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FIRST NEGATIVE INCOME TAX EXPERIMENT: A GIANT FORWARD STEP

Peter H Rossi, University of Massachusetts, Amherst
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INTRODUCTION

We have two aims: 1) to describe briefly the New Jersey-Pennsylvania Negative Income Tax Experiment, including its rationale, context, and major findings; 2) to offer a critique of the study, including lessons learned and implications for social experimentation.

First we must note the perspectives of each author. Rossi was a post-experiment critic, having written an extended evlauation as part of the Russel Sage Foundation program (Rossi, Lyall 1975). It is easy to criticize and fault any piece of research. It is much more difficult to work as a *responsible* critic. Responsible criticism aims to learn from past errors, and offers suggestions which might improve future work. Sonia Wright (now Rosenbaum) was a member of the research team at the Institute for Research on Poverty, and thus represents an insider's viewpoint, with involvement in research operations covering the last year of the experiment, and in later analyses. We act as friendly, responsible critics, and do not wish to detract from the accomplishments of this study.

The New Jersey-Pennsylvania Negative Income Tax Experiment (hereafter called *NIT*) is singularly important both for its substance and as a precedent. NIT had a tremendous impact on the field of policy evlauation because it was a "first" as a randomized controlled field experiment on a social issue pertaining to public policy. Field experiements have since become almost commonplace. Large-scale field experiments are directed at income maintenance, housing, criminal justice, health insurance and supported work. The NIT experiment was a bold first try, first devised in 1967 and fielded in 1968.

In the early days of the War on Poverty and the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) academicians such as Rossi, Donald Campbell, and Julian Stanley tried unsuccessfully to convince OEO to start its progrms on the basis of randomized experiments, or at least, to build experimental components into such programs as the Job Corps and Head Start. The prevalent attitude then was that social programs were being designed to serve people, not social scientists. From bitter experience, it became recognized that *ex post facto* evaluations are inconclusive for social program impact assessment. Despite many evaluation efforts, we are still unable to get credible estimates for the effects of early *War on Poverty* programs. The NIT experiment paved the way for experimental evlauations because it showed that large-scale, randomized field experiments on social programs are feasible both in design and execution.

WELFARE SYSTEM DEFECTS

The United States system of public assistance has been the focus of dissatisfaction for more two decades, and welfare reform continues to be a central political concern. Nor have the criticisms changed over time. We will cite five primary defects in the welfare system (Danziger 1977; Lerman, Skidmore 1977).

Defect 1: The welfare non-system is chaotic and inefficient. It includes income transfers, such as Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), General Assistance, Social Security, Unemployment Insurance, and other in-kind benefits such as Housing Subsidies and Food Stamps. Some are means-tested, and income-conditioned, like AFDC, General Assistance, and Medicaid. Others are categorical, restricted to certain types, regardless of income, like Social Security, Medicare, and Unemployment Insurance. Each transfer and in-kind program has different operating rules, different eligibility requirements, and a very cumbersome, complex, and costly bureaucratic administrations. In the same household, one person might receive AFDC and food stamps; another SSI benefits and food stamps; another General Assistance, with each program having different rules, different accounting periods, and different filing unit definitions. Some programs are entirely funded by the Federal Government, administered and supplemented by the states. Others are primarily state and local programs. Administrative costs are staggering.

Defect 2: The system applies benefit levels inequitably across states in a way which cannot be justified by cost-of-living differentials

(Lehrman, Skidmore 1977). Hence, some believe that the present system encourages interstate migration, especially from the deep South to northern and western states.

Defect 3: Eligibility and assistance levels also vary by family structure. In the 26 states which in 1977 did not have an Unemployed Parent provision for AFDC, a family with two parents is eligible for assistance only if the father leaves the family; otherwise, the family is eligible only for food stamps. This was a perverse incentive for desertion and divorce.

Defect 4: The welfare system has perverse disincentives for work. For some, benefits are higher if a person does not work. If a family receives multiple benefits, going from part-time to a full-time job may result in a net loss of income and discontinued Medicaid benefits. The system discourages work on the part of those who are able to work (Danziger 1977).

Defect 5: The categorial nature of the welfare system systematically excludes the working poor – individuals and families with employed members whose earnings are so low that they fall below the poverty line. The system also subjects clients to an undignified means test.

THE NEGATIVE INCOME TAX (NIT)

A universal negative income tax was first proposed in the early 1960's to reform the welfare system and rectify defects (Friedman 1963). The negative income tax is defined by two parameters: 1) a guarantee level, and 2) a tax rate on earnings. The program guarantees a pre-established minimum income, dependent only on family size, which is received in the form of direct cash transfer payments. The payments are reduced according to a "tax", most often cited as 50 percent, on earnings which the family is able to generate. The payment program is determined by the formula:

$$P = G - t(E)$$

P is the transfer payment; G is the guarantee or minimum level below which income may not fall; t is the tax rate; E is earnings from work. The guarantee is adjusted for family size.

A household with no earnings (E = 0) is entitled to transfer payments equal to the quarantee level. Calculated on a yearly basis, the guarantee level may be set at the poverty level, such as $4000 for a family of four in 1970. But there is a built-in potential for work incentives since earnings are only partly reduced, allowing increased income above the guarantee level, in contrast to existing welfare programs which often disqualify households or persons with any earnings.

Under the negative income tax, total family income equals earnings plus the transfer payment. Under a NIT plan with a guarantee level of $4000 for a family of four with no earnings, the transfer payments total $4000. With $3000 of outside earnings, the $3000 is "taxed" 50 percent by reducing the transfer payment to $2500. The $2500 transfer payment plus the $3000 outside earnings yields an annual income of $5500. Those who earn more are better off in terms of total income, and the program of transfer payments serves as a protective cushion in case of severe loss of earnings. The program is in effect up to a break-even point, where negative income tax payments stop, and above which, the normal positive income taxes take effect. In the example given, the break-even point is:

$$(G / t) = ($4000 / .5) = $8000$$

A family of four would receive income support until it earns $8000. From a policy viewpoint, it is not easy to set guarantee and tax levels, since equity, generosity, and feasibility must be considered (Moynihan 1973).

A universal negative income tax program has several features intended to correct the defects of the existing disordered mix of welfare programs. It is designed to be universal, nonobtrusive, administratively efficient, and a help to the working poor as well as to those unable to work. In terms of the defects ennumerated above, an NIT program, in principle, offers administrative simplicity, especially when it can be tied to the existing tax system, thus providing a smooth transition into or out of the income support system. Inequities across state lines are eliminated if uniform standards are applied, although states with more resources could supplement guarantee levels. Its univeralist nature guards against demeaning eligibility requirements and means tests. Eligibility is based on earnings and family or household size, and not on family type. The stigma of welfare support is eliminated. An NIT program provides incentives to work, since every dollar earned increases the net income. It also assists the

working poor, a previously excluded group.

Such impressive virtues would obviously elicit support from political and academic liberals and conservatives. But there was no direct evidence that these virtues could be achieved in practice, since there were no previous attempts to institute NIT plans in the United States. Though the program was designed to produce incentives to work, classical economic theory, specifically the *work-leisure choice* hypothesis suggested that in the choice between work and leisure at the same level of income, people prefer leisure.

No direct test was possible, but there had been attempts to estimate the size of disincentives to work induced by income maintenance. Data from the 1967 Survey of Economic Opportunity (OEO) provided discrepant estimates of work disincentives of existing programs which could simluate an income maintenance program. Contradictory conclusions were drawn even from the same set of data (Cain, Watts 1973; Garfinkel 1974).

A second problem was that since no empirical test had taken place for a universal NIT, it simply was not known how to operate and administer such a program, nor what the costs would be. The particular combination of guarantee and tax levels, most desirable for creating work incentives and most feasible in cost, was unknown.

THE NIT EXPERIMENT

The OEO research staff began serious consideration of an NIT program as a substitute for the welfare system, and were receptive to suggestions from economists who proposed an experiment on the NIT, hoping to leave a heritage on which future public policy could be built (Kershaw, Fair 1976; Rossi, Lyall 1975; Moynihan 1973). The experiment was funded in 1968 at $3 million, with a final cost of $7.5 million, to run for three years as a randomized field experiment with about 1000 families. The research was designed and analyzed by a group mostly of economists, under Harold Watts, at the University of Wisconsin Institute for Research on Poverty. *Mathematica,* a private research firm in Princeton, New Jersey performed the field operation, administration, and data gathering.

A random sample of households was drawn from poverty Census tracts in Trenton, Paterson-Passaic, and Jersey City, New Jersey, an later from Scranton, Pennsylvania. Over 48,000 households were screened to enroll about 1300. The target population was defined by the following eligibility criteria: 1) a household had to include at least one adult male 18 to 58 years of age, eligible to work, and not a full time student nor permanently disabled; 2) there had to be at least one other family member; 3) household income could not exceed 150 percent of the current official poverty level, or $4950 for a family of four. Poverty lines according to family size are shown in Table 1. The proportion of blacks and hispanics in the New Jersey cities was so large as to include very few white (non-hispanic) families. Adding Scranton produced a more ethnically balanced sample. To compensate control group, attrition, new controls were added from Trenton and Paterson–Passaic, after the first year. The total sample equals 1357. Without the new controls it was 1216, with 725 in the experimental group and 491 in the control group. Subsets in the sample of 1216 were the most fully analyzed.

Random assignment was by the Conlisk–Watts (1969) optimum allocation model. The experimental plans represent eight levels of negative income tax, as shown in Table 2.

TABLE 1: POVERTY LINES, FIRST YEAR

Family Size	Poverty Line
2	$2000
3	2750
4	3300
5	3700
6	4050
7	4350
8+	4600

TABLE 2: GUARANTEES & TAX RATES

Guarantee Levels	Tax Rates		
	30%	50%	70%
50%	X	X	
75%	X	X	X
100%		X	X
125%		X	

There were four guarantee levels expressed in percent of the poverty line, and three tax rates. Of the 12 possible cells in the factorial design, four were omitted, leaving those believed to include the NIT plans of practical

policy interest. The plan with 50 percent guarantee and a 70 percent tax rate would have been too ungenerous to be worth studying, and the plan with 125 percent guarantee and a 30 percent tax rate was too costly. The experimenters, along with OEO essentially guessed about what would be acceptable NIT plans for the future. Setting the guarantee levels and tax rates were political judgments on what would constitute acceptable limits to the United States Congress after 1968.

The target population consisted of the working poor and those eligible for work but unemployed and poor by definition. The primary consideration in the experiment design was to evaluate the effects fo the NIT program, and its guarantee and tax levels, on work behavior. Thus, what was known least was the eventual labor supply response of poor workers under an NIT program. The more likely place to locate such a population is in the urban industrial centers.

The group who designed the experiment considered a number of strategies. A national sample was rejected due to cost and difficulty of administering over a large number of widely dispersed sites. Doing the experiment in a large population area such as New York City was rejected on the ground that it is atypical. The decision was to carry out the experiment in sites conveninet to Princeton; hence the choice of nearby cities in New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

It turned out that at the time the experiment was being considered, New Jersey did not have an Unemployed Parent provision for AFDC, and therefore intact families were not eligible for welfare if an unemployed father was with the family. Hence the negative income tax program would not compete with the welfare system. Unpredictably, soon after the experiment began, in 1969, New Jersey laws were changed to include an Unemployed Parent provision. To make matters worse for the experiment, the welfare plan became one of the nation's most generous in payment levels. The 125 percent poverty line plan was added to the experimental program to compete successfully with the new welfare system, which was more generous than most of the experimental plans. About a year later, New Jersey reduced the welfare outlays, and became less generous. The rules of the experiment allowed households to collect welfare, provided that they relinquished experimental NIT payments, and vice versa. Administering this provision led to serious controversy with local authorities, and to charges of fraud by NIT families (Kershaw 1972).

The payment system appeared easy to administer, but the NIT program actually turned out to be not very different from the administration of the ordinary welfare system. In some ways the NIT experiment was more intrusive. The major issue concerns the accounting period chosen as a basis for calculating payments. In the NIT experiment, eligibility was determined twice monthly. Any income support scheme must be sensitive to changes in earnings: 1) if households have losses, the support system must adjust, to be effective; 2) if the household's earnings increase substantially without entering into the payments computation, the household might be obligated but unable to refund overpayments to the system. Unusual earnings changes should also figure into the calculations without biasing later transfers.

The NIT experiment households filed income report forms with paycheck stubs twice monthly, and transfer payments were calculated on a moving average of the previous three months' earnings plus transfer payments. The payment system was sensitive to changes in income, but sluggish in replenishing income losses. If a family had zero income for a month, it was not reflected in payments for 45 days. And a means test had to be instituted. Eventually, earnings audits were also carried out to investigate false reporting.

NIT payments were relatively generous. The average annual payments for a family of four were about $1200, with considerable variation, depending on which experimental plan was applied. Considering the low earnings level of this population, the payments constituted a rise in income from 10 to 50 percent.

In addition to the pre-enrolment interview, which obtained baseline data for all households, both experimental and control households were interviewed each quarter for 12 quarterly interviews. Six monthe after the experiment ended, another interview was administered to determine current employment status, and to get qualitative judgments on the participants' experience during the study. One

other interview during the last year of the experiment was designed for households which had left the experiment. By heroic efforts, about half of this group were found.

Most of the evaluation analysis was based on the 12 quarterly interviews, with relevant controls introduced from the pre-enrolment interview. The principal dependent variables for the research, concerned labor supply response. They were measured for the head of household and three members aged 12 and over, including labor force participation, employment status, number of hours worked per week, earnings per week, and other income. These variables were specified for the preceding week at the time of interview. As the study progressed, these key labor supply variables were also measured for the four weeks preceding the time of interview. Only the last week of the period could be used, to compare with the early interviews.

The rest of the interviews contained questions on a wide range of variables which were expected to influence work behavior, or which might be affected by the experimental treatment, such as consumption patterns, personal and family health and health practices, family interaction patterns, neighborhood participation, schooling, and a large group of social psychological variables like alienation, self esteem, attitudes to work, and time orientation. These were measured yearly. In addition to quarterly interviews and twice-monthly income reports for the experimental group, a yearly interview was made around April, with an audit of the participants' income tax returns, to verify monthly and quarterly income reports. Social Security aggregate data were also obtained to verify earnings.

FINDINGS

There was a 3 to 5 percent decline in work effort. But this decline is credited mainly to withdrawal of secondary earners from the labor market. Wives tended to leave the labor market, and adolescents were not dropping out of school. There were some peculiar results. Blacks on the payment plan *increased* their work effort, and whites *decreased* their work effort compared to the controls, while hispanics fell between (Watts, Rees 1977; 1978). The differences were not great, and the overall effect on work behavior was not large. Contrary to economists' expectations, there were no consistent differences associated with generosity of payment. The eight treatment levels with combinations of guarantee levels and tax rates did not produce consistent effects. Work disincentives were not higher for higher tax rates (Watts, Rees 1977; 1978).

These results for labor supply responses to the experiment are based on a subset of 690 intact, two-parent families participating continuously during the three years. They were interviewed at the 12th quarter and missed no more than two contiguous interviews. Their work was summarized by averaging the available quarterly data for each of the three years. However, they constitute only 57 percent of the original sample of 1216, excluding "new controls." Such serious attrition losses jeopardize the internal validity of the results.

Additional labor supply analyses have been made on a slightly larger subset of 750 intact families who meet the same criteria (Nicholson, Wright 1977). The findings are essentially the same. Finally, Wright (1975) analyzed the sample of male heads of household, who completed at least one quarterly interview in each of the second and third years of the experiment, regardless of family status or continuity criteria. These subsets constituted 82 percent (n = 1119) and 73 percent (n = 993) of the full sample of 1357 households. *No work disincentives are apparent for these males in the experimental treatments, nor are there significant ethnicity differences.* But these estimates may be less stable and more subject to seasonal fluctuations than those based on a larger number of interviews and more continuous quarterly data.

Detailed analyses showed few significant non-labor supply effects. There was accelerated buying of homes and major appliances. Experimental group households bought homes at a faster rate than the control group households. These were mainly older homes in the inner city, and mobile homes. There was an interesting effect on job turnover. Young people on the program turned over their jobs much more rapidly than older persons, and more rapidly than persons in the control group. They thereby obtained better jobs. For young families, the income guarantee apparently provided a cushion enabling them to undertake a more thorough job search,

even though there might be a short-term loss of earnings. This result may account for some of the apparent reduction in overall work effort, since there was also some indication that the experimental group reached higher wage rates. In contrast, older workers remained in the same jobs. The experimental payments possibly served as a cushion for older people on poor jobs who felt they could not get far in trying to get better employment. Young adolescents were more likely to remain in school longer. There were no effects on health, medical practices, fertility, participation in organizations, family interaction patterns or any social psychological variables.

CRITIQUE

1. Perhaps the most vulnerable aspect of the negative income tax experiment was the choice of sites. How can we generalize to the nation as a whole on the basis of a few neighboring cities in New Jersey and one in Pennsylvania? Moreover, the specific sites may be especially important because of the special features of the labor market in those sites. The potential effects of a negative income tax on poor people, who are primarily on local labor markets, must be assessed in reference to specific labor market characteristics. There was a confounding between the sites and ethnicity for the experiment. Most of the whites were in Scranton; most of the blacks were in Trenton and Jersey City; most Puerto Ricans were in Paterson-Passaic. Some of the ethnic differences may reflect site differences in labor market conditions.

2. Exactly what was the nature of the treatment? Initially it was thought to be the plan as defined by the eight combinations of guarantee level and tax rate. It was assumed to be the transfer payments, as calculated by the formula. But the treatment must be conceived not only in terms of what was intended to be delivered, but also the way of delivering it. Thus, the administration of the experiment also becomes part of the treatment. The treatment, in comparison to the existing welfare system required more contacts between administrators and recipients than is the case for ordinary public welfare. The careful monitoring and extensive contact between the staff of the experiment and the participants will not typify a national program – another obstacle to generalize beyond the experiment.

3. A serious question relates to the complexity of the plans and the low level of recipient awareness of the the plans' critical features. Analysis of the effects of participants' knowledge and understanding of the treatment and the rules of operation shows that participants' knowledge level was low (Nicholson, Wright 1977). This low level of knowledge was itself correlated with experiences in the experiment and treatment parameters. To include the variable of recipient understanding in the estimate of labor supply response produces changes in some of the estimates of labor disincentives. Though these data were obtained six months after the experiment ended, and are subject to recall bias, they do suggest that the treatment should be conceptualized and measured more precisely.

4. In New Jersey, the NIT experiment was confounded by changes in site welfare laws, and the fact that the experiment had to compete with welfare. Households eligible for welfare could enter and leave the experiment if they preferred welfare assistance. Less generous plans were dominated by more lucative welfare income, when the full mix of welfare benefits is recognized. Thus, the effects of the NIT experiment should be calibrated against the available alternatives in New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

5. A serious criticism is a measurement problem which might have been avoided, had the research staff included more experienced survey researchers. Though the major interest in the experiment was on work effort, work variables were very badly measured. At first, the referent period was just the one week prior to the interview, later expanded to the preceding four weeks. The questions used were those of the Census Bureau, valid for population surveys, but insufficient and imprecise for measuring individual household income and work effort, especially for the poor. Many low-paying jobs are paid on a piecework rate, not hourly rates. This method of payment is not accurately determined by the standard questions. The difference between gross and net earnings was not clearly explained. There is evidence that some respondents reported net rather than gross earnings at the beginning of the study, and later began reporting gross earnings with

more proficiency in answering interviewers. Wage rates were not asked directly, but were constructed by dividing earnings by hours of work. The complexity of accounting for more than one job, overtime work and piecework rates was not anticipated by the researchers. Some defects were met by revision of later questionnaires, but the detailed and more precise data obtained near the study's end were not comparable to those obtained at first.

6. Detailed pre-experiment work histories were not obtained until the end of the study, nor is anything known about the work histories of the households during the two months between quarterly interviews. Recognizing the potential measurement error, the results of 3 to 5 percent disincentives may underestimate or overestimate actual effects.

7. A most serious limitation of the NIT experiment is its high attrition rate. Losses were experienced despite substantial incentive payments. Experimental households received $10 for filing each biweekly income report form; control households received $8 for filing current addresses each month; each household received $5 for responding in each quarterly review. Thus, households in the experimental group who faithfully reported and were interviewed received annual bonuses totaling $260 for filing reports, and $20 for interviews. Even so, 20 percent of the sample had dropped out by the end of the experiment, including a 25 percent loss in the control group and a 15 percent loss in the experimental group. Besides households dropping out, some missed one or more quarterly interviews each quarter. When analysis is restricted to households continuously reporting, the sample size may be reduced as much as 43 percent.

8. Some critical outcome variables other than work effort were poorly measured. The social psychological variables appear to have been thrown together by borrowing from existing instruments without regard to transfer of understanding from middle class student populations to economically poor adults in the experimental group. There was no adequate pretesting, and no a priori theoretical expectation that such variables would be sensitive to the experimental treatment.

9. As in other exploratory research, only a small fraction fo the data collected appear to be useful. And an even smaller fraction were ever analyzed. This high ratio of usable information to usable variables is typical of exploratory research. Few of the principal investigators were experienced survey researchers. Whatever the ultimate explanation, the outcome for the study was to place a research burden on respondents which was only partially compensated, as suggested by the high attrition rates.

CONCLUSIONS

The lessons of the New Jersey-Pennsylvania negative income tax experiment derive partly from its substantive findings and partly from technical methodological experiences. Both types of implications make this first venture into field experimentation a major event in the history of social science research.

On the substantive side, one can be confident that there are no massive work disincentive effects to be expected from a negative income tax plan. Within the range of guarantees and tax rates tested in NIT, very few of the working poor will leave the labor force to subsist entirely on the guaranteed payments. Due to measurement difficulties and site choices, it is not clear whether the small work disincentive effects found here were underestimates or overestimates of the true effects. Later NIT experiments in Seattle, Denver, Gary, and Winnepeg, Canada help put reasonable bounds on these estimates.

The experiment has provided very useful information on the administration of NIT plans. Despite the hopes of early advocates, NIT plans may be only slightly easier than AFDC to administer. Means tests apparently cannot be avoided if payments are conditioned on income. Checks cannot be issued by computer according to a set of simple algorithms. Social workers as professionals, under an NIT plan may become more clerical than social.

The work disincentive issue is not the only sticking point impeding broad acceptance of NIT. The experiences of NIT researchers testifying before the United States Congress in Family Assistance Plan hearings were rather disappointing. After testimony about the small work disincentive effects, legislators showed as much interest in recipient fraud and general labor market effects. Conservative opposition to NIT simply shifted ground to other issues.

CONTRIBUTIONS

1. The most important contribution was to advance considerably the acceptability of field experiments on social programs. Randomized field experiments are clearly now removed from the realm of dreams to workaday reality, and are widely accepted as the correct approach to test prospective social policy.

2. We have learned that field experiments are difficult and expensive. Particular attention must be given the problem of attrition where experiments are extended in time. Longitudinal studies are vulnerable to data overload, and to acute problems with missing data. These problems have sparked considerable work on the knotty problems of handling such data bases and analysis models.

3. We have learned that treatment in a field experiment becomes complicated by its administration. This finding has resulted in later experiments using administrative arrangements as an experimental variable. This move promises considerable knowledge about how to design social interventions.

4. We have learned that the politics of evaluation are as important as the purity of experimental design. It is not possible for researchers to proceed with field experiments on social programs without policy maker input into the parmeters of the program to be tested. One of the failures of the NIT experiment was that it was conceived isolation from the policy making process. While recognizing the difficulty of bringing politics into field experimentation, failure to do so may lead to making it simply another form of basic research performed under the guise of policy relevance.

In sum, the NIT experiment represents both a giant step forward in applying social science research methods to policy isuses, and at the same time, a flawed venture. We profit from both. On the basis of its success, we have been able to establish field experiments as the top of the state of the art in evaluating social policies. Building on its failure, we are learning how properly to conduct future field experiemnts.

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LEISURE AS PLEASURE: THE CASE OF DR WATSON FOR SOCIOLOGY

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PREAMBLE

> .. the task of the sociologist is not simply to discover historical and social reflection in works of literature, but to articulate the nature of values embedded within particular literary works. (Laurenson, Swingewood 1971 16)

Doyle's famous fictional character, Sherlock Holmes has become an insititution which has given rise to Sherlock Holmes societies, special journals, and Holmesian experts and scholars. The topic of this article is the friendship of Holmes and Watson *as it can be shown to be meaningful for Watson,* leaving for another occasion the problems of its meaning for Holmes. The meaning of friendship may not be the same for both actors. Holmes is the thinker detective and Bohemian artist. As Watson observes, Holmes, like all great artists, lived for art's sake (Doyle 1930 559). Watson is simply Holmes' chronicler and a sober medical doctor. Doyle incorporates this difference as a primary feature of account.

If the essence of drama involves conflict as the precondition for the possibility of action, then one character can be treated as itself a dramatic occasion for action, or as the resolution of difference. We will develop the thesis that Watson's friendship with Holmes can be seen as a parameter of *Watson's relation to his own role and identity as a medical doctor.* Watson's words and deeds may be recollected as the dramatic re-enactment of the Victorian conflict between traditional aristocratic leisure and modern bureaucratic technology.

OCCUPATIONAL IMPERATIVE

The first Holmes novel, *Study in Scarlet* (1887), depicts Watson as the unhappy victim of monotony when he first came to share rooms with Holmes on Baker Street. Watson narrates:

> Holmes was certainly not a difficult man to live with. He was quiet in his ways, and his habits were regular .. Sometimes he spent his day at the chemical laboratory, sometimes in the dissecting rooms, and occasionally in long walks .. Nothing could exceed his energy when the working fit was upon him; but now and again a reaction would sieze him, and for days on end he would lie in the sitting room hardly uttering a word or moving a muscle from morning to night .. As the weeks went by, my interest in him and my curiosity as to his aims in life gradually deepened and increased .. Under these circumstances, I eagerly hailed the little mystery which hung around my companion, and spent much of my time in endeavouring to unravel it. (Doyle 1930 20)

An ex-army officer wounded in war, Watson is convalescing due to subsequent ill health, and at the moment is a doctor without a practice. His interest in Holmes serves to distract him from his own dull existence as a convalescent. Watson's monotony derives from the fact that his domestic activities are not the sort which could invite or sustain another's interest. As a convalescent, Watson lacks the resources necessary for conversation. He lacks activities which by virtue of their doing, could provide topics for sociability. Professionally disenaged, he has nothing to invite another to talk about.

The housebound routines of the convalescent, which serve only the physial self, are sharply differentiated from the professions which serve the social self. The habits of natural routines are marked by insularity and natural, but not social necessity. It is not so much that one *could not* talk about them, but since one does not in the first place *elect* to do them, they fail to satisfy the requirements of social exchange. Such conversation is not required by nature. Natural routines lack social value because speech about the private or natural self amounts to no exchange, or no more than an exchange of what is already available to anyone, and so constitutes no exchange and no motive to converse.

For Watson, monotony appears as the experience of monologue in which natural and not social necessity dominates. Monotony presupposes an idea of what is particularly human and social. *People have to do something in order to create topics for conversation.* What is entailed in such a view is a theory of achievement, and not ascription, as the basis for sociability. Professional activities provide persons with different resources for conversation with the possibility of especially social subject matter because

people speak about what they do. Without the activity of professional life, Watson is solitary and without the social basis for sociability.

