resources effectively, and how to generate local support for such resources.

Victimization services and support networks also expanded in the Charlotte area. Mother's of Murdered Offspring (MOM-O) was created in 1993 by the mother of one of the victims of Henry Louis Wallace. This organization offers public support groups to families of murder victims. MOM-O is also a grass roots group that works in the community to help reduce crime. They regularly hold meetings in churches, schools, and community centers and are supported by corporate and private sponsors. Such victim-facilitate support networks should be encouraged in other cities and towns.

Finally, scholars could use this case as a reminder of some important themes within the serial murder literature. First, criminal profiling is not always the most effective approach for apprehending serial offenders, particularly when such profiles rely on unfounded or inaccurate stereotypes. A "typical" serial murder simply may not exist. Serial murderers can be old or young, white or black, male or female, single or married. In other words, profiling may be useful in some situations, but it can also lead detectives down the wrong path and prolong a serial offender's freedom in others. Second, scholars should be encouraged to continue studying African-American serial murderers. Ignoring this particular offender population limits our ability to fully comprehend and combat the serial murder phenomenon.

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The Charlotte Observer
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END NOTES

[1] The Mecklenburg Police Department did not report crime statistics to UCR in 1980.

[2] The authors would like to acknowledge the assistance of Mr. Kevin Cozzolino of the Charlotte/Mecklenburg Police Department's Research, Planning, and Analysis Bureau for his assistance in the gathering of these data, and for his expertise in crime mapping. Special thanks to Captain Sean T. Mulhall for his assistance and for granting permission to use these data for this paper.

[3] The information about Wallace's techniques of committing the crime and the criminal justice response to this case are derived from newspaper articles, autopsy reports, police investigations of the crime scenes, trial transcripts, personal discussions of the case with homicide detectives Gary McFadden and Bill Ward, and Wallace's 10 hour confession to the interrogators of the Homicide Unit of the Charlotte/Mecklenburg Police Department.

[4] The district attorney decided not to prosecute these two cases given jurisdictional and chronological challenges.

***DEDICATION**

The authors would like dedicate this article to all victims of serial murder worldwide, and especially to the victims in this story: Sharon L. Nance, Carolina Love, Shawna D. Hawk, Audrey A. Spain, Valencia M. Jumper, Michelle Stinson, Vanessa L. Mack, Brandi J. Henderson, Betty Baucom, Debra A. Slaughter, Tashanda Bethea and Tarreese Woods.

THE EFFECTS OF GENDER, GREEK STATUS, AND GENDER IDEOLOGY ON LIFE GOALS AMONG UNDERGRADUATES

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ABSTRACT

A stratified random sample of 154 undergraduates at a primarily undergraduate liberal arts institution voluntarily completed a confidential survey questionnaire ranking 19 life goals. Analyses revealed significant overall differences in the relative value placed on life goals both by gender and by Greek status (between members of sororities/fraternities and Independents). Significant differences between men and women persist when controlling for Greek status. When controlling for gender, however, a gender-specific pattern in Greek/Independent differences appears. Among college men, significant differences in the ranking of life goals exist between Greeks and Independents. In sharp contrast, significant differences between Greeks and Independents disappear among college women. Gender ideology also plays a significant role in the ranking of life goals but does not fully explain or account for the differences noted by gender and/or by Greek status. The implications of these data for campus politics and policies are discussed.

INTRODUCTION

Studying life goals among undergraduates raises important questions about younger Americans' values and aspirations today. These values and aspirations, embodied in undergraduate students' rankings of specific life goals, encompass elements of both individual and cohort identity. The relative importance that students, as individuals, assign to achieving financial success, material wealth, personal happiness, social connections, and the like, help them define who they are, who they want to be, and what they want to do with their lives. In contrast, looking at the relative ranking of students' life goals, collectively, helps us understand how an emergent cohort, like Gen Y, defines the American Dream and the degree to which a common, homogenized cultural script dominates young people's social and economic aspirations today.

Studies of American values, culture, and character are nothing new. They run the gamut from the 19th century observations of visitors like Alexis de Tocqueville to the systematic, highly detailed, sociological observations of Lloyd Warner (1963) and his colleagues a century later. Continued popular and scholarly interest in the topic can be seen in the success of Bellah, et al.'s (1985) study of Americans' "habits of the heart." Why so much attention to these questions? Because studies such as these help us understand individuals' goals and aspirations for success and happiness amid the ever-changing shape of the American Dream (Karabell 2001).

What do today's undergraduates want? That is an empirical question. They are members of Gen Y (Paul 2001a), socialized by demographic and historical events distinct from those which shaped the Silent Generation, the Baby Boomers and even the Xers before them. Events like Columbine and 9/11, the White House and celebrity scandals of the 1990s, MTV, talk shows and reality tv, all factor into who they are and what they want out of life (Paul 2001b). But what goals do they see as most important in life? Love? Happiness? Financial success? Relationships? Do all members of Gen Y seek the same thing, following a common cultural script, or do their aspirations vary and if so, how? These are the questions addressed here.

STUDENT LIFE GOAL RESEARCH

Scholarly interest in undergraduates' life goals and aspirations is broad ranging. Some higher education research focuses on identifying the range of goals among American college students (American Council on Education and the University of California 2001) while other research focuses on the relation of student goals to other outcomes and factors. Morgan, Isaac, and Sansone (2001) and Flowers (2002), for instance, focus on the importance of student interests and goals relative to their choice of career paths, while Mervis (2001) investigated the problem of mismatched student goals and career preparation. Perrone, Sedlacek, and

Alexander (2001) were concerned about perceived barriers to career goals, while Gonzalez, Greenwood, and WenHsu (2001) focused on the effects of the perceptions of parenting styles on student life goals themselves. Kasser and Ryan (1993), in contrast, concentrated their efforts on the effects of high levels of materialism, in particular, for personal well-being. Investigating what they call the "dark side of the American Dream," they identified significant negative psychological impacts among college students and non-college teens who defined materialism and financial success as a "central aspiration." More recently, Kasser found

> that strong materialistic values are associated with a pervasive undermining of people's well-being, from low life satisfaction and happiness, to depression and anxiety, to physical problems such as headaches, and to personality disorders, narcissism, and antisocial behavior. (2002 22)

This negative correlation has been detected in a broad range of cross-national studies (for a thorough review of the psychological literature on materialism and personal well-being, see Kasser 2002).

In contrast to previous studies, in which differences *among* college students are generally subsumed when looking at life goals, we (Abowitz & Knox 2003a) found significant differences between men's and women's assessments of post-baccalaureate life goals. In a random sample of undergraduates, women rated social connections, friends, and family more highly in their hierarchy of future life goals. This is not surprising, in one way, since the importance that women, in general, assign to social relationships is supported by other research. Cherry (1998) and Heckert, et al. (2002), for example, also found that women overall value relationships more highly. Furthermore, the importance of close friends for women was noted by Jones, Bloys, and Wood (1990). In addition, Seery and Crowley (2000) found that women work harder than men to maintain positive family relationships. And yet, given the more modern and egalitarian gender ideology espoused by many college women, gender differences such as these, which reflect more traditional ideas of women's "natural" roles, are somewhat surprising.

In a sample of all Greek students (Abowitz & Knox 2003b), we also found that gender had a similar effect on life goals among students who were members of fraternities and sororities on campus. Although there were significant differences between fraternity men and sorority women in the sample of Greeks, these students generally ranked personal happiness and relationship goals most highly. That fraternity and sorority members would rank personal and relational goals more highly than material ones is somewhat at odds with the most common stereotypes and behaviors for which campus fraternities, in particular, are known. Most studies focusing on fraternities and sororities center on their exclusionary nature (Lord 1987) and traditional views of gender (Kalof & Cargill 1991; Robinson, Gibson-Beverly, & Schwartz 2004) or on their anti-social behaviors, including student hazing (Newman 2002), binge drinking (Cashin, Presley, & Meilman 1998; Dowdall, Crawford, & Wechsler 1998), academic dishonesty (Storch & Storch 2002), sexual aggression and substance abuse (Humphrey & Kahn 2000; Johnson & Stahl 2004), and culture of date rape (Boswell & Spade 1996; Kalof 1993; Martin & Hummer 1989; Sanday 1990).

Past studies of student life goals and aspirations, however, leave important questions unanswered. Our concern in the present study is to discover the ways in which gender and specific factors such as fraternity/sorority membership and gender ideology simultaneously affect student life goals, given the importance of gender and Greek status in the identity politics of campus life, and the ways in which Greek status have been linked to traditional views of gender. Specifically, how does the effect of Greek membership on students' life goals interact with the effects of "doing gender" (West & Zimmerman 1987) that we have seen? Are sorority women more likely to reflect traditional gender ideology in their ranking of life goals as compared with college women who are Independents? How will fraternity men's ranking of college goals compare with non-fraternity men once gender ideology is taken into account? That is, to what extent might differences between Greeks and Independents in their ranking of life goals be attributable to differences in gender ideology rather than to Greek status per se? Whether or not students with more traditional views of gender initially self-select or are more likely to

be selected into Greek life on campus, Greek organizations in themselves promote a more traditional view of gender among their membership (Lottes & Kuriloff 1994; Stombler & Martin 1994). The effects of Greek status on more general life goals and aspirations, controlling for gender ideology, however, have not been previously considered.

In disentangling the effects of gender, Greek status, and gender ideology on students' rankings of life goals, we attempt to address an additional but important question. Is there a common cultural script by which these students define the good life, that is, their version of the American Dream? Is there a relatively undifferentiated ranking of life goals among undergraduates or are there significant between-group differences? We hypothesize that students' rankings of life goals reflect differing aspirations among undergraduates, between men and women and between Greeks and Independents. In addition, we hypothesize that differences in life goals by gender and by Greek status are attributable to differences in traditional gender ideology. Thus, the hierarchies of life goals that students report are the result of a complex interaction among these factors.

SAMPLE AND DESCRIPTION OF THE RESPONDENTS

A random sample of 154 undergraduates at a primarily undergraduate, liberal arts institution in a mid-Atlantic state voluntarily completed a confidential 140-item questionnaire during the spring of 2001, including a ranking of 19 life goals. The sample was stratified by gender and class year and subjects were randomly selected from among all full-time undergraduates enrolled at the university. Students selected for inclusion in the study were first contacted by the principal investigator by mail with a formal invitation to participate. In exchange for participation, students who completed the survey were entered into a lottery for one of several prizes awarded at the end of the semester. Prizes consisted of gift certificates to the campus bookstore. Students received no class credit for participation. Student research assistants followed up both by phone and by email to encourage those selected to complete the questionnaire. A three-month window was established for data collection. Students completed the questionnaire under the supervision of the first author and her research assistants. The overall response rate was 40 percent.

In terms of sample composition, 60 percent of the respondents were female. In regard to class rank, 20 percent of the respondents were first-year students, about 25 percent each came from the sophomore and junior classes, and roughly 30 percent were seniors. The sample was almost evenly divided between members of Greek organizations (51%) and Independents (49%), which is a slightly less "Greek" sample than the campus overall (55%). Of the Greeks, 60 percent were members of a sorority; 40 percent, a fraternity. The sample was overwhelmingly white (90%) and almost 60 percent of the students came from rural areas or small towns. In addition, these students identified strongly with the "upper middle" class (53%), with two-thirds' reporting their family income as "above average" or "far above average." Finally, 71 percent reported that both parents currently work outside the home.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

To test our hypotheses, we first examined differences in the between-group means for each of 19 life goals among students in the sample. We looked at: 1) overall differences between Greeks and Independents, men and women, 2) differences between Greeks and Independents controlling for gender, and 3) differences between men and women controlling for Greek status. Finally, we examined the significance of traditional gender ideology on student life goals controlling for both gender and Greek status.

Greek and Independent, Men and Women: Overall Differences

The overall rankings of general life goals among undergraduates are presented in Table 1. Columns 2 and 3 contain the mean value reported for each life goal (in the order of most to least importance) for Greeks and Independents (without regard to gender). Columns 5 and 6, to the right, report the overall means for men and women in the sample (without regard to Greek status). The means by gender reported here confirm the data reported in our earlier study (Abowitz & Knox 2003a). They are discussed in greater detail there. To achieve these scores, students rated each life goal on a five-point scale, from 1 ("it's one of the most important things") to

Table 1 - General Life Goals (mean values)

Life Goal	Greek	Independent	Sig. Diff.	Men	Women	Sig. Diff.
Being happy	1.06	1.09		1.12	1.05	
Being well-educated	1.44	1.62		1.64	1.45	
Being in love	1.47	1.53		1.61	1.43	
Being financially secure	1.66	2.03	.05	1.78	1.88	
Having a fulfilling job	1.71	1.61		1.78	1.58	
Having romance	1.82	1.75		1.76	1.80	
Getting married	1.86	1.95		2.05	1.81	
Having children	1.95	2.12		2.12	1.98	
Being cultured	2.22	2.49		2.51	2.25	
Having nice things in life	2.40	2.76	.05	2.59	2.57	

5 ("not at all important"). Thus, *the lower the mean value* reported, *the more important* the life goal to the respondents. Students were asked to rate the life goals in Table 1 without reference to any particular point in time, that is, without any specification that these were their current goals or goals for some future point in time. The significance of the difference between group means for each life goal is reported in columns 4 and 7, respectively. Only between-group differences significant at the .05 level or higher are noted.