> .. It is for the sake of special needs and interests than men united in economic associations or blood fraternities, in cult societies or robber bands. But above and beyond their special content, all these associations are accompanied by a feeling, or by a satisfaction in, the very fact that one is associated with others, and that the solitariness of the individual is resolved into togetherness, a union with others. (Simmel 1949)

The activities of professional life provide topics which permit persons to engage each other, and to differentiate themselves from nature. The togetherness or solidarity invoked by sociability is a "we" achieved from an otherwise undifferentiated natural body. "Sociability is the game in which one 'does as if' all were equal, and at the same time, as if one honored each of them in particular." (Simmel 1950 49) Equality is the individual achievement of freedom through social rather than natural activities, as the basis for social interaction.

Referring to the objectless quality of his life, Watson means the aim or purpose which, as the root of a profession, has public or collective significance. Thus it can serve as the basis for a social relation and discourse. Watson is at first mystified as he tries to discover Holmes' profession:

> He was not studying medicine .. Neither did he appear to have pursued any course of reading which might fit him for a degree in science or any other recognized portal which would give him entrance into the learned world. Yet his zeal for certain studies was remarkable .. Surely no man would work so hard or attain such precise information unless he had some definite end in view. (Doyle 1930 20)

THE WATSON-HOLMES DIFFERENCE

Watson discovers Holmes' profession. He is an unofficial consulting detective. But what interests and attracts Watson is the difference between his own and Holmes' work. Watson's initial interest in Holmes sprang from a contingent matter, due to his poor health and lack of a medical practice. Later he found himself called to Holmes even when in good health, happily married, and in possession of a practice (Doyle 1930 151).

If the fact that Watson experiences monotony *even as he practices medicine* is taken as the starting point for our analysis, then our task is to show: 1) how Watson's monotony and lack of a suitable topic for sociability can originate *in the practice of medicine itself;* and how Watson's relation to Holmes can be seen as Watson's attempt to make up for something unfulfilled by medical practice.

The medical practitioner could be located in terms of certain institutionalized "rules of irrelevance" which he/she maintains in interaction with others, especially although not exclusively, with patients (Goffman 1961 19). Parsons specifies the rules of irrelevance for medicine with the notions of *universalism* and *affective neutrality:*

> Affective neutrality is also involved in the physicians's role as an applied scientist. The physician is expected to treat an objective problem in objective, scientifically justifiable terms. For example, whether he likes or dislikes the particular patient as a person is supposed to be irrelevant .. (Parsons 1968 435).

How could reference to the idea of affective neutrality help us to explain the possibility of Watson's experience of monotony? To be objective means to disengage one's subjectivity, and the question is, "What is involved in that subjectivity such that its suspension generates monotony for Watson?"

The medical practitioner's relation to the patient is circumscribed by the professional commitment to health. The profession is in the service of creating and preserving the preconditions for any or all human life, and as such, not contributing to the specific uses or actions of any one particular form of human life. For the medical person to be affectively neutral, he/she is effectively disciplined by the aim of the profession to be indifferent to all specifically social or political designations or properties, except insofar as they are relevant to the business of health. Goffman observes that such an attitude of indifference is itself a social achievement because it must "turn off" what otherwise would be "on". "The elegance and strength of this structure of inattention to most things of the world is a great tribute to the social organization of human propensities." (Goffman 1961 20) What is irrelevant for medicine is civic life, and thus, the "good" doctor is one who maintains a neutrality to his own participation in the doings of society.

Unlike the political arts, medicine refrains from discriminating the good, the virtuous, and

the noble from the bad, the shameful, and the ignoble. Health, as a universal precondition for collective life is not simply a prerequisite for any particular sociopolitical order. Health and sickness are reference terms which apply equally to any collective, whereas the distinction between the virtuous and the base are situated determinations which may vary in meaning from one society to another. Crudely put, the body and commitment to health does not provide the doctor with a topic for sociability, since the doctor's activities are not *doings* in the social or political sense. If people speak about what they do, and medicine is in the service of not doing, then the medical practitioner has nothing to talk about. Analytically, the activity of medicine differs little from convalescing in the sense that its routines provide no basis for sociability. The very universality of the standard for health -- its applicability for any individual or collective -- guarantees its lack of speech about the particular sociopolitical qualities of any such person or collective. Since the standard is the same in every case, no case is an occasion for difference.

As a medical doctor, Watson was *employed but not fully occupied* in his profession. The fact that medicine hopes to create the preconditions for speech, but not speech itself produces a social unease in Watson. The activity of medical professional life leaves idle time, and Watson is faced with the problem of transforming this time into meaningful leisure. We suggest, therefore, that the grounds for Watson's friendship with Holmes resided in Watson's monotony and his need for leisure and sociability. This is an outgrowth of Watson's practice of affective neutrality and Holmes' ability to furnish Watson with a subjective social experience through his remarkable labors. On the hypothesis that Holmes' work puts Watson in touch with the social realm, we ask, "What feature of Holmes' profession attracts Watson, and how may it be constituted to provide a subjective domain of topics for sociability?

First, we note that Watson pictures Holmes as a symbol of creative solitude, and a genius with an imagination made possible by the freedom from convention, and freedom from organizational constraints. As an unofficial and private detective, Holmes is free of controls imposed by the public police force, and can conduct his investigations in his own way. His successes over the regular police investigators symbolize the superiority of the individual over the collective organized effort.

Unlike the police force, Holmes is interested in developing his craft, and not in the solution of specific criminal investigations, or threats to the public order, or profit. As an artist, Holmes does not depend on externals such as having a recognized position, or even the commission of a crime. As Holmes remarked to Watson, "For the man who loves art for its own sake .. it is frequently in its least important and lowliest manifestations that the keenest pleasure is to be derived." (Doyle 1930 316) Thus, Holmes is not obliged, like the professional police investigator, to concern himself with every violation that is referred to him.

> "Well, I'm afraid I can't help you, Lestrade," said Holmes. "The fact is that I knew this fellow Milverton, that I considered him one of the most dangerous men in London .. My sympathies are with the criminals rather than with the victim, and I will not handle this case." (Doyle 1930 582)

Pertinent to our investigation is the discrimination which Holmes shows in his speech. *He distinguishes between the noble and the ignoble as a precondition for his taking up a case.* He answers to his conscience with a higher moral order, and not to public opinion or convention. In this he is reminiscent of the responsible aristocrat of an earlier century.

Unlike the police official, Holmes is the *master of logic and technology.* His objectivity and logical tools are controlled by his subjectivity, and by conservative political values of justice and personal discretion. Holmes is the exemplar of the Victorian gentleman. An archetype of "civic culture," Holmes meets the modern forces of technology and bureaucracy with the traditional values of public conscience, personal favor, and sympathy for his client and for the underdog.

> "The law cannot, as you say, touch you," said Holmes, "yet there never was a man who deserved punishment more. If the young lady had a brother or friend, he ought to lay a whip across your shoulders. By Jove!" he continued, flushing up at the sight of the bitter sneer on the man's face, "it is not part of my duties to my client, but here's a hunting crop handy, and I think I shall treat myself to --" (Doyle 1930 201)

Burke explains this principle of social freedom as follows: "Social freedom is that state of things in which liberty is secured by equality or restraint. This kind of liberty is but another name for justice. Whenever a separation is made between liberty and justice, neither in my opinion is safe. (Burke 1955 xviii) Freedom, in this case called *liberty* is also a restraint. Each person is free insofar as that person is willing to restrain himself. Self restraint is not simple obedience and compliance with the law, but rather, restraint is care for the relation binding individual and state. The law depends on the state, which in turn, requires defense. For Holmes, defense takes the form of interpreting each case with an eye to the welfare of the state. He discriminates the noble from the ignoble, and the good citizen from the enemy of the state. Ignoble men place liberty, as the pursuit of private good before justice, which is the pursuit of the state's good.

Holmes' freedom originates in recognizing that laws do not create order, but are the product of order. For the conservative, the relation between law and order is problematic. This relation must be recalled on each occasion, and Holmes responds to the conservative enterprise as an aristocrat by assuming personal responsibility for preserving the relation between law and order. But the bureaucratic framework conflicts with aristocratic life:

> The objective discharge of business primarily means a discharge of business according to *calculable rules* and without regard for persons .. The more complicated and specialized modern culture becomes, the more its external supporting apparatus demands the personally detached and strictly 'objective' expert, in lieu of the master of the older social structure, who was moved by personal sympathy and favor, by grace and gratitude. (Weber 1952 215)

The aristocratic objection to bureaucracy is that it ends the need for personal action by substituting the impersonal action of compliance with the law. The bureaucrat treats the law as equal to order and the state, and so substitutes compliance for the aristocratic *quality of service.* Thus, while the bureaucrat upholds the law, this is done at the risk of losing sociability. The bureaucratic discharge of business generates no positive, singular, or creative act which people can discuss. The basis of Watson's relation to Holmes now becomes clearer. Holmes represents the aristocratic qualities of the master of the older social order, qualities which represent an alternative to bureaucratic life.

NARRATOR VERSUS ACTOR

Watson, though devoted to Holmes, never becomes a student of detection because he misreads Holmes' aristocratic conservatism. The decisive factor in explaining this phenomenon resides in Watson's implicit intention to be ruled in his pursuit of leisure by the constraint of his medical profession.

Watson's own identity, and his difference from Holmes surfaces in the very format of the chronicle. As a form of writing, the narrative stands second to what is narrated, so as to preserve Holmes' firstness. The narrative is really a speech about a *doing* and in this sense, Holmes, the artist, generates the possibility of a subject matter or sociability for Watson. The narrative discloses Watson's secondness as a special sort of nonartist, as he is only the devotee of the artist. Watson recognizes Holmes as the artist for the aristocrat. The artist produces a work about which men can speak. The aristocrat is engaged in the artful display of the law. He needs freedom from the law in order to preserve the relation between law and order.

The narrative expresses Watson's love and admiration, while serving as a means to make available the characater and the criterion of what is worthy to be loved. Thus Watson writes chronicles of Holmes' adventures as a mode of loving, because what he loves about Holmes cannot be properly respected or understood apart from the work which engages Holmes. Several times, Watson expresses concern about his task as narrator.

> *"In choosing a few typical cases which illustrate the remarkable mental qualities of my friend, Sherlock Holmes, I have endeavored as far as possible to select those which present the minimum of sensationalism, while offering a fair field of his talents." (Doyle 1930 888)*

The narrator's speech must be controlled by commitment to preserving the artistic and aristocratic over the merely sensational. Watson notes that this is no easy task, and that he shall give preference to cases which derive interest, not from the brutality of the

crime, but from "the ingenuity and dramatic quality of the solution." (Doyle 1930 566)

The *sensational* exploits the *particular.* It possesses only a fleeting interest it the particular, and so represents the attitude of universalism. Sensationalism creates only a passing and fleeting interest in both the particular and in itself. Sensational literature is bad narrative because it fails to be true to its own nature *qua narrative as secondary,* since it treats nothing other than itself as *primary.* Sensationalism lacks a principled concern for what it will narrate. Therefore, it fails to acknowledge its own derivative or secondary nature, and the danger of mere sensationalism, in failing to distinguish between art and nonart is that it loses sight of the requirements for the practice of sociability.

Watson's reference to the danger of the sensational for the chronicler stands as a self-reminder of both how and why he produces such a corpus. In this way, Watson through his writing, speaks only to his class of nonartists in the hope of teaching them how to live as nonartists. Watson's world thus is offered as being framed by the distinction between the artistic and aristocratic, and the nonartistic. Unlike other literary figures, Watson puts himself in the nonartistic group.

If there are two kinds of men in Watson's world, there are also two classes of nonartists. These are *lovers* of artists and *nonlovers* or detractors. Watson's concern about the sensational voiced his opposition to the nonartist and to the life devoid of devotion, faithfulness and love. Watson, as chronicler and trusted companion of Sherlock Holmes, is undeniably lover of the artist, and the secondness which Watson achieves as narrator also represents for him the firstness of this class of men.

Watson's challenge is to make possible a viewing of the artist that is *ipso facto* beyond the capacity of the nonartist to formulate or understand. Watson's commitment to the social realm means preserving in the narrative the difference between itself and its subject. The challenge of the narrator, in demonstrating love for the artist, is to avoid making itself the limit of the knowable, while being limited to what it knows as less than the knowable. Art must be shown from the nonartist's side of the limit. The difficulty is that art is on the other side of the limit, and thus, cannot really be known, even if displayed. As a solution to the problem of being limited by professional life, Watson uses the literary device of revealing his own ignorance about that which Holmes knows, in order to present Holmes' action without claiming to understand it. Watson provides evidence of the fact that Holmes is not limited to that which limits him. Though Watson cannot talk of the difference – he merely witnesses it. In this way, Watson preserves the difference between art and nonart which is beyond the capacity of the narrator to formulate.

What justification could Watson give for his understanding of the difference between his own nonart and Holmes' art? He perceives the difference as a *difference given by nature.* Holmes practices art because he is talented. The nonartist cannot create because he is not talented. Holmes is a natural genius, and this clarifies both 1) why Watson can excuse himself for not producing art, and 2) why it is that the mystery of creation is unavaliable to all humans. Watson is untalented, and the mystery of creation cannot be formulated in the narrative. All the nonartist can do is to imitate art, and Watson, as nonartist, writes to imitate Holmes, the exemplar of aristocratic life. Initially, Watson writes to redress a wrong: namely, the fact that Scotland Yard officials mistakenly receive credit and public acclaim for Holmes' solution of a crime. Watson says to the despondent Holmes: "Never mind. I have all the facts in my journal, and the public shall know them .." (Doyle 1930 86) Watson shows that he is on the side of aristocracy as represented by Holmes in his determination to correct the record.

Why did Watson continue writing all of the other accounts? He shows himself to be faithful, but as Simmel writes, "Faithfulness might be called the inertia of the soul. It keeps the soul on the path on which it started, even after the original occasion that led onto it no longer exists." (Simmel 1950 380) The original occasion of Watson's writing is replaced by his unyielding resistance to the sensationalist and the nonlover. Faithfulness lives in a present which is consumed by the past. It is the activity of not losing what one begins with. As such, it makes impossible, either learning or seeking to become what one loves. Devotion seeks not to learn, but to keep

memorable. Devotion cannot learn because it is moved by the clarity of its purpose -- the recall of talent. Devotion is not productive if production implies a present that orients to the future. In this sense, devotion experiences a present as something that continuously slips away.

In the narrative, Watson shows that he associates with nobility by orienting to what is other than the self, but while he likens himself to nobility, he fails to act nobly and conservatively because the other is pictured as a particular person rather than as a relation to the state. Watson's craft is pseudo art because, unlike Holmes' art, it does not achieve independence from the external. Without Holmes, Watson has nothing to write about. While his narratives are faithful to his theory of language as speech about action, it is doubtful whether they are representative of conservative life. First, conservatism is not reducible to faithfulness or loyalty. Watson misreads the conservative qualities of service and defense as *faithfulness.* He misrepresents the aristocrat's active relation to the state with his relation to Holmes as that of lover to the beloved. Watson treats the sensationalist as the incarnation of the modern universal spirit: movement, mobility, and motion. Watson's resistance to this impulse is countered by his commitment to stay with the particular. But conservatism is inadequately understood if articulated as the simple difference between rest and motion. Watson himself appears modern in his employment of one rule in the production of many narratives.

An obvious criticism of Watson's theory of language as self-contradictory would proceed as follows: If men speak about what they do, and the artist creates such doings, and art is the result of nature's gift of talent to some persons, then speech and the social world are given by nature. The difference between the natural and the social proves illusory, for it is a difference originating in, and given by nature. Thus, sociability, the compromise that man makes with the environment -- that he will leave speechless nature to create a social world independent of his own speech -- fails to achieve social world which is independent or freed from nature. The notion that men speak about what they do requires in the final provision for sociability, an account of the creation of doings as that which is rooted in talent which itself is a part of nature.

A more analytic criticism would recollect Watson's theory of natural speech as the necessary consequence of a commitment to professional life: the idea that speech is rooted in nature, and hence, imitation, as the fate of the nonartist is not the cause, but the necessary consequence, given the election to the professional life. Watson is unwilling to forego a career in medicine, and is constrained to seek a form of leisure which could not itself require a a decisive commitment or assume the status of a calling. Thus, it is appropriate to distinguish Watson's leisure-as-pleasure from Holmes' leisure-as-service. The work of detection is to generate occasions for the practice of discretion as the re-experience of commitment, while the work of narrative is to generate occasions for the relief from professional life. Analytically, the difference between Watson's imitation and Holmes' art is not the difference between talent and its lack, but is the difference between conservatism and the professional or bureaucratic life.

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AGE, POSITIONING, & CONTROL IN GARAGE SALES & AUCTIONS

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Economists are not enthusiastic about studying the secondhand goods exchange sector of the economy, but we can argue for its study on the basis of common sense observation. More pre-owned than new houses are bought or rented. The same is true for the purchase of secondhand automobiles, motorcycles, and boats, adult bicycles, and perhaps for purchases of large scale farm equipment, now almost prohibitive in cost to family farm operators.

To these major categories we can add 1) antiques, collectibles, objets d'art, jewels, decorative items and books in the realm of the cultural and esthetic; 2) household goods including furniture, appliances and other useful objects such as garden implements and tools; and 3) clothing, personal accessories, linens and bedding. This list is not exhaustive, but it suggests the range of the sales and exchanges which pervade most most people's accumulation and divestment of their material goods.

GARAGE SALES

The continuous acquisition of material goods produces for many a glut of things people are not much interested in keeping. To relieve the pressure of over-accumulation, they increasingly resort to garage, yard, and patio sales. These provide a different and more socially positive form of relief than that which comes through devaluation of ownership of mass produced property followed by outright discard. Since the discard of only partially used possessions often produces discomfort, regret, or guilt, the garage sale expedient serves both to recycle useful goods and provides some personal gratification to the seller, who does not have to bear the onus of throwing away useful goods.

Donation to charitable organizations provides another alternative to discard, but as the economy falters and inflation rises, it is apparently more sensible and compelling for persons with goods they want to surrender to recoup at least a portion of their cost through some form of sale. Another limiting factor is the selectivity of charitable organizations. The collection container at the edge of a supermarket lot imposes physical limits on what may be donated. House calls for donation of castoffs seem to be waning. It is also apparent that along with smaller objects to be sold at give-away prices in garage sales, increasingly expensive items are now being included, such as the sixty-dollar sheepskin jacket, the electric typewriter, and washer dryer combinations.

Garage sales are neither a popular fad nor part of the epiphenomena of modern American society. Without counting pre-owned house and auto sales, there are at least 1.5 million sales per year with at least 150 million dollars exchanging hands for goods with a utilization value at least twice that amount.

PSYCHO-SOCIAL ASPECTS

Garage, patio, yard, and other such sales are carried out by amateurs in settings of minimum strain, stress, and anxiety -- at least for the potential buyer. One is free to drop by for minute or a half-hour without uneasiness about time. Sales pressure and the obligation to purchase which may be felt in stores and shops is virtually absent. The seller's demeanor is one of restrained hopefulness. It would be "nice" if the objects were bought, but there is no pitch, or at most there may be a very mild urging to buy a particular object. More likely, the seller will want only to reinforce the apparent "good buy" as indicated by the price mark, in most cases, a piece of masking tape stuck to the object for sale.

With sales pressure at a minimum, and freedom to look over, feel, examine for flaws, or amount of use apparently left in the object, the garage sale shopper of any age finds it easy to expand the chance for sociability and enjoyment of the virtually stress-free social setting. Most often garage sale shoppers come in pairs, a husband and wife, or two same-sex friends. Family groups also participate. The weekend garage sales draw a variety of persons in various ways. Early birds looking for choice bargains come often long before the announced opening. Lower socio-economic class persons and women from the black community are the earliest arrivals, and they may stay the shortest time, for they usually know exactly what they want, and are will-

ing to visit half a dozen garage sales in an hour to find it.

Middle class garage sale shoppers come later, often stay longer, personalize the relation to the seller, and talk more freely about the objects on display. Some will take an interest in keeping articles properly in place – something which is not likely in a department store. After all, today's garage sale shopper may be tomorrow's seller! Middle class shoppers are sympathetic to the plight of the garage sale seller if the sale is not going well. Often a token purchase will be made, perhaps of a book or kitchen implement.

Garage sales prosper in the morning and languish in the afternoon. There may be a spurt at lunch time. For the veteran garage sale shopper, the game is over by noon. The same is true for blue collar and lower socioecomomic classes. Few are willing to spend the whole day moving among garage sales, criss-crossing the town, and sometimes having difficulty finding addresses. For the seller, the afternoon may be a long one. Families often combine their wares. More things are offered for sale, and perhaps more important, sellers can socialize among themselves when sales drop off.

In sum, garage sales are economically oriented expedients for recycling useful and sometimes "collectible" personal and family possessions. They are increasingly popular, and in the aggregate, their multimillion dollar business is important. But they are obviously more than simply an economic phenomenon. They have social as well as utilitarian aspects. The alternative to the discard of the still-useful material object, achieved through being purveyed in the garage sale not only provides a mechanism for the disposal of unwanted goods, but involves the daily creation of thousands of small sociable settings of temporary and shortlived nature. Persons across all age, sex, and social class spectra may participate in these low-stress settings, and may become associated with and even addicted to garage sales. Purposes for attending may vary from a serious venture into a money-saving goods exchange. It may be a quasi-enterprise or merely a pastime activity.

THE AUCTION

Community based auctions involving personal and family possessions, the 'baggage of life' as we have come to know these possessions, share some common features with garage sales. But there are somewhat different economic, and vastly different social factors which distinguish them.

At the broader societal level, both garage sales and auctions are socioeconomic mechanisms to redistribute economically valuable objects within local communities. They help sustain the high market exchange activity associated with consumption oriented mass society. While auctions of personal possessions are fewer in number than garage sales, in a ratio of about one to eight, their dollar value business is substantially greater. Perhaps more important, from the social scientist's viewpoint, they are differently organized, and their operations reveal different social and psychological mechanisms.

Garage sale mechanisms are essentially one-to-one. The owner sells a used but useful object to the customer in a face-to-face transaction. There are rarely competitors of the movement, and there is no competitive bidding among customers. First-come is first-served and amateurism prevails.

The auction operates through professionals. Basically, the exchange relation involves three parties: 1) the seller; 2) the auctioneer; and 3) competing buyers. Buyers need not know sellers, although they sometimes do. *But the exchange relation in an auction is carried out in arenas of contest. It produces social and psychological phenomena not present in garage sales.*

The auction setting in which arrangement of goods to be put up for bid, and the business-like atmosphere generated by the auctioneers and their staff establishes clearly the injunction that "this is a place of business." The seriousness of the auctioneer-seller has its counterpart in the demeanor of the potential buyer who demonstrates serious intent by registering at the table set up for handling sales, and who receives an indentifying number usually printed on a 3"x5" card. The card provides an abstracted identity, as it would seem on the surface, for the transactions theoretically could all be carried out without involving names of personalities. The personal, ego-involving factor comes into play in several ways, and most participants, if they are to cope successfully with the vicissitudes

and social dynamics of the auction, will develop *positioning strategies* involving ecological and personal life space.

But the auction serves more than one purpose, and from a sociological standpoint, it is equally relevant to analyze and develop propositions about those who are not serious potential bidders and buyers as it is to be concerned with those who are. To pursue the matter further, we should first enter a disclaimer concerning the implication of the non-serious auction attenders. Granted that they will not participate directly at the economic or exchange level, it does not follow that their presence at community auctions is irrelevant or, Heaven forbid, dysfunctional! On the contrary, there are several so-called functions of the non-bidding auction attenders. Not all of them are obvious.

For example, it is a commonplace in the auction business that a large crowd is better than a small crowd. The more cars, and the more people inspecting the auction items, the more likely people will stay, participate, and be subject to crowd or collective excitement. If only 30 of 100 persons of attending should register for number cards, it is better for the auction business than if 15 or 20 attenders receive cards. The numbers count even if the proportion of non-bidders is high.

Continuing our focus on the larger number of non-bidding attenders, their presence is always welcome. One might ask why they should stay if they are not going to bid, and what are some of the consequences of their presence? It is no surprise to find that there are some wives present who let their husbands bid; and that some are children who cannot bid; and that some are relatives or friends who are taken to the auction as a social event. This function is important.

Sociability is generated easily at auctions and may permeate the entire attendance. Some sociability may be of the moment, for others the sociability may reflect long and friendly acquaintances. There is a notable absence of solemnity, seriousness or even attention to the auction proper by many nonbidding attenders. Lunch baskets are brought; soft drinks, hot dogs, and other food may be sold. At estate auctions the grounds will be dotted with small sociable clusters, each creating its own temporary mini-society. While these are not great occasions, they are by no means trivial. Social exchanges tend to run from mildly friendly to quite personal. Small group sociologists would agree that such sociability is integrative, and that it leads to the development of a sense of unity and to coherence and meaning in the community.

The auction itself and the actual auctioning of goods presents an interesting sociological phenomenon. Those interested in bidding and purchasing cluster around the auctioneer and his assistants. The staccato chant is universally recognizable and to some degree, exciting. Whether persons present are practiced auction attenders or relative newcomers, there is a quickening of pulse and a surge of collective excitement generated by the auctioneer's voice. A variety of auctioneer strateies are used to get the bidding started, and to keep it going, and to maintain continuity of interest. Auctioneers are quick to spot interested bidders, and to identify their interests. Some regular attenders, including used-goods sellers may be identified by name. *What the auctioneer most wants is a closely packed group of competitive minded and purchase motivated participants.* An "auction vortex" can be made up of 20 or 30 such bidders. The action is here, in a slow-moving tightly packed group whose emotional involvement is manipulable by the skilled auctioneer. Here, members sometimes find themselves bidding far more than they expected for objects that they earlier may not have been eager to purchase. Outbid on something they wanted, particpiants will bid up and find themselves contracting for something they do not particularly want. They may return such items to sell at another auction at a later date.

In the center of the auction vortex, the auctioneer runs through a variety of tricks and strategies which may be familiar to many auction attenders. What is less appreciated is the insidiously developing stress and anxiety, first, over getting what one wants, and second, over not being dragooned into buying something one does not want. The pace of the transactions is rapid. Thousands of articles may be auctioned off in an afternoon. Too slow a pace, or too much time spent with one type of object such as tools or kitchenware, may produce diffidence. If the auction drags on, *auction fatigue* may set in. For the elderly, auc-

tion fatigue is an important consideration.

Auctioneers constantly work at a near-frenzied pitch. Small objects may be grouped and sold at a very low price. Th auctioneer cannot be concerned with owner sentiment. His commitment is to the highest number of sales at a fair enough price in the shortest possible time. The upshop of this pressure cooker sales imperative is that many persons learn either to withstand the blandishments, ploys, and impatience of the auctioneer, and to manage their purchasing rather than have it managed for them. Or they may want to withdraw from the vortex to the fringe where they may enter an occastional bid, but not find themselves subject to auctioneer dominance. We can term this adaptive behavior "space management" or "position management". One manages 1) stress, and 2) threat to self control by movement in physical space. Movement nearer to the vortex means testing ego strength and determination to get what one wants at one's own price. Moving away from the vortex removes the auctioneer from occupation of one's *life space*, that personal arena which each one tries to maintain to be assured of a private world where independent thoughts are possible.

ELDERLY PARTICIPATION

Another factor in community auction deals with attendance and participation of the elderly. The prevailing social norms of purchase and acquisitions have long held that the elderly need less, and should be, and in fact, are doing with less as they approach the status of the very old. Once past the age of fifty-five, most adults begin looking at their "baggage of life" with an eye to divesting themselves of those things no longer needed or which have lost their symbolic value. In their sixties, the elderly are faced with many problems which may include moving to another part of the country. In their seventies, they may move to an extended care facility. Sometimes a nursing home becomes an urgent prospect. Between the ages of 75 and 90, the elderly have a 20 percent chance of spending some of their last years in an long-term care facility.

The elderly, then, are faced with two clear questions at a community auction. 1) Do they need to add to their baggage of life? 2) Can they summon the ego strength needed to participate and enter the vortex, and thus become successful, non-exploited bidders and buyers? Many observations of auction behavior have led me to conclude that despite the stress adaptation mechanisms available, very few of the very elderly can succeed in this.

The one exception often noted is the quite elderly person who sits or stands for an hour or more in front of one object, summons up resolve from the depths of her personality, and refuses to be moved away from her place, making a determined effort to acquire her prize. Auctioneers may close off bidding to reward such an elderly person for her determined vigil. With this exception, a large number of observations lead to the conclusion that many of the old and most of the very old attenders are more likely found socializing and passing time at the community auctions than in the thick of the bidding. However, they may always enter the action, whether to test their ego strength or to get caugtht up briefly in the collective excitement, and to be a true participant, without serious obligation to bid competitively. And perhaps not so easily, they may step aside to let the whirl of concentrated action sweep by. Position management here is crucial. One in the vortex of the auctioneer's quick banter and the challenge to dare a slightly higher bid, and still another – may produce another auction casualty, as a purchaser of unwanted auction merchandise.

CONCLUSION

Auctions have a high stress potential, but the wise or adapting auction attender can minimize the threat of stress by taking a position nearer or farther from the vortex of the auction. Ego strength and coping ability may be tested at auctions, but those who cannot stand the pressures and stress of an auction-dominating acutioneer and the competitiveness of fellow auction attenders can usually move to safer positions, out of the line of action. While garage sale participation seems a virtually stress-free and interesting pastime, and an occasion for sociability with little cost, auctions put the attender at a certain amount of financial and ego risk. To make participation in auctions substantially free of such risk is a challenge to human service practitioners. Sociologists should be ready to enter the arena of secondhand purchases along with consumer educators and formulators of consumer protection policies.

DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION TO THE DISADVANTAGED

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ISSUES

This paper will focus on techniques which increase citizen participation in environmental policy decision making. Concerned authorities include Creighton (1980); Institute for Participatory Planning (1978); League of Women Voters (1977); Rogers (1981a); Council on Environmental Quality (1980); Dunlap, Van Liere & Dillman (1979); Hummel (1978); Lowe (1980); and Miller & Donoho (1980). In January 1980, the Arkansas Science Information Exchange began a 24-month *Science for Citizens* planning project funded by the National Science Foundation. A major objective is to develop techniques to disseminate environmental information to the aged, the poor, and those with little formal education, so that they can participate more effectively in public policy making. If these target groups had information, and were made aware of issues and alternatives, they could enter more effectively and more often in environmental policy decision making.

Arkansas ranks 49th in per capita income, and second in proportion of elderly population. Over 40 percent of adults have not completed high school. Like other sunbelt states, Arkansas' abundant resources have plunged the state into a rapidly developing industrial and technological revolution. Despite the current economic downturn, neither industrial growth nor the population boom is projected to slow in the 1980's. These conditions, while containing promise of enhanced quality of life for the citizens of Arkansas, also hold the threat of ecologic disaster for the poor, the aged, and the less educated, who are most likely to live near a waste disposal site, drink polluted water, and breathe polluted air.

In Arkansas, accelerated economic and population growth and change has been accompanied by water, land, and air quality problems involving mining, waste management, transport, forest management, and energy production. Many of these problems and issues were unrecognized or unappreciated only a few years ago. Citizen responses to these changes, particularly in our target groups, have been sporadic, and have had mixed results.

HYPOTHESES

Research and training in citizen participation has shown that four conditions must be met if participation is to be expected (Buskirk & Auker 1980; Downs 1957; Lawson 1980; Miller & Barrington 1981; Regan 1977).

1) The citizen must perceive that the decision is personally important.
2) The citizen must believe that personal participation will make a difference.
3) The citizen must gain some satisfaction from participation.
4) The cost of participation must be low.

In each case, timely, objective, understandable information is essential to citizen participation. Based on these factors, we hypothesize that the aged, the poor, and those with little formal education will be less likely than others to participate in environmental public policy decision making.

SOURCE OF INFORMATION

In addition to determining who participates, we are interested in *where citizens read or hear about environmental issues. This question is important because the applied component of our research concerns developing a mechanism to reach the target groups with environmental information. Due to the pervasiveness of television and radio, we hypothesize that there will be no significant difference by age, education or income groups in use of these media for information for environmental information (Rogers 1981b).*

Access to printed media, including books, magazines, and newspapers demands money, literacy, and time. We hypothesize that the use of these media as a source of environmental information will vary with income, education, and age. Our target groups will have less frequent access to these media than other groups.

For the target groups, face-to-face discussion of environmental issues among family, friends, and work and business associates will vary by age, education, and income. If environmental concern is low, face-to-face information exchange is likely to be low. It is also likely that our target groups will interact mainly with those of similar age, income, and education.

NEED FOR INFORMATION

A final concern is the perceived need of the target group for environmental information. Do they feel that they could use additional information? Whether they do or not will affect the information dissemination strategy. Based on studies which have found that environmental concern among the target groups is low, we hypothesize that the aged, and those with little income or formal education will be less likely than others to recognize a need for environmental information.

METHOD

Data was gathered through two separate statewide telephone surveys. In each study, the sample was found to be representative of the state population in demographic character. There were 600 respondents in the first study and 400 in the second.

Each sample was stratified geographically by county to reflect the approximate geographic distribution of the population of the counties in the state. The total sample was proportioned in about the same percentage as the population of the counties. Respondents were selected at random in counties by systematic random sampling from current telephone directories. Thus, all residents in a county listed in a telephone directory had an equal probability of inclusion in the sample.

The questionnaires used in the surveys included a wide range of items relating to concepts and dimensions of environmental concern, participation, and perceived need for information.

RESULTS

Educational level proved to be the best predictor of responses to the quesiton: Have you ever attended a a hearing or meeting about an environmental issue? About 26 percent of those with college training had attended such meetings, while less than 7 percent of the less educated had done so ($Chi^2 = 68.6$, $df = 1$, $p = .001$, $N = 977$). As hypothesized, attendance at environmental hearings and meetings increases at the higher level of education. A similar relation was found with income. At the higher income levels, attendance at environemntal meetings increases. The relation of age to attendance at such meetings could not be determined.

On the source of information on environmental issues, our target groups accessed the same information sources as other groups, but did so less frequently. They ranked television first, radio second, and newspapers third in frequency as a source of information. Family and friends ranked fourth. Work and business associates and magazines and books were rarely used as information sources (See Table 1).

One of the most striking results of the research on citizen needs for information was the large number of those who did not recognize any needs for environmental information. More than half (200) of those interviewed in Study A denied having any information needs. The question was: "What issues facing Arkansas today do you feel you could better understand if you had more environmental information? Nearly 69 percent of those aged over 60 responded negatively regarding their information needs. Overall, those 40 and younger were less likely to answer negatively to this question.

At the higher level of education, the percent of negative responses decreases. Nearly 80 percent of those with eight or fewer years' education reported no environmental information needs, compared to 24 percent of college graduates who reported negatively.

At lower income levels, the proportion of negative responses also increases. About 69 percent of those with incomes under $5000 recognized no need for more environmental information, compared with 30 percent of those with incomes of $20,000 or more.

On the question: Do you believe that you are being adequately informed about governmental decisions which affect the environment? – those who were older, less educated, and of lower income were most likely to feel that they are *adequately* informed. Are these individuals well informed, or are they perhaps *unaware* that added information might be necessary? A possible answer to this question may be implicit in the response to the question: Which do you think would provide the cleanest, not necessarily the cheapest, energy? Of the alternative energy sources, solar power is generally regarded as the cleanest. Again, the earlier pattern was repeated. The elderly, and those with lower income and education are *least likely* to select solar power as the cleanest. This

TABLE 1: SOURCES OF ENVIRONMENT INFORMATION BY AGE, EDUCATION & INCOME (Percent)

	Age		Education		Income, 1000's		
Source	**18-40**	**41+**	**To 12**	**College**	**14-**	**15-20**	**21+**
Newspaper	43	46	38	58	34	48	65
Radio	42	31	33	44	31	38	51
Television	67	64	63	70	59	70	78
Magazines	21	15	14	27	14	24	25
Books	11	7	8	12	8	12	6
Family, Friends	26	21	19	32	18	26	33
Coworkers	21	17	13	31	14	33	26
(N)	(203)	(195)	(267)	(128)	(236)	(50)	(83)

suggests that these groups are less well informed than they evidently assume.

DISCUSSION

We began with the objective of developing a strategy for disseminating environmental information to the poor, and aged, and those with little formal education. We can list five findings which relate to these groups.

1)They participate less in environmental meetings and hearings than others.

2) They assume that they are adequately informed on environemntal issues.

3) They deny any need for added information on such issues.

4) They know less than they think about environmental problems.

5) They receive most of their information on environmental matters from television, radio, and newspapers.

In short, our target groups are neither highly motivated nor deeply interested in environmental issues. They lack formal background and lack direct experience with little awareness of the significance of environmental issues in their lives. Despite their relative ignorance, they assume that they are sufficiently informed.

If these groups are to participate in environmental policy decision making, they should have more information. We suggest a two-phase strategy for disseminating the necessary information.

INFORMATION STRATEGY: PHASE ONE

A first step in reaching the target group with envirnomental information must focus on increasing their interest level. Citizens who are not interested in an issue will pay little attention to information which is made available. Miller and Barrington (1981) found that individuals are faced with a vast array of attractively packaged and easily accessible information. This makes it unlikely that a citizen would choose to become more informed without a *pior level of interest.*

Interest should thus be seen as playing a crucial mediating role in information dissemination. Nearly two-thirds of our target groups report that they frequently hear about envirnomental issues from television. Between 33 percent and 45 percent frequently read about environmental issues in the newspapers. A third hear about it on the radio and about a fifth hear about such issues from family and friends.

Since our target groups most frequently receive environmental information from passive media sources such as television and radio and newspapers, these are the vehicles through which interest must be raised. If such interest is raised, then a broader information dissemination strategy can be implemented.

PHASE TWO

Phase Two has three parts.

Part 1: The program should focus on an issue of current interest. This strategy will be effective only if citizens are seeking or are open to the idea of assistance on an issue which directly affects them, and in which they are interested. The message must be presented in such a manner that the target person believes that personal participation is important, and that it can make a difference. Otherwise the target person may become resigned

to inaction, saying, "What can I do?" Answering that question must be a part of the information dissemination package.

Part 2: The program must provide a mechanism for conveying information that the target groups will access. Our results suggest that television, radio, and newspaper series on environmental issues might be effective. Television especially has the potential to raise awareness and inform our target groups. Once an interest has been raised, efforts could be made to bring the issue to the target groups through neighborhood and community forums. This outreach effort can be seen as a means of providing a place where citizens can make a difference through their direct participation. It would help to convince them that the issue is important and of interest to them in their own neighborhood. This approach also makes the cost of citizen participation relatively low, especially if the program is made a part of the regular agenda of a civic group, church, school, or senior center. This two-phase approach has had some success (Creighton 1980; Lawson 1980; Regan 1977).

Part 3: The program should complement, support and cooperate with existing state or private organization efforts in public involvement. There are may environmental public participation efforts in progress, but rarely are they coordinated. Although not revealed in our research, a reason for non-participation may be conflicting information which leads to confusion and apathy.

A complementary and cooperative effort is important, not just for cost-effectiveness, but because the success of any public participation program will hinge largely on whether the target citizen gains satisfaction from that participation. Such satisfaction comes both from seeing how one's advice is used, and the perceived impact of the involvement on organizations working on the issue.

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NEIGHBORHOOD REVITALIZATION & EMERGENCE OF POST INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY

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INTRODUCTION

In the early 1970's there was a grassroots movement known as neighborhood revitalization which was in concert with the direction of national policy. Neighborhood revitalization was also called "gentrification", the "back to the city movement", and "private urban renewal." It involved efforts of young middle class professionals to resettle and revitalize poorer urban neighborhoods. Most of these efforts have been bootstrap operations with little or no help from federal or local government. In a number of cities the change in neighborhoods has been remarkable, and the revitalized neighborhoods have become national showplaces, as models of how private programs can solve urban ills.

Although research on thie phenomenon is far from complete and all the patterns are not yet clear, existing studies consistently indicate three trends. 1) The neighborhood revitalization process is widespread with at least 124 cities of 50,000 population or more with some degree of revitalization (James 1977). The 30 largest cities in the United States have one or more revitalization projects under way (Clay 1978, 1979). These efforts are concentrated in older cities in the south and northeast regions (Black 1975). 2) Revitalization is not a trend back to the city. Central city populations continue to decentalize to the suburbs (Spain 1980a, 1980b). The suburban lifestyle is still preferred by most Americans, and this way of life will probably remain even at considerable cost and inconvenience (Abravanel & Mancini 1980; Levin 1979; Birch 1979). Neighborhood revitalization is actually a "stay in the city" movement rather than a "back to the city" movement. Most new settlers are moving from other parts of the the same central city or from other cities, and not from the suburbs. Most of the new settlers are young, affluent, and well educated. Many are professionals, and they tend to be disproportionately childless (Long 1980; Lasten & Spain 1979; Smith 1979).

Has the "stay ;in the city" movement positively affected net migration or the population composition of central cities? In the short run, these new settlers have had little effect on either process. There has been a growing decentralization of population from central cities for most of this Century. The out-migration from central cities since World War II is not a new phenomenon. What is new is the rate of out-migration. From 1960 to 1970 central cities in the United States lost more than 3.5 million people in net out-migration, and more than 8 million from 1970 to 1977. Considering the three components of population, (births - deaths + migration) the total population of central cities declined 4.6 percent from 1970 to 1977. Larger and older metropolitan areas (over a million population) lost 7.1 percent of their central city population in the same period. Higher income employed persons have led the exodus from central cities. The income levels of in-migrants have been lower than those of out-migrants. As a result, central cities experienced a net loss of $47 billion in aggregate personal income from 1970 to 1977 (Alonso 1978).

A DIFFERENT VIEW ON REVITALIZATION

Numerous explanations for the neighborhood revitalization process have been offered. They include 1) changing lifestyles, 2) escalating costs for housing and energy, 3) shifts in the nation's urban policy, 4) changes in policy by lending institutions, and 5) changing American attitudes about the city. Absent from this list is the notion that cities are dynamic and ever changing. There is a continual change in this nation's system of cities, and in the internal structure of individual cities. Rapid social change has characterized all of our history. What is new is the speed and scope of urban change. Neighborhood revitalization reflects basic changes in the urban fabric of the country, and must be related to more basic economic, ecologic and technologic forces.

Factorial Ecology. Social area analysis, introduced by Shevky, Williams, and Bell more than 30 years ago has become central to the literature of contemporary urban ecology (Timms 1971). Its major contribution has been to sensitize researchers to the close relation between the interal structure of the city and the scale of development of the encompass-

ing society. By societal scale, ecologists refer to the extent of the division of labor ia society and the complexity of its organizations and institutions. As societies advance in scale, changes on the societal level are manifested first and most clearly in specialized land use and the organization of space within cities. In a low scale society with relatively simple organization, there will be relatively little specialized land use, and residential uses are classed along a single dimension of family status. In high scale societies, social and economic organization is complex as reflected in specialized urban and use and a residential mosaic. Cities of industrial societies reguire at least the three dimensions of social, family, and ethnic status for classification. Increase in societal scale also alters the relation of cities within the system of cities (Borchert 1967; Dunn 1980). As the scale of a society increases, there is a complete alteration of the urban fabric of society.

From the ecological perspective, neighborhood revitalization and other changes in city morphology and the growth of urban fringe, and non-metropolitan growth are directly related to an increase in the scale level of American society.

RISING SOCIETAL SCALE TRENDS

Shevky and Bell (1955) postulated that changes brought about by an increase in the scale of society would be reflected in one of three social trends: 1) changes in distribution of skills, 2) changes in the structure of productive activity, and 3) changes in population composition. And these changes would become manifest in the internal structure of the metropolis.

Distribution of Skills. Changes in the distribution of skills is most apparent in the distribution of labor force among economic sectors. In low-scale societies, economic organization is charactrized by family or household enterprises such as subsistence farming, handicrafts, and various unorganized services. Most goods and services are produced and sold locally. In contrast, high-scale societies are characterized by the production of goods and services for national and international markets. In such societies, the distribution of skills is organized by mechanisms of the market rather than by kinship ties.

To analyze these changes, data for 51 countries were grouped into low, medium, and high scale levels on the basis of per capita gross development product (GDP) for 1960. Employment in each sector is expressed as a percent of total employment in the economy. Then for each sector, averages are computed for each group of countries. The calculations are repeated for for 1980 data. Table 1 summarized these date and illustrates the distribution of employment by scale of society, as well as shifts in the sectoral distribution of employment over time.

Basic changes in the distribution of skills in society occur with increasing societal scale. Most notable is the dramatic decline in agricultural employment as per capita income rises. In post-industrial societies agricultural employment is at an irreducible minimum. These data also suggest that declines in agriculture in the early stages of development are absorbed in the service sector. This may reflect the complete reorganization of a society's infrastructure that takes place as the scale level of a society rises. The growth of public institutions such as schools, hospitals, and security forces, and the operation of postal service, and communication and transport systems account for the high levels of service employment.

In the high-scale or post-industrial societies, the service sector surpassed manufacturing as early as 1960. In the two decades ending in 1980, agriculture, construction, and transport experienced little change whereas manufacturing declined slightly, and service sector employment rose substantially from 40 to 48 percent. In high-scale societies, manufacturing has ceased to be the dominant factor in national economic development.

Generally, employment data in the United States exhibits patterns consistent with other high-scale post-industrial societies. Table 2 exhibits data showing sectoral changes in employment in the United States between 1967 and 1976. Over this period there was a 20 percent growth in total employment, but manufacturing did not share in the expansion. Instead, employment in manufacturing declined to about a quarter of the total work force. Rates of decline were similar for both durable and non-durable goods manufacture. Sectors

TABLE 1: WAGE EMPLOYMENT BY ECONOMIC SECTORS, 1960 & 1980 IN 52 COUNTRIES

		1960			1980		
Sector:		I	II	III	I	II	III
(N, Countries		19	10	13	19	10	13
GDP per capita US $ 1000's		.2	.5	1.7	.6	2.1	7.2
Agriculture Hunting Forestry, Fishing	%	37	14	5	29	10	5
Mining, Quarrying	%	4	1	2	1	1	1
Manufacturing	%	13	23	33	16	25	28
Construction	%	7	9	10	8	10	9
Tran sport	%	5	7	8	6	7	7
Services	%	30	43	40	36	45	48
Omitted Activities	%	4	3	2	4	2	2
Total	%	100	100	100	100	100	100

1. GDP per capita is in constant prices.

Sector I (1960 per capita GDP under $300)
Nepal, India, Thailand, Egypt, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, Korea, Morocco, Angola, Ghana, Iran, Syria, Liberia, Dominican Republic, Seychelles, Algeria, Columbia, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Portugal, Chile

Sector II (1960 per capita under $700)
Mexico, Spain, Hong Kong, Costa Rica, Martinique, Panama, Malta, Greece, Lebanon, Singapore, Japan, Argentina, Ireland

Sector III (1960 per capita GDP more than $700)
Italy, Puerto Rico, Austria, Israel, Finland, Belgium, Norway, Denmark, German Federal Republic, France, United Kingdom, Bahrain, New Zealand, Australia, Sweden, Canada, Kuwait. Source: International Labour Office *Yearbook of Labour Statistics*, 1960, 1961, 1980, 1981 Geneva Switzerland.

providing at least a third more jobs by 1976 include medical services, hotels, state and local government, and fire protection.

As specific skills become functionally more important to a society, the level of education needed to acquire these skills increases, as does the reward for acquiring them. Since residential segregation is a universal urban phenomenon, changes in occupational prestige will be reflected in the use of residential space in cities.

There is a significant lag between the time a social change occurs and the time it affects the city, due to the fixed housing and other physical artifacts of the city, some of which have livespans of decades or centuries. The changes resulting from these factors in the distribution of skills are already apparent in the morphology of cities in the United States. Table 3 gives indexes of residential dissimilarity among employed males in 8 major occupational groups. The most markedly segregated

TABLE 2: U.S. EMPLOYMENT DISTRIBUTION

	1976 1000's	Pct Change from 1967
Total employment	79,467	20.0
Mining	800	34.2
Construction	3,340	3.2
Transport, utilities	4,506	5.9
Trade	17,610	27.9
Wholesale	4,292	20.1
Retail	13,318	30.6
Fire	4,359	33.4
Services	14,781	44.9
Hotels	1,031	45.8
Personal	814	-20.7
Medical	4,519	80.8
Education	1,283	18.8
Government	15,130	28.8
Federal	2,730	0.7
State & local	12,400	37.2
Manufacturing	18,941	-1.2
Durables	11,018	-1.1
Nondurables	7,923	-1.3

TABLE 3: RESIDENCE DISSIMILARITY INDEXES FOR EMPLOYED MALES, 1970* & CHANGE FROM 1960 to 1970**

Occupation	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1 Professional	16	16	28	36	45	40	46
2 Managerial	0	14	30	36	46	42	48
3 Sales	0	0	27	34	44	39	45
4 Clerical	-1	0	3	20	25	22	29
5 Craft	0	1	3	3	20	25	29
6 Operative	-2	-1	1	0	0	19	19
7 Services	-8	-7	-6	-9	-8	-4	19
8 Laborers	-11	-11	-10	-12	-11	-7	-4

* Above Diagonal; ** Below Diagonal
(Averaged across 10 urbanized areas.)

Source:Simkus A 1978 "Residential Segregation in Ten Urbanized Areas, 1950-1970." *American Sociological Review* 43 p84

groups are clustered at the top and bottom of the occupational hierarchy. Occupations in the middle of the hierarchy have fairly low indexes and they tend to be similar in residence. Note that the degree of segregation for each of the six highest occupational categories remained about the same, averaging less than than one percent change. The indexes of dissimilarity between service workers and the six highest categories decreased by an average of 7.6 points. The finding that service workers are less segregated from the five highest occupational categories than operatives suggests that a change on the societal level can now be measured in the residential structure of the metropolis. The rising prestige and income of service workers translates to a greater residential freedom of movement in the city which was heretofore denied them.

CHANGED STRUCTURE OF PRODUCTION

Changes in the structure of production have had a profound impact on the morphology of cities in all high-scale societies. Breakthroughs in transportation, communication, and computer technology have convinced some that a new urban form has emerged since World War II: the cybernetic society (Golany 1978). In low-scale societies, where primary sector activities such as agriculture and mining predominate, the geographic distribution of these activities is dispersed. Except for small towns and villages, the dispersed character of these activities does not lead to emergence of urban centers (Schwab 1982).

As the scale of societies increases, manufacturing and industry predominate and the locational factors for the activities are very different. Manufacturing and industry increasingly become separated from raw materials as large cities develop. The interdependence of many industries means that there are great economies to be gained from close geographic proximity. This is a major factor in transportation, especially when the ratio of product value to transport cost is high. The cost in Pittsburb of transporting rolled steel to durable goods manufacturers is high, so along with steel firms, Pittsburg's local economy is rich in metal fabrication and durable goods manufacture (Dunn 1980).

The economics of proximity for interdependent industries due to communication are also important. Before World War II, when communication technology was less developed, the enormous flow of communication between industries necessary for sales transactions and supply orders, was facilitated by common location.

Several related changes in the past three decades have altered the economy of agglomeration. 1) There has been an increase in the length of the production chain. As the production process lengthens, labor costs increase and relative transport costs decrease, sometimes to an relatively insignificant level, as is the case with computers and calculators. Proximity to materials and parts suppliers becomes less important. The immense expansion of the interstate highway system and the size and efficiency of long distance transport contribute to decentralized manufacturing. 2) Through the revolution in communications, modern long distance communication has reduced the importance of proximity. Long distance telephone, telex, and reliable computer data transmission equipment allow decentralized plants in non-metropolitan areas, a pattern which once was economically impossible (Leven 1979). 3) Interacting and reinforcing the effects of the previous two forces is the growth of the service sector. Since much of this sector involves collection, processing, retrieval and dissemination of information, these activities may locate anywhere with the availability of modern communication technology.

EFFECTS ON THE FAMILY

The transformation of the family from the extended to the nuclear form is a well documented outcome of the evolution of societies from the preindustrial to the industrial form, as are the changing roles of women in society. Freed from large numbers of children and kinship obligations, women have entered the main labor force. In industrial society, with the nuclear family often isolated from relatives in the local community, many lifestyles become possible, including the single, the retiree, the young adult with children, the childless, and the single parent. In industrial societies, each lifestyle may be accommodated by a different part of the city.

Several demographic trends are apparent. 1) In the last decade, there has been a strong trend toward singleness for men and women. More than 54 percent of all women and 58 percent of all men live alone. 2) During the past decade the divorce rate has risen steadily while first marriage and remarriage rates are at an all time low. Between 1970 and 1978 the estimated median age at first marriage increased by a full year for both men and women. Although most people eventually marry, there is less urgency to marry than in the past. As young adults, women are apparently placing more stress on pursuit of an education, establishing a career, and becoming economically independent before marriage, and on remaining single. 3) Labor force participation, more than any other aspect of society, reflects the changing status of women. In the United States, more than one half of all women were in the workforce in

1978, an increase of 10 million from 1970, to over 42 million women. 4) The fertility rate now stands at 1.8, well below the replacement level of 2.1 children per woman. 5) These trends have converged to bring about important changes in the structure of the family. A variety of forms of the nuclear family have emerged. Thus, 19.3 million women and 9.4 men operate households in which no spouse is present. The typical United States family is one in which both parents work, and the average number of children is less than 2 (Census Bureau 1978).

These demographic changes which reflect the broader societal shifts in the nature of productive activity are translated into new and sometimes different housing needs. These changes in turn influence individual, family, and business locational decisions which in turn, influence the structure of the metropolis and the system of cities. The growth patterns in the Sunbelt cities, and the gentrification process are examples of this process, The urban gentry is one group which reflects most clearly the linkage between changes in the structure of production activity and the family, and their impact on the morphology of the city. The urban gentry are generally young, single, or childless married couples with incomes in the middle and upper middle range, who hold white collar and professional postions. They are normally employed in the growing service, professional and office centers of the central business district (CBD), and choose older central city neighborhoods for convenience and accessibility. A changing locational calculus employed by many groups is reshaping the city.