The data in Table 1 reveal that the most important general life goal for these undergraduates, whether Greeks or Independents, men or women, was "being happy." No other value was close to that of personal happiness. In addition, being well-educated and being in love rank above financial security and having nice things in life. Overall, we see that the more materialistic goals of the American Dream, while important, are not central in these student's lives. Table 1 reflects other noteworthy similarities in the general hierarchies of life goals among Greeks and Independents, college men and women. Not only do all students regard being in love and having romance similarly, they all reported these goals as more important than getting married and having children. But are these goals at all related to students' assessments of happiness? Further analysis indicates that they are, in fact, related. Correlations among life goals reveal that "being happy" is positively and significantly ($p \leq .05$) associated with getting married ($r = .16$), with having kids ($r = .18$), and with being in love ($r = .19$). The effects are not large, but they are statistically significant. Further, being happy is also positively correlated ($p \leq .01$) with having romance ($r = .24$) and having a fulfilling job ($r = .27$). What is *not related* to happiness for these students is having financial security and having nice things in life.

These correlations confirm that materialism as an aspiration, and materialist goals in particular, are not the basis for these students' happiness. Indeed, having nice things in life is shown to be the least important of these life goals. If we simply look at the overall hierarchies of life goals among Greeks versus Independents on campus, among men versus women, we see a surprising degree of commonality in the relative rankings. It is important to note, however, that even the lowest ranked goals reported in Table 1 have *some* overall importance to these students.

Despite these general similarities, there are some significant differences between groups to note in Table 1. Although no significant differences appeared here between men and women, there are significant differences between Greeks and Independents on two life goals in particular. While the students in this sample do not equate material success with happiness, Greek students ranked financial security as significantly more important than Independents (1.66 versus 2.03) along with "having nice things in life" (2.40 versus 2.76). Not surprisingly, given the monetary costs associated with Greek life (initiation fees, annual dues, special event fees, and the like), members of fraternities and sororities in this sample are more likely to report family income as "far above average" ($p \leq .05$) and to report their families as being in the "upper class" and "upper middle class" than Independents ($p \leq .05$). They are likely accustomed to a more affluent lifestyle and their relatively higher ranking of financial security and material things in this study reflects a desire for this to continue. In

Table 2 - Post-Baccalaureate Life Goals (mean values)

Life Goal	Greek	Independent	Sig. Diff.	Men	Women	Sig. Diff.
Having close friends	1.40	1.57		1.61	1.40	.05
Having relatives	1.44	1.70	.05	1.78	1.43	.05
Having my own family	1.45	1.74	.05	1.73	1.51	
Having a life partner or spouse	1.46	1.57		1.59	1.46	
Having a career and work	1.59	1.59		1.63	1.57	
Having free time and relaxation	1.77	1.97		1.78	1.93	
Having a lot of social acquaintances	2.46	2.97	.05	2.75	2.69	
Having a tie to religion or a church/synagogue	2.92	3.17		2.93	3.12	
Having a role in public life/ politics	3.79	3.68		3.79	3.71	

this regard, then, their view of the American Dream is somewhat distinct from that of their non-Greek counterparts.

The data in Table 2 show the ranking of life goals that students reported when specifically asked to *"think about your life after graduation."* Life goals were rated using the same five-point scale as in Table 1, with lower values reflecting greater importance to the respondents. The data are organized as in the previous table.

In Table 2, we see again an overall similarity in the hierarchies of life goals among Greeks and Independents but some important differences. In spite of the greater emphasis on financial security and material things noted in Table 1, Greek students have not lost sight of the importance of relationships. On all relationship variables (having close friends, relatives, children, spouse/life partner, and social acquaintances), they rated these life goals more highly than Independents. Some of these ratings were significantly higher ($p \leq .05$), including the importance of having relatives (1.44 versus 1.70), a family of one's own (1.45 versus 1.74), and a lot of social acquaintances (2.46 versus 2.97). Greek students appear to value their personal relationships and social connections more highly, but this effect could be confounded by the greater proportion of women among the Greek sub-sample (60%). These differences need to be disentangled from the effects of gender, as we see later, before the patterns take on clear significance.

On the right side of Table 2, where the mean values on post-graduation life goals are reported for undergraduate men and women, we see a slightly different hierarchy emerge. As noted in Abowitz and Knox (2003a), when the time horizon specifies life *after graduation,* significant gender differences appear. Women give significantly greater emphasis than men do to the importance of having close friends (1.40 vs. 1.61) and relatives (1.43 vs. 1.78) in their lives.

Greek and Independent Differences Controlling for Gender

To answer the question about whether the Greek/Independent differences noted above would increase or decrease when gender is held constant, we turn to the results presented in Table 3. The top half of the table ("general life goals") presents the results on those goals for which students were not given a time reference (as in Table 1). The bottom half ("post-baccalaureate life goals") contains data on the importance of life goals "after graduation" (as in Table 2). In effect, the table shows which differences between Greeks and Independents persist once the effects of gender are removed.

Looking carefully at the table, one very important point emerges about how gender and Greek status interact in the formation of undergraduates' life goals: significant differences between college men (Greeks versus Independents) persist while the *statistically significant differences between college women disappear.* Gender trumps Greek status in its effects on undergraduate women's life goals and aspirations.

Among the men, fraternity members

Table 3 - Student Life Goal Means by Greek Status Controlling for Gender

Variables	Men (N=58)		Women (N=95)	
	Greek (n=26)	Independent (n=33)	Greek (n=52)	Independent (n=43)
General Life Goals				
Being financially secure	1.48	2.00**	1.75	2.05*
Getting married	2.00	2.09	1.79	1.84
Having children	1.96	2.24	1.94	2.02
Having nice things in life	2.12	2.97**	2.54	2.60
Being cultured	2.42	2.58	2.12	2.42*
Being in love	1.58	1.64	1.42	1.44
Being well-educated	1.54	1.73	1.38	1.53
Being happy	1.12	1.12	1.04	1.07
Having romance	1.77	1.76	1.85	1.74
Having a fulfilling job	1.85	1.73	1.63	1.51
Post-Baccalaureate Life Goals				
Having own family	1.42	1.97**	1.46	1.56
Having a career and work	1.50	1.73	1.63	1.49
Having free time and relaxation	1.65	1.88	1.83	2.05
Having close friends	1.46	1.73	1.37	1.44
Having relatives	1.46	2.03**	1.42	1.44
Having a lot of social acquaintances	2.19	3.18**	2.60	2.81
Having ties to religion or a church or synagogue	2.65	3.15	3.06	3.19
Having a life partner or spouse	1.42	1.73	1.48	1.44
Having a role in publie life or politics	3.88	3.73	3.75	3.65

*p < .10
**p < .05

viewed financial/material things as more important, including: 1) the importance of being financially secure (1.48 vs. 2.00, p ≤.05) and 2) having nice things in life (2.12 vs. 2.97, p ≤.05). In addition, Greek men also saw social/emotional connections as more important, including: 1) having a family of their own (1.42 vs. 1.97, p ≤.05), 2) having relatives (1.46 vs. 2.03, p ≤.05), and 3) having a lot of social acquaintances (2.19 vs. 3.18, p ≤.05).

Through the logic of the elaboration model above (see Babbie 2004, for an excellent overview of the methods and logic of elaboration techniques), we are able to specify how Greek membership affects college student life goals. In the partials in Table 3, we see that among men, the significant differences remained or increased in size whereas among women, all significant differences in the rating of life goals between Greeks and Independents disappeared. These data tell us several things. First, there is not a singular cultural script among undergraduates in terms of a hierarchy of life goals, rather, the data suggest somewhat different values and priorities exist among students. Although there are broad similarities in overall rankings, suggesting some common cohort effects, there are important differences as well. Second, these data make clear that Greek life is not a singular system differentiating members from non-members regardless of gender. The effects of Greek status on life goals vary by gender. Among undergraduate women, it is their experiences *as women* that matter most, not their experiences as Greeks or Independents. For undergraduate men, their status *as Greeks or Independents* is a significant factor.

Gender Differences Controlling For Greek Status

To further specify these relationships, we also looked at whether gender differences persist among undergraduates once the effects of Greek status are controlled. These data are presented in Table 4. Considering only those differences significant at the conventional level (p≤.05), we see several important distinctions between the life goals of

Table 4 - Student Life Goal Means by Gender Controlling for Greek Status

Variables	Greek Students (N=78)		Independents (N=76)	
	Men (n=26)	Women (n=52)	Men (n=33)	Women (n=43)
General Life Goals				
Being financially secure	1.48	1.75**	2.00	2.05
Getting married	2.00	1.79	2.09	1.84
Having children	1.96	1.94	2.24	2.02
Having nice things in life	2.12	2.54**	2.97	2.60*
Being cultured	2.42	2.12	2.58	2.42
Being in love	1.58	1.42	1.64	1.44
Being well-educated	1.54	1.38	1.73	1.53
Being happy	1.12	1.04	1.12	1.07
Having romance	1.77	1.85	1.76	1.74
Having a fulfilling job	1.85	1.63	1.73	1.51
Post-Baccalaureate Life Goals				
Having own family	1.42	1.46	1.97	1.56*
Having a career and work	1.50	1.63	1.73	1.49
Having free time and relaxation	1.65	1.83	1.88	2.05
Having close friends	1.46	1.37	1.73	1.44*
Having relatives	1.46	1.42	2.03	1.44**
Having a lot of social acquaintances	2.19	2.60**	3.18	2.81*
Having ties to religion or a church or synagogue	2.65	3.06	3.15	3.19
Having a life partner or spouse	1.42	1.48	1.73	1.44
Having a role in publie life or politics	3.88	3.75	3.73	3.65

*p < .10
**p < .05

fraternity men and sorority women, but only one significant difference among Independents. Among all Greek members, fraternity men rated being financially secure, having nice things in life, and having a lot of social acquaintances as more important than sorority women did. The overall differences seen in Tables 1 and 2 as differences between Greeks and Independents in general, we now see as most important to fraternity *men*. This clarifies the gender differences noted in Table 3 and in previous research (Abowitz & Knox 2003a).

Furthermore, the only significant difference found between undergraduate men and women who were *not members* of a Greek organization (the Independents) was in post-graduation goals: the importance of having connections with relatives. Among the Independents, women rated such connections more highly than men (1.44 vs. 2.03, $p \leq .05$). This difference helps us to understand that not only do Independent women value family connections more highly than Independent men, but from Table 3 we also know that Greek men value these family connections more than Independent men – thus highlighting a difference that cuts two ways – across gender and across Greek lines.

The data in Tables 3 and 4 together help us better specify the role of gender and Greek status in regard to student life goals. First, gender interacts with Greek status to increase differences in the life goals among men (between Greeks and Independents) but not among women (for whom significant differences by Greek status disappear). Second, gender and Greek status interact such that the significant differences in life goals that persist between undergraduate men and women are quite distinct for Greeks and all but non-existent among Independents. These data show that differences in how undergraduate men and women do gender, particularly for men, is contingent on Greek status. While all students value happiness generally, it is fraternity men who appear to most value the traditional material/financial goals of the American Dream.

Differences Controlling for Gender Ideology

As shown in the previous analyses, gender differences in life goals among undergraduates persist even controlling for Greek status and Greek/Independent differences in key life goals persist among men. To determine whether these differences can be accounted for by differences in gender ideology, we introduced the level of traditional gender ideology as a control variable. Student acceptance of traditional gender ideology is measured by their response to nine items, each rated on a five-point Likert scale, from 1 ("strongly agree") to 5 ("strongly disagree"). Students responded to a series of statements on the role of women in relation to motherhood and work roles. Agreement with these statements reflects a more traditional and patriarchal (less egalitarian) view of gender, such as the view that working mothers cannot establish good relationships with their children, a husband's career should come first, preschoolers suffer with a working mother, it's better for the family if the mother stays home and father earns a living, and so on. The scale ranges from a possible score of 9 (strongly agreeing with all traditional items) to 45 (strongly disagreeing with the traditional views of gender), thus, the lower the overall score, the more traditional a student's view of gender. Responses ranged from 22 to 38, with an overall sample mean of 30. The level of traditional gender ideology between undergraduate men and women in the sample differs significantly overall, with men being more traditional in their view of gender ($p \leq .01$). And to our surprise, given what has been reported previously in the literature, there is no significant difference in the level of traditional gender ideology between Greeks and Independents overall.

Before doing the multivariate analyses with gender ideology, we first examined the zero-order correlations between gender ideology and life goals. As we might expect, holding more traditional views of gender was significantly correlated ($p \leq .01$) among students with giving greater importance to getting married ($r = .26$), having their own children ($r = .31$) or having a family of one's own ($r = .20$), having a spouse or life partner ($r = .20$), and having ties to a religion, church, or synagogue ($r = .26$). There was also a significant negative correlation ($r = -.22$) between traditional gender ideology and the importance assigned to "being cultured" – the more traditional the student's view of gender, the less important this goal. None of the other life goals, not even the importance of work and career, were significantly associated with gender ideology overall.

Second, to determine if the differences in life goals found previously by gender and/or Greek status could be attributed to, or explained by, differences in gender ideology, differences in life goals between men and women and between Greeks and Independents were re-analyzed at three different levels of traditional gender ideology. Gender ideology was recoded to reflect high, moderate, and low levels of support for traditional/patriarchal views of gender. Among students holding very traditional views of gender (53 students were coded "high" on the traditional gender ideology scale), only one of 19 life goals had a significant difference by gender: highly traditional men placed greater importance than their female counterparts on ties to a religion, church, or synagogue (2.29 vs. 3.07, $p < .05$). Among students expressing only moderate support for traditional gender ideology ($n=47$), one life goal differed significantly by gender: these women placed greater importance on having relatives than men (1.29 vs. 1.79, $p < .05$). But among students who report the most egalitarian views of gender ($n=47$), three life goals had significant differences. First, women with more egalitarian views were more likely to value the "nice things in life" than their male counterparts (2.54 vs. 3.17, $p < .05$). Second, these women placed greater value than men on being "happy" (1.00 vs. 1.25, $p < .01$). And third, they valued having relatives more (1.40 vs. 2.08, $p < .01$). Thus, when we control for gender ideology, students holding the most egalitarian/least traditional views of gender exhibit the greatest number of differences in life goals between men and women.

Looking at differences between Greeks and Independents by gender ideology, we see the greatest number of significant differences in life goals among students espousing the most traditional views of gender. Among highly traditional students ($n=53$), we find Greeks give more importance than Independents to having financial security (1.48 vs. 2.04, $p = .01$), having relatives (1.36 vs. 1.84, $p < .05$), and having a lot of social acquaintances (2.36 vs. 2.88, $p < .05$). Among those with moderate views of traditional gen-

der roles (n=47), two variables differed significantly between Greeks and Independents: Greeks rated having free time more highly than Independents (1.65 vs. 2.07, $p < .05$) as well as having a lot of social acquaintances (2.30 vs. 3.07, $p < .05$). The least number of differences in life goals between Greeks and Independents were found among students with the most egalitarian views of gender: here Greek students valued having close friends more highly (1.36 vs. 1.73, $p < .05$).

Our third step was to analyze life goals while controlling simultaneously for all three of these variables: gender, Greek status and gender ideology. Looking at the effects of Greek status among women at each of the three levels of gender ideology, two significant differences appeared that had been suppressed in Table 3: 1) among women with moderately traditional gender ideology (n=28), sorority members valued having free time more than Independents (1.60 vs. 2.13, $p < .05$) and 2) among women with the most egalitarian views (n=35), sorority members valued having close friends more than Independents (1.33 vs. 1.71, $p < .05$). No significant differences in life goals by Greek status were found among highly traditional women.

Among men, significant differences by Greek status persist at all levels of traditional gender ideology: 1) among those with the most traditional views of gender (n=23), fraternity men valued having "nice things" more than Independents (2.00 vs. 3.08, $p < .01$), 2) among those with moderate levels of traditional gender ideology, Greek men valued having a lot of social acquaintances much more than Independents (1.71 vs. 3.17, $p < .01$), and 3) among those with the most egalitarian views of gender, there were no significant differences. Thus, of the five significant differences noted previously among men (in Table 3), two persist once the effects of gender ideology are controlled. In addition, three prior effects disappeared – two of which (having a family of one's own and having relatives) are both significantly correlated with level of gender ideology.

Finally, we turned the analysis around to elaborate the results in Table 4 by level of gender ideology. Among Greek students, there were three significant differences between fraternity men and sorority women originally. When we control for the level of gender ideology, two of these differences remain while the third disappears. And additional differences take on significance. Specifically, among Greeks with highly traditional views of gender (n=28), two significant differences appear: 1) these fraternity men value "nice things" more than similar sorority women (2.00 vs. 2.59, $p < .05$) and 2) these men value ties to a religion, church, or synagogue more than women (2.18 vs. 3.06, $p < .05$). Among Greek students characterized by moderate levels of traditional gender ideology, men valued having a lot of social acquaintances more than women (1.71 vs. 2.62, $p < .05$). Finally, among Greeks with the least traditional views of gender, two new variables showed significant gender differences: 1) these women valued being happy more than the men (1.00 vs. 1.25, $p < .5$) and 2) these men valued romance more than the women (1.25 vs. 2.14, $p < .05$). This latter finding (men valuing romance more) is not an uncommon finding (see Sprecher & Metts 1999).

Among Independents, only one life goal in Table 4 appeared to differ significantly between men and women (having relatives, which women valued more). Once the level of gender ideology is taken into account, this life goal continues to vary significantly by gender among all but those with the most traditional views of gender. Among those with moderate views of gender (n=27), women continued to value having relatives more highly (1.27 vs. 2.00, $p < .01$). Among those with the least traditional gender ideology (n=22), three life goals now vary significantly between undergraduate men and women: 1) women valued having nice things more (2.57 vs. 3.38, $p < .05$) although not highly overall, 2) women valued having a fulfilling job more than men (1.29 vs. 1.88, $p < .05$), and 3) these women also valued having relatives more (1.36 vs. 2.13, $p < .05$). Among Independents with highly traditional gender ideology (n=25), no significant gender differences appeared. So we see two things here. First, the most significant difference by gender among Independents in Table 4 is not eliminated by controlling for gender ideology. And second, some gender differences among Independents were previously suppressed by the absence of a control for gender ideology.

Together, these data (both by gender and by Greek status) show that gender ideology does affect students' rankings of life goals. On the surface, students with more traditional views of gender assign greater importance

to the more traditional goals of marriage and family. But below that, gender ideology plays a complex role. Some differences in life goals persist both by gender and by Greek status when controlling for gender ideology. Some differences appear that were previously masked. Few disappear, contrary to our initial expectations.

The data in these last analyses should be read with caution, however, given the overall sample size and limited number of cases in each analytical category once all the independent variables are introduced. The results are suggestive of important differences, rather than definitive. But these successive analyses, from the simple bivariate to the more complex elaborations with gender ideology, indicate that when it comes to undergraduates' life goals and aspirations for the future, a single cultural script does not adequately describe or reflect their views as members of Gen Y. Despite some social critics' claims that the popular media is homogenizing American culture, creating a common middle class consciousness and definition of the good life (Zweig 2000), college students' views of what's important in life are shaped by more immediate factors: the way they do gender in daily life, the way they manage their campus identity as Greek or Independent, and by the way they define the ideology of gender in society at large.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The results presented here paint a complex picture of the effects of gender, Greek status, and gender ideology on undergraduates' aspirations and life goals. Some students continue to define women's work as the private domain of home, friends, and family while others espouse more modern/egalitarian views of gender and assign less importance to marriage and parenthood as life goals. Although all students here value happiness, for some that goal is more closely associated with ideals of hearth and home, while for others, it is more closely associated with the image of material success so often embodied in ideas of the American Dream.

There are significant differences in the ranking of life goals among and between students – differences between men and women, between Greeks and Independents (especially among undergraduate men), and between those who hold more traditional and more modern views of gender. Contrary to expectations, neither the gender differences in life goals nor the differences by Greek status were explained away by considering students' support for traditional gender ideology.

From the perspective of campus politics, if one is concerned about the effects of Greek organizations on campus life and culture, these results suggest that the differences that exist between Greeks and Independents are not simply the product of differences in gender ideology, that is, of Greek students' greater adherence (male or female!) to the more traditional views of gender. Regardless of how sexist such organizations may be (Lord 1987), on a practical level, the solution repeatedly advanced by faculty on many campuses to eliminate sexism (that we should eliminate Greek life), is not one that these data support. The most significant differences in traditional (patriarchal, i.e., sexist) views of women in these data appear not between Greeks and Independents on campus, not even between Greek and Independent men, but rather between undergraduate men and women in general. Thus abolishing the Greek system will not be a cure or "fix it" for the campus.

Furthermore, the similarity of life goals among college women, whether Greek or not, suggests that the effects of Greek life vary by gender in important if as yet unclear ways. From fraternity road to the sorority chapter houses, on an interpersonal as well as political level, we are dealing with two Greek "systems." Sorority women overall are not significantly more traditional in their views of gender than their Independent counterparts nor do their life goals differ significantly. Even controlling for gender ideology, differences among college women are slight. And although fraternity men appear to espouse somewhat different life goals as compared with men who are not in fraternities, they are not the sole bastion of patriarchal views of gender. Thus the problem, as such, exists more broadly on campus (as it does in society).

In terms of campus policy, awareness programs designed to address problems of sexism need to be targeted to reach a broad undergraduate audience. All students on campus, not just Greeks, need to hear the message. Inasmuch as general education requirements reach the broadest range of

undergraduates, these data support the national trend seen on the curricular side – the increasing inclusion in general education programs of courses that address the problematic "isms" of human diversity and identity, including courses on issues of gender and gender inequality.

One final note of caution must be introduced here. There is, with a sample from one college campus, always the issue of selection bias. Are students from an elite private institution selectively different in their hierarchy of life goals from students at larger and/or public institutions? Are students in four-year programs different from students at community colleges? Do all Gen Y college students put personal happiness above financial success? Are students from working and middle class families likely to rate the importance of bourgeois success more highly than students from more affluent backgrounds? Having less assurance of family connections and financial support down the road, students from less economically advantaged families might be less inclined to put the less "practical" goals of happiness, romance, and love above things like financial security.

To partially allay this concern, the effects of family class background were briefly considered. The rankings of life goals were analyzed both by subjective family class position and reported family income. While the importance assigned by students to having financial security and material things did vary significantly by family class position, they were both *more* important to students from "upper class" families, not less important. When family income was considered, no significant differences appeared in the ranking of life goals. The differences observed all run counter to what we would expect to see if the concern that students from more elite or privileged families (more likely to be found at an "elite" liberal arts institution?) more easily disregard the importance of material and financial concerns. In this sample of college students, albeit at an "elite" liberal arts institution, those who come from *less* advantaged family backgrounds place less, not more, importance on achieving financial success and material comfort after college and are *more* likely to value public service.

To conclude, we have shown that the effects of gender, gender ideology, and Greek status on student life goals are varied and complex in and of themselves. However limited these data, they give us important insights into our students' lives and aspirations. Nonetheless, to fully understand undergraduates' life goals and values we need more and better data. We need samples from public and private institutions of varying size and type to understand the values of this new generation, Gen Y, and how its members differ in their quest for the good life. With such data we can investigate how individual and family background characteristics interact with the contextual characteristics of campus life to shape undergraduates' rankings of life goals. And finally, we need to begin to follow the trail from students' espoused life goals to the choices they make for life after school. How do they view prospective jobs? What job traits do they value most? What kind of jobs do they associate with "happiness"? And finally, we need to study Gen Y's idea of the American Dream in a more direct way. Do they believe they can "have it all"? Do they see the American class system as one of merit or sponsorship? These are important lines of investigation for future research.

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CHARISMA AND CHARISMATIC TENDENCIES IN MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.'S LEADERSHIP STYLE

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Inasmuch as the leadership style of Martin L. King, Jr. is often discussed, debated, and about whom much is written, few if any, scholars have cast King and his leadership style within the context of Weber's notions of charisma, elective affinity and the routinization of charisma. We argue that King possessed the blessed "gift of grace," and that "gift of grace" was validated by the social audience that King led. We further argue that like charismatics of the past who rejected established rules, created new ones and issued a demand for social change (Tucker 1968), so was King. From state to state, and from time to time, King proved his mission by non-violently demonstrating against all established segregation laws. At times arrested, jailed, and if convicted, opted to remain in jail rather than to pay a fine for his conviction.