CHANGED POPULATION COMPOSITION

As a society increases in scale, the physical mobility of its populatin increases. This redistribution of society's population in its territory is closely tied to changes in the distribution of skills and changes in the structure of productive activity. With the mechanization of agriculture in low scale society, the demand for farm labor declines and surplus labor migrates from rural to urban areas. In advanced industrial societies, rural to urban migration ceases, but similar readjustments take place within and between cities. As industry declines in one region, opportunities may expand in another. Workers can respond to these opportunities by moving. The movement of people suggests that the labor force is closely tuned to changes in the national economy.

In 1973 the Census Bureau announced that nonmetropolitan growth from 1970 to 1973 exceeded metropolitan growth. This reversed a trend which has lasted for nearly two centuries in the United States. This reversal is explained by the convergence of several trends in high scale societies. Improvements in transport technology, especially the automobile and truck, permitted the massive decentralization of population in the post World War II period. Manufacturing, industry, retail and service sector activities soon followed, leading to the emergence of strong suburban centers for employment, service, and residence. As a result, most suburbanites live and work in the suburbs; only a sixth commute to the central city.

These integrated subcenters also permitted people to live beyond the suburbs in nonmetropolitan areas while commuting to the nearest suburban employment nuclei. Currently, over 60 percent of those leaving the metropolis move into counties immediately adjacent to major urban areas. Thus, expanding urban fields exceed the boundaries of the standard metropolitan statistical areas (SMSA), but are functionally part of the same urban system. The expansion into the nonmetropolitan periphery appears as part of a more general process of population and economic diffusion (Alonso 1978).

How have these changes on the societal level affected the internal structure of the metropolis? Before World War II, decisions to move to a city or to a different location within the same city were normally job related. The distance between place of employment and place of residence was short because technology for mass transportation was poorly developed.

With the impact of modern transport and communication technology, the decision about where to work is relatively independent of the decision about where to live. Birch and others have shown that most urbanites are indifferent to transport time costs until they exceed 20 minutes (Birch 1979). Economic factors have become less important, as mobility

FIGURE 1: CHANGES IN URBAN STRUCTURE AND FORM BY INDUSTRIALIZATION SCALE LEVEL

Level	Skills Distribution Change	Production Structure Change	Population Change	Urban Structure	Urban Morphology
Pre-Industrial	Distribution of skills organized with household enterprises; manufacturing employment unimportant; service employment sporadic, & unorganized; agricultural employment dominantes; few wage earners, mostly family workers; family & kin ties dominate employment sector; skills unrelated to stratification system.	Agricultural sector dominant; production activity dispersed transport, communication and manufacturing technology low, making dispersal necessary; production activities mostly subsistence farming, handcrafts.	Slow population growth; high birth, death rates; low rates of migration; extended family dominant.	Small scale, concentrated mononucleate form; administrative, commercial centers; urban production limited to crafts; interaction channels sporadic, irregular.	Morphology simple; family dominates all other institutions; family status is the single axis of differentiation.
Industrial	Distribution of skills organized by market mechanisms; dramatic decline in agricultual employment; manufacturing dominant employment source, close followed by service; most are wage workers; few family workers; skills relate functionally to stratification system.	Manufacturing sector dominant production activity concentrated; short production chains; economy of proximity due to prevailing transport & communication technology.	Rapid population growth; youthful populations; nuclear family dominant.	Concentrated mononucleate form; production activity concentrated; urban field matches city limits; regular interaction channels.	Morphology complex; a mosaic of social worlds; social distance appears in physical distance between groups; minimum of three axes to differentiate social, family ethnic & migration status.
Post-Industrial	Agriculture & extractive employment at an irreducible minimum; manufacturing employment no longer dominant factor in society; employment rises in high technology manufacture; service employment dominant; skills of service workers and technocrats reflected in stratification system.	Service sector dominant; high technology industry; revolution in communication & transport technology; long production chains reduce economics of agglomeration; locational decision calculus changed; production decentralized & dispersed.	Slow urban & population growth, possible decline; outmigration from cities to non-urban areas; aging population; rise of single, small & nonfamily households.	Dispersed multinucleate form; decentralized & dispersed production; urban field spans metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas; multiple channels of interaction.	Morphology complex; urban fields expand, take in nonmetropolitan areas; spatial cities; urban & rural distinctions diminish; rise in family & nonfamily households; need at least 4 differential axes: – social, family, ethnic, migration, ex-urban(?)

decisions have been shaped by other considerations. Living space, both indoor and outdoor, climate, schools, personal safety, proximity to friends, availability of shopping and other amenities now play a central role in peoples' locational decisions.

CONCLUSIONS

Cities are dynamic and ever changing, yet the past continues to shape the present. Decisions made generations ago by community leaders on where to locate streets, sewers, parks, schools, factories, and public facilities as well as the locational forces of the past which determined residential location for the wealthy, the poor and the middle class continue to provide the basic template on which the city of the future will be built. Older and larger metropolitan areas were built on an industrial base with a set of assumptions which no longer apply. In the 19th and early 20th Centuries, massive populations of people were concentrated around industrial and manufacturing centers for economy of transport and communication. Today, the shifts from manufacturing to service and the revolution in transport and communication technology reduce the importance of proximity to work and production centers.. The decentralized, polynucleated and highly specialized metropolis is the emerging urban form of the late 20th and early 21st Centuries. The problem lies in the fact that this new urban form is being superimposed on existing cities.

Neighborhood revitalization reflects basic changes in the nature of the larger encompassing city. A change in the skills, production activity, and population dynamics determines the form of the city. Figure 1 summarizes the urban development process and its major components. These trends shape population redistribution as both business and individuals reoptimize locations within the urban field according to new locational forces. The shift of business and population to nonmetropolitan areas, the continued growth of suburbs, declining central city population, and the return of some middle class Americans to older central city neighborhoods is part of this more general process. Urban problems which have emerged result mainly from the enormous time lag built into our urban systems and a structure of city government and finance inappropriate for these new urban forms.

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FALSE CONSCIOUSNESS IN MAJOR LIFE DECISIONS

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DEFINITION

The term *false consciousness,* which has had diverse usage in Marxist and existentialist literature refers here to socially produced self and other misrepresentations and related character structures which sustain individual activity to satisfy requirements of the social order. Most subjects are limited in capacity to reflect on the social and life history dimensions of important decisions. Such constraints on self reflection must be adequately conceptualized for a full understanding of the decision making processes. Based on life history research on major life decisions, I find four related aspects of false consciousness:
1) Ideololgical character of predominant approaches to decision making psychology.
2) Types of rationalization which underlie false consciousness in major life decisions.
3) How false consciousness subverts recognizing primary interests in decision process.
4) Collective misunderstanding of the nature of *personal dilemmas.*

The positivist logic of the physical sciences, which makes possible the technical control of nature, is assumed appropriate also for understanding *inner nature.* Traditional rationality may lead to impressive results in industry and the exact sciences, but I question whether it suits as a model for personal decisions and personal problem solving. The ethos of technical rationality is utilitarian. It stresses efficiency, maximum gain, and minimum risk. It assumes fixed behavioral sequences which guarantee effectiveness. Technical rationality may secretly sustain irrationality while supposing to minimize it.

We may initially characterize a decision as a conscious resolution to carry out a project. Speaking of a "major life decision," typically implies that the involvements and activities of the individual will be altered substantially, and that the spheres of the life structure will be transformed. A major life decision always involves rearranging the social field in which the individual is embedded. Without exception such decisions involve changes in meaningful relations with other human figures, either directly, or at imaginary and unconscious levels. Rationalist models of decision making ignore this *intersubjectivity of deciding.*

COGNITIVE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

That perspective, particularly dominant in social psychology and *cognitive behavioral* syntheses suggests that decisions should be made rationally. They should involve a process of reasoning which confronts reality. Since important decisions involve risk, stress and emotionality, which are assumed to contaminate the reasoning process, they interfere with ideal rationality. Adequate information processing is likely to be displaced by impulsive, premature resolution of a dilemma or endless deliberation. To minimize the adverse effects of emotional disturbance, a stance of vigilance is recommended. This involves a sequence of conscientiously executed cognitive steps. 1) The problem must be conceptualized to know what actually needs to be decided. 2) Various solutions should be surveyed, and options should be searched out. 3) These alternatives are evaluated by risk or probability of success or failure. On the basis of this process, a response to the problem may be selected which is likely to effect a solution.

At first, this cognitive approach seems compelling. This is merely a personalized version of the "scientific" mode of problem solving. As our culture directs us to be logical, we might eagerly adopt such a method to organize our confusion in time of deliberation. Yet this model can be twisted to serve the ends of any determined intention. And a more serious problem: the model fails to contend with the defensive tendency to rationalize. While pretending to induce a clearer view of the reality in which one is deciding, it actually obfuscates the matter. It severs the individual from the historic, social, and unconscious roots of the dilemma. This further decenters the subject, creating the gap which rationalization aims to conceal.

RATIONALIZATION

I use three senses of the term *rationalization.*
1) By the Freudian concept, action is justified on grounds other than its primary determinants. Such rationalization can arise from anxiety aroused as an unacceptable intention

seeks to be acknowledged and expressed. Decisions may be made compulsively, "on the back" of rationalizations which cover the return of repressed desire in a familiar social situation. The dynamics of the repetition compulsion sustain all such stereotyped deciding. 2) Rationalization also comes into play at the point where the rationale sought to justify an action is picked from among cliches, excuses and disclaimers which generally pass unchallenged. Social endorsement thus facilitates expressing unacknowledged private intentions, which affirm the existing social order. 3) The Weberian concept of rationalization subsumes the extension of scientific rationality to the conduct of life itself, including *mathematizing experience* by assigning weights to personal goals or values, and *means-ends rationality* by precise calculation of means to attain definite practial ends. Originally, such processes were adopted in administrative and executive circles, but now are freguently used in administering the life course by subjects, and called *life planning, goal setting,* and *values clarification.* Such rationalization calls into play related defense measures, such as intellectualizing, denial, undoing, isolation, and projection.

Deliberation following means-ends rationality rarely questions whether the ends sought are desirable. These questions are sidestepped in rationalist models: "Does this decision have to be made now? By me? Am I really trying to solve some problem other than the one related to this decision?" At the same time, the institutions and practices prevalent in society have been rationalized by highly bureaucratized division of labor, mechanization of production, and external assessment of individual performance, to the point that individuals see the social order as "natural." They quickly assume fault if their needs are not met in that framework.

BILL'S DILEMMA

I summarize a series of interviews with a subject called "Bill." He lives in a middle class suburb of a metropolis with his wife and three children. He as a long commute to work where he demonstrates computer systems to prospective buyers. He knows none of his coworkers personally, even though he has been with the company for two years. He says his work performance is satisfactory, but not energetic. He leaves work as early as he can to join his family. In the evening, he plays with his own and other neighborhood children, watches television, and talks to his wife about the day's doings. On weekends, he watches sports on television, goes to church, and enjoys family life.

Bill's involvement in these spheres is generally calm, quiet, and peaceful. Yet, every four or five days he loses his temper in a manner which frightens him. He is never violent, but he sees images of flying fists as he shouts at his wife or children. His temper is the aspect of his personality which he would most like to change.

After two interviews, Bill reported that he was due for an annual salary review at work. He said he was preparing ".. really to go in there and tell it to them like it is." His financial situation was worsening in the face of inflation. He had to reduce too many essential areas of his family's life style. He wanted to ask for a big pay raise, and was willing to work in any sort of position to earn it. In a brave moment, Bill said he might threaten leaving the company if he did not hear a satisfactory response. He might also take a part-time job with the Air Force Reserve. Eight years ago, he entered the Air Force to avoid the draft, serving six years as navigator in intercontinental bombers. He liked flying very much, but missed his family when away. He grudgingly took a big pay cut when he left the Air Force to spend more time with his family.

FAILING STRATEGIES

The psychology of decision making typically picks up the decision problem at the point where it is already specifically framed. Thus, it is easy to adopt a rationalist model which ignores the subject's social embeddedness and his personal history. As yet, Bill is not thinking in terms of having to make a decision. He is only formulating strategies to relieve financial problems. Since it is hard for Bill to admit that the issue is more directly related to a lack of fulfillment in his work, his decision will become framed as: "Should I join the Air Force Reserves to make more money?" This question fails to address his real problem, and regardless of his answer, will not quell his angry outbursts.

The annual salary review failed to proceed as Bill had hoped. They said there were no openings for him in other departments, and that raises had to be kept to a minimum because company profits had fallen off. He then told his supervisors that he might have to take on a part-time job with the Air Force in order to make ends meet. They only seemed concerned that he be on the job when needed.

As I probed the anger Bill may have felt from this incident, he quickly sided with his supervisors, saying: "They had to work within the company's salary guidelines. Inflation hits everyone hard. We all have to tighten our belts." He said he could always look for a job with another company if he needed money badly enough. He hardly recognized that he had backed off almost immediately in the salary "negotiation." While *he* feared being too pushy, his passivity would ruin any chance for the aspired management position.

RETREAT

I lack space to explain the origins of Bill's passivity in life history perspective. We can see this aspect of his personality resulting from experience in a matrix of social relations which compel him to be peaceful and compromising. Bill's decision takes shape in the *retreat from confrontation.* He had applied to the Air Force Reserve "just to see" if they would take him back. They did. Finding his family then as much burden as joy, he savored the idea of soaring above the earth. "I sure like to fly," he kept saying, as he pondered the issue.

To understand Bill's later decision to join the Air Force Reserves applying the rationalist model, or worse, to use it as a guideline for a better decision, ignores the fact that Bill's representation of himself and his world are not entirely his own. His complex desire to be a *good father,* entails mutually conflicting role images. His *good father* image stresses appearances, such as a high salary, new car, big house, eating out with his children, and designer jeans for his eight-year-old. This image, instilled by our consumer ideology takes precedence over that of the father who spends good times with his children and is emotionally available to them. Both images play off unconscious intentions toward Bill's own father, judged a failure both counts.

When Bill decided to spend more time away from his family, he had to suppress his primary intent to maintain the quality of his family life. The sociocultural context in which he lives, and from which he draws rationales agrees with this move. Bill's status anxiety and his characterological anxiety move him to a position where the social order has him contributing more firmly to its maintenance and literally to its defense.

CONCLUSION

Rationalist models are not structured to give awareness of this *false consciousness* of the ideololgical core of personality functioning. Privatization of problems, serialization of individuals, fragmentation of neighborhoods and workplaces, all prevent a collective supersession of the need to make self wrenching decisions like Bill's.

False consciousness has two facets in major life decisions: 1) Constraints are not recognized. The social framework for individual life is seen as a natural factor. It produces subjects who have internalized its authority and whose decisions fall neatly into place, even if somewhat haphazard. 2) Domination *is* recognized, but the subject shies away from confrontation with complex structures, relations, or institutions. Typically, a compromise formation results. Gratifications are guiltily sought in private, or the individual's social action is diverted into ineffective realms as regards the social totality, via sports, television, communes, religiosity, and hobbies.

Rationalization functions not only as a private maneuver. The characteristics of this constraint on subjectivity mark it as indelibly social. False consciousness evades the social roots of personal dilemmas, and leads subjects to struggle in isolation with problems which are actually collective. Most decision problems are mini-struggles of social and historical import. If psychological methods and theories, as well as popular culture, ignore the processes of false consciousness, we are not likely to develop effective strategies for solving personal problems and public issues.

WISSENSOZIOLOGIE: A UNIQUE PERSPECTIVE FOR THEORY

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SUBSTANCE IN THEORY

Sociologists emphasize both theory and theory construction. But though the logic, objectives, and stages of theory development are more clearly understood, and though more sophisticated techniques for linking method and theory are available, the insights gained from the sociology of knowledge perspective are quite unique in developing theories (Blalock 1982; Leinhardt 1982).

Pragmatically defined, sociology focuses on what researchers actually do in their work. Often the doing of scientific research has not itself been analyzed.

> The absence of the viewpoint of *wissensoziologie* from a methodological analysis seems to me be a defect since this branch of sociology claims to have discovered that science itself is embedded in the stream of social and historical reality, wherefore even in cases when the sincere effort toward unbiased objective knowledge cannot be denied, the available supply of terms, the technique of questioning, the articulation and grouping of problems may be responsible for distortions which can only be detected by intimate historical acquaintance with the correspondence between the development of science and the evolution of society (Mannheim 1963 10).

Mannheim recognized the importance of interaction effects between society and the sciences. The concerns of theorists emerge within a sociohistorical setting which, in turn affect the their theoretical formulations (Kinloch 1977). Sociological theories in the Nineteenth Century concerned problematic issues such as social disorganization or anomie and class exploitation and alienation. At that time, the notion *ought* had not been entirely replaced or separated from *is*. This meant that research revealed a social problem which should then be corrected. The beginning of this separation becomes apparent in the writings of Max Weber (Wolff 1959). Then, logical systems were directly linked with other concepts such as *cosmos, society,* or *nature.*

Only in such a teleological frame can *ought* be legitimately derived from *is*. Otherwise, what is exists without a referent point. Like Robert Lynd, we might well ask, "After all, what is knowledge for?" By linking research with current issues, substance as well as form can be incorporated into construction. Current studies on inflation and work-related issues are examples of goal directed research. In such research the objectives are directly associated with society.

Much work in theory construction reflects the historical and formal systems approach of the natural sciences. Thus the goal of substantive research is often obscured by emphasis on methodology and exactness. There is:

> .. a curious lack of ambition to excel in the quality of theoretical insight into phenomenal structures. The aim of exactness replaces the goal to convey a knowledge of things (Mannheim 1963 7).

Attempts to link theory and methodolology underscore this point. The researcher's main concern is with measurable models. The fact remains that just as knowledge is dependent on methods, so are methods dependent on knowledge. In generalizing about a population, sociologists assume a common normative structure within that population.

An additional insight comes from *wissensoziologie.* Populations are viewed as social bases from ideologies. A whole new perspective emerges from this analysis. Problems in model building and error term reduction are solved. If theorists broaden their perspective these biases may be located in everyday experience. It may well be that one person's error variance is another's social behavior. Here, the qualitative rather than quantitative methods are more appropriate.

Concepts and theories can be derived via phenomenology by looking at everyday experiences. The sociology of knowledge perspective requires that theorists incorporate a sociohistorical realism with existential truth. Consequently, theoretical orientations should identify interpersonal relations from the perspecitves of existentialism, philosophy, and natural science (Wolff 1959 951). This is not an easy task but methods to achieve it are improving (Filstead 1970; Phillips 1971).

Ultimately, the validity of any theory depends on its description of reality. Chapman (1982) has evaluated in some detail the concept of relativity in sociological theory. The contribution of this analysis to sociology underscores the need for such critical reviews. According

to Chapman, we are not truly social unless we are interacting in a two-way pattern which is not dominated by social institutions.

VALUES

Discussion of opinions and values in the social sciences always produces rather diverse opinions and reactions. It is recognized that values affect sociologists with both humanist and naturalist perspectives. Even Weber, with his value-free scientific approach, believed that research problem selection and interpretative findings depended on the scientist's value system. However, values can be analyzed within a naturalist perspective as Catton has demonstrated (1966 155). In this case, naturalist assumptions reflect the values held predominantly by the scientific community. Parsons viewed such relations as the proper subject of the sociology of knowledge, whereby values of society and accumulated empirical knowledge are clarified (Parsons 1961 978). It will be interesting to observe how the emerging values, such as objective, economic-rational, professional, and accountable types in society will affect the scientific community. There may be totally new kinds of research and new kinds of theories developed with changing values in society. Already, sociologists are responding to changes (Rossi 1980).

Another approach is deliberately to assume a value stance in research. Means (1969) suggests such an idea, using a sociology of knowledge framework. Theories thus reflect both the *is* and the *ought*. These concepts were derived from values commonly held and widely shared. The objective values – self, nature, others' minds, and time – reflect specific questions. "What is innate human nature?" "What is one person's relation to other persons?" "How do we measure time?" These questions were surmised over a ten year period in a study of five different subcultures in the United States by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck. Accordingly, Means (1969) believes that these objective values have been validated empirically and philosophically, and consequentially. Klukholn and Strodtbeck verified them empirically. Kant justified them philosophically and consequentially in his modes of understanding. Finally, values result from norms, which affect behavior. This is exemplified in certain religious groups where traditional views are accepted as given. Such groups and people value some aspects of life, which causes them to behave in certain patterned ways. Often their group cohesiveness is a function of their common shared values.

SYNTHESIS

Because of the eclectic aspect of *wissensoziologie* tradition, the prespective provides a framework for synthesizing diverse insights and issues. Sociologists' theories which only include the human factor as another causal variable can combine hard data with soft data. By means of the dialectic between social reality and the individual existence, a synthesis and more realistic picture of social life can be obtained (Berger, Luckman 1966 170). Then theory construction would encompass both the process and the impact of how social reality is constructed. Integrating the works of Durkheim, Marx, Weber, and Mead is relevant for those interested in institutions. The application of these ideas is basic sociological conceptualization. It can also be applied to political science, economics, and other social sciences. The data for such analysis does not come in a positivist form, but still may have empirical indicators. Language and religion – the traditional means of integration -- must necessarily be examined in a sociohistorical manner.

Finally, the sociology of knowledge helps resolve the macro-micro debate. By this means, sociologists integrate both. While the approach of Berger and Luckmann represents a macrosociology of knowledge, the writings of Znaniecki can be described as a *microsociology* of knowledge. This kind of division in the subject area is advocated by Stark (1967 20). He says that macrosociology of knowledge fixes atttention on the society and its influences, such as the impact of practical philosophy, while microsociology includes a narrow focus on such things as scholarship and the art of intellectuals and their ideas. Florian Znaniecki, in *The Social Role of the Man of Knowledge* studied a sociology of knowledge carriers. He described knowledge workers such as theoligians, moralists, philosophers, and scientists. The synthesizing role of sociology of knowledge allows for broad level analysis by society, or a narrow

focus on small groups and individuals.

DISCOVERY

As Mannheim indicates, sociology of knowledge can be an organ of self control, and it could perhaps be an organ of self criticism. In discussing the importance of sociology to philosophy, Handy says that fundamentalism is not limited to religion, but can be seen in science as well. "Fundamentalists in science as well as in religious worlds are phenomena that could be better understood through sociological investigation." (Handy 1964 267)

The sociology of knowledge offers an alternative to the rigidity of some approaches, and could allow discovery of new theories. For example, ".. data on the lives of novelists, playwrights, and actors afford .. clues regarding the nature of the sensitive observer." (Sjoberg, Nett 1968 182) Bondage to particular theories may hamper creativity.

> It is significant that few creative efforts to understand the contemporary political world have in the main not been made by the academic professionals, but either by theologians, such as Reinhold Neibuhr, or by outsiders such as Hannah Arendt, Bertrand de Jouvenel, and Walter Lippmann. Unencumbered by the weight of academic traditions and unrestrained by the shackles of professional conformism, they have been able to view the contemporary political world in the light of the heritage of our civilization (Morgenthau 1962 3).

Discovery of theories or new ideas can come from almost anywhere. The potential for generating new theories could derive from assessing how a discipline develops, and perhaps from choosing an alternative approach to reality via the sociology of knowledge perspective. If sociologists do not follow such alternatives we may later echo Jaki's thoughts regarding the field of physics in the previous century.

> When I went up to Cambridge early in the 1880's .. nearly everything was supposed to be known about physics that could be known. By the 1890's there were tremors .. by 1900 the Newtonian physics were demolished .. I have been fooled once, and I'll be damned if I'll be fooled again. There is not more reason to suppose that Einstein's relativity is anything more final, than Newton's *Principia.* The danger is dogmatic thought .. and science is not immune from it (Jaki 1966 507).

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DEFINING PARENT ABUSE AND NEGLECT

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BACKGROUND

During the last thirty years public concern, professional attention and scientific investigation have been drawn to the area of family violence. The first major finding was in child abuse (Pfohl 1977), followed by focus on abuse of wives by their husbands. More recently we have become aware of mistreatment of the elderly (Steinmetz 1978). One sociological task is to explore the definitional and normative standards which social control agents use to judge a new form of deviance. In the United States there is a tendency to medicalize family violence, because physicians often treat its results as they shift family problems to the professional realm, which includes medicine (Conrad, Schneider 1980). Therefore, we sought to determine the standards which physicians use in judging parent abuse or neglect. This is important because definitions and standards will determine future data on incidence, developing etiological theories, and policy on prevention and treatment.

Besides measuring physicians' standards on parental abuse, we explored how their background and experience would affect their judgment. It could be expected that medical specialty would be related to definitions, due to differences in professional socialization, and possible experiences with parent abuse and neglect. We also wanted to determine if professional experience with older patients and actual experiences with their own parents affects their definition. And we felt that physicians' informal socialization experience with older persons in their homes, either as children or as adults, would affect their standards of parent abuse and neglect.

METHODS

The research design and methods are based on a previous study defining child abuse by Giovannoni and Becerra (1979). They constructed a set of 78 vignettes in 13 categories to measure professional and public reactions to child abuse and neglect.These categories included: uncleanliness, emotional neglect, inadequate housing, medical neglect, nutritional neglect, physical abuse, lack of supervision, and sexual abuse. We selected three vignettes from each category: 1) one which had been ranked *very serious* , one ranked near the middle of the seriousness scale, and one ranked *not so serious.*

We adapted the vignettes to the parent abuse study by exchanging the object of abuse or neglect. Thus, a vignette which read: "Parent banged the child against the wall while shaking him by the shoulders." was altered to:

The son/daughter banged the parent against the wall while shaking him by the shoulders."

The resulting questionnaire included 3 vignettes for 8 types of abuse, for a total of 24 vignettes. Physicians were asked to rank each vignette on a scale of increasing seriousness from 1 to 9. A common parent referent was provided for the judgments through the instruction to the respondents: "Assume that the statements refer to a *dependent* 70 year old parent and the son or daughter." To guard against response set, the 24 vignettes were randomly distributed to respondents.

Following their responses to the vignettes the physicians were asked for background information, including: medical specialization, years in practice, proportion of patients over 65, professional experience with parent abuse and neglect, and the respondent's experience, either as a child or an adult, in a home where an aged parent was cared for.

Sample. Questionnaires were mailed to all of 766 physicians holding clinical appointments at a medical school, with a return rate of approximately 30% (229). We recognize that this response rate is low, but it is comparable with similar studies (Block & Sinnott 1979, 31%; O'Malley 1979, 34%). Since sampling is a problem with this research, we consider the results exploratory. We are exploring the response pattern of a nonrepresentative, but rather large group of physicians

showing enough interest in this research to answer the questionnaire.