King also made effective use of rhetoric, metaphors and similes in speeches, alluded to myth and history, and the contents of his message were meaningful and relevant to those who followed him. If correct, then, Friedland (1964), Tucker (1968) and Willner and Willner (1965) would identify King and his leadership style to be charismatic on both psychological and sociological dimensions. In spite of that likely possibility, scholars have failed to cast King within that light, as previously stated. In this paper, five lines of arguments are made. They are that:

1. The situation in Montgomery, Alabama represented conditions conducive for the emergence of a charismatic personality among blacks.
2. Martin Luther King, Jr. possessed the blessed "gift of grace," and that gift was validated by the social group that King led.
3. As a charismatic leader, King rejected all established rules supporting racial segregation and issued a demand for change.
4. King's salvationist messages provided hope to racially distressed blacks and they followed him because his messages were in synch with their ideal and material interests.
5. The untimely death of King, and the process of charismatic succession, routinized or transformed the inherently unstable charismatic structure of King's organization.

THEORETICAL FRAME: CHARISMA, ELECTIVE AFFINITY, AND ROUTINIZATION

The term charisma refers to a gift of body and mind that sets an individual apart from ordinary men (Bendix 1962 299). A person also has charisma when that person is perceived to be endowed with supernatural, superhuman and exceptional qualities that are considered to be of divine origin (Gerth & Mills 1958 245; Bendix 1962 299).

Definitionally, pure charisma is the simultaneous existence of the psychological traits of the holder, and the collective perceptions of those qualities. Therefore, a leadership which is purely charismatic will emerge when the psychological and sociological conditions are simultaneously present.

The ideal typical conditions in which both qualities are likely to appear, and out of which the charismatic phenomenon is likely to emerge are:

1. an underlying condition of strain which creates relative deprivation, provokes inter-group tensions and conflicts, and produces pressure for social structural changes;
2. conditions of crises that intensify strains or impose new and sudden deprivation upon major segments of the population;
3. the perceptual reactions of individuals toward general societal conditions. (Willner 1968 35-36)

Thus, a leader whose appeal is messianic or salvationist, and offers deliverance from the disequilibria will be recognized as charismatic (Tucker 1968 742-743).

However, a charismatic leader must also be able to make effective use of rhetoric, metaphors and similes in speeches. The leader must be able to make allusion to myth

and history; must be able to deal with felt doubts, oppositions and crises (Willner & Willner 1965 63). Additionally, a charismatic leader's messages, particularly the ideational content must be carried by a social group, if it is to be efficacious (Gerth & Mills 1958 63). Ideas selected and followed by the group must give spiritual meaning to reinforce the ideological and material interests of followers. The congruence between ideas and interests is an elected one, and constitutes Weber's notion of "elective affinity."

Finally, a leader whose style and messages are appropriate and whose style and messages are compatible with the conditions will attract followers, and they will recognize that person to be charismatic. Followers of this leadership will be cognitively and emotionally different from those of other leaderships (Willner 1968 35-36). On the cognitive level, a charismatic leader will transmit the messages and followers will validate the mission by total acceptance. On the emotional level, charismatic followers will accept their leader with responses of awe, devotion, obedience, reverence, if not blind faith (Willner 1968 6-7). Still a leader who is charismatic must also prove his/her mission, if the affective and cognitive reactions of followers are to be maintained and, if the followers are not to desert (Bendix 1962 301; Gerth & Mills 1958 246-247). Other attributes of a charismatically led group which distinguishes it from the typical leader-follower relationship are: that leader and follower must stand outside the norms of routine workaday life, routine occupations and routine family life; reject rational economic conduct; and charisma is by nature revolutionary and intermittent or transitory.

The reversal of charisma's intermittent or transitory character is its routinization. Indeed, Weber (1947) writes, if charisma is not to remain inherently unstable, its intermittent or transitory structure must be "routinized" or transformed, thus, taking on a more stable bond.

The union of ideas and interests of followers within a charismatic community is the force behind the process of routinization. However, a charismatic leader's death is likely to strain the interests of followers and the question of succession must be resolved. Weber (1947 364) identified six possible solutions. Two are relevant to King's charismatic community. They are: 1) the original charismatic leader designates a successor; and 2) the charismatic community designates the successor. The resolution of this problem is the depersonalization of charisma. Parsons (1947) describes this process as the exercise of charisma "second removed." That is, to dissociate charisma from the person and to place it in the objective institutional structure.

PRE-CHARISMATIC CONDITIONS IN MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

The situation in Montgomery, Alabama, before and after 1955, approximated many of the pre-charismatic conditions discussed earlier. Widespread psychological insecurity, extensive deprivation that adversely affected the black sub-group, and the institutional failure to remedy those conditions were all present. Most blacks lived in substandard housing, blacks had to ride at the back of buses where seats were assigned to blacks as a group. Many blacks experienced massive police abuses; many saw their houses and churches burned, their families threatened, and their friends and allies murdered (Jakoubek 1989 43).

Added to those deplorable conditions were the arrest, jail and conviction of Rosa Parks for refusing to relinquish, to a white passenger, her seat at the front of the bus for one at the back of the bus assigned to blacks. Parks' arrest, jail and conviction were the precipitating events that mobilized the black population in Montgomery, Alabama, and in turn, led to the founding of the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) that later blossomed into the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) to effect social change. Because the social order failed to remedy the conditions of strain affecting blacks, the situation in Montgomery, Alabama, was at best, anomic and propitious for the emergence of charismatic leaders and followers attracted to them. Such leadership and attraction were found in the relationship between King and those who were attracted to him.

King's profile as a new pastor at Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, his activist orientation in which he urged members to take a more active role in resisting segregation, to join the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), to pass literacy tests, to pay their poll taxes, and to overcome other barriers that prevented them

from voting were keenly observed by most blacks (Jakoubek 1989 49).

Additionally, King's sauve oratorical and persuasive sermons (messages), particularly, the message King delivered at the MIA organizational meeting earned King the leadership of the MIA. King also earned the leadership of that organization because of his salvationist messages that offered blacks deliverance from their distress, and because he offered his own leadership to lead those who were willing to follow. Thus, the appropriate conditions that fostered charismatic attractions were present. Those conditions, however, should be seen in conjunction with the social characteristics and the perceptive reactions of those who were to become followers of King.

First, many were ministers of the gospel and were fascinated with King's non-violent direct action and forgiveness philosophy: because that philosophy was closely akin to their Christian socialization. Second, many were professionals and quasi-professionals who had experienced dissonance because their status hierarchies were not equal. As a result, they gravitated to King because his messages offered a "quick fix" to their anger. Finally, many were the black masses who were generally victims of police abuses. They were at the bottom of blacks' status hierarchy with no way to go but up. King's salvationist messages offered a channel to upward mobility (Jakoubek 1989 42-51).

Within the Willnerian (1965; 1968) perspective, we may say that King presented himself to followers as their predestined leader, provided followers with a clear picture on racial issues, what they ought be; and provided the prescription for change.

KING AS CHARISMATIC LEADER

Prior to the Montgomery bus boycott, King remained non-charismatic. He neither possessed the extraordinary qualities that set him apart from other men nor did the audience give him recognition or validation. Nonetheless, we argue that those extraordinary qualities underscoring King's charismatic leadership were apparent during the Montgomery bus boycott (1955-56) and continued up to his death. King recalled that threats to his life forced him, in prayers, to ask for divine guidance. Further, that during a prayer, he experienced the presence of God in a manner he had never before experienced. That a voice admonished him to stand up for righteousness and truth, and that God would be at his side (Jakoubek 1989 52). If correct, we believe that King was given the blessed "gift of grace". That "gift of grace" was validated or recognized by the social audience, inside and outside, Holt Street Baptist Church, in Montgomery, Alabama. Here, the comments made by those present, and the hand clapping, and arm waving oration given to King as he accepted the leadership position of the MIA (Jakoubek 1989 48-49) strongly suggest that King rose to the level of a charismatic leader because the message he delivered that night set him apart from others.

King took his messages of non-violence across the nation. He commanded blacks to protest non-violently against racial barriers to integration. At the same time, he urged blacks to show love, friendship and understanding to their white oppressors. King's non-violent philosophy found willing listeners in a culture that advocated violence against an opposition. Further King's philosophy of non-violence was an eruption of new forces linked to new ideas, and represented ideas that were generally articulated by holders of charisma (Jones & Answerwitz 1975 1098).

As the racial crisis widened, King took his exceptional leadership qualities, which seemed inaccessible to others, and incompatible with rules and actions that governed everyday life, to all segments of American Society, and proclaimed his mission to racially distressed blacks. Again, he urged blacks to breakdown racial barriers to integration by participating in non-violent protest activities. As such, many blacks responded to King's proclamation by surrendering themselves to his mission. At times, King was arrested, jailed, and if convicted, opted to remain in jail than pay a fine. We argue that King's protests and the demands he made for changes in the race laws were in synch with the revolutionary qualities of charisma. His activities were also analogous with the spirit of the charismatic saying: "It is written... but I say unto you...."

King's earliest disciples/followers of MIA/SCLC were recruited on the basis of his charismatic appeal. Chief among them were: Ralph Abernathy, a close friend, confidant and treasurer of the SCLC. Erma Dungee, assistant secretary to the SCLC, Major Jones, chaplain to the SCLC, L. D. Reddick, historian to

the SCLC, Fred Shuttleworth, secretary to the SCLC, to name a few. It is fair to assume that this inner circle was fully schooled in King's non-violent philosophy. Like King, they met the forces of hate with the power of love, physical force with soul force, and friendship and understanding of whites were cherished prizes to be won (Jakoubek 1989 51).

More specifically, many recruits responded to King's appeal because his messages were fraught with many of the ideas that Willner and Willner (1965 83) identified to be necessary for charismatic success. It was the cadence in King's voice, the body demeanor that King emitted, the Biblical metaphors and similes that King employed in making blacks' racial distress analogous to that of the Jews, and most of all, the allusions to myth and history that King frequently used. Here, King invoked Christian religious expectations in context with the possibility of black's deliverance from racial distress. Thus, blacks' frequent protest demonstrations were seen by King as preludes to the "Glory of the Coming of the Lord," and a precursor toward black's deliverance. Second, King's address to the Garbage Workers in Memphis, Tennessee (1968) obliquely portrayed himself as Moses (the law giver), who ascended the mountain top and viewed the "Promised Land," but failed to enter. Heretofore, King portrayed that land to be one in which barriers to racial injustices would be eliminated, and justice delayed and denied blacks would, "roll down like mighty waters and righteousness like a mighty stream" (King 1964b 51).

Despite King's charismatic appeal, we presume as Tucker (1968) contends about charismatic messages, that the ideational contents of King's messages, namely, the formula that his messages proposed for delivering blacks from racial distress and King's vision for a color-blind America significantly influenced the attraction followers and potential followers held for him. King's "Letter from a Birmingham Jail" (1964a 33) that legitimated civil disobedience against all segregation laws, his narration as to why black Americans could no longer wait for full benefits of citizenship, his "I Have A Dream" (1964b 50-61) address that reinforced in the black mind that they were heirs or inheritors of certain inalienable rights guaranteed by the Constitution, and his vision of a color-blind America where:

> black men and black women would sit down with white men and white women at the table of brotherly love, where little black boys and girls would join hands with little white boys and girls and walk as brothers and sisters, and where black men and black women would be judged by the content of their character rather than by the color of their skin,

were in synch with the ideal and material interests of followers and potential followers. Consequently, a charismatic relation was developed between King and followers. It was not a relationship based on mere leadership. But one in which the process of interaction described by Willner (1968) was evident. For on the cognitive level, King transmitted descriptive, normative and prescriptive messages which followers totally accepted. On the emotional level, the relationship between King and followers, particularly those in the inner circle, was consistently one of love, passionate devotion and awe; and followers responded to him by surrendering themselves to his mission. However, because charisma is inherently unstable (Weber 1947), King's charisma had to be radically transformed or routinized if it was to become a permanent structure.

Thus, the untimely death of King and his designation, before death, of Ralph Abernathy as successor set in motion the process of routinization through succession. Hence, the charismatic community approved Abernathy's designation as leader of the SCLC. Such designation and community approval of Abernathy depersonalized the personal charisma of King, and embodied it into the objective organizational structure, so that future leaders would exercise charisma "second removed" (see Parsons 1947 67). As such, we argue that Abernathy's authority was based upon "designation" and not on any personal charismatic qualities of his own. He faithfully carried out King's mission: to lead the black masses into a color-blind America. Highlights of Abernathy's achievements were: The Poor Peoples' Campaign and Settlement, both staged in Washington, D. C. in 1968.

With limited success, and with lamentations of failure, at King's grave site, Abernathy turned over the reign of leadership to King's charismatic community, and the Reverend Doctor David Lowery was designated as

leader of the SCLC. Lowery held the reign of leadership for over two decades and exercised charisma "second removed." Like Abernathy, Lowery's authority to lead came from the office and not from any personal charismatic quality. However, Lowery's age forced him to turn over the reign of leadership to the charismatic community, and by designation Martin Luther King III is the current leader of the movement organization. He too is exercising charisma "second removed," despite a lack of personal charismatic traits.

CONCLUSION

We argue that King was charismatic on both psychological and sociological levels, as defined by Weber (1947), Willner and Willner (1965), Tucker (1968), and Friedland (1964). King had an extraordinary gift of leadership and followers recognized or validated his mission by responding to him with passionate devotion, awe and love (Jakoubek 1989 48).

King rejected all established racial laws, created new obligations for followers, and issued a demand for a change in the race laws. At times, King was arrested, jailed, and if convicted, opted to remain in jail than pay a fine. King's rejection of racial laws and the demands he made for change in the laws were in synch with the revolutionary qualities of charisma, and made his commands to followers analogous to the spirit of the saying: "It is written...but I say unto you...." The ideational content of King's messages, the myths he articulated in his messages, and the sacred culture symbols that his messages evoked had an affinity with the ideal and material interests of followers. Consequently, a charismatic relationship was created between King and followers. It was a relationship that was perceptually, cognitively and emotionally different from other leader-follower relationships. As a result, followers surrendered themselves to his mission and did not desert. Finally, King's untimely death, and the process of succession routinized or transformed the inherently unstable charismatic structure of his social movement organization.

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POLICY IMPLICATIONS FROM A STUDY OF MARGINALITY THEORY AND AFRICAN AMERICAN STUDENTS

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ABSTRACT

This study utilizes marginality theory constructs to examine experiences and feelings of racism among a population of African-American students at a mid-sized urban university. Specifically, this is a policy piece that incorporates an analysis of both social conditions that sustain marginality and individual factors that affect marginality. An extensive discussion of proposed interventions is offered. The larger implication is the application of sociological theory to sociological practice.

While academic integration offers distinct benefits, it sometimes produces difficult, even painful encounters for students brought together from different backgrounds. Frequently college and university officials do not prepare for issues involving racial bigotry (King & Ford 2003). When students perceive an environment as unwelcoming because of race, their desire to continue attending college diminishes and minority students are more likely then White students to report experiencing disrespect (Zea, Reisen, Beil & Caplan 1997). Through a discussion of the concept of *marginality*, this paper examines issues of academic achievement and proposed interventions for the African-American student population.

KEY CONCEPTS

Marginality theory offers several advantages to studying human behavior. First, this theory stresses the sociological components of behavior. The concepts investigated in this study are *social* products. Reactions to marginality are not formed in a vacuum. They evolve over time as the individual interacts with significant social groups, such as family, peers, and social institutions. Second, this theory offers a life course perspective on behavior. Marginality theory assumes that human development is a lifelong process. As the individual encounters new experiences throughout the life course, the opportunity for change and adaptation constantly presents itself. Development does not cease at the end of childhood or adolescence, but rather occurs each time that an individual experiences a significant change in the life course. College is only one major change; career patterns, marriage, parenthood, and retirement all offer substantial opportunities for personal development. Techniques and strategies developed from earlier experiences may or may not be relevant. Marginality theory offers an additional approach to investigating success or failure in major life transitions.

The crux of this investigation is the individual's reaction to the conditions of marginality and its ramifications for successful adaptation and identity development (Fordham & Ogbu 1986). This assumes that the individual who is subjected to the conditions of marginality will develop a reaction to these conditions and that, in turn, this reaction can affect one's emerging sense of identity. The model suggests that factors within the various components serve to engender a reaction to marginality. The model proposes that there is a range of reactions to and interpretations of marginality. Each of these reactions has a differential effect on the behavior of the individual. Without this range, the theory could not exist. When first conceptualized for study, the marginal situation was theorized as producing *a* personality type (Park 1928; Stonequist 1935). However, recent research reveals that this "type" is only one of several reactions possible when faced with the conditions of marginality (Rimstead 1995).

Based on standing literature, it is conceivable to identify at least six distinct reactions that could be expected from individuals in a marginal situation and used as a starting point for investigation:

1. Affected

> Increased sensitiveness, self-consciousness, and race-consciousness, an indefinable *malaise*, inferiority and various compensatory mechanisms, are common traits in the marginal person. (Stonequist 1935 6)

This is the original type of reaction that di-

rectly affects personality and behavior toward others. Symptoms would include displays of internal unresolved conflict, such as delinquency, crime, mental instability, or suicide.

2. Emulative

"To abolish marginality by psychic surgery" (Riesman 1951 122). The condition of marginality is so intolerable that people can take the stance of denial and "for them, integration is an unquestioned ideal..." (Riesman 1951 125). Emulation and identification with the dominant culture is sought at almost any cost, including rejection of the original culture. One extreme that has been suggested is that of "passing."

3. Defiant

> People who feel uncomfortable in the world ...find comfort in explaining their discomfort by attributing it to an acceptable cause. (Riesman 1951 114)

These individuals become totally absorbed with blaming the system. Symptoms would be open hostility, acts of defiance, or angry withdrawal. The inability to resolve the situation hinders positive action for individual gains. Channeled, it can be a force for collective change, as occurred during the civil rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s.

4. Emissarial

Using marginality as a social function, the marginal person sees him/herself as an emissary, an interpreter, or a go-between for both cultures. Riesman (1951) describes this reaction as carving out a specific social role and exploiting marginality for its usefulness. This type of reaction is closest to Simmel's original concept. It has a positive aspect in that the marginality of the individual is appreciated for the special skills and knowledge that the "stranger" can bring to another culture. Both cultures can use the reciprocal information to grow and avoid stagnation. This reaction is dependent on mutual respect and appreciation.

5. Withdrawn

Complete rejection of the marginal situation can lead to total withdrawal, including moving to another country. It can also involve a retreat into the original culture and refusal to participate in activities that are not part of the sub-culture (Riesman 1951). Louis Farrakhan has voiced this position quite adamantly.

6. Balanced

Goldberg (1941) suggests another reaction that stems from the amount of time that the sub-culture has existed within the dominant culture. Conditioned since birth to the existence of both cultures, shared experiences of dealing with both cultures during development, and presence of role models that ease the task of balancing the demands of the two cultures, creates a marginal person who exists in a marginal *culture*. "For the individual concerned, however we must remember that it is not marginal, but normal" (1941 57). The conditions of marginality are not transient, but permanent, and we are likely to find a stable and normal person participating in an integrated manner in the activities of a "unitary" culture. It is implied that this person does not perceive a dichotomy, but a normal situation that relies on institutional and associational proximity.

The mechanism of differentiation identified by this study is racism. Racism, in turn, affects the social conditions as discussed by Germani (1980). The economic-social includes the availability and accessibility of funds for college. The political-social is distinguished by the ability of African-American college students to affect change with regard to institutional practices and procedures. Demographics apply to the numerical size of the minority group and its ability to create cohesion as a collective voice within the institution. In addition, sheer size can also determine the amount of consideration given to a particular minority group's needs and concerns. Cultural dimensions are represented in this study by behavioral patterns and beliefs that are unique to African-American culture. The concern of this aspect is the amount of disparity between the African-American culture and the Anglo-American culture with special regard for the customs and norms of academic life (Grant & Breese 1997).

In this study of marginality and African-American college performance, differentiation impacts all areas of social life and creates the conditions of marginality. This, in turn, elicits a personal reaction to marginality that can be altered or solidified within a particular realm of social activity. The context of college demonstrates how institutional factors and individual factors interact with the

reaction to marginality to influence the individual's ability to succeed in a college program.

Several socialization processes are critical to successful academic performance. The study reveals that the African-American student, while attending college, may also be struggling with the issue of developing a black identity. For several respondents, attending a predominately Anglo-American university served as a catalyst that triggered this process. A second process that is specific to this study and is similar to the process of organizational socialization incorporates the ability to learn and accept the system of college participation. Participation instills over time a sense of belonging and purpose for the successful college student. Finally, the college experience can assist or hinder the development of a sense of competence. A sense of competence acts as motivation to continue in the face of challenges and demands of the academic system.

Socioeconomic status deserves attention if only for the resources that it provides to members of each status in a society. The quality of schooling, the aspirations generated from significant others, and the knowledge of the dominant culture are all affected by this factor.

All of these elements combine to create and sustain the conditions of marginality. Institutional factors specific to the academic environment and individual academic factors attenuate or magnify these societal conditions, producing a reaction to marginality. Key institutional factors impacted this study, including: Financial aid, activities that promote cohesion, academic support services, and procedural processes. Individual factors that are identified by this study as affecting successful college performance include: Experiences with racism, exposure to the dominant culture, social support, participation in school activities, and individual attention. Standing literature addressing Black students at predominantly white institutions demonstrates that these students do not fare as well as White students in persistence rates, academic achievement, postgraduate study, and overall psychosocial adjustments (Gossett, Cuyjet & Cockriel 1998).

The reaction to marginality emerges from the interaction of all of these factors. Marginality theory offers a concatenated approach since it is not limited to one context, but offers the opportunity to explore this concept over multiple levels of analysis and situations that would provide a chain of support for its assertions (Gossett, Cuyjet & Cockriel 1996).

METHODS

As researchers, we both come into this study with the consciousness of being White middle-class sociologists, charged with instructing students in the areas of Minority relations and social inequality. We are both cognizant of the current racial climate in academia and are attempting to introduce both our students and colleagues to the heterogeneity of experience found among contemporary African-American students. The central educational implication to this approach is a strong awareness of white spokespeople for minority conditions (Bettis 1996; Tatum 1994). We agree with Ballantine, who notes that

> some of the ideals sociologists support are most successfully achieved through participatory research and application of knowledge such as challenging inequality. (1995 219)

The data in this study was obtained by interviewing respondents using a pre-set series of questions, the interview guide. The interview guide was constructed with three goals in mind. First, the chronological order of the interview was meant to reflect the process of deciding, entering, and sustaining participation in a college program. The only exception was the first section. The section titled "Decision to Attend College" was used before, rather than after, childhood experiences in order to focus the respondent on the topic. Consequently, the order of the topics was as follows:

Demographics
Decision to Attend College
Childhood
High School Experiences
Entering College
Attending College
Stay or Leave
Goals
Skills
Problems and Coping
Racism
Self-Concept

The second goal was to include questions that were meant to tap both institutional factors and individual factors within each topic.

Each topic served as "sensitizing categories," which were the basis of data analysis. The goal was to maintain some organization of the data as it was gathered. The average time for the focused interview was two hours. Although the interview guide contained formal structure, it still allowed ample opportunities for probing and open-ended responses.

Sampling and Sampling Procedures

The literature review provided a basis for the initial sample. Schatzman and Strauss (1973) refer to this approach as "selective sampling." A calculated decision to sample specific types of respondents is made according to a preconceived, but reasonable, set of dimensions (such as time, space, identity) that are worked out in advance. This approach is similar to that identified by Patton (2002) as purposeful sampling.

Sampling procedures were also modified by procedures from grounded theory developed by Glaser and Strauss (1965, 1967). This procedure is called "theoretical sampling." Theoretical sampling dictates that the researcher constantly scrutinize data as it is collected in order to identify areas that have not been covered in the initial phase of sample selection (Patton 2002).

Restricting the sample to the selection of African-Americans is appropriate since this study examines temporal conditions of marginality, performance comparisons within the minority group, and gender comparisons *specific to* the experiential world of the minority group under investigation.

Given the theoretical objectives of this study, the selection of students from an urban, public university seems best suited to this investigation. In contrast, private and segregated schools offer only extreme cases that would not serve the objective of this study, which is to generate principles under normative conditions of marginality. The norm for the majority of African-American students is to attend a state-supported school in an urban setting close to home. In the mid 1980s, 16 percent of African-American students who attended college selected a predominant African-American school (Thomas & Hill 1987). By 1999, the percentage was at 14.6 percent. This figure was derived by comparing total enrollment of African American students at all institutions to those at historically black colleges and universities (National Center for Education Statistics 2003). The elite schools present financial and competitive academic standards that may offer insurmountable barriers to admission for the "average" African-American or Anglo-American student.