RESULTS

Table 1 shows the physicians' mean ranking of seriousness and the relative rank order of the 24 vignettes describing parent abuse

TABLE 1: PHYSICIAN'S JUDGMENT OF PARENT ABUSE & NEGLECT ITEMS (Seriousness scale, 1 - 9, increasing; N#229)

Maltreatment Category	Vignette Description	Scaled Rating	Rank Order
Physical Abuse		**8.3**	**1**
	1. Hit parent in face with fist.	8.5	1
	2. Hit parent with stick.	8.4	2
	3. Banged parent against wall.	8.1	5
Sexual Abuse		**7.7**	**2**
	4. Had intercourse with parent, one occasion.	8.0	6
	5. Repeatedly suggested sex to the parent.	7.6	10
	6. Fondled parent's genital area on one occasion.	7.5	11
Neglect Cleanliness		**7.6**	**3**
	7. Leave parent on filthy mattress; infected sores.	8.3	3
	8. Does not wash parent; arms & legs have sores.	7.9	8
	9. Do not see that parent has clean clothes.	6.5	16
Medical Neglect		**7.5**	**4**
	10. Ignored parent's illness; parent was dehydrated when admitted to hospital.	8.2	4
	11. Have not given parent medication.	7.7	9
	12. Repeatedly failed to keep medical appointments for parent.	6.7	13
Nutritional Neglect		**6.9**	**5**
	13. Regularly fail to feed parent for periods of 24 hours.	8.0	7
	14.Brought parent to hospital 3 times, underweight; parent gained weight in hospital.	6.6	15
	15. Failed to prepare regular meals; parent has to fix own meals.	6.2	18
Emotional Abuse		**6.7**	**6**
	16. Constantly scream at parent; call foul names.	7.4	12
	17. Ignore parent, seldom speak to him.	6.5	17
	18. Keep parent locked in.	6.1	19
Supervision		**6.0**	**7**
	19. Regularly left parent alone all night.	6.0	20
	20. Regularly left parent with neighbor.	6.0	21
	21. Regularly left parent alone in home.	5.9	22
Housing		**5.0**	**8**
	22. Live in old house, two windows are broken, with jagged glass left in them.	6.6	14
	23. Live in apartment with few furnishings, children & parents sleep on one mattress.	4.7	23
	24. Live in small two-room apartment.	3.7	24

and neglect. Only one vignette, "Live in a small two-room apartment," falls below the midpoint of the seriousness scale. The mean rank for all vignettes is 7.0 on a 9-point scale, and four of the categories rank above 7 in seriousness: physical abuse; sexual abuse; neglect of cleanliness; and medical neglect. Nutritional neglect is ranked 6.9.

Giovannoni and Becerra analyzed their data according to incidents involving assaults, parental role failure in physical care, and caretaker responsibilities other than physical. In keeping with our research requirement to reverse the roles of adult child and dependent parent, other distinctions were used to analyze parent abuse and neglect data. Categories of physical and sexual assaults are rank ordered first and second in seriousness. Three types of violations of the physical care role then follow in seriousness: neglect of cleanliness, medical neglect, and nutritional neglect. Emotional mistreatment, a violation of the non-physical role of the caretaker is next, followed by housing and supervision, which are obligations of the physical care role.

When physicians' responses to the individual vignettes are analyzed, other patterns appear. They consistently ranked as serious those violations of the caretaking role which could result in medical harm to the parent, and several were ranked as more serious than vignettes portraying sexual abuse.

There was *no* relation between the physicians' reactions to parent abuse and neglect vignettes and the backgound and experience variables: medical specialty, proportion of patients over 65, and previous professional experience with parent abuse and neglect. We used number of years of practice to measure age and general experience as a physician, and found that these variables were not related to the judgments. Similarly, neither experience with an aged parent in the respondent's childhood home, or such exposure as an adult seemed to affect their response patterns.

DISCUSSION

The results show that physicians do rank parent abuse and neglect as serious. They consistently used the *most serious* end of the continuum in ranking. Clearly, acts in which the adult child assaults the dependent and aged parent, as in physical and sexual abuse were ranked above the other categories of abuse and neglect. With child abuse, physical assaults are sometimes difficult to define because group norms often legitimate physical punishment of the child by the parent. This is not true for the relation of the adult child to the aged parent. Sexual abuse violates the norms for both role relations. The physicians also indicated that acts or neglect which would result in medical harm were very serious. Some acts which could result in serious medical problems were ranked more serious than some types of sexual abuse. Emotional mistreatment was ranked relatively low compared to physical harm to the parent. This may reflect the socialization of physicians, their role concepts, and their greater concern for physical as compared to psychological illness.

These results suggest intriguing questions for future research. If parent abuse and neglect are seen as very serious by these physicians, then why are these problems of the elderly only now being recognized as a social problem? Perhaps it is due to the rather low incidence of the problem. We disagree with this answer, and submit that the reported incidence of parent abuse will remain low until it is institutionally established as a social problem. It is not clear now, whether the problem will be medicalized, or recognized by some other professional group. If it is institutionalized as a social problem, then it will be recognized and reported, and thus, will justify official and general concern. We must also ask: How will the problem of parent abuse and neglect rank with other serious social problems requiring treatment by service, research and judicial agencies?

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JAPANESE AMERICAN INTERMARRIAGE

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THE PROBLEM

The extent of intermarriage across racial and ethnic lines has been considered a major indicator of the permeability of boundaries between minority and majority groups (Merton 1941; Bogardus 1959; Gordon 1964). Minority as well as majority group norms can maintain boundaries which may reflect the degree of minority group organization, majority group dominance, and intergroujp antipathy. Reduction of these conditions and the development of social proximity between large numbers of minority and majority group members through residential or occupational patterns are thought to be necessary conditions for high intermarriage rates (Gurak, Fitzpatrick 1982 922).

Research on racial and ethnic intermarriage in the United States has continued for more than seven decades. Reviews of earlier findings are given by Barron (1951), Barnett (1963), and examples of pre-1972 research are listed by Barron (1972 339), and Wilkinson (1975 175). Since 1975 studies have published data on blacks (Monahan 1976, 1977; Porterfield 1978), on Catholic national origin groups (Alba 1976; Alba, Kessler 1979), on Jews (Mayer 1980; Lazerwitz 1981), on native Americans (Price 1981), and on Hispanic groups (Murgia, Frisbie 1977; Schoen 1978; Gurak, Fitzpatrick 1982; Murgia 1982). Intermarriage figures also appear in recent reports by the US Census Bureau (1978), and the National Center for Health Statistics (1979 12). An overview of these materials indicates an increase in intermarriage rates over time, but there are major differences in rates and patterns within and between groups.

Japanese Americans, like black Americans, are a racially distinct group which has experienced a long history of discrimination. Yet in the past several decades, Japanese Americans have attained a degree of social and economic mobility (Kitano 1976). An examination of their intermarriage gives insights into the forces that promote or hinder racial and ethnic intermarriage.

A limited amount of data on Japanese American intermarriage is available from published sources as shown in Table 1. It shows increased intermarriage rates over time and a tendency for intermarriages to involve Japanese American females more often than males. Intermarriage rates are roughly comparable for Hawaii and areas in California, but the available figures for Kansas, Maryland, Virginia, and Washington DC are high. However, the Japanese American population in Kansas was very small and dispersed, while that of the other areas was primarily located in metropolitan areas. The Washington DC Japanese population count was small after Japanese nationals were subtracted from census counts (US Census Bureau, 1970 Census). Only three studies have investigated Japanese American intermarriage in detail. Adams (1937) found little Japanese American exogamy from 1912 to 1934 in Hawaii, and he attributed this to the group's cohesiveness, which allowed them to maintain traditional marriage practices. More recent work by Tinker (1973) and Kikumura and Kitano (1973) indicate that Japanese American intermarriage levels had climbed near 50 percent during the early 1970's in Fresno and Los Angeles counties of California. They cited factors such as increased acculturation over successive generations, since the highest rates are found among the third or *Sansei* generation, and changing role expectations, and improved societal attitudes toward Japanese Americans.

Existing data on Japanese American intermarriage appeared in 1972 and before. We must investigate trends through the 1970's and into the 1980's, since this period includes the young adult years of a large portion of the *Sansei* or third generation. Information was previously gathered primarily in areas with numercially and proportionally larger Japanese American populations, such as Hawaii and selected California locales. This follows the usual practice of intermarriage research, as it more logically allows generalization of findings from the sample to the whole group. However, there are substantial Japanese American populations in outlying areas due to prewar migrations eastward, the removal

TABLE 1: SUMMARY: PUBLISHED DATA ON JAPANESE AMERICAN INTERMARRIAGE (Percent)

Area	Period	% JA Marriage as Intermarriage	% Intermarriage with JA Females	Source
Los Angeles County	1924-33	2	37	Panunzio 1942
"	1948-51	12	62	Burma 1952
"	1971-72[ab]	48	60	Kikumura, Kitano 1973
San Francisco County	1958	25	--	Omatsu 1972
"	1972	58	65	"
Fresno County[a]	1958-61	12	54	Tinker 1973
"	1962-64	21	33	"
"	1965-67	37	50	"
"	1968-71	48	49	"
California[ac]	1955-59	25	66	Barnett 1963
Hawaii	1912-16	7	28	Adams 1937
"	1920-28[a]	5	55	"
"	1928-34[a]	9	53	"
"	1945-54[d]	22	78	Cheng, Yamamura 1957
"	1961-62	34	66	Schmitt 1965
"	1970	47	62	Kikumura, Kitano 1973
Kansas	1947-69	91	--	Monahan 1971
Washington DC	1968-70	73	74	Monahan 1977
Maryland	1969-70	85	67	"
Virginia	1969-70	90	76	"

[a]Data originally reported by year or groups of years is combined.
[b]1972 data were for January-June.
[c]Excludes 1956.
[d]For 1948-53 Parkman & Sawyer (1957) reported intermarriage rate of 22 percent.

the the West Coast population into concentration camps during World War II, and postwar geographic mobility, accompanied by social and economic mobility. A rough indication of this can be found in 1980 Census figures which show over 9000 Japanese Americans in the following states: New York, 24,524; Illinois, 18,550; Texas, 10,502; Colorado, 9,858; and New Jersey, 9,905. Intermarriage data for Japanese Americans and for other groups should be collected from outlying areas where smaller, but significant ethnic communities may exist. We will demonstrate by examining Japanese American intermarriage in Denver, Colorado from 1910 to 1981.

STUDY DESIGN

Denver is a good location to investigate Japanese American intermarriage, since Colorado was the easternmost point of early Japanese migration. By 1909 the Denver Japanese community had several hundred residents, 67 businesses, and various service organizations. The population again grew significantly during World War II because of voluntary migration from the West Coast and the forcible removal of nearly 8000 Japanese Americans to a concentration camp in southeast Colorado. Growth due largely to inmigration has continued to the present (Endo, in press).

Colorado, unlike California, never legally prohibited marriage between whites and Asians. But it should not be inferred that this region had a benign social climate where intermarriage would not be discouraged. Denver and Colorado experienced two brief but important periods of overt anti-Japanese agitation, in 1901-1910, and the 1942-1944 periods. And Colorado did have a law prohibiting marriage between whites and blacks which was first passed by the Territorial Legislature in 1864, upheld in the US Supreme Court in 1942, and not repealed until 1957 (Endo, in press).

Intermarriage data for this study were collected from marriage records in the Clerk and Recorder Office for the City and County of Denver. To compare intermarriage trends with available census figures, mainly on population size and sex composition, records were reviewed for each census year and the following year from the 1910 Census through the 1980 Census. The records used were those of marriages which had actually occurred, as opposed to marriage license applications, since 5 to 10 percent of such applications are not consumated in marriage within the set time limit. Japanese American males and females recorded in marriage were identified by surname. This is an appropriate method, because very few Japanese Americans have changed their surnames. Other information, such as fathers' names and mothers' maiden names were available to help in the identification process. To avoid ambiguity, the few marriages which included individuals of partial Japanese ancestry were not counted. Marriages between a Japanese American partner and any non-Japanese American partner were counted as intermarriages.

RESULTS

Rates of Japanese American intermarriage in Denver are shown in Table 2. Data for the biannual periods 1910-11, 1920-21, 1930-31, and 1940-41 averaged only 9 such marriages. The intermarriage percent values in Table 2 differ somewhat from those in comparable time periods in Hawaii and California. Thus, the 1910-1941 Denver rate is about as high as the 1970-71 rate of 64 percent, compared to the San Francisco 1970-71 rate of 58 percent. The Denver rates are also less than those for the very small numbers of Japanese Americans in Kansas and the Washington DC region. Finally, the Denver data indicate that at least for Denver, the current trend is toward higher rates of intermarriage.

A pattern of increasing levels of Japanese American intermarriage over time characterizes Denver, Hawaii, and California. In both cases this partly reflects cultural, social, and economic changes occurring in successive generations of Japanese Americans. The prewar figures in these tables mostly include first generation or *Issei* marriages. The first generation Issei tended to adhere to traditional endogamous marriage practices. Many males were married by proxy in Japan through arrangements made by their families or friends. The postwar data at first encompass larger numbers of of second generation *Nisei* marriages, and by the mid-1960's, there are more *Sansei* or third generation marriages. The recent high intermarriage rates are most characteristic of Sansei marriages. Thus, in Fresno, California, only 17 percent of the Nisei, second generation marriages included a non-Japanese partner, while 58 percent of the Sansei or third generation marriages were mixed (Tinker 1971).

Comparisons between the Denver Japanese American intermarriage rates and information on numerical and proportional group size in Table 3 reveals no clear relation between rate and size. Intermarriage levels increased dramatically from 1950-51 to 1980-81. During the same time, the number of Japanese Americans in Denver grew and then declined so that the group was about the same size in 1980 as in 1950, and their proportion in the total Denver population declined from 0.6 to 0.5 percent. Though the numbers of Japanese Americans in the metropolitan area and the state of Colorado gradually increased, it was less than the rate of increase for the total population in these areas. Changes in group size over time are not having much effect on Denver intermarriage rates.

Since 1950-51, when the Denver intermarriage rate began rapidly increasing, Japanese American females intermarried more frequently than males (Table 2). This pattern is also seen in much of the Hawaii and California data. Female predominance in intermarriage likewise occurs among Spanish Americans *or Chicanos* (Murgia 1982). But males are more

TABLE 2: JAPANESE AMERICAN (JA) INTERMARRIAGE IN DENVER (Percent)

Period	(N)	JA Marriages % Intermarriages	Intermarriage % with JA Females
1910-41*	(35)	14	0
1950-51	(70)	11	63
1960-61	(51)	24	58
1970-71	(70)	64	53
1980-81	(69)	74	65

*Cumulative 1910-11, 1920-21, 1930-31, 1940-41.

TABLE 3: PROPORTION & SEX RATIO OF JAPANESE AMERICAN (JA) POPULATION[a]

U.S.	Denver			Denver Metro Area[b]			Colorado		
Census Year	(N)	Pct/Total Population	JA Sex Ratio	(N)	Pct/Total Population	JA Sex Ratio	(N)	Pct/Total Population	JA Sex Ratio
1910	585	0.3	--	735	0.3	--	2300	0.3	2030
1920	465	0.2	--	821	0.2	--	2464	0.3	186
1930	349	0.1	182	1028	0.3	141	3213	0.3	135
1940	323	0.1	113	841	0.2	119	2734	0.2	123
1950	2578	0.6	110	3548	0.6	117	5412	0.4	122
1960	3049	0.6	98	4712	0.5	95	6846	0.4	94
1970	2676	0.5	86	5491	0.4	84	7831	0.4	79
1980	2458	0.5	85	6907	0.4	85	9870	0.3	80

[a]Males per 100 females.

[b]Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area; Counties: Denver, Adams,Arapahoe, Jefferson, Boulder.

often involved in the case of blacks (Heer 1966; Monahan 1976). For Japanese Americans, a possible explanation is the imbalance in the group's sex ratio, expressed as the number of men per 100 women. But the data in Table 3 do not support a relation between sex ratio and the Denver intermarriage rate. The city, metropolitan area and the state sex ratios for 1950 and 1960 do not correspond to the high percent of Japanese American females in 1950-51 and 1960-61 intermarriages. Even the lower 1980 sex ratio does not match the two-to-one preponderance of Japanese American females in 1980-81 intermarriages. Census figures for 1980 are available by age and sex. When only young adults, age 20-35 are considered, the sex ratios for the city, metropolitan area and the state are 95, 93, and 98 respectively. Clearly, other variables are causing the sex patterning in Denver intermarriages. Some possibilities such as changing female role expectations have been noted, but more evidence is necessary (Tinker 1973; Kikumura, Kitano 1973).

CONCLUSION

The Denver data provide some indication that the present trend is toward higher levels of Japanese American intermarriage, and Denver, as an outlying area, may exhibit a similar pattern to that of the larger Japanese American populations of Hawaii and California. This has important implications for research on racial and ethnic intermarriage. More work is needed on intermarriage in smaller ethnic communities, including other Japanese American communities. We also need a rigorous investigation of the consequences of high rates of exogamy.

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TEACHING SELF HELP IN LIMITED RESOURCE NEIGHBORHOODS

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INTRODUCTION

A field study was designed to test the proposition that low income neighborhoods can provide resident homemakers who are trainable as teachers, to improve home management skills of other homemakers. The testing and development of such local resources was necessary to extend the influence of and effect of the limited resources of the home economics extension specialist. The *teacher multiplier* concept requires that the extension specialist train ten or more homemakers in a low income neighborhood, and that each trainee then teach ten or more other homemakers in the same neighborhood. To provide a reasonable prospect of success, it was assumed that the method of teaching should consist of face-to-face explanation and direct demonstration of helpful homemaker techniques which could be supported on a very limited budget.

LIMITED RESOURCE FAMILIES

Families with very limited resources face many of the same problems that face other families. In addition, they frequently live in neighborhoods where safety, sanitation, and housing are below standard. Both the community services and educational and recreational facilities are inadequate. Many families live in dilapidated houses, lack decent clothing, depend on folk health remedies, and have limited transportation to jobs and community services. However, many of the people with limited resources do have positive values, ideals, and goals. They really want improvement, and their behavior is not so much due to their culture as to the grinding elements of deprivation and stress placed on them by their environment.

Extension home economists particularly face the very challenging problems of reducing the gap that exists between the haves and the have-nots in the delivery of social goods and services. To do this, it is important to provide educational programs for the disadvantaged which will raise their standard of living. Thus the kinds of educational programs which will be most effective in this respect concern both the home economists and those who will benefit from the program. It is also necessary to find sufficient leadership personnel among the disadvantaged families who can understand their language and their problems.

SELF-HELP DEMONSTRATION PROJECT

A demonstration project was developed to determine the extent to which homemakers with limited resources, who were taught skills in home management, could teach the same skills to others among their peer group. Two neighborhoods were located where there was a high incidence of families with very limited resources. One urban area included 25 city blocks, and the second was an urban fringe area which included about 35 square miles. The neighborhoods were racially mixed, with some unpaved streets. Criteria for choosing communities for the study were: 1) approval could be obtained from community leaders; 2) facilities could be provided; 3) meeting rooms were convenient for the interested homemakers; 4) people were receptive to the idea of a leadership development program; 5) communities were typical of disadvantaged neighborhoods in Oklahoma City.

GUIDELINES FOR TEACHING SELF-HELP

Program Planning:

1 Inform other agencies which have interest in working with the same or similar audience.

2 Find those to whom people go for specific kinds of help.

3 Avoid criticizing other organizations and agencies which are also trying to help families.

4 Enlist the help of public information personnel.

5 Define the target area.

6 Learn the competencies of people for whom leadership will be provided in the target area.

7 Involve homemakers in the early stages of planning.

8 Start where the people are. Build on interests which the people themselves express.

9 Let them decide what they want to learn.

10 Use knowledge and skills which homemakers already have.

11 Time and place are important. Whole families can usually attend if meetings are held in the evening.
12 Arrange for care of children during meetings.
13 Begin with small groups, not to exceed 15 to 20 persons. Divide larger groups.
14 Develop one idea at a time.
15 Teach on the homemaker's knowledge and skill level.

Teaching Materials:

16 Help supply resources, or whatever is needed.
17 Use tangible teaching materials when possible.
18 Plan for short-term projects which can be completed in a few lessons.
19 Plan for a practice time for the homemaker.
20 Be alert for readiness to learn – *the teachable moment.*
21 The language must be mutually intelligible to teacher and learner.
22 Be sincere and show that you are concerned.
23 Be generous with praise. Give credit were it belongs; provide rewards.

Evolving Leadership

24 Let homemakers share some personal experiences.
25 New leaders who teach groups in their own neighborhoods feel more secure if they work as a team.
26 Recruit those with potential that can be recognized.
27 Homemakers with similar problems may communicate better.

Evaluating Results

28 A change in one homemaker may influence change in another individual or group.
29 Evaluation must be continuous and related to the objectives.

THE DEMONSTRATION PROJECT

Ten persons, representing agencies concerned with assisting low-income families were interviewed to gain their approval and assistance to work in the two communities. These agencies included: 1) county extension personnel; 2)Director of the Community Action Program; 3) Project Director, Urban League Housing Counseling & Information Center; 4) Director, Community Counsel; 5) Coordinator for Senior Workers Action Program.

The initial plan was to involve at least ten leaders in a selected community. The group was not to be limited as to who could attend the lessons. The group was taught a series of six lessons over a period of eight weeks. Further reinforcement and training was to be provided beyond the first few group sessions for homemakers who showed potential for leadership. The major objective was to teach homemakers how to use their personal resources to stretch their income. The homemakers who were taught, and who emerged as leaders were asked to teach others in their neighborhood. The idea seemed to give the leader group prestige. Those taught by the homemakers included family members, relatives and neighbors.

LEADER TRAINING SESSIONS

Although 20 were expected, more than 40 persons appeared for the first session, and 24 remained in the project to become neighborhood leaders. Ten leaders completed all phases of the program as originally designed. A professional home economist trained the homemaker leaders. Following the first two lessons, the homemakers were enthusiastic, and encouraged others to attend. They trained others to do the skills which they had been taught. During the early sessions there were 6 white leaders and 18 black leaders. After the first leaders were trained, the number had increased and the group was about half white and half black, since a group of white homemakers who had been traveling to another town for training decided to join this group.

A series of six lessons were developed on the basis of needs identified by agency directors, and the needs expressed by homemakers who attended the first session:

1) Stretching your dollars;
2) Comparative shopping for food;
3) Cutting cost of home decorations;
4) Creative home accessories;
5) Making low cost table & bed covers;
6) Making yeast rolls.

Viewing class projects and touring homes was part of the last lesson. Leaders were identified by criteria established prior to the class meetings. Three leader homemakers were in the urban community and seven were in the urban fringe community.

TABLE 1: HOMEMAKER CONFIDENCE IN TEACHING SKILLS BEFORE & AFTER TRAINING SESSIONS

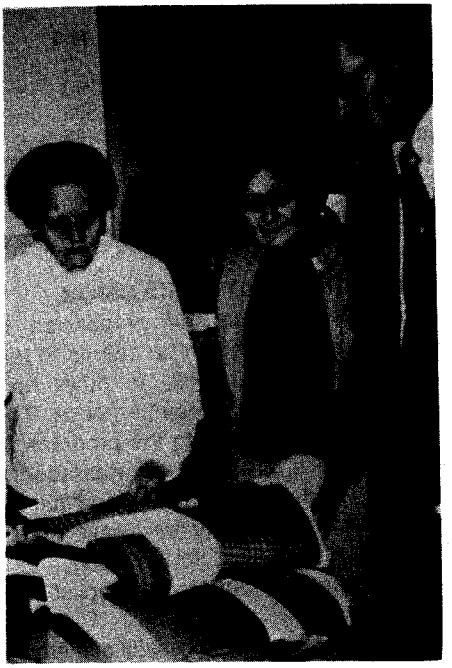
Confidence Level	Before	After
Can do well and can teach someone else	10	97
Can do it, but dont feel I could teach another	50	192
Can't do it; would like to learn	195	60
Can't do it; don't care to learn	60	36

TABLE 2: SCOPE OF TRAINING PROJECT

Leader	Type Project	Projects Done	People Taught
1	Learn to sew; make table & bed covers	3	12
2	Wall hangings, place mats, rolls	4	12
3	Place mats, leather work, serve snacks	4	15
4	Table cover, cardboard table, leather work	3	10
5	Ceramics, place mats centerpiece	11	325
6	Place mats, pillows, key case, leather work	7	30
7	Table cover, cardboard table, place mat, pillow house plans	8	20
8	Bed cover, lap robe place mat, cardboard table, table cover	8	325
9	Bulletin board, cardboard table, wall hanging pillows, ceramics leather work, curtains	13	325
10	Curtains, pillows, place mats, bed cover, lap robe	10	300

In Phase 1, the new homemaker leaders were encouraged to teach their newly acquired skills to their peers. They spread the word about the home management class meetings, and encouraged others to come to the centers for instruction in new ways of doing things. A total of eight homemakers in the urban community and sixteen homemakers in the urban fringe community took part in some of the six lessons.

The new leaders were encouraged by receiving help in preparation of teaching materials, and with compliments when a job was well done, and when they succeeded in teaching a new skill to a class member or to someone outside the class.



Homemaker leaders display completed projects to Director John Hoppis (deceased), Special Unit on Aging, Oklahoma Departament of Institutions, Social and Rehabilitative Services.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Some results following the sessions taught by the Home Economist include the following:

1. Homemakers in the neighborhoods made 14 requests to the county director and the extension home economist, and 9 calls for assistance to the human resource development specialist.
2. A bus tour and a walking tour were conducted for 81 participants to see improvements made in the homes of the families who completed the program. Homemakers were gratified and happy to share the problems and pleasures encountered while making the improvements. These were discussed during the tours. The homemakers participated in a Community Action bazaar where they demonstrated home management skills and explained the homemaker leader program to others.
3. Requests have been received from other agencies for assistance in teacing homemakers in other areas of the city and county. Requests from the office of the Governor were also received to help in working in other areas of the City, County, and State.

TABLE 3: PARTICIPATION TOTALS (Total N # 574)

Category	N
Leaders	10
Persons at bazaar*	200
Persons in study groups	388
Family members	41
Neighbors	141

*A bazaar where some skills were taught by homemaker leaders.

EVALUATION AND CONCLUSION

We have affirmed the proposition that homemaker leaders can be trained to teach home management skills to other homemakers in their own neighborhoods. There were few dropouts during the program. The time used with direct contact was about six months. The cost for demonstration materials was about $250. Cost for time, travel and professional services are not included.

The homemaker leaders accomplished the following:

- They became more successful homemakers
- They improved self confidence
- They became aware that they could teach
- They gained personal satisfaction in associating with others and by their accomplishments
- They enhanced neighborhood cooperation.

A similar program using the methods described here could be tested in other subject matter areas. The techniques and materials used during the study need further testing in other communities. **We have also demonstrated that the influence of the home economics specialist can be increased by a factor exceeding one hundred in the teacher-multiplier project.**

ENDO **Continued from Page 162**

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MACHO AND HIS MATE

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ROLE RECIPROCITY

To occupy a role with its expectations and performances requires the reciprocal features of another's role. To be a husband requires a wife; the mother role requires a child. When a rock group sings about wanting to be a "macho man," they imply the presence of macho's mate to fulfill the macho role. Who is the obliging female who serves as macho's consort, and what does this pair have to tell us? Feminists are well aware that macho survives not only through his own efforts, but through those of women who want to sustain his position. The macho code is expressed in Farrell's (1974)

Ten Commandments of Masculinity:

1) Thou shalt not cry or expose other feelings of emotion, fear, weakness, symbathy, empathy or invovlement before thy neighbor.

2) Thou shalt not be vulnerable, but honor and respect the "logical", the "pracatical" or "intellectual" as thou definest them.

3) Thou shalt not listen except to find fault.

4) Thou shalt condescend to women in the smallest and biggest of ways.

5) Thou shalt control thy wife's body, and all its relations, occasionally permitting it on top.

6) Thou shalt have no other egos before thee.

7) Thou shalt have no other breadwinners before thee.

8) Thou shalt not be responsible for housework before anybody.

9) Thou shalt honor and obey the straight and narrow pathway to success: job specialization.

10) Thou shalt have an answer to all problems at all times.

The figure who emerges is domineering, exploitive, narcissistic, obsessed with a personal image of strength, and independence based on an alleged superiority of performance.

MACHO'S AGGRESSIVENESS

The behavioral outcomes of aggressiveness allow macho to prove masculinity. The behaviors validate self image and social status. At the same time, this aggressive masculine mystique begets war. Aggression turned deviant begets crimes of violence: rape, wife beating, child abuse, assault, and murder. There are well established links between the macho image and juvenile delinquency. Dysfunctional outcomes for men include disability and death in war, stigmatized identities, and the criminal's lost social and vocational opportunities.

For macho's mate there are some tradeoffs. Society's protective posture toward women bars them from joining combat in war. Past socialization encourages female passivity, which makes women less likely to commit the violent crimes which are most costly in punishment. At the same time, such passivity may bring sorrows related to male control. Men decide when and where wars are projected. Women surrender husbands and sons to them. Women may be victims of aggression turned against them or their children, and suffer the status and opportunity losses of their criminal men. Society loses to perpetuation of war, crime, violence and many other ways.

TOLERANCE OF PAIN; DENIAL OF ILLNESS

Ignoring pain and denying illness serve self image by providing another test of masculinity which is visible and impressive. G Gordon Liddy may have been an abnormal extension of pain tolerance with his trick of allowing his hand to be burned while appearing nonchalant about the pain. This attitude is typical of the sports arena with the competitive pseudo-team testing site for maleness. How we applaud the battered athlete who rises unbowed, to complete the game in spite of his injuries. An article extolling a solid veteran of the National Basketball Association playoffs suggests that League coaches are most impressed by the player's willingness, just before the game, to apply ice packs to bring down his fever enough to play. Do fans expect self-sacrifice which leads to the physical destruction of the player? Macho and his managers believe that they do.

Goldberg (1976) cites three basic processes which contribute to physical deterioration of men: 1) intellectualization, making a machine of one's body; 2) macho rigidity, to perform at all costs, denying bodily pain; and 3) guilt

for allowing onwself be become the well-fed infant of an "earth-mother wife." From these processes, all based on tradition, men become prime candidates for bodily harm related to poor diets, high stresses, and actual physical assaults on their bodies. Men lose status by not being tough enough. They give less attention to the care and maintenance of their bodies than to their cars and technical equipment.

Are women ever served by this pain/illness trait? Where they are relieved of responsibility for painful tasks, should they clamor to acquire them? Macho's mate, by serving a complementary role, can get a great deal of attention by accepting the illness role. Her frailty validates his strength. She needs and deserves his reward. Since we all become ill occasionally, and all have pain thresholds, mate's role allows her to accept these conditions of pain and illness. Her role is less demanding, and she can nicely exploit it. There are potential costs in the resentment from her more sorely burdened partner, and in the peculiar dichotomy for the woman who sees a way to amass partial power by becoming a covert source of strength to the man who must appear above the need for help. One cannot simultaneously be a pillar of strength and a wilted lily.

Are there costs to society? There are, if we define addiction to pain killers, disability, death via coronary failure and strokes, and other potentially controllable ills as problems for society. There are problems is we recognize that requiring tolerance of pain and illness reduces the likelihood of finding solutions for the causes of illness and pain.

COMPETITION: MACHO'S DAILY BREAD

Competition simplifies the standards for gauging self-worth. Occupational success and its visible proof in money and status symbols move macho in a required direction. By making a competitive fetish of what one must do anyway, the base for success or failure narrows to more manageable limits. Consider the plight of "Supermom", whose base for success or failure is extraordinarily wide by comparison. It is in the nature of competition that one's highest excellence is always open to challenge, and must be vigilantly sustained.

That which confers status can also be the source of failure. It is this duality which becomes the instrument of macho's mate. His mate basks in his success, with little attendant effort in most cases, and with status advantages to herself. Failed husbands confer their failed status and perhaps their displaced aggressions on their wives, but the mate who has picked one who can win knows that she can whip up his will to win by manipulating another variable. She can work with his private need for support, contrasted with his public disclaimer of any need for help, least of all, from a woman.

INDEPENDENCE VS CONFLICT

Macho's mate can generate power for herself by being his "helpmeet", as she appears to respond to an anxiety she helps to beget -- his fear of failure and fear of loss. In a system where men are constrained, where self-disclosure to others, expecially, to other men, makes one vulnerable to betrayal, macho's mate has a strong hand. The competitive role simplifies by estranging men from each other, and from their traits historically viewed as feminine. For one to win, another must lose. Independence training is a necessary adjunct to the development of the competitive male. Denial of help is a response to the perception that competitors are unlikely to give help.

The burden of proof of interpersonal skills is reduced. Contempt toward and dominance of women in occupational settings reduces the competitive pool. But the source for human caring has become concentrated in the mate, who can privately share the distresses which cannot be publicly admitted. Men are denied affectionate relations with equals. Failed men are likely to scapegoat spouse victims of their shared plight. But men with success potential may find themselves caught in the trap of working harder and harder to acquire the conditional love and assistance of their mates. Where the mate withholds such love, men blame themselves or external causes; not their wives. Because she is not viewed by macho as the source of wisdom, since men are presumed smarter than women, her costs of giving unsuccessful aid are not high, and her intent is perceived as good. But she must be clever. If he truly sees his relation to her as subservient, he will fear her power and shrink

from it.

For women with confused identities, the duality of helper/helpless is difficult. Seeing themselves as inept, but genuinely hoping to help, women are in a difficult strait. For women who see themselves as strong and instrumental, the nurturant role can be deftly corrupted into a power dynamic.

At the societal level the independence, no-help wanted motif has obvious consequences in that many problems which require cooperative effort and maximum sharing of ideas will not be solved. Jealous guardians of their own ideas, furtive thieves of others' best achievements do not create solidary societies. Competition builds better technologies, perhaps, but poorer organizations, and poorly integrated societies. No-help people blunder to lesser rather than to optimal decisions.

DO OTHERS DIRTY; DO NO DIRTY WORK

This macho motto, "Do others dirty, and shun dirty work," which fosters the isolation of competitors, also allows macho to redirect unpleasant domestic work, such as cleaning and drudgery and sticky interpersonal problems to his mate. If he accepts an occasional exercise in cooking creatively, he can claim to be a gourmet chef, leaving the mundane kitchen chores to his mate. In doing so, however macho estranges himself from the realities of household life,and the understanding of the work required to create the home environment. The homemaker's pride in her principal living space is understandable. Should macho find that he must take on household duties, he is unfit for it, and finds that his image suffers.

For many women there is a psychological burden of knowing that domestic work involves high expectations from macho. "What else does she have to do all day?" The recognition is very low, since the housewife has machinery to ease her low stataus work.

For the wife of the successful macho man, the picture is somewhat different. She feeds his ego by providing the cozy enviroment appropriate for this man who does such important work. She carves out her domain without competing with or threatening her spouse. The more successful he is, the more likely it is that she can encourage him to provide conspicuous leisure by hiring servants to do her housework.

MACHO'S SEX DRIVE

Macho and his mate have a role relation affected by *his allegedly uncontrolled sexual nature versus her passion constrained within marriage.* Macho's typical package of appearance and mannerisms suggests a highly sexed person who requires sexual outlets. Having established these expectations as basic to his nature, and beyond personal control, macho is free to express himself sexually to reduce his tensions. In contrast to our earlier views of women as creatures of very little passion, who were constrained to purity, macho has a less debilitating role on the surface. But macho creates troubles for himself with this image all the same.

He has tied sexual needs to his sexual prowess, and to his ability to seduce and produce. Validation of status and self-image require proof of success with women, not mere acquisition of them. Even acquisition is a problem. The ability to reject a man gives a woman a source of power (Farrell 1982). Some men are led to seek women who are *lookers*, who will consent, and who will validate their status, but are likely to be manipulative and exploitive themselves, rather than providers of adequate and enduring emotional support.

Macho's mate may have difficulty coping with his sexual demands, needs for sexual reassurance, and with her fears that he may stray to other women. The perpetual anxiety about his sexuality requires perpetual validation of his worth. Perhaps she cannot provide enough. She is urged by popular writers to control her mate's sexuality as a *total, positive, fascinating* woman. She is bombarded with media messages suggesting that if other women succeed in luring their husbands away, that the wife is to blame for not being "woman enough."

Still, some macho mates realize that they can increase their power by validating macho's sexual prowess. They may win the prize of marriage via sexual bargaining and promises, and may be encouraged to continue the use of sexual bargaining for power. She supports his hatred of homosexuals to detach him from the potential nurturance in himself and other men, requiring him to seek comfort in women,

especially his helpful, agreeable mate. She offers the great treat. She accepts his sexual nature, demonstrates her own passion, but loves him alone, so much so that she conveys it all to him. He senses power; she *has* power.

THE TYRANNY OF NARCISSISM

As years pass, macho becomes increasingly concerned with creating status and self-image through cosmetic manipulations of himself. Industry applauds and invites his continuing effort. To be seen as handsome, youthful, or having a special presence opens doors giving access to women and occupational opportunities. Hair transplants, body-building courses, and macho dress are among the supportive techniques. Men can buy beauty as women do, packaged for the macho image. But vendors who reduce anxiety via commercial products know that it serves their interest to spend much effort to induce anxiety. Men take longer to pay the costs of aging, but learn at an early age to dread them. They also risk rejection for more successful competitors. And they face the same fear which they generate in their mates with regard to self versus other women. But some mates are served by macho's narcissism. As with sexual bargaining, they hold power in communicating the continuing appeal of macho over other men. The adoring, faithful, passionate mate soars on macho's fragile ego.

Self-preoccupation and competitive fears estrange macho from others. The interests of business, advertising and media set people against each other in a race for youth, beauty, and superiority which ultimately cannot be won. Power asymmetry of macho and his mate is not always in the predicted direction. He may dominate and intimidate, and make his mate a victim of tyranny, brutality, and slavery to his concerns and whims. Her place is no stronger than that of her failed husband, and she bears his consequences.

For the macho male defined as successful by society, there is much room for a mate to manipulate power, to dominate, to victimize the insecure male. As he grows more successful, she can hire servants. She becomes free to generate personal anxieties in macho which will enhance her power as the agent for conferring status and self-image, in terms of her attractiveness, sexuality, covert emotional and practical assistance. Thus she sustains his public presentation of self. She gains leisure time by urging him on to more and more profitable work. She can generate much personal power merely by creating anxieties in him, and benevolently helping him to reduce them. It is easy to do since it is macho's compulsion always to do more and better. His successes become hers with little effort on her part. She is allowed to provide instrumental help, without the burden of having to be right, or technically adequate, which is forced on macho. If she succeeds in generating such control, she may overlook occasional infidelity as a low price for her high rewards.

CONCLUSION

The macho role is more dysfunctional than functional, but is less dysfunctional for women. Those who attain power behind a successful macho have no wish to relinquish their combat soldiers. They have trained them to fight the competitive wars which they help create in being willing to shore up a social and occupational world dominated by the macho mystique. They contribute heavily to defeating women's issues for social equality.

What future has macho-mate role reciprocity, compared with other roles? For those who want alternatives, the future holds some hope but many concerns. College men and women in my sex role classes are more questioning of traditional sex role stereotypes, but a recent poll among college students refutes the idea that androgeny has wide support. Feminists criticize the androgeny notion, saying that it reinforces male-female stereotype attributes over individual opportunites for development of mutually rewarding relations of men and women which are not mutually destructive. Androgeny requires high scores on traits typically assigned to both males and females.

We still wait for cultural attitudes and conditions favorable to production of nongendrous selves. The cultural question is whether favoring masculine and feminine dimensions is to minimize or maximize human malfunctions in the macho-mate relation. They seem to deserve each other. But do they serve the rest of us, and do we deserve them?

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TOWARDS AN EXO-SOCIOLOGY: CONSTRUCTS OF THE ALIEN

Jan H Mejer, University of Hawaii

INTRODUCTION

Of many issues to be confronted in the long-term development of a sociology of extra-terrestrial, intelligent societies (ETIS), the most crucial is that of assumptions that can reasonably be made. While such studies await the unlikely event of contact with ETIS, an intellectual preparation may increase sophistication in current sociological theories and observations of the institutional world. If contact with ETIS should occur, then a prior analysis of likely problems may avert disaster.

What can be assumed after the discovery of an ETIS? Social organization? A culture of symbols, of interaction? Socialization with social and physical adaptation? A social structure of economic and political institutions? Religion? Deviance? Social class contradictions? Social classes? To apply such categories uncritically would anthropomorphize the ETIS. Could an exo-sociology be constructed by using familiar sociological concepts? Perhaps. But first, some hidden cultural strata of presumptive ideas must be revealed concerning "alien" peoples. Sociological theories of human societies partly depend on buried assumptions regarding human nature. The epistemology defining ETIS requires discussion prior to deriving any first principles.

To what extent do human conceptions of the stranger or the alien serve as objectified answers to human problems? Cultural fantasies thrive in empirically unknown areas. In the case of ETIS such myths prevent us from seeing extra-terrestrial societies for what they are. This is a necessary preparation for an effective exo-sociology. Yet, profound cultural implications can be drawn. Thatcher (1978) warns of "cosmic culture shock" following extra-terrestrial contact. How would Christianity respond, given the belief that humans "are made in God's image"? If mythical preconceptions guided our response, could we successfully overcome the dislocations of a superior technology? Sharp (1952) reported the devastating cultural impact of the steel axe on the Yir Yoront. Social relations, gender roles, economic institutions, traditional ideas and values became irreparably disrupted when steel axes replaced stone axes.

FIRST CONTACT BY EUROPEANS

The expansion of European colonial society into what is now the "third world" had the character of a first contact by aliens. To the Europeans, the peoples they met were strange, and in some ways, non-human. These feelings and perceptions were reciprocated by those they conquered.

Prior to the imperial expansion of Europe, the world consisted of a series of largely disconnected societies. Occasional intercultural contact was a "contact of beads along a thread" (Worsley 1968 9). Members of each society peered beyond their physical boundaries into a cultural void, and mythical constructs-ancestors, perfectly good and bad idealizations, gods and goddesses-peered back. The cargo cults movement in which the Melanesians believed that American planes were flying in gifts from their ancestors is a classic example (Worsley 1957). The subjective understanding that all humans belonged to one world had yet to be created through colonialism, industrialization, and bureaucratization introduced and institutionalized by European states. Their preconceptions of the "alien" non-European were crucial in forming the world system (Sachs 1976).

EUROPEAN MYTHOLOGY: BASIC PREMISES

The fantasies politically imposed on native peoples by Europeans reflected European culture, and served as mythological answers to European social problems. Seven premises are basic to the imperial European world view.

Premise 1: The first asserted the "natual superiority" of the European. This self-fulfilling belief derived from Christianity, and on the evidence of technological superiority. However, the social disintegration resulting from contact was also the result of previously uncontaminated populations succumbing to diseases to which Europeans had become immune. There was a 97 percent die-off of native Central Americans during the first fifty years following Cortez' arrival (McNeill 1976). This tragedy served to prove to both native peoples

and Europeans that the gods had intended the "new lands" to be colonized by the invader.

Premise 2: The second premise concerns the European interpretation of history. The notion of the original Garden of Eden persisted in the soft primitivism of the "noble savage"(Keeley 1976; Howe 1977). Uncorrupted by civilization, natives could be introduced to good and evil through a Christian awakening. The explorers romantically idealized them according them the images of classical Greece. Artists depicted Tahitians and Hawaiians in classical poses near huts resembling temples, and wearing toga-like clothes (Smith 1960). Noble savages lived freely and naturally, as happy children. Such proto-racism answered 18th Century intellectural questions about comparative progress. While the "natural civilization" of Europe was never in doubt, noble savages represented to the imperial humanists a "second chance" to civilize the natives without incurring the heavy costs so apparent in Europe.

Premise 3: In the concrete situations of contact, the Europeans met resistance. The paternalism of the noble savage myth turned easily into the hard primitivism of viewing native peoples as barbarians. Rousseau expressed shock at the killing of a French explorer by the Maori: "Is it possible that the good children of Nature can really be so wicked?" The existence of barbarians implied the natural superiority of the civilized European. Accompanying these assumptions were two views of human nature which Horton (1966) identifies as *homo duplex* and *homo damnatus*.

Premise 4: *Homo duplex* asserts that human beings are made of two parts, one egoistic and primitive, the other altruistic and civilized. The latter socialized self controls the antisocial impulses of the animal-like ego. To the degree that the altruistic self is undeveloped or breaks down, then Hobbes' war of all against all prevails. Golding (1955) depicts *homo duplex* whereby the civilized veneer of English schoolboys disintegrates to reveal a barbaric primitivism when they were stranded on a tropical island. *Homo duplex* assumes a natural climb from the savage to the civilized, from child to adult.

Premise 5: An earlier view, *homo damnatus*, naturally divides the human world into the morally superior and the morally inferior. *Damnatus* provided an earlier basis for social Darwinism, elegantly supported by the civilized versus barbarian dichotomy. But it was more severe than *duplex* by implying a moral ascription. In resisting the European, the native revealed a natural inferiority, proving that the ego of *duplex* naturally dominates and never can be overcome. The missionary's function was to civilize, or Europeanize the morally superior natives that "naturally" cooperated, and to condemn and delegitimize those who resisted.

Premise 6: The Europeans viewed nature as a resource which advanced peoples had a natural right to exploit and control. Nature possessed no rights of its own. Its processes were relevant merely as a utility for the continued development of European progress. Nature thus included any feature of the planet that could be used, including the peoples of non-European culture. They were defined as "raw" while the Europeans were "cooked". (Levi-Strauss 1969)

Premise 7: Finally, the European mythology emphasized "masculine" values while denigrating "feminine" values. This functioned to rationalize the lower status of women. And native peoples were also defined as feminine in contrast to the rational masculinity of Europe. In time, with the emergence of bureaucracy as the dominant organizational form, objective consciousness, rationality and calculability, formed a constellation of preferred views for transforming the world of nature (Roszak 1969). The subjective, intuitive, and aleatory are suppressed and endowed with forbidden power. Objective consciousness rightly controls the subjective, lest the subjective should destroy the hard-won achievements of rationally evolved civilization.

NATIVE MYTHS AND EUROPEANS

The complementary issue asks how the Europeans were perceived by the native peoples whom they conquered. Necessarily the meaning and motives of the invaders was interpreted within the mythological frame that lay beyond the boundaries of the society in religious or ideological language. Captain Cook's arrival in Hawaii coincided with the festival of the God, Lono. Cook was assumed to represent, the God, and given suitable honors (Dawes 1968). Messianic Aztec myth

predicted the coming of a beneficent man who was similarly identified with Cortez (Idell 1956). In time, the native peoples developed a more realistic understanding.

EXTRA-TERRESTRIAL MYTHS

ETIS mythology has four implications. 1) What is popularly called "outer space" is mythological space. As in the past, the unknown territory extending beyond each culture shades into the mythical, so outer space exists as a symbolic screen. At a short distance above the earth's surface the ETIS culture projects its imaginings onto a "void". 2) Many of the earlier European premises persist in the modern technocratic world culture. 3) These premises are still viewed as relevant to contemporary problems. 4) The potential for disaster exists if such mythologies are used to guide our assessment of extra-terrestrial beings. Policies based on such premises may require the destruction of ETIS in favor of human colonies. But if the ETIS are more powerful, human society could suffer the fate of the non-Europeans because of our misconceptions. Whether a political dimension exists would depend on our perception of ETIS and some provision for their rights.

SCIENCE FICTION FILMS

Science fiction films in recent years have been seen by millions over the world. These films socialize attitudes and interpretations of ETIS and the likely nature of contact. These films create a dialectic of the impersonal, objective science and the emotional, subjective magic as two competing forms of reality. The magic form is viewed whether as primitivism or as the source of omnipotent powers. In the film 2001, a technoligical society has objectified and depersonalized humans. The computer personality, "HAL" is the only character in the film other than a child to possess an emotional or subjective side. The surviving astronaut is magically reborn into cosmic consciousness on arrival at the alien "star-gate" near the planet Jupiter.

In "Star Wars" the Empire coerces its dehumanized military staff in routinizing humanity's dark side. The Rebels' source of ultimate resistance is the uncorrupted Force, an irrational and intuitive power. In the film "ET" the Extra Terrestrial displays magical powers such as telekinesis which counters the faceless technocratic authority. In the film, "Close Encounters of the Third Kind," communication with ETIS begins with the mystical implanting of a drive to go to the Devil's Tower, and is completed with music and displays of light. Solutions to our current problems are seen to result from forces that lie outside the scientific culture. In many of the films, the true humanity of individual scientists is recovered through contact with the non-humans.

The noble savage survives in these films, where the creatures are innocent, child-like, and wise. Here, a natural alliance between the non-human and the heroic child is implied. These creatures have not been corrupted by civilization, so a child's eye view of problems may lead to solutions (Puschmann-Nalenz 1977). But an important scene is ET's corruption through alcohol. As a child, ET has supersensitive and emotional powers that are spread emphatically to children rather than adults, as significant others.

The barbarian image is explored in 'Star Wars", but the polarity is reversed. The Empire is barbaric, evil, and inhumane. The Rebels guard the core values of civilization. If they are destroyed, the true dark ages commence. In the film 2001, human history is a process of technological evolution from savagery to civilization, a classic 18th Century typology.

Homo damnatus appears in Star Wars as Darth Vader the Evil, and Obi Wan Kanobi the Good. The moral superiority of the child and ET compared with the inferiority of the State and its scientists appear in ET and Close Encounters. *Homo duplex* is implied in the 2001 depiction of human history from the war against all at the dawn of time to the over socialized explorers on the voyage to Jupiter. The film assumes that the civilizing process is at an end. Humanity must be reborn to transcend enirely both the ego and the superego.

In these films the universe is shown as a resource for the human species, much as the earth is defined by the dominant economic systems today, and as Europeans once regarded the non-European world. In 2001, the irrepressible human spirit of discovery is a claim on the rest of the universe. In Star

Wars, planets simply serve as theaters of war. They are a stage for resolving human contradictions, where planets are destroyed or changed for the combatants' use. A final theme asserts a natural superority of humans. American industrialized values win in Star Wars through Luke Skywalker and Han Solo. Non-humans appear either as teddy bears, barbarians, drifters, or wizards. The aliens are obviously more advanced than the humans. But this is not the result of species ascription, since humans are about to join the galaxy on the road to cosmic ascendancy.

CONCLUSION

A fuly developed exo-sociology may prove revitalizing to the profession. In the larger cultural setting, the dangers of mythological preconceptions concerning ETIS or any peoples classed as alien should be apparent from this review of the earlier European first contact with the "aliens".

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JUDGE – JURY OPTIONS: FACTORS INVOLVED IN COUNSEL DECISIONS

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BACKGROUND

Three issues emerge in jury research: 1) jury competence, 2) jury representation, and 3) the social-psychological dynamics of jury deliberations (Erlanger 1970). Research on jury competence has explored how jurors arrive at a verdict. Do jurors rely on facts and evidence, or do they render verdicts based on their own ideas of law and equity? Do jury panels reflect the socioeconomic character of the communities from which they were drawn? What is the impact of socioeconomic status of jurors' roles in, and satisfaction with the deliberation process? Here, we examine a fourth issue which has received little attention. *What factors influence attorneys to advise clients to seek a judge trial or a jury trial?*

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

The United States Constitution provides for a trial by one's peers. This phrase has been interpreted and reinterpreted by state courts and the United States Supreme Court. The definition of a trial by peers in modern day America seems embodied in Justice Murphy's statement (Thiel v. Southern Pacific Co, 1946 328 US 22).

> The American tradition of a trial by jury considered in connection with either criminal or civil proceedings, necessarily contemplates an impartial jury drawn from a cross section of the community. This does not mean of course that every jury must contain representatives of all the economic, social, religious, racial, political, and geographical groups of the community; frequently such complete representation would be impossible. But it does mean that prospective jurors shall be selected by court officials without systematic and intentional exclusion of any of these groups.

A trial by peers means the random selection of jurors from a population such that the final arrays reflect a cross section of the community. But trial attorneys do not select jurors on a random basis (Ginger 1971). Trial lawyers are very interested in the mesh between the socioeconomic and psychological character of prospective jurors and clients. Trial lawyers ".. believe that selecting a jury with the right mixture of social characteristics can mean the difference between winning and losing a case." (Simon 1980 32) Many have studied the impact of these factors on jurors (Stephan 1975). Now some lawyers are beginning to conduct the voire dire examination of prospective jurors with these social science findings in mind (Ginger 1969; 1971). A prior question which needs to be explicitly addressed is: Why do attorneys advise clients to select jury trials as opposed to judge trials?

Assuming that defense attorneys wish to have their clients acquitted, it could be hypothesized that they advise clients to have cases heard before the most lenient forum, whether that be the the judge trial or the jury trial. In their classic study of the American jury, Kalven and Zeisel (1966 58) found that the judge and jury agreed on outcome in about 78 percent of the cases. The jury was more lenient in 19 percent and less lenient for 3 percent of the remaining cases. Juries thus showed a net leniency preference of 16 percent. This suggests that the jury trial is preferable to the judge trial for the defendant. Faced with such a forum decision, defense attorneys would be expected to advise clients to seek a jury trial. Such a preference should be reflected in court statistics. This is not the case.

Statistics indicate that few cases are tried by jury. The 16 percent figure ".. must not be made the basis of a general probability calculus by any defendant, because the cases to which the 16 percent applies have been selected for jury trial because they are expected to evoke pro-defendant sentiments." (Kalven, Zeisel 1966 59) Then why do attorneys advise clients to seek a judge trial or a jury trial? For the type of trial advice attorneys would give clients, I examined the influence of four factors: 1) race of the client; 2) racial composition of the community where the case is to be heard; 3) the type of case; and 4) the state's level of legal centralization.

RACE OF THE CLIENT

During the late 1960's black activists in the civil rights movement identified the American legal system as an instrument of oppression. They argued that the law and the courts imposed white law and white standards of

morality on the black community (Cleaver 1968). The jury system was not immune to these attacks. Several of the jury representation studies found that juries could not accurately reflect the conscience and mores of their communities because juries did not reflect a cross section of the community. Blacks were consistently underrepresented on jury panels (Dibble 1967; Comment 1970; Stephan 1975). Some researchers even voiced the idea that the underrepresentation of blacks on juries has had negative consequences for the legitimacy of the American legal system (Van Dyke 1977). They argue that the lack of blacks on juries results in mistrust and hostility toward the justice being rendered especially when the case involves black litigants, black witnesses, and black defendants.

It was claimed in testimony at the murder trial of Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins in 1970 that a:

> ..white juror sitting in a jury box listening to the testimony of a black witness would sift and evaluate and appraise that testimony through a screen of preconceived notions about what black people are. .. some notions may be based in fact .. and some are greatly exaggerated .. and others of those screening biases are completely contrary to fact. None of these things would be as likely to be true of a black juror listening to and appraising and judging the same testimony. The black juror, because of more similar life experiences to the black witness would .. appraise the testimony from a distinctively different vantage point and from a distinctively different life experience.. (Van Dyke 1977 32).