Two other considerations guided the sampling. The decision was made to only include full-time students (12 credits or more), since part-time students often have even more factors that impinge on college achievement and this would make a completely different study that might be useful in comparison to this study. In addition, only "traditional" students were included in this study. Traditional is defined as ages 18 to 23. There is a substantial body of literature (Breese & O'Toole 1995; Gigliotti & Huff 1995) that emphasizes that non-traditional students, again, have factors that are not relevant to the student who has made the transition to college directly from high school or a short time thereafter. The intent was to tighten the scope of this study in order to avoid extraneous factors that might confound the findings of this study.

The first respondents were initially solicited by a flyer that explained the intent of the study and requested volunteer participation. Faculty members were asked to distribute these letters to likely candidates in their introductory classes. Since only six students responded to this request, who, in turn provided two referrals, the decision was made to offer $10.00 for participating and a second flyer was distributed. This generated five volunteers, who also provided three referrals. A third approach was used to obtain participants. The flyers were then distributed at a central gathering point in the student union where African-Americans habitually congregate. This led to three additional participants.

Twenty-three students from a Midwest state university volunteered to be interviewed for this study. The mean age of this sample was 20. The average grade point average for the sample was 2.35. The average number of college credits taken during the interview semester was 12.9. Our sample reflects the disproportionate number of female students who attend college as opposed to male students. Eight males were interviewed, as op-

posed to fifteen females. The sample was evenly divided between those students who worked and those who did not.

This university is very much in line with the overall percent of African-American students statewide (10%). The other two major universities in the same general area report 6.8 percent and 17.5 percent of the student population being African-American, with the higher percent located in a major metropolitan area. A more telling portrait of the composition of the African-American undergraduate students (2063) at the university where this study was done illustrates the pattern of more females initially attending college and the rapid attrition of male students over the course of a college program.

FINDINGS

The Formation of Marginality

In the case of this study, marginality could not exist without racism. On a societal level, racism creates the conditions that are necessary to generate a reaction to marginality. Investigation of the present social climate revealed that the nature of racism through the 1990s and into the 21st century is characterized by subtlety. More powerful than overt racism that can be challenged, subtle racism is a constant barrage of insinuation, innuendo, media stereotyping, implied inferiority, and petty humiliations.

At the present time, there are no social movements to counteract the conditions of marginality. The African-American is left to cope with racism on an individual basis. Consequently, there is wide variation of the experiences of racism among African-Americans. However, each African-American does develop a "social construction of reality" that incorporates each experience. The result is a cognitive stance that is termed "reaction to marginality."

On a personal level, the major factor that impacts this stance is exposure, familiarity, and knowledge of the dominant culture. Those individuals experiencing the most difficulties in academia are those people who have had the least exposure to the norms and expectations of this social environment. For the most part, this is due to the fact that significant interaction with Anglo-Americans has been limited. There is no wonder that this environment can be perceived as hostile, uninviting, and foreign. If there is no opportunity to learn the "rules of the game," there is no sense in playing. Individuals who have parents that have been through the system, or who have friends from the Anglo-American culture, or who hold professional-type jobs while completing college have access to essential information for success. This does not mean that a student cannot succeed without these advantages. This simply means that lacking these resources, attempting to participate in a college program is a formidable task.

Social Conditions That Sustain Marginality

On an institutional level, several factors sustain marginality. Sheer demographics ensure that in many classes African-American students will be a slim minority. This is especially significant for those students who come from a predominately African-American neighborhood and/or high school. For other students, this is only a continuation of conditions experienced earlier in life. If these conditions are coupled with an instructor who is intimidated or insensitive to stereotypical remarks, or actions, the chasm widens.

Another factor that sustains marginality is the bureaucracy surrounding financial aid. Although several students noted that there are African-American personnel in the financial aid office, under-staffing of this department severely limits the time spent with each student. This barrier is especially frustrating for students who are critically dependent on receiving financial assistance in a timely manner. As several students commented, prompt payment may make the difference whether a student attends college or not. Several comments suggest the problems faced by students, as these three respondents' experiences demonstrate:

> I didn't work as many hours as I could have because I figured that my loan would be in. So the loan gets in and they tell me that I have to wait 30 days before you can get your loan. You have to be in school 30 days before you can get your loan [as a freshman]. But they don't tell you that when you sign up and fill out the papers.

> I lost classes due to lack of funds and there is nowhere to go for help.

> But they [financial aid] keep sending the forms back stating they need something else.

Freshman orientation is an additional factor. The existing program makes some faulty assumptions that create less than favorable conditions for the new student. Several of the students did not have any idea what "placement" testing meant. Others mentioned that too much information was dispensed too quickly to absorb all the essential information. Frustrations such as these are encapsulated by a student in the sample who noted that

> at certain times in school, I have needed help and at a certain point they will say they cannot help you anymore, where you should be able to get help all the way through a problem.

Finally, many of the social activities at colleges and universities are centered around the Anglo-American culture. Although groups such as Black United Students (BUS), Black Accountants, and Black Engineers serve a vital socializing role, they tend to encourage separation between African-American students and Anglo-American students. There are few activities that promote a spirit of interaction, understanding, and cooperation between these two groups. One respondent described how

> I think oftentimes, you either grow up in an all-White school or an all-Black school. Since there is not a bunch of race relations between people my age in elementary school and prior to college, you really don't understand Black people. And I can't say I understand White people because I don't. I haven't had to deal with that many.

Individual Factors That Affect Marginality

On an individual level, three factors play significant roles in sustaining or mitigating the conditions of marginality. First, social support comprised of friends, professional people, and class-mates *within* the academic domain provides a great source of encouragement, mental support, and assurance. Those individuals who were successful illustrated complex social networks on campus; those who were experiencing the least success did not have this support. Second, active participation in school activities was another indication that the student had developed a sense of commitment and belonging to the university. This was especially true for sport participation. However, not everyone can play sports, and students were able to cite other examples of worthwhile clubs, professional organizations, and planned activities that had encouraged positive feelings about academia. Finally, the students who were experiencing the most success had found a way to individualize the attention that they received. They were not afraid to approach instructors, find tutors, attend labs, obtain counsel and advice, or make new friends in classes. Those students who were not experiencing success were much more reticent and rejected the idea of being proactive in creating a new social world for themselves or actively seeking help.

All of these areas are opportunities for remediation and improvement of the academic system. What follows is a discussion of proposed policy interventions based on these issues.

PROPOSED INTERVENTIONS

An intervention program based on findings from this research is the most salient benefit of this study. Giles-Gee (1989) has demonstrated that practical, yet inexpensive, techniques utilizing *existing* resources of the university can, in fact, impact the retention and progression of African-American students. Several suggestions may incur short-term expenses. However, beneficial results can have positive financial gain for the university in the long run. As competition for students increases, the institution that can retain students is in a better position for the future.

The theory of marginality, as formulated in this study, identifies the institutional component as contributing important factors to sustaining the conditions of marginality. These factors (bureaucracy, mystification of procedural processes, and organization of social activities) can impact a student's sense of belonging. In addition, the present system requires that the student create and maintain support systems on his/her own. Also, under the present conditions, personal attention, which the data shows is a strong factor in sustaining successful performance at the college level, must be sought by the individual. At this point, suggestions can be offered to improve at least the institutional component of the marginality model. Ten suggestions are offered.

The first suggestion is to give more atten-

tion to the financial aid department. At the present time, new students are required to attend a workshop in order to apply for financial assistance. This can be very confusing, and there is no follow-up once the forms are sent back to the student. At this point, a student is left to personal devices to figure out what to do or where to go. A follow-up workshop could be required to discuss the *results* of the applications. There should also be workshops offered on obtaining scholarships, especially for African-American students. There are no structured services to acquire this information. Counseling services offer computer searches, but the system is confusing and obtuse. Financial aid can take a more proactive stance to helping students find existing sources of financial assistance.

The second suggestion is based on the fact that, at the present time, there is one course required for African-American students who have become "at risk" due to GPA. The students who were interviewed who were also participating in this class spoke very highly of the class and the instructor. The concern is that it may be too late to have much impact. Existing resources are available that could identify the students who are experiencing difficulties much sooner in the process. The peer counseling program could be extended and systematized to infuse more accountability to advisors before the student is in deep trouble academically. A more individual approach to assistance could be provided. To be placed in an "at-risk" class when in trouble could serve to stigmatize and alienate a student who is already "separating" from the system.

The third suggestion, in conjunction with the second suggestion, recognizes that counseling and advising are critical for those students who are experiencing difficulties with transition to college. Career planning, which stipulates a specific plan with clear goals and objectives, would stimulate the student who is floundering in the system. If a student could be detected early on, special attention to specific career goals might stimulate the student to take academics more seriously. The personalized attention could promote a sense of belonging. During the first year of college, most advisors take a cavalier approach to "advice and counseling." Several students in this study stated that their advisor simply said "Take these courses" without any explanation of why or how the courses would fit into the four-year scheme. Students are left to select majors on a whim or without adequate knowledge of the educational requirements needed to complete a particular degree or any specific knowledge of the nature of the job itself. The response to this suggestion might be that it is all in the college catalog; however, anyone working with freshmen is aware that this is rarely done. A personal discussion could serve as motivation for planning and assuming personal responsibility for career selection and success. Relevant information can instill a sense of control regarding one's life.

The fourth suggestion urges improvement of the peer counseling program. As stated above, the peer counseling program is one of the most positive approaches with regard to African-American students. However, at this point it is very informal and the reluctant students can easily avoid the program. There is no formal tracking on this program, nor are there rewards for the peer counselor who does a more than adequate job. Initially, the peer counselor could participate in orientation to individualize the process for the new student. Physical contact with the peer counselor might make additional contact easier and more likely. Funding should be sought to expand and improve this program. One person needs to spend time monitoring the process and identifying students who need additional assistance or a different peer counselor. The first match is not always successful. Some kind of incentive should be offered to peer counselors, whether credits or financial, to stimulate involvement with the program. The peer counselors are extremely important because they get involved in the initial stages of socialization to college. They are aware of problems and potential pitfalls long before they come to the attention of more formal areas of the university. They can provide the social support, information, and individual concern that are essential for some students who are entering a "foreign land."

The fifth suggestion concerns the more formal areas of assistance, tutors, labs, and Minority Affairs. These areas need to take a more proactive stance with regard to students. Just being there does not encourage the reluctant student to participate. More information needs to be dispensed, and students who do use these sources need to be contacted for information to assess the effec-

tiveness of these services. Several students turned away from the tutors after *one* bad experience.

The sixth suggestion stresses that the importance of African-Americans in the position of instructors, administrators, residence assistants, and other areas of management should be obvious. These important sources of role models are too few at the present time, or reside in specialty areas that give them little exposure to African-American students. An intense effort to recruit and retain African-Americans for the university becomes more and more important as the composition of the university changes. This is even more important if the university attracts a disproportionate percent of African-American students. Being located a convenient distance from a central city places this university in this position.

The seventh suggestion addresses instructors and the educational processes. Anyone who wishes to teach at the university should be required to take at least one class in Human Diversity as a prerequisite for hiring. There is a cavalier attitude that educated people are all sensitive to minority issues. This is not the case. One class is a minor price to pay for admission to academia. Again, this is not just for African-American students, but is relevant as the total minority population at the university grows. Complaints about instructor conduct should be taken seriously.

The eighth suggestion is in conjunction with the above suggestion. Instructors should be encouraged to provide clear guidelines and specific outcome measures for students. African-American students who were interviewed expressed a need for more progress reports, and these need to be available early in the semester. Minority students especially are hurt by the present system that asks little accountability from anyone teaching a class. Student evaluations are done at the end of the semester, long after many of those students who had difficulties are gone.

The ninth suggestion concerns freshman orientation. The program needs to be expanded. The present system tries to disseminate too much information, too fast, to too many people. Also, attempts to individualize this program need to be explored. Special interests or concerns need to be identified and the students expressing these issues need to be answered. Presently, the orientation has a mob mentality that easily alienates or loses the student who is reticent anyway.

Finally, the participation in clubs, professional organizations, and activities that initiate social contact, stimulates interaction with all students, and promotes understanding and cooperation appears to positively affect college students. The university should consider giving credit for these types of activities and *requiring* a certain number of these credits to graduate. An institution conveys the importance of a particular social behavior by its own system of rewards. If the university is really trying to prepare students for the realities of the world, this type of requirement seems more germane than physical education or other requirements that have lost their relevance over time. Realizing that programs are limited as to the number of requirements that can be made of a student, this is still an important area that the university needs to incorporate as a integrated part of university training.