The charge of racially biased jury verdicts has been supported. Blacks were considered to be unattractive defendants by jurors, and ".. where the judge acquits the presence of this factor will at times induce the jury to disagree with the judge and convict." (Kalven, Zeisel 1966 217) Other researchers say that judges are less likely than jurors to be swayed by the individual characteristics of the defendant, and are more likely to render decisions grounded in the law (Merryman 1969; Damaska 1975; Stuckey 1976).

Hypothesis 1: Attorneys of black clients are more likely to advise a judge trial than are attorneys of white clients.

COMMUNITY RACIAL MAKEUP

The second factor expected to influence the judge - jury decision is the racial composition of the community where the case is heard. Studies of the deliberation process show that black jurors are more likely to vote for acquittal and higher compensation than are white jurors (Simon 1967; Stephan 1975).

Hypothesis 2: Attorneys are more likely to advise jury trials in predominantly black communities than they are in predominantly white communities.

Assumption: The likelihood of obtaining black jurors is higher in predominantly black communities than it is in white communities.

TYPE OF CASE

The Kalven and Zeisel study of the jury trial showed a marked variation in the selection of the jury trial by type of crime. For murder, manslaughter and rape, the jury trial was waived only 13, 25, and 25 percent of the time, respectively; but jury trial was waived 57, 59, and 70 percent of the time respectively for the less serious crimes of larceny, auto theft, and drug law violations (1966 26).

Hypothesis 3: Attorneys are more likely to advise jury trial for more serious crimes and the judge trial for less serious crimes.

Some suggest that the jury trial is used for the most serious offenses because of the delay this engenders in coming to trial. Others argue that judges give harsher sentences to those found guilty who opted for the jury trial (Casper 1972; Silberman 1978).

LEGAL CENTRALIZATION

The fifty state court systems do not form a unified system of justice. Each state has its own government and courts to make and enforce the law. Each state has adopted a structure for court operations. Decisions are made about such structural characteristics as the method for selecting the judiciary, the length of judicial terms, the educational requirements for judges, the method for conducting voire dire examination of jurors, and the use of lay personnel in judicial decision making procedure. Some of these variations affect the operations of the state's legal order.

The method of judicial selection has an impact on the characteristics of persons selected to serve as judges. Individuals recruited in

partisan elections were more likely to be locally oriented, politically adept, and dependent on the continuing votes of constituents, compared to justices selected by gubernatorial appointment (Jacob 1964; Canon 1972).

Short judicial terms can threaten judicial independence and impartiality, and may cause judges to be susceptible to political influence (Vines 1964; 1965). Conversely, a long term of office is seen as a mechanism to protect the judge from local political pressure.

The conduct of voire dire has received increasing scrutiny (Fried 1975). Debates focus on who should conduct the examination – the judge, the attorney, or both. Proponents of the judge-conducted voir dire argue that lawyers abuse this privilege. They claim that attorneys attempt to sway prospective jurors by explaining elements of their case in a sympathetic way. Proponents of the lawyer-conducted voir dire claim that ".. only attorneys can knowledgeably question jurors to lay the groundwork for challenges, and that questioning by attorneys is essential to preserve the adversary system .." (Van Dyke 1977 164) By combining these two structural characteristics, we can identify 1) a centralized or government controlled legal order, and 2) a decentralized, or community controlled legal order.

These two legal structures were developed from Weber's concepts of formal rationality and substantive irrationality and Damaska's concepts of the hierarchal and coordinate models of legal authority (Damaska 1975). In a liberal state the centralized or government controlled legal order is supposed to adhere to a policy of formal rationality. In a centralized legal order the administration of justice is supposed to respond only to specific acts and only the "unambiguous general characteristics are taken into account." (Weber 1987 657) According to Balbus (1973 8):

> .. the law in an ideal typical formal rational system takes no notice of the characteristics of the alleged offender; rich or poor, black or white, ideological dissident or staunch supporter of the existing order, all are held to be equal in the eyes of the court and all are guilty or innocent by virtue of their acts alone.

A centralized legal system operates on universal criteria. To guarantee certainty and uniformity in the decision making process, the central government seeks to remove all nonlegal issues from that process. To enhance the use of universal criteria, such structural charcteristics as the appointment of judges for long terms of office, authorization of the judge to conduct the voir dire, and the requirement of a law degree for all appointees are instituted.

In contrast, the decentralized or community controlled legal order operates on a basis of substantive irrationality. The community decides when justice is done, influenced by "concrete factors of the particular case as evaluated on ethical, emotional or political basis rather than by general norms." (Weber 1978 656) Particularist criteria guide the administration of justice in a community-controlled legal order. Assuring justice according to community standards incorporates such structural factors as the election of judges for short terms in office, making no educational requirements for judicial service, and authorization of lawyers to conduct the voir dire examination.

By hypothesis, the state's level of legal centralization will affect the forum decision. Centralized legal orders give the attorney a choice between community invovlement in the decision by jury trial, or non-involvement, choosing the judge trial. In decentralized legal orders attorneys cannot rule out community sentiments in legal decision making. The community is involved directly through the jury trial, or indirectly through election of judges. *Hypothesis 4: Attorneys in centralized legal orders are more likely to advise the judge trial than are attorneys in decentralized legal orders.*

Inateraction is predicted between the race of the client and the racial makeup of the community where the case is heard. Black offenders may prefer a jury trial when the case is heard in a black community (Eisenstein, Jacob 1979). Accordingly, a white offender in a black community may prefer the judge trial, and white offenders in white communities may prefer the jury trial where black offenders would prefer a judge trial.

Hypothesis 5: When the race of the client and the racial makeup of the community are similar attorneys will be more likely to advise jury trials. Attorneys advise the judge trial when the two differ.

This effect is expected to be mediated by the state's level of legal centralization in conjunction with race of client and racial makeup of the community.

In the centralized legal order the judge is an appointed official whose long term of office is not dependent on either performance at the polls or the assistance of local politicians. Authorized to conduct the voir dire examination of the jury, the judge controls courtroom operations. The only procedure which involves the community in judicial decisions is the jury trial. In the decentralized state, to maintain his/her office the judge depends on both the local politicians and the local voters. Attorneys conduct the voir dire, limiting the judge's control of courtroom operations. The choice between a judge trial and a jury trial determines whether the community is to be involved directly or indirectly in judicial decision making.

Hypothesis 6: In a decentralized legal order attorneys of black clients and white clients will give similar forum advice regardless of the racial composition of the community where the case is heard. Attorneys in centralized legal orders will be more inclined to advise clients on the basis of mesh between the client's race and the community's racial composition.

A four-way interaction between race of client, racial makeup of community, the state's level of centralization and the type of case is predicted. In highly inflamatory and serious cases such as those involving bodily harm, the media can sensationalize and arouse community sentiments. Here, attorneys should carefully consider whether to maximize of minimize the community's role in the legal process. In less serious cases, it is difficult to arouse or shock community sentiments. Thus the choice of whether to actively involve the community or minimize its role may be less crucial.

Hypothesis 7: Attorneys in decentrlaized legal orders are more likely to give similar forum advice to their black and white clients than are attorneys in centralized legal orders. In centralized legal orders attorneys base their forum adivce on the mesh between the racial composition of the communty, their client's race, and the type of case.

DATA AND METHODS

The data were collected in a mail survey, of summer 1978, from trial lawyers in Baltimore Maryland, Houston Texas, and New Orleans Louisiana. Maryland approximated the centralized model of legal authority. Trial judges are appointed by the governor for fifteen-year terms (Desk Book 1974). There are educational requirements for prospective judges. The voir dire can be conducted only by the judge (Van Dyke 1977). Texas approximates the decentralized model of legal authority. There judges are elected in popular elections to four-year terms, and there are no educational requirements. Attorneys are authorized to conduct the voir dire examination of the jury (Desk Book 1974; Van Dyke 1977). Louisiana is the only state which adopted the Napoleonic Code, and its structural features include both centralized and decentralized models of legal authority (Desk Book 1974).

Within each of these three states one area was selected with a large black population. Lawyers responding to the questionnaire had to have some knowledge of what it meant to represent a black client. To assess the effect of the racial composition of the community on the strategy decision, geographic areas were selected where adjacent communities were white, racially mixed, and black. In Maryland, Baltimore City is 47 percent black, Baltimore County is 3 percent black, and Anne Arundel County is 11 percent black. The Houston Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) of Texas contained three contiguous but racially different communities. Waller County is 53 percent black; Brazoria County is 9 percent black; and Harris County is 20 percent black. The New Orleans SMSA of Louisiana had three racially different contiguous communities. Orleans Parish is 45 percent black; St Bernard Parish is 5 percent black; and Jefferson Parish is 13 percent black. (US Census Bureau County & City Data Book 1972)

From these nine communities, lawyers were randomly sampled from the geographic rosters of two trial lawyer associations. From each state, 150 lawyers were selected; 75 were mailed a form saying they were counsel to a white client, and 75 were told they were counsel to a black client. The final sample included 182 attorneys, a 40 percent response rate. The analysis is based on a sample of

136, after cases were removed where data was missing on relevant variables. Of the 136 lawyers in this group, 3 were women and 5 were nonwhite. Demographic statistics for the attorneys were as follows: mean age, 40 years, s = 9.9; mean income from law practice, $50,000, s = 23,000; 41 percent worked alone or in small firms of 2 to 5 persons; 29 percent worked in medium size 6 to 15 person firms. For their legal specialty, 43 percent said that civil or criminal trial work was primary; 10 percent said trial work was secondary. Years of legal and trial practice averaged 12.5.

The questionnaire was designed to tap the judge-jury strategy decisions or lawyers according to race of client and racial character of the community. They were given facts for a rape case, a simple assault case, and a civil eviction case. The rape case represented a serious personal injury crime. Forcible rape, defined as the carnal knowledge of a female forcibly and against her will, is listed among the seven most serious crimes in the United States (FBI Uniform Crime Reports 1978 13). The simple assault case represented the less serious personal injury crime. In a simple assault there is no intent to kill or inflict severe bodily injury. The eviction case represented a civil case, in the branch of law affecting relations between individuals, defining legal rights and obligations. In this civil case, the tenants of an apartament building were bringing suit for damages against a landlord who was seeking to evict them. Plaintiffs alleged that the eviction was sought to prevent their report of housing code violation to the authorities.

Two forms of the questionnaire were used. 1) Lawyers were told they were representing a black offender in the two criminal cases and the black litigants in the civil case. The victims in the criminal cases were white, and the defendant in the civil case was a white landlord. 2) Lawyers were told that they represented white offenders with white victims in the criminal cases and a white litigant with a white defendant in the civil case. In both forms, lawyers were told to assume that their clients refused to plea bargain in the criminal cases or to settle out of court in the civil case.

Previous research shows that offenses commited by blacks against whites are considered the most serious, offenses committed by whites against whites the next most serious, offenses by blacks against blacks the less serious, and offenses committed by whites against blacks the least serious.

Lawyers were asked to indicate their judge - jury strategy decision for the rape case, the simple assault case, and the eviction case when the trial was to take place: 1) in the prediminantly black community; 2) in the racially mixed community; and 3) in the predominantly white community in Maryland, Louisiana, and Texas.

RESULTS

Lawyers representing black clients appear more likely to advise judge trial than lawyers of white clients, in support of Hypothesis 1 ($F = 3.46$; $p = .065$). As predicted, the responses of lawyers reveals that the trial forum is linked to the state's level of legal centralization. Attorneys in a highly centralized legal order are more likely to advise the judge trial than those in a decentralized legal order, as stated in Hypothesis 4 ($F = 17.38$; $p = .001$).

The impact of the racial composition of the community on the judge or jury decision is in the predicted direction. Lawyers with clients in black communities are the least likely to advise the judge trial, while those in racially mixed or predominantly white communities are more likely to select the judge trial, as stated in Hypothesis 2 ($F = 21.51$; $p = .001$). Thus lawyers with clients in black communities are more favorable to direct invovlement of the community by jury trial. Supporting Hypothesis 3, the effect for the type of case indicates that for the less serious criminal offense, attorneys prefer the judge trial, and for the more serious offense they prefer the jury trial. The degree of preference for the civil case falls between that of the two criminal cases ($F = 14.39$; $p = .001$).

The interaction between race of client, racial makeup of community, level of legal centralization, illustrated in Figure 2, is significant, as indicated in Hypotheses 6, and 7 ($F = 1.98$; $p = .047$).

With the higher level of centralization attorneys of white clients base their forum decision on the type of case. In Texas, the most decentralized state, lawyers of white clients are not influenced by either the type of case or the racial makeup of the community in their forum decision. The jury trial is

FIGURE 1: JUDGE TRIAL PREFERENCE (%) BY CENTRALIZATION, CLIENT, COMMUNITY & SERIOUSNESS

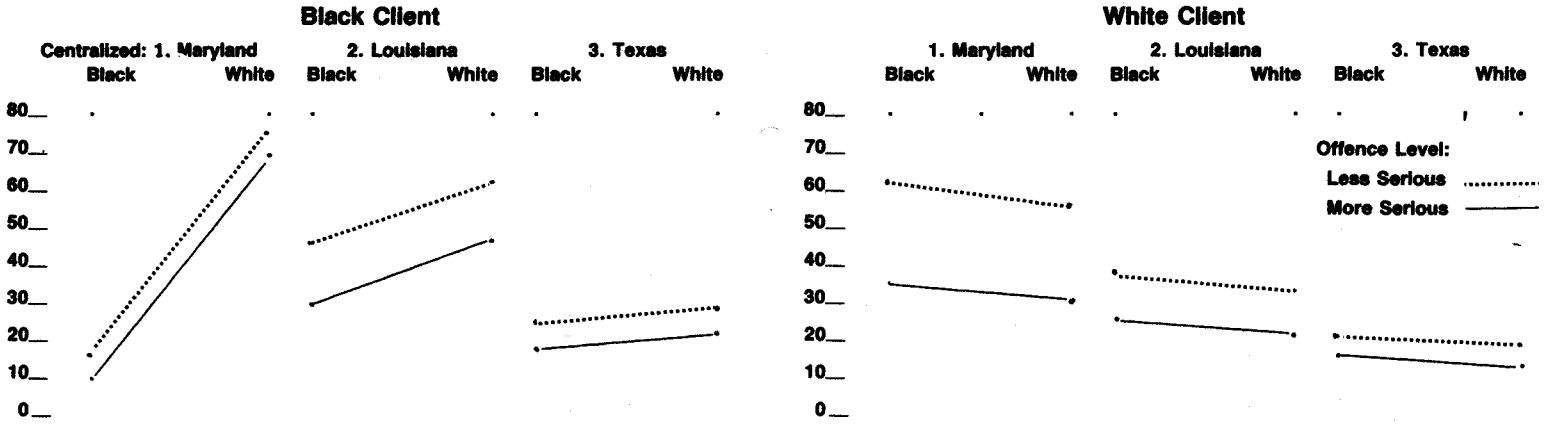
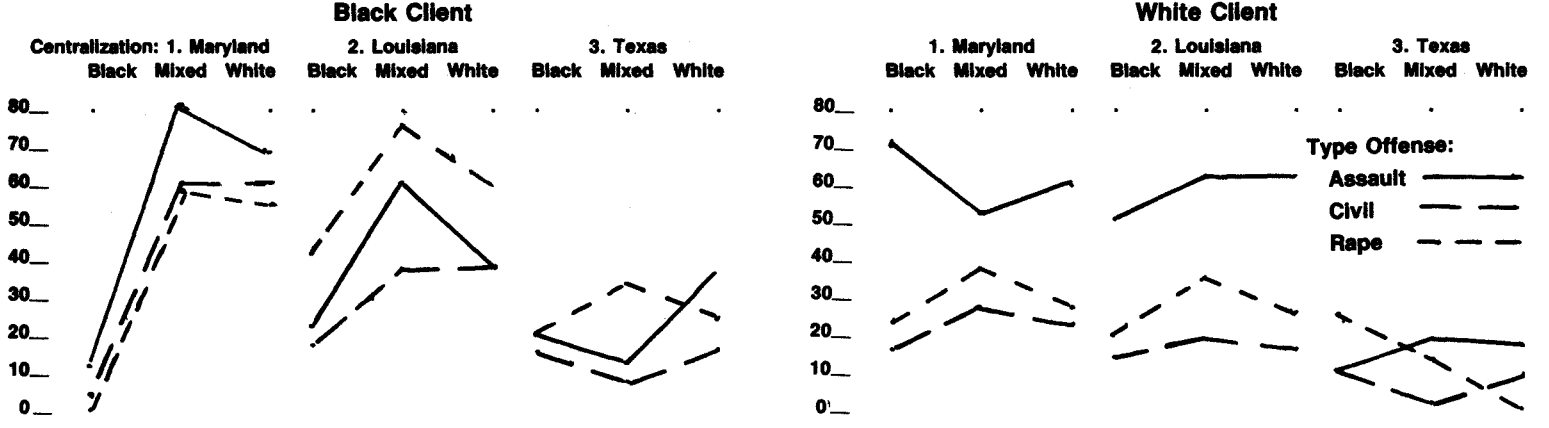


FIGURE 2: TRIAL JUDGE PREFERENCE (%) BY CENTRALIZATION, CLIENT, COMMUNITY & TYPE CRIME



always preferred. In Louisiana, and still more in Maryland, the most centralized state, attorneys of white clients clearly base their forum advice on the type of case. Regardless of the community racial makeup, attorneys of white clients advise a judge trial for the assault case and a jury trial for a rape or eviction case.

The emergent pattern of advice with attorneys of black clients is very different. They are not inclined to make strategy decisions based on type of case. With higher levels of legal centralization, attorneys of black clients base forum advice on the community's racial characater. In Texas, attorneys of black clients do not distinguish between judge and jury trial based on racial composition of the community or the type of case. Texas attorneys always advise a jury trial. In Louisiana the emerging pattern shows that attorneys for blacks rely on the community racial makeup in the forum decision. This pattern is clear in Maryland, the most centralized state. Attorneys for black clients in Maryland base the judge - jury decision on the community racial character. Regardless of the type of case, the judge trial is advised in predominantly white and racially mixed communities, and the jury trial is advised in black communities.

CONCLUSION

Both the structural character of the legal order and the racial components of a case are important factors in the attorney's judge - jury advice. There is need for further research. This study examined two situations: 1) a situation where an attorney represented a black client in an interracial case; and 2) a situation where an attorney represented a white client in an intraracial case. What about the other cells of the matrix? What happens when attorneys represent white clients in interracial cases and black clients in intraracial cases? With increasing levels of centralization, do attorneys of black clients involved in intraracial cases become increasingly concerned with the racial composition of the community, or does the type of case gain importance in arriving at the forum decision? Similarly, with increasing levels of centralization, what factors influence the advice lawyers give white clients involved in interracial cases? Does the type of case remain as the major variable in the judge - jury decision, or does the racial composition of the community gain in importance?

A second area for future inquiry is the congruence between the forum strategy which attorneys claim to advise and what they actually do advise. An examination of docket data might allow for a comparison of attorney's theoretical advice and their actual strategy decisions.

Since most cases do not go to trial, a third area of inquiry is the extension of options given to lawyers in plea bargaining. Is the choice between the type of trial and plea bargaining affected by the race of the client, the racial character of the community, the state's level of legal centralization, and the type of case?

Finally, a new concept was developed in this research: the state's level of legal centralization. Based on Weber's work, I developed a variable to study empirically a highly centralized rational system of law as compared to a decentrlaized system. Since this variable did affect the forum decision in the predicted direction, its validity and utility for research seems to be indicated. A literal operational replication of this study is needed to assess further the validity and reliability of the concept.

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A FEMINIST FRAME ANALYSIS OF "STAR TREK"

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FEMINIST FRAME ANALYSIS

Frames are definitions of situations built up in accordance with principles of organization which govern social events and our subjective involvement in them. These basic elements organize events in any arbitrary slice cut from the stream of ongoing activity, called a *strip.* (Goffman 1974 10) Because Goffman's frame analysis is about the organization of experience and not the organization of society, it is distinctly different from a feminist frame analysis which is also concerned with revealing and eliminating the systematic organization of the rules of society that limit the opportunities, experience and autonomy of women in everyday life.

Feminist frame analysis proceeds from the assumption that the most basic set of rules governing behavior is the set governing the sexes. According to Goffman (1977 301):

> In modern industrial society, as apparently in all others, sex is at the base of a fundamental code in accordance with which social interactions and social structures are built up; a code which also established the conceptions individuals have concerning their fundamental human nature.

This fundamental code is elaborated through speech, action, lived relations, and institutional norms. The mass media are a major source for defining the drama of everyday life and how one should present oneself. Goffman (1976) analyzed this process in gender advertisements or pictorial displays designed to sell products. This hawking of wares is accomplished by the image of women as powerless, passive, sexually available, and submissive. Many of these positions can be found in an analysis of the stills comprising the filmed episodes of *Star Trek.* For example the commander, Kirk is taller than the women he loves, he often has the center position in a shot, or he is the dramatic center of action. The patterns analyzed by Goffman in gender advertisements are repeated in this popular series. The linkages between the two sources are directly reinforcing, and amplify the effects of their individual sex codes.

Much of Goffman's work is compatible with the concept of feminist frame analysis, but there are five added steps;

1) Feminist frame analysis is a study of the rules of society and experience that limits the opportunities, experience and autonomy of women in everyday life.

2) Feminist frame analysis is praxis. The theoretical analysis is intended to reveal a part of everyday life that is unseen and unreflected. The knowledge of rules previously hidden provides a method to change consciousness.

3) Feminist frame analysis generates concepts as a function of their relation to the sex classes and their role in the oppression of women. Although terms can be generalized over a range of experience, institutions, or groups, sex classes form the fundamental code.

4) Feminist frame analysis is dialectically related to the corpus of Goffman's writings. Some concepts and illustrations in this body of thought are not accepted; some are related and modified; and some are fully accepted.

5) Feminist frame analysis draws on the insights of Freudian thought because this model often captures the underlying structure for rules of behavior in society. Such Freudian insights are not considered natural, universal, or instinctual, but many members of society and many of the rules for drama in the mass media are based on this behavior model. At some points, my concepts, which will be italicized, diverge from Goffman's base, but his work is the underlying resource for a dialectical analysis of women's everyday life.

Patriarchal themes are principles for organizing the relations between the sexes so that men have power over women plus, the power to generate rules. These patriarchal principles organize the world into separate spheres of male and female control, and they depend on men for definitions of situations, access to material and emotional resources, and power that is subject to revocation. The *male sphere* is governed by rational action which generates and operates the social order. This includes rules and behaviors enacted in the military, education, bureaucracy, and politics. The *female sphere* is governed by emotions and relations in the home and family. Love is the nexus for women and men to link their separate spheres. For women, it is defined as

the emotional and financial connection necessary to establish paternity and financial and emotional security. For men, sex is a physical animal need that provides a rational basis for succumbing to love. Another male instinct is the drive to compete with others. Women enter this competition by becoming *desired objects.* These objects are youth, beauty, access to material and social resources, and behavior appropriate to the female sphere. These realms of dominance are symbolized in several ways, but prime among these indicators of control are technological equipment and scientific interest (Habermas 1970).

Patriarchal frames and their subsidiary concepts are underlying codes for defining behavior in *Star Trek.* In addition to these specific male dominant characteristics, there are also hierarchic rules of power in the male sphere. As a result, Kirk, Spock, and McCoy, in descending order, have power to define and maintain order in the world of the starship, *Enterprise.* Because each has his own area of expertise, this power can vary in a given context. Kirk is the final authority.

Men's rule over other men in the *male sphere* is tenuous. Because of their *male instinct* to compete and control, they vie for the position of top power. A central, recurring theme in this male struggle for dominance is the Oedipal myth. As males vie for power in society they recognize and support the need for a central authority. But other men also want this authority: this drive is part of their nature. The most powerful male must defend or lose his position. These challengers may be strangers or known followers. The group may unite due to threat, or they may challenge the leader to reestablish his authority.

The Oedipal drama underlies almost all *Star Trek* episodes. Captain Kirk's authority is repeatedly threatened by men, alien males, or *male type* technology. Women do not enter this struggle for power. To do so would be unnatural. Instead, they try to associate with powerful men who will represent them in this drama.

In every episode of *Star Trek* there is an issue of *fabrication* where differential knowledge and rules of behavior are applicable for some characters, of which others are duped and unaware. If the deceivers are out for gain at the expense of the dupes, this is exploitive; if they do not wish to harm the dupes, the fabrication is benign. Some fabrications are *coerced* where the deceiver must do so unwillingly to protect an endangered person or object. The fabrication may also be defensive. The crew may engage in fabrication to follow a *Starfleet* directive. They must not interfere with the natural development of a planet. Kirk often uses defensive fabrications, to avoid harming the enemy, while protecting the *Enterprise.* Dupes and deceivers abound in each script. A large segment of the plot is devoted to revealing the nature of their fabricated rules. The fabrications vary by sex. Human females use fabrications for love, and if they want power, they are *unnatural* and unsuccessful. Nonhuman females generally use fabrications for power, and their future development is summarily altered, despite *Starfleet's* noble directives. Males, both human and nonhuman use fabrications to get or maintain power.

Romantic involvement for *Star Trek* leaders is a distorting and threatening emotion. The relation is attractive, due to male instincts, but limits the men's freedom to explore new worlds. Men do not need romantic love but their desire is awakened by the female presence. Women, however, need love, and must trick men into giving it to them. Therefore, *romantic love* in the patriarchal frame becomes an exploitive fabrication for women's benefit. The one exception occurs when a perfect, sacrificing female attracts the higher emotions as well. The one such female presented in the 79 episodes must die for the higher mission of the *Enterprise.*

Star Trek symbolizes patriarchy and male control over women. It generates emotional relations with members of the audience who relive the patriarchal dramas and become attached to the characters and roles. Fans enter an imagined relation with the stars and generate a sense of belonging to this other world. Loyal viewers develop a *communitas* experience (Turner 1970). The *Star Trek* frame supports other patriarchal frames with submissive roles for women and dominant roles for men.

FEMINIST FRAMES FOR *STAR TREK*

The main factors to structure women's roles

are reproduction, sexuality, socialization, and production (Mitchell 1966). Male leaders in *Star Trek* have a structurally different code. They have no stable sex relations, no children, and no role in child socialization. Instead, these primary factors for women are channeled into the male mission in the starship; to go where no man has gone before, to explore the outer reaches of the *Federation* representing humane justice and organization. Production for these men becomes their central, personal, and professional basis for behavior. The starship and its mission become the major principles organizing their experience.

Major sources of alienation in society arise from the division between paid and unpaid labor, and the separation of our private lives from our public lives (Zaretsky 1976). In *Star Trek* the crew never engages in capital exchange or accumulataion, and their public and private lives are idealized in the small town atmosphere of the starship. They produce in a total institution organized in terms of capital, but not authority, on communistic terms. Thus, the show indicates how communism can maintain a patriarchal structure where female oppression is a separate issue from class oppression.

Together, the male leaders face the dangerous unknown. They fight for and with each other. They experience fear and excitement. They lauth and cry. They are conquerors of internal and external challenges. This male bond forms the nexus of emotional attraction. The male group decides the fate of its dependents.