The above suggestions are made in light of the findings from this particular study. However, it should be apparent that these suggestions not only would assist African-American students, but all students who may experience difficulties with socialization to college and successful progression toward a degree.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

One of the characteristics of qualitative research is the ability to generate clear directions for future research. On a theoretical level, one study is not enough to fully describe the reactions to marginality. More qualitative studies of reactions to marginality in other areas of human endeavor are necessary to verify that all reactions to marginality have been identified and described. Once a definitive typology is developed, a measurement of reactions can be created, tested, and verified. This is an essential step in future research since the ability to measure reactions to marginality could play a significant role in intervention. Identification of an individual's reaction to marginality could assist in assessing how this factor might be impinging on success in other domains of social behavior. Awareness by the individual of his/her particular stance with respect to marginality and its effects on behavior could provide a defined problem for which resolution

can be planned and executed. The individual is offered an alternative to rejection of the system or nonproductive defiance.

SUMMARY

This work presents a strong argument for the incorporation of marginality theory in the investigation of racism. Race appears to be a multi-dimensional factor that includes reaction to marginality, SES, and values. Attention to these different facets of "race" might provide the heterogeneity that exists *within* groups. Treating any social group as diverse as African-Americans as homogeneous is open to validity problems. These problems are evidenced by conflicting results in other areas such as aging and social stratification when a factor is treated as uni-dimensional. Marginality theory holds great heuristic promise for African-American studies and all other individuals and groups who experience marginality through the life course.

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IDEAL WORLD OR REAL WORLD: USING MONOPOLY TO TEACH SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

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ABSTRACT

The instruction of social stratification can be a difficult subject to teach. In particular, one of the most challenging connections for students to make is the relationship between social class and life chances. Students new to the subject commonly equate an individual's class position to their work ethic and/or moral standing. Here we revisit the board game, Monopoly, in an attempt to make students more aware of the structural impacts on social class. Student groups, separated by monetary, property and power allotments, compete against one another in order to become the wealthiest group within the game. Game play scenarios and student reactions are offered to this version of monopoly. Such reactions appear to provide support for the application of the game as a teaching tool.

INTRODUCTION

The board game, Monopoly, is one of America's best known past-times.[1] Much of its success is due to the fact that the game is fun and accessible. Additional appeal lies in its use as an instructional piece that directs social action. Indeed, Monopoly has commonly been used to teach many young Americans about the "real world." Thompson and Hickey (1999 218) write:

> Americans tend to believe that a person's place in the social stratification system is due to talents, skills, abilities and hard work. In short, Americans cling to the belief that the economic class system is a meritocracy - a system based on personal merit... Thus many Americans believe that in the game, as in real life, people compete for valued resources, and that by means of intelligence, determination, skill and luck, some rise to the top, while others deficient in these qualities, move in the opposite direction.

The "real world", however, is caucused in myth. As with Monopoly, students often believe that everyone in American society starts out with equal allotments of opportunity, power, and social recognition. As such, students new to the subject commonly equate an individual's class position (and their economic successes or failures) to their work ethic and/or moral standing. So stated, institutional forces and cultural phenomena such as job availability, educational access, and ethnic and gender related discrimination go unrecognized as contributing factors in the perpetuation of social inequality.

Thus, even with lecture and reading, social stratification appears a concept that many students have to experience in order to understand. Hence, if an idealized version of monopoly (one wherein everyone has the same allotment of money, power and an equal chance of succeeding) can impact individuals' perceptions of the world; surely a revised or "stratified" version would do the same. The remainder of this work: 1) relates the "history" of sociological monopoly; 2) describes and details our rules of the revised game; 3) offers a discussion sheet for eliciting student feedback; 4) highlights selected student comments of game play and experiential learning, and 5) closes with limitations and suggestions for game play.

SOCIOLOGICAL MONOPOLY: A REVIEW AND REVISION

To make the game more representative of true life conditions, instructions were gleaned from the works of sociologist Leonard Beeghley (1983, 1989). It was Beegley who first restructured the game, and since then, several have adopted or altered his rules (Goudy, Hawthorne & Nelson 1983; Thompson & Hickey 1999; Jessup 2001; McIntyre 2002; Ender 2004). In the original game, every player starts out with an equal amount of capital, $1500 dollars and a game piece, to mark what McIntyre (2002 175) terms, "the travels through the economic world." Players take turns competing in this economic world by purchasing unclaimed property, haggling deals with competitors and hoping that fate befalls the well-rolled dice. Beeghley (1983 57) writes

Table 1: Student Rules of Monopoly

Goal: The goal of the game is to become the wealthiest player through buying, renting and selling property.

Group One: The Elite: 3 People
- They start with $10,000 dollars
- They own all blue and green properties
- All properties have one house on each

Group Two: The Upper Class: 6 people
- They start with $5,000 dollars
- They own Indiana, Kentucky, and Connecticut

Group Three: The Middle Class: 10 people
- They start with $2,000 dollars
- They own States Avenue

Group Four: The Working Poor: 5 people
- They start with $500 dollars
- They own no property

Rule 1: Group One (the elite class) may enact a new rule if they can persuade half of Group Two's members to agree to the change.

Rule 2: Group Two (the upper class) may enact a new rule if they can persuade all members of Group One to accept the new change.

Rule 3: Group Three (the middle class) must convince all of the members of Group Two and half of the members of Group One if they wish to enact new rules.

Rule 4: Group Four (the working class) must convince all members of Groups Three, all of the members of Group Two and half of the members of Group One if they wish to enact new rules.

Additional Rules:
Game Play: Each group takes consecutive turns moving around the board starting first with Group One then Groups Two, Three, and Four. Players rotate turns within groups, so that no one player rolls for his/her group consecutively. According to the place on which a player lands, he/she may be entitled to buy real estate or other properties or be obliged to pay rent, pay taxes, draw a "life chance" card, etc.

Chance and Community Chest: These cards are replaced with life chance cards (see Table 2). Life chance cards further emphasize the context of structural changes and life opportunities. The player who rolls and lands on chance or community chest must draw a Life Chance Card and obey the printed command.

"GO:" When a player passes "go" the group to which he/she is a member receives $200.

The Bank: The bank holds the titles, deed cards, houses and hotels prior to purchase. The Bank never "goes broke." If the bank runs out of money, it may issue more by writing on ordinary paper.

> By combining luck (symbolized by the roll of the dice) and shrewdness (symbolized by purchase and auction decisions), competitors see economic success.

This depiction however, as noted by Beeghley and aft cited scholars, offers an unrealistic portrait of the American class system. So, in order to create a more critical version of the game, these scholars reorganized the game by creating units of players separated by varying life chances. Though the core situation of the game is maintained (students compete with each other to achieve wealth), modifications arise in the structured ways through which groups of students may strive to attain wealth. Specifically, class divisions are made. All versions of the "stratified" monopoly game modify monetary and property divisions (Beegley 1983, 1989;

Goudy et al 1983; Thomspon & Hickey 1999; Jessup 2001; McIntyre 2002; Ender 2004). Our version also arranges student groups into social classes of varying property and wealth holdings, and we heighten difference in the wealth and property holdings. Indeed, our divisions of wealth and power are more cavernous than all previous revised monopoly systems. We do so to make an illustrative point and to represent more realistically the forms of social inequality that presently exist (Rossides 1997; Ehrenreich 2002). Our class structures, including divisions of wealth and property, are presented below (For a quick reference guide containing all rules please see Table 1).

Group One: The Elite: 3 People[2]
- They start with $10,000 dollars
- They own all blue and green properties
- All properties have one house on each

Group Two: The Upper Class: 6 people
- They start with $5,000 dollars
- They own Indiana, Kentucky, and Connecticut

Group Three: The Middle Class: 10 people
- They start with $2,000 dollars
- They own States Avenue

Group Four: The Working Poor: 5 people
- They start with $500 dollars
- They own no property

Though focusing on class divisions made in the unequal distribution of economic and property resources, our monopoly game, as of yet, as well as most of the works already cited ignore divisions of power, or social influence. When referencing power, we speak primarily to Weber's (1947 152) conception which reads,

> power is the probability that an individual within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out their will, despite resistance from others.

Power then, is one's ability to exert his/her influence upon the social structure in an attempt to maintain or change it. McIntyre's (2002) more recent version of Monopoly alleviates this problem. McIntyre (2002) slyly suggests that those with greater power (broader social influence) make the "rules" of social life. As such, she grants the members of the upper class the ability to enact new rules (e.g. tax cuts for said group members) when so desired. Indeed this highlights the challenge that persons with few social - political ties have in influencing the social structure. Further, it addresses how relatively easy it is for persons of high standing (those having broader networking ties to persons of political, economic, and cultural influence) to modify the structure to suit their interests.

For our purposes, we draw from McIntyre's (2002) work and also enable the upper class to devise and enact new rules during game play; yet we are not as fatalistic. In our version, new rules may be suggested by all student class units. We do wish to show that social class and wealth is a reality in the American class system. Additionally, we seek to highlight the notion that social influence coincides with wealth and class (Domhoff 1967, 1970, 1979, 1983, 1990, 1998; Mills 2000). However, we do not want to neglect the potential for social change. If the members of the lower socio-economic classes can band together to challenge and change the beliefs and actions of those who have broader societal influence in reality, then we wish this to play out in the game as well. So stated, our divisions of political and social influence are conceptualized in the following rules:

> **Rule 1:** Group One (the elite class) may enact a new rule if they can persuade half of the members of Group Two to agree to the change.
>
> **Rule 2:** Group Two (the upper class) may enact a new rule if they can persuade all members of Group One to accept the new change.
>
> **Rule 3:** Group Three (the middle class) must convince all of the members of Group Two and half of the members of Group One if they wish to enact new rules.
>
> **Rule 4:** Group Four (the working poor) must convince all members of Group Three, all of the members of Group Two and half of the members of Group One if they wish to enact new rules.

In this scenario the social influence held by each group decreases as they "fall down"

Table 2: Life Chance Cards

Life Chance Cards replace Chance and Community Chest Cards. They are designed to further emphasize the context of structural changes and life opportunities. The player who rolls and lands on chance or community chest must draw a Life Chance Card and obey the printed command. Please cut and randomly place cards in a stack, replacing Chance and Community Chest cards.* **

"Moving Down" Cards	"Moving Up" Cards	"Moving Down" Cards	"Moving Up" Cards
YOU HAVE BEEN DOWN-SIZED -- MOVE DOWN A GROUP	YOU'VE EARNED A SCHOLARSHIP -- MOVE UP A GROUP	YOU HAVE BEEN DOWN-SIZED -- MOVE DOWN A GROUP	YOU'VE EARNED A SCHOLARSHIP -- MOVE UP A GROUP
YOUR COMPANY HAS MOVED OVER-SEAS -- MOVE DOWN A GROUP	YOU'VE BEEN DISCOVERED ON AMERICAN IDOL -- MOVE UP A GROUP	YOUR COMPANY HAS MOVED OVER-SEAS -- MOVE DOWN A GROUP	YOU'VE BEEN DISCOVERED ON AMERICAN IDOL -- MOVE UP A GROUP
YOU'VE LOST YOUR HEALTH INSURANCE-- MOVE DOWN A GROUP	YOU'VE CREATED A SMALL BUSINESS -- MOVE UP A GROUP	YOU'VE LOST YOUR HEALTH INSURANCE-- MOVE DOWN A GROUP	YOU'VE CREATED A SMALL BUSINESS -- MOVE UP A GROUP
YOU'VE BEEN FIRED-- MOVE DOWN A GROUP	YOU HAVE WON THE LOTTO -- MOVE UP A GROUP	YOU'VE BEEN FIRED-- MOVE DOWN A GROUP	YOU HAVE WON THE LOTTO -- MOVE UP A GROUP
THE STOCK MARKET HAS CRASHED -- MOVE DOWN A GROUP	YOU HAVE JUST FINISHED COLLEGE -- MOVE UP A GROUP	THE STOCK MARKET HAS CRASHED -- MOVE DOWN A GROUP	YOU HAVE JUST FINISHED COLLEGE -- MOVE UP A GROUP
YOU HAVE BEEN LAID OFF -- MOVE DOWN A GROUP	YOU'VE GAINED AN INHERITANCE -- MOVE UP A GROUP	YOU HAVE BEEN LAID OFF -- MOVE DOWN A GROUP	YOU'VE GAINED AN INHERITANCE -- MOVE UP A GROUP
JOB LOSS DUE TO BUDGET CRUNCH -- MOVE DOWN A GROUP	YOU'VE EARNED A SCHOLARSHIP -- MOVE UP A GROUP	JOB LOSS DUE TO BUDGET CRUNCH -- MOVE DOWN A GROUP	YOU'VE EARNED A SCHOLARSHIP -- MOVE UP A GROUP
UNABLE TO WORK B/C OF INJURY -- MOVE DOWN A GROUP	YOU'VE QUALIFIED FOR THE G.I. BILL -- MOVE UP A GROUP	UNABLE TO WORK B/C OF INJURY -- MOVE DOWN A GROUP	YOU'VE QUALIFIED FOR THE G.I. BILL -- MOVE UP A GROUP
YOUR PLACE OF BUSINESS HAS MOVED -- MOVE DOWN A GROUP	YOU'VE CREATED A BUSINESS -- MOVE UP A GROUP	YOUR PLACE OF BUSINESS HAS MOVED -- MOVE DOWN A GROUP	YOU'VE CREATED A BUSINESS -- MOVE UP A GROUP
THE STOCK MARKET IS FALLING -- MOVE DOWN A GROUP	YOU'VE LANDED A RECORD CONTRACT-- MOVE UP A GROUP	THE STOCK MARKET IS FALLING -- MOVE DOWN A GROUP	YOU'VE LANDED A RECORD CONTRACT-- MOVE UP A GROUP

*In the "real world," members of group one are often well insulated against disaster (e.g., cards of downward mobility). However, we recommend that individuals drawing such cards still participate in actions of downward mobility for the purpose of classroom discussion. We have found the empathetic experiences of "the descended" to be valuable in emphasizing the impact of power, influence, and structure upon our lives (we maintain that students gain a more thorough understanding of social class through multiple "lived experiences"). The true life circumstances of the elite can be highlighted in closing discussions.

**If a Group Four member draws a "move down" card then Group Four is required to pay $20 to the bank; if a Group One member draws a "move-up" card, the bank pays the group $100.

the social ladder. At the top, Group One and Group Two comprise our "power elite." Indeed, Group One's opportunities to modify the existing social structure are dashed only by Group Two's reluctance in accepting new rule changes. And Group Two's desires are held up only in the dissuasions of the elite. Thus, this suggests that these two groups will work together to get what they want; and what they want will most likely come about at the expense of the lower existing groups. At the lower end resides Group Three and Group Four who have more limited social influence. Indeed, if these groups are to initiate new rules, a movement of change will have to occur and influence the attitudes and actions of the upper classes. If these groups cannot enact change then their structural opportunities appear somewhat stagnant. Before we turn toward a discussion of game play and student reaction we offer the remaining rules:

> **Game Play:** Each group takes consecutive turns moving around the board starting first with Group One then Groups Two, Three, and Four. Players rotate turns within groups, so that no one player rolls for his/her group consecutively. According to the place on which a player lands, he/she may be entitled to buy real estate or other properties or be obliged to pay rent, pay taxes, draw a "life chance" card, etc.
>
> **Chance and Community Chest:** These cards are replaced with life chance cards (see Table 2). Life chance cards further emphasize the context of structural changes and life opportunities. The player who rolls and lands on chance or community chest must draw a life chance card and obey the printed command.
>
> **"GO:"** When a player passes "go" the group to which he/she is a member receives $200.
>
> **The Bank:** The bank holds the titles, deed cards, houses and hotels prior to purchase. The Bank never "goes broke." If the bank runs out of money, it may issue more by writing on ordinary paper.

GAME PLAY, OUTCOMES, AND STUDENT REACTIONS

A predictive outcome of game play is offered by Beegley (1983 142) who writes:

> The members of Group 1, the rich, will generally remain well off...Similarly, the members of Group 2 will, with some variation, maintain their positions...The members of Group 3 and 4 are obviously in the most precarious positions. While some upward mobility into Group 2 [from Groups 3 and 4] will occur occasionally, most movement will be of a short distance...Security is always uncertain for these participants in the game, mainly because the resources available to the members of the bottom groups are so minimal that it is difficult, on their own, to make much headway. As a result, because the competitors are not allowed out of the game, some readjust their goals and only play by going through the motions. Others, however, pull out their guns and use them to alter their economic situation. Still others just sit at the game board passively while their tokens are moved for them.

Beegley's intuitive power seems well attuned. During our history of play, the following generalized outcomes were common: members of Groups One and Two grew in terms of power and wealth; Group Three struggled to maintain what it had, and members of Group Four either "gave up" or developed new strategies to attain success (e.g. crime). A brief data composite of several games is described below.[3]

Group One: The Elite

Highlighting Group One first, we note that individuals commonly "get into" the role of the power elite very quickly. Group members are quite eager to play and show excitement throughout game play. For the most part they are in constant negotiation (e.g. bargaining to lower the price for property they wish to buy and attempting to raise rent and sale price of money due them). For instance, in one of the more outrageous examples of play, members of the elite were able to increase rent due them from the original set price of $16 dollars to $50 dollars and in another setting from $4 dollars to $16 dollars.

Generally, the elite are also very unapologetic to others who cannot pay rent and other monies owed. Various quotes have recorded this phenomenon: "It is not our fault you can't pay rent;" "Sucks to be you;" and "Hey, It's just the cost of doing business." Indeed, from the perspective of role adoption, group members typically adopted increased visions of

self-importance. Some took titles of authority. "You now have to call me sir," stated an elite member to his friend in the middle class. Others demanded greater space from which to stretch their legs and separate themselves from other players. Indeed, size allocations in which to play the game are not the most generous. Twenty-five students hovering around a board game can make for cramped quarters. Yet, on several occasions, members from Group One retrieved stools and brought them into the circle of play on which to sit. No other member from any of the other groups has yet done this.

Such actions have been valuable in later classroom discussions. For example, students often comment on social change as being a process of empathetic understanding. One student responded,

> Social class often structures what we choose to see in the world, and, too often persons' plights are unseen or ignored by persons in the upper class.[4]

Group Two: The Upper Class

Members of the upper class are generally in constant negotiation with Group One to create favorable economic situations for themselves. Throughout the game members generally attain great wealth. Never have we witnessed a group finish with less wealth than initial holdings. Despite this, group members never seem satisfied. Student members have described this as the "keeping up with the Joneses" effect. One student stated that the role "drives you to want more and more." Indeed, group members seem to constantly strive to be more like the elite in terms of wealth and status. Routinely Group Two members copied the various mannerisms exhibited by individuals of Group One. For example, one student was heard to say, "If I'm going to call you sir then you must do the same." In the end, members of Groups One and Two typically construct an exclusive network of mutual benefit while ignoring Groups Three and Four altogether.

Group Three: The Middle Class

At first, members of Group Three are eager to play, but as the game continues these members generally express anger. When asked about this reaction members report that this is due to the fact that they never "get ahead." "We never gain any ground," reported one student. Members also show open hostility. They commonly react with negativity to the actions of Groups One and Two. Quotes directed at these members include: "What's wrong with you?" "You are not nice people." Group Three members also show frustration with the game itself. "This game is stupid," offered one student. When we asked him why he had that reaction, another student answered, "because we're exactly the same place we started at." Indeed, Group Three members typically have to work very hard simply to maintain their initial holdings.

Group Four: The Working Poor

While Group Three members show anger, they still routinely participate in the game. Group Four members, on the other hand, seem to react from the very beginning with disinterest. "What's the point in playing" many respond. Indeed, with a true lack of wealth, property, or power most give up after the initial roll. By the end of the game students seem to be almost totally withdrawn. In fact, it is common for members to move away from the board game completely and participate only when it is time to roll the dice.

Desperation, however, also spawns innovation (Merton 1957). In his theory of anomie, Merton suggests that persons turn to illegitimate acts when legitimate forms of success are negated. In the twenty games we have supervised, various forms of innovation have been recorded. In three separate games the bank was robbed; in one game it was discovered that Group Four members were printing their own money; and in another a mafia-like structure emerged in which individuals were intimidated to hand over small amounts of cash.

We end this section with brief excerpts of student reactions to the game. We also provide a discussion sheet (Table 3) to encourage student feedback and reflection.

> I thought the game was worthwhile and really illustrated the power struggle between the classes. It was worth the time because it was a practical application that everyone could relate to. In my case, as an upper class member, I didn't realize the exploitation that the upper class uses on the lower class until I was the one exploiting. Once we had some power and money we just wanted more and more at the expense of the lower classes.

Table 3: Discussion Sheet Used at the Conclusion of Game Play to Elicit Student Reaction

1. Things are not always what they seem. What do you think the real goal of this game was?
2. In terms of social class, what were the four Monopoly groups meant to represent?
3. Do you think this version of Monopoly represents life in the real world? Why or Why not?
4. How might social class position influence one's perception of the world?
5. How did you feel playing this game? What were your reactions to the actions of other groups?
6. Using game play as a guide what are some factors that influence crime causation? Can some of the various actions of the upper social classes be viewed as criminal? Why or Why not?
7. How is social change possible? What would you suggest to lessen social inequality?

--Student Member of Group One, the Elite Class

The game was worthwhile and I think that it really showed the class and structure of society. It was a definite example of the concepts that we have been discussing in class. It applied the knowledge to a "real-life" type of situation. [Within the game] I was a member of the upper class and I really felt the pressure to want to win and strive for more wealth... [The game] made the variation in society real and experiential. Overall I think it was a good idea to show the effects of social stratification as a real experience.
--Student Member of Group Two, the Upper Class

I thought it [Monopoly] was a good experience because I had never really been in that position to look at real life that way...I didn't realize that it was that hard to get ahead in life when you have such limitations placed on you. I do believe that the Monopoly game was a successful use of class time. It really drove in the social classes and how those social classes interact with each other. I was part of the biggest group--the middle class. It seemed like real life because no matter what we did, we never got ahead. We finished the game with the same amount of money we started with.
--Student Members of Group Three, the Middle Class

I thought the monopoly game we played was a good use of class time. It was a very good example of the social stratification that is present in the U.S. I was a member of the lower class and I lost interest in my part of the game after the first roll--as did my other teammates. We were treated unfairly and were oppressed by the upper class groups. I never realized how the upper class controls society as they do. They own banks, properties, businesses, and politicians. They are free to do what they please with these resources and will exploit the lower classes at every turn. I now think there should be more [forms] of assistance and housing provided for the lower classes.
--Student Member of Group Four, the Working Poor

LIMITATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR GAME PLAY

Overall, we have found student reactions to this version of Monopoly very favorable. This game has proven to be a valuable teaching tool in fostering an awareness of social stratification. The play of Monopoly, from our experience, has indeed "opened the eyes" of many students who encountered it. Yet, Monopoly is intended simply to open the door. Instructors of sociology can also proceed beyond this game to highlight and discuss the origins and/or solutions of inequality.

Further, for all its success, the game is a challenge to organize and see through to the end. It should be noted that Monopoly is designed for approximately 25 students with a time frame of at least one hour and fifteen minutes. We recognize, however, that most classes are not like this. Many classes number in excess of 50 students and have a time constraint of less than an hour. We are not suggesting that game play cannot take place within such settings, but we do wish to stress

that one must be well organized and have assistance. In large classes multiple game boards are required. Additionally, space for student groups must be located and multiple officials (instructors generally) should be recruited to look after the students and keep things from going awry. In terms of game play, it should be emphasized that the potential exists for emotions to run high. Students compete against one another for wealth and power, and as such, many become frustrated with the limitations placed upon them. And while this is the intent of the game, we believe it is the role of the instructor(s) to defuse the more serious "frustration induced" outbursts (e.g. yelling, cursing, and fighting). Instructor(s) may utilize tactics such as laughing and joking with students to ease tensions or, if necessary, may have to end game play altogether.

However, with all this being said, the "sociologized" version of Monopoly enables students to "see through the eyes of others." With this new insight students are more able to address the impact of social structure on one's access (or lack of it) to wealth, power, and prestige. Further, it is our opinion that the game contributes to a sociological ethos in that students are being asked to challenge commonly accepted "facts" about the American class system. We have no doubt that what they discover will be somewhat troubling, but as Thompson and Hickey (1999 218) state, "In games we can ignore what is confusing, unpleasant, or even threatening; sociology teaches us that in real life we cannot."

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END NOTES

[1] Monopoly is the trademark of Parker Brothers, a division of General Mills Fun Group, Inc.

[2] Social class arraignments are formulated using Rossides (1997) work on the American class system. Game play numbers are structured to accommodate approximately 25 students. For classes larger than 25, multiple game boards may be set up (please see the limitations and suggestions section for issues related to this concern). Class members are selected at random to occupy the various class positions.

[3] Generalizations as well as specific game play outcomes were amassed from twenty games conducted with students in introductory sociology classes (1999-2004).

[4] In one solitary game however, the lower social classes were able to mobilize and challenge the "worldview" of the elite and thus brought about a version of "welfare." The upper classes initiated a system of tax free rolls for individuals in the working class. The system, argued the other social classes, would better enable individuals to accumulate capital in order to buy property.

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