Kirk, as the final authority, listens to advice given by the symbolized masculinity of Spock and the femininity of the ship's doctor McCoy, called *Bones*. In some ways Kirk may be seen as androgenous, combining the male and female character, but this is a false image. Kirk's masculinity is flaunted by his heterosexuality, his masculine physique, and his macho air. He is a "real man". Spock, who epitomizes rationality, the masculine extreme of the male-female continuum, is even more admired in our society. He is extremely intelligent, and he can physically subdue his opponents by the Vulcan nerve pinch, and can even invade their minds by his mind "meld" capacity. Spock is so threatened by his emotions that he must die if he expresses them. He falls in love when transported to the ice age of the past, when Vulcans were still able to feel emotions. Though Spock falls passionately in love, his duty is to the captain and the ship, so he abandons the seductive alternative. He later falls in love due to the infiltration of alien spores in his body. Kirk must save Spock from these dangerous emotions since Spock is helpless to protect himself. When restored to his normal male self, Spock resumes his duties.

RETURN TO THE WOMB

No more perfect womb could be imagined than the starship *Enterprise.* The ship supplies food, water, air, shelter, friendship and social order, and above all, *meaning.* No emotional demands are made on the inhabitants and all intellectual information is supplied by the all knowing ship's computer. She readily exceeds the speed of light, provides offensive and defensive protection, and complete security to the humans inside her. She is served by her male priests, and she is an all encompassing mistress-goddess. Because she enables them to fulfill their life mission and their mutual obligation to each other, she cannot ask too much. Only human females can do that.

The starship *Enterprise* is perceived as female, referred to as "she", and the object of Kirk's love. This ship is his mistress, with whom no mortal woman could compete. All of the male leaders love her. For Doctor McCoy this is because of the ship's human crew. For Spock, it is his duty. Only Kirk admits his emotional and intrumental bond, and his need to deny himself sexually in order to have "her". Engineer Scotty plays a special role in relation to the ship. His sexual needs are rarely even considered. When he gets drunk, he sings to the ship and pats her metal bulkheads. He spends offduty time reading up on technical information in order to serve her better. When he gets in a fight, it is not to protect his own good name or that of Kirk, but to protect the besmirched honor of his ship.

WOMAN'S PLACE

The only female character, Lieutenant Uhuru appears regularly on the ship's bridge as the black communications officer, with the traditional female role of talking and translating linguistic meaning as the telephone operator

of the future. She never stars in the action, and one of her major roles occurs when she adopts "tribbles", which are affectionate furry little animals unable to control their reproduction functions.

Women, introduced as romantic interests, afford the crew their more dramatic roles. For example, McCoy is lured into loving a woman who appears to him as an old flame. She is really a disquised salt-eating human killer who murders her male victims by draining their bodies of salt. Finally, McCoy sees her in her true form as an ugly salt-sucking monster when he is no longer in love with her. Kirk too is frequently seduced by women. In his one true love affair Spock and Kirk go back in time to the Earth of the 1930's where the drug-maddened McCoy is helped by a beautiful social worker. Kirk falls in love with her idealized self sacrifice, but he must let her die rather than change history. In the episode *Shore Leave*, Kirk imagines an old flame is there in an illusion imposed by aliens on a planet who can make a man's thoughts appear to be alive. In another episode Kirk falls hopelessly in love with a warrior princess who is bound to marry another to settle a war between two planets. Her name, "Elaan of Tois", recalls the Trojan war, caused by the most beautiful woman of all time.

The most important female threat for Spock occurs during his normal time for marriage. This is a short period of sexual arousal which occurs to Vulcans at seven year intervals. They become crazed by their emotions during this *Amok time* and it is now that they normally marry. To choose his bride, Spock must fight Kirk, his best friend and commander. In the fight, Kirk appears to have been killed, but the bride rejects Spock because he is too much away from home. This satisfies Spock's normal sexuality for another seven years. In every romantic episode, women are eliminated. They are tempting, evil, and illusionary. Or they are culturally and morally superior, but unavailable. They are simply temptresses (De Beauvior 1953).

In a very complex put-down, female leaders of a woman dominated civilization steal Spock's brain. A priestess infiltrates the defenses of the men by gaining mental powers from a computer. She installs Spock's brain in the computer, which intrigues Spock. Kirk and McCoy, with Spock's brainless body, follow the brain tracks and descend to the planet. There the women have banished the native men to the harsh surface, and control them through electronically administered pleasure and pain. Spock's brain is freed and returned to his body and Kirk and McCoy are saved. Having the women steal a man's brain is a variant of the emasculation fantasy.

In the episode, *Mudd's Women*, Harry Mudd, a devious salesman of the future gives women a youth drug which makes them beautiful just long enough to fool miners into giving up their valuable dilithium crystals. He creates an army of female androids hoping to trap the *Enterprise* crew and steal the ship. He is punished with replicates of his nagging and ugly wife. Again and again, women are alien, stupid, nagging, and wishing only to serve men. They will take drugs, give up immortality, and practice any necessary deceit to trap a man. However they are always foiled and put in their place.

THE ALIEN WITHIN AND WITHOUT

Patriarchal authority is open to attack by less powerful men where the desire to overthrow the father is a major theme. A 17-year-old boy, after his rescue by the *Enterprise* tries to gain control of the ship, but is subdued by the greater authority and power of Kirk in a face-to-face confrontation. A mad starship captain siezes control of the *Enterprise* when Kirk goes aboard a disabled starship. Sometimes Kirk is challenged by computers which symbolize rational masculine control, but have gone amok. An old Earth space probe, damaged by collisions in deep space, is programmed to destroy all imperfections, including flawed humans. Kirk pretends to be its maker, penetrates its central directives, and makes it destroy itself.

Male aliens vie for power when an alien virus eliminates emotional controls and threatens Spock's death. Kirk's power saves the situation. Another alien uses children to get access and control of the *Enterprise* but Kirk revives the children's memories of love and good times with human adults, and breaks the spell of the evil father-figure.

The major attackers are traditional foes. The *Romulans* would not attack as long as the Federation forces stayed in their own territory.

The *Klingons* do all the things that people do. They attack a pacifist planet which Kirk defends on orders of the Federation. He fights the Klingon captain, an equal alien male foe. The pacifist planet arranges a treaty between the empires and establishes a precedent: Klingons and Earthmen must not fight. Kirk discovers that he too, is vicious in his reluctance to give up the fight.

The worst threat to the ship's functioning is internal treachery. This theme includes Kirk's vulnerability to his own dark side. In a transporter malfunction, Kirk is split in two beings; one good, the other evil. Neither side can survive alone, showing the need for both human aspects. An analogy to the competition and cooperation as masculine and feminine sides appears. Finding a counterpart universe where a bad Kirk is in command, the good kirk wins out, proving his good side is better. In the final episode Kirk's body is taken over by a deranged woman. The bizarre reactions to this feminized Kirk lead to mutiny. What could be more unstable than a female in Kirk's body? This dark side must be totally eliminated and utterly rejected.

A SPECIFIC FEMINIST FRAME ANALYSIS

It is apparent that sex codes are a basic rule for organizing *Star Trek*. Through language, myth, nonverbal behavior and displays of power, women are universally put in their place, and are made submissive to men. It is also clear that most episodes are based on some form of fabrication which must be revealed and destroyed. Here we will enter the framing process that organizes the experience of the characters and the audience.

In the last episode, *Turnabout Intruder*, Kirk, Spock and McCoy beam down to answer a planet's distress signal. An archeological team led by the renowned Dr Janice Lester has been stricken with disease. Only Janice Lester and her physician, Dr Coleman survive. Kirk and Lester were romantically involved at Starfleet School, and Janice was frustrated at being denied a starship command due to her sex. She resented and hated Kirk's acceptance of this inequality, which ended the relation. Kirk had worried that they might kill each other if they stayed together. Janice says that she has been dead all her life except for her year with Kirk. She studied dead civilizations to match her dead spirit. She begs Kirk to kill her, and he refuses. Then she tells Kirk of finding the ruins of an superior civilization which allows her to change bodies with him, and thus gain immortality and her own starship command. She does this, but cannot kill Kirk, although she has already murdered her archeological team. Only Coleman knows of this transformation, while the *Enterprise* crew remain victim to this exploitive fabrication. The structural alteration diagram is shown in Figure 1.

There are two strips associated with two frames. One strip is of a male and female, and the primary frame is that of the Captain as a male more powerful than she, an old flame. As an archeologist who went mad for want of his love, she settled for a less powerful position because women could not be Starfleet commanders. To want to engage in the Oedipal myth, the woman is defined as a man and a worthy opponent. When she changes bodies with Kirk, the strip is changed. We will call the altering of the strip an *innovation*. This innovation yields a new primary frame where Janice Lester is in Kirk's body (LK), and Kirk exists in Janice Lester's body (KL). Only LK and KL and Lester's physician, Doctor Coleman know of this innovation. Spock, Scotty, McCoy, Chekov, and the other crew members believe that the original strip still exists. Being dupes, they are in a *closed awareness* context. Each key that allows them to see that the first primary frame no longer exists allows them to correct their perception of the rules for action. Only Spock is truly rekeyed to the innovation and its resulting primary frame. In his changed understanding is a *lamination* of this primary frame. The others believe that the original strip probably continues to exist, but that Kirk is acting strangely. The keys needed to tell the crew and officers that this is not a correctly acting Kirk are indicators of the process of self-presentation and how the "other" understands these cues. These keys involve LD's lack of everyday knowledge, altered emotional reactions, unfriendliness in interpersonal relations, and a misunderstanding of Starfleet directives, the highest authority for Kirk. Spock notices the subtle changes and follows them to their logical conclusion. He also makes the most radical frame shift. McCoy and Scotty are more difficult to per-

FIGURE 1: FEMINIST FRAME ANALYSIS OF STAR TREK TURNABOUT INTRUDER

Time 1	**Primary TV Frame**	**Janice Lester, Archeologist, Injured; James Kirk, Captain, Normal**
	Depicted Strip	**Male and Female**
Time 2	**Primary TV Frame**	**Only Lester-Kirk & Kirk-Lester know that this is the strip being framed. Duped starship crew think Frame at Time 1 is correct.**
	Innovation	**Male/Female ¢ Female/Male**
Time 3	**Primary TV Frame**	**Spock discovers error in sequence of power.**
	Correct Lamination	**Gender exchange of Lester & Kirk**
Time 4	**Primary TV Frame**	**McCoy & Scotty discover error in sequence of power.**
	Incorrect Lamination	**Captain acting strangely; is it he or she?**
Time 5	**Primary TV Frame**	**Uhuru & Chekov discover error in sequence of power.**
	Incorrect Lamination	**Captain acting strangely; is it he or she?**
Time 6	**Primary TV Frame**	**Captain is Kirk; Archeologist is Lester; Order is restored in sex class, bodies, & command.**
	Depicted Strip	**Male and Female**

suade and need not only these clues, which are even more marked than Spock's, but they also need Spock's testimony. This witness to the innovated strip is provided by Spock during a court martial, a formal hearing in the framing dispute. As a counter provocateur to the new captain, another provocateur, Spock entraps LK into revealing behavior that the real captain would not display. She orders Spock executed, and it is this radical break with Starfleet justice that rekeys the frame for McCoy and Scotty. Uhuru and Checkov are forced into action only as a last measure to save the ship and crew, and they remain confused over the strip relating Lester and Kirk.

When the two personalities have been transfered they retain stereotypic sex-class responses. Janice, who is more emotional and less competent, retains this character though she has Kirk's body and authority to act like a man and a commander. Kirk, however, attacks Dr Coleman with his fists even when he is in a female body. He wrests control from both in terms of his own body and the command of the ship. After the fall of Janice, the uncovering of her fabrication and the return of the strip to normal, Spock and Kirk speculate on her behavior:

"I didn't want to destroy her," said Kirk.

"You had to," said Spock, "how else could you have survived, Captain, to say nothing of the rest of us."

"Her life could have been as rich as any woman's, if only –" he paused and sighed. "If only ..."

"If only," Spock said, "she had been able to take any pride in *being* a woman."

If Janice had only been satisfied with being a woman, not trying to take over male power, she would have been *normal, sane, and lovable* and could have led a happy live according to patriarchal frames.

A *STAR TREK* FEMINIST FUTURE?

Although *Star Trek* was originally less sexist, the creator's sexual and racial equality content was quashed by television executives (Whitefield, Roddenburg 1968). They correctly surmised that the public really wanted to see patriarchy as practiced by white males. In every episode women are the true aliens. They know their proper place though time and across interstellar space. Powerless in political, military, and economic spheres,

these women of the future resort to stereotypic wiles and snares to entrap trusting men. Whether abnormally powerful by deception or by android machinery, women are always subdued by the men of the *Enterprise*. Sexually stimulating, the women distract these men from their higher duty to their feminine ship. The officers love each other and are loved by their crew and fans. Emotional attachment to male shipmates and to a machine are depicted as normal, while commitment to women is not only pathologic, but deadly to the masculine ideal, as embodied in Spock. In a feminist world, the men of the *Enterprise* would be seen as the aliens and the evil in our midst.

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MORAL MEANING IN FELONY JURY TRIALS: A DRAMATURGIC PERSPECTIVE

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INTRODUCTION

Sociologists are only now beginning the vast amount of research required to determine through study of social usage the meanings of morality. Douglas (1970 9) has called for systematic participant observation studies of moral meaning in use.

This paper involves a systematic participant observation study of moral meaning in use in the jury trial. The study design recognizes the principle of th contextual determination of meaning. This incorporates the idea that the concrete meaning of anything is adequately given to actors only when its concrete or situated context is provided (Douglas 1967 235). Rather than focusing on moral experiences in the abstract, I focus on them as firmly tied to their social context. I am interested in ongoing everyday use of morality, and in morality as process rather than as structure.

DEFINING *MORAL & MORALITY*

We must discuss what is meant by the terms *moral* and *morality.* Definition is difficult because morality is such a basic term that it is hard to find more basic terms for the definition. Many articles embracing the dramaturgic perspective deal with matters of explicitly moral nature without ever setting forth what these terms mean (Brisset & Edgley 1975). The dictionary definition is:

> MORAL– a: of or relating to principles of right or wrong in behavior; ETHICAL b: expressing or teaching a conception of right behavior. c: conforming to a standard of right behavior. d: sanctioned by or operative on one's conscience or ethical judgment. e: capable of right or wrong action.

The definition of the term *morality* shows it to be dependent on the definition of *moral:*

> MORALITY– 1a: a moral discourse, statement or lesson. b: a literary or other imaginative work teaching a moral lesson. 2a: a doctrine or system of morals. b: particular moral principles or rules of conduct. 3: conformity to ideals of right human conduct 4: moral conduct.

Sociologists generally have chosen not to deal directly in research or theory with morality or immorality and related concepts applicable in everyday life. They choose instead to follow ".. the positivist practice of substituting phenomena of their own construction for those of common sense everyday life, and then studying their own ad hoc phenomena as if these constituted reality (Douglas 1970). They have generally substituted *values* or *mores* for the term *morality* in its usual sense of right versus wrong. Though this substitution is made to avoid the complexity and bias of common sense terms, it has simply created another level of complexity. Wanting their studies to be ultimately related to everyday life, sociologists have ".. had to shift back and forth between their ad hoc phenomena and the everyday phenomena constructing post hoc systems of translating devices.. " (Douglas 1970 8). I will avoid these terminological problems and keep this study closely related to the common sense meaning of everyday life.

The early research of Hartshorne and May (1928) on morality yielded some findings of great interest. They defined moral character as a set of culturally defined virtues, such as honesty, which could be checked by observing a child's ability to resist temptation to break a rule by cheating when the chance of detection or punishment is small. They found that the most influential factors determining resistance to temptation to disobey or cheat were *situational factors* rather than some fixed individual moral character trait of honesty. Thus, moral behavior is determined by situational factors rather than by internal disposition of conscience or character.

In an essay called "Fragments on Ethics" Mead said: "In moral judgments we have to work out a social hypothesis, and one never can do it simply from his own point of view. We have to look at it from the point of view of a social situation." (Mead 1962 387) I certainly concur with this situational emphasis in the study of moral meanings. Since the purpose is to see what is meant by the terms *moral* and *morality,* such situational emphasis leads me to accept Wittgenstein's edict that the meaning of language is provided by its use.

I take morality as a general reference to right or wrong behavior, and use these terms as sensitizing instruments. Blumer (1970) advocates such usage of concepts and suggests referring to them as *sensitizing concepts.* As such, these terms are used to give a general sense of reference and guidance in approaching empirical cases. Though lacking a precise reference which allows clearcut identification, they provide a general sense of what is relevant.

CRIMINAL TRIALS

Our legal system is vitally concerned with the assignment of moral meaning. Here we will focus on criminal proceedings, where moral overtones and meanings are most apparent. Douglas (1970) asserts that each actor gains in moral worth to the extent that others lose in moral worth. Thus moral evaluation becomes a zero-sum game. There is a necessary dependency between moral opposites.

Burke (1969 21) shows why this is true: to tell what something is, one must refer to something that it is not. One tells what a thing is by placing it in terms of something else. Douglas agrees, arguing that as a result of this necessary linkage in social meanings between good and evil: "..we will always have evil at the same time that – and precisely because -- we have good." (Douglas 1970 4). It follows then that the stronger the belief in good, the stronger will be the belief in evil.

This explains why people choose to construct images of deviants and criminals. Labeling others as deviant enables one to see oneself as nondeviant. It also helps explain why they devise official means by the criminal justice system to stigmatize certain persons as deviants and as criminals. The stigmatization process illustrates what Garfinkel (1956) labeled a *status degradation ceremony.* He asserts that these ceremonies fall within the scope of the sociology of moral indignation, and that the paradigm of moral indignation is a form of public denunciation. Degradation ceremonies serve to dramatize evil. The court and its officers have a monopoly on degradation ceremonies.

The courtroom criminal trial is a degradation ceremony par excellence. The state invokes moral indignation for the ritual destruction of the moral identity of the accused. Despite the myth of the presumption of innocence until guilt is proved, the defendant's moral identity has already been severely damaged by the accusations. The defendent, aided by attorneys and others enlisted to aid the defense must try to prevent further damage to the defentant's moral identity, and must try to undo some of the damage already suffered.

A variety of interpretations are possible for any behavior. The state publicly subscribes to an account of the action that is very damning to the defendant's moral identity. This is why the formal accusation was made, and the trial initiated. The defendant must try to provide an account for the behavior in question what will prove to be more acceptable than the motivation ascribed to the defendant by the state. He tries to provide an account that will supersede the state's version and vitiate its negative effect. Many defendants are unfamiliar with the type of account or motive that will be acceptable in court. This may be because their social position places them outside the mainstream of legitimated morality. Or it could arise from unfamiliarity with our legal system. Here it is the defense attorney's task to legitimize the account given in court. Thus the defense attorney, under the guise of explaining the law, can coax the client to give a version of the crime that will allow him to claim that he was not responsible for his actions (Travers 1959).

My research dealt with the motives and accounts cited by both sides in the process of the construction of moral identities in the criminal trial. I studied the criminal trial process in felony cases involving jury trials. In a jury trial a courtroom observer witnesses the presentations made by both sides, and the observer has as much background information as do the jurors. The jury members officially decide questions as to the defendant's true moral identity. The observer has the same information as those passing moral judgment. As an observer at the trial, I concentrated on the construction of moral meaning by both sides. The central question in my research was: How is the defendant's moral identity constructed? I observed what the actors did, how they did it, and how other actors responded to the actions, using the dramaturgic perspective.

MORAL MEANING IN COURT

The dramaturgic perspective of meaning reveals three widely accepted principles (Becker 1975; Berger 1963; Stone 1962; Strauss 1964; Travisano 1975). 1) Meaning is not a given; it is not seen as being stable and dependable. 2) Meaning is created by people and the meaning of any object is constantly being re-established by behavior toward that object. 3) Meaning is seen as emerging from the behavioral consensus between human actors, and thus, is vitally linked to behavior and interaction.

In felony jury trials there are diverse persons trying to attach meaning to the behavior of the defendant. Not only do they wish to make the defendant's behavior meaningful, they wish to make it *morally* meaningful, with clearly negative overtones. Those representing the state generally try to establish that the defendant did a bad thing, or more generally that the defendant is a bad person. Those representing the defendant present morally positive, or at least morally neutral meaning for validation.

Basically, it is the meaning of experiences that constitutes their reality, and the process of establishing meaning in the courtroom is part of the process of constructing reality. The goal of both sides at the trial is to have the meaning they wish to assign to the defendant's behavior consensually validated by the jury and other actors in the courtroom drama. Since the meanings subscribed to by the two sides are mutually contradictory, and at least discrepant, it is usually impossible for both versions to be consensually validated by the jury, judge, press, and spectators. This results in a situation in which the defense and the state must compete in trying to convince others to validate the meaning which they seek to assign to the defendant's action. This is the basis of the adversarial system of justice.

This version of meaning building is oversimplified because there are often parties other than direct representatives of the state and the defense who have a vested interest in the validation of a particular meaning for certain of the events in question. The situation is further complicated by the fact that either the state or the defense may subscribe to more than one version of the meaning of the events. One side may subscribe to one version, then encounter difficulties selling this version, and end by modifying or repudiating it. Or a side may simultaneously offer several different meanings for the defendant's actions. It should be noted that since no acts take place in a social void, it is often necessary to offer and have accepted meanings for the actions of persons other than the defendant in order to make the advocated meaning of the defendant's action viable. If the defense contends that the defendant killed in self-defense, they must first convince the jurors that the victim meant to harm the defendant.

In order to establish concrete meaning a situated context must be provided, according to the principle of contextual determination of meaning. In a trial, both sides try to do this. Both the state and the defense have a vested interest in establishing a particular definition of the situation. Sometimes, contradictory "facts" about the situation are elicited from witnesses while in others, the "facts" or the situation are agreed on, but different interpretations involving moral meanings are said to apply. Definition of the situation is at the heart of the problem of establishing moral meaning.

NOW, THEN, AND THE *FUTURE*

Goffman (1959) focuses discussion on an individual in the presence of others, and notes the process whereby they seek information about each other, bringing into play information already acquired in order to help define the immediate situation. Such a definition of the situation is seen as essential to help all parties know what to expect of one another. Individuals try to manage the impression that they make to gain some control over the response of others.

Goffman stresses the idea that a projected definition of the situation is being offered and its acceptance is being urged. The concept of a team can be applied to such situations. A team refers to a set of individuals whose cooperation is required for a given definition of the situation to be maintained (Goffman 1959 104). In the courtroom, where the defense team cooperates to establish and maintain one definition of the situation, a blameless or at least technically innocent defendant struggles for acquittal. The state

team may be working to establish and maintain quite a different definition of the situation. The defense presents a morally acceptable view of the defendant while the state portrays the defendant as immoral. The jury must then synthesize these opposing views, and assign moral meaning to the defendant by their verdict.

But Goffman focuses on definition of the present situation, one of face-to-face interaction. He does consider bits of information from the past, but these are used to define the current situation. While individuals in court do have to define the current situation, a basic goal of the trial is to arrive at a consensually validated definition of the situation that occurred at a time and place when the members of the jury were not present, and were not in face-to-face interaction with the defendant. This problem demands consideration of added dimensions of time. McHugh (1968) stresses the importance of time and the idea of building meaning for past situations through the concept of *emergence.*

> Emergence concerns the temporal dimension of activity, wherein past, present, and the future are analytically distinct, and at the same time, inextricable, for they are not correspondingly distinct in their influence upon concrete behavior. (McHugh 1968 24)

Of import here is the fact that an event is always becoming and never complete. Such an event is continuously achieved as we reconstruct past situations. In the courtroom competing interests strive to restructure the past along lines that will result in future programs which they endorse. The defense may project a definition of the alleged criminal action as an unavoidable accident. The defendant is therefore not responsible, and should not now be convicted or punished for such actions. The defense claims that the defendant is not morally culpable.

The importance lies not in whether the past action occurred as depicted, but rather in how it is called forth to make the present meaningful. This would support Goffman's emphasis on the use of the past merely as an aid in defining the present situation. However, in the courtroom, much emphasis is placed on whether the past occurred as depicted by the defense or by the prosecution. Since the depiction of past events is often the center of controversy, the reconstruction is an important focus of interest. It is only after a definition of events in the past has been consensually validated by the jury that meaning of the present is sufficiently clear to allow the jury to consider future events. It is only after it has been decided that the defendant's action was criminal that it is clear that we are dealing with a criminal and that it is time to decide on an appropriate measure of punishment. The jury is presented with several versions of past events. It officially defines these past events using one or a combination of the presented versions. Subsequent action is based on the definition of the past situation arrived at by the jury. This well illustrates the Thomas theorem: in the court, situations defined from the past are now defined as real, and are assuredly real in their consequences (Thomas 1928).

Basically, the jury, the judge, and others present in the courtroom must concurrently define several different situations. The present situation at the trial must be defined. This is a continuous process, since the definition of the current situation is always subject to change. At the same time, one or several situations occurring at various times in the past are also being defined, negotiated and redefined. All of this is done with an eye to possible future programs of action. The multiple awareness of the current situation, one of several past situations and possible future situations is crucial in understanding the trial process. The idea of such *multiple awareness* is extremely useful in understanding the interaction process in court during felony jury trials.

NOW

The courtroom situation must be defined. The immediate present can be conceived as a razor's edge constantly moving forward. The present moment can never be accurately captured because as soon as one turns one's thoughts to it, it becomes the moment just past. This narrow view of the present *now* is too ephemeral to be useful in dealing with the situation of everyday life. In the courtroom experience during a trial, *now* is used more loosely, and can be considered in at least two general ways.

First, *now* can be considered to be the trial itself. The trial is seen as a unified event taking place in the present. That the trial may last

a week or more does not preclude considering it a unified event occurring in an elongated present -- now. Participants often contribute to this view by trying to maintain a consistent image for the duration. This is especially true for the defendant, who often wears the same clothes and maintains the same basic appearance throughout the trial. The manner in which defendants dress is linked to their presentation of self and the moral identity they wish to establish.

It might seem that the basic definition of the situation during a trial is generally agreed upon, and is fairly consistent over various different criminal cases. This is so because trials are generally conceded to be formal proceedings where interaction is strictly regulated by the rules of the court. Built into these rules is an enforced respect for the judge, who is actually referred to as "the court." This enforced respect for the judge is signaled by the instruction to everyone in the courtroom to rise when the judge enters or leaves. The court functionaries, such as the judge, attorneys, bailiff, and recorder know the rules for interaction and usually guide witnesses and defendants through their more fleeting appearances.

It can be considered a moral obligation for participants and spectators to accept the official definition of the trial process. However, the meaning of the ongoing situation in court must be continuously re-established. It is based on behavioral consensus, and as such is unstable and vulnerable. In court, as elsewhere, we can find evidence of the fragility of meaning, and hence of the subtype, *moral meaning.* The entire definition of the situation in court can be shaken when one or several of the participants fail to validate the generally accepted meaning. Any participant can disrupt the definition of the situation in court.

In a second sense, *now* can be used to refer to the *status quo* in other areas. It can denote the existing state of affairs in various aspects of the defendant's life, and the setting where the alleged crime ocurred. Thus if the defendant was unemployed at the time of the crime, he may be working full time *now.* The defendant certainly is not working during attendance at the trial. The point is that the defendant's life outside the courtroom setting and during the time of the trial involved having a full-time job.

It may not always be possible to distinguish empirically these two uses of the concept *now.* Consider a man who previously wore his hair in a long ponytail. If he gets a crew cut just before the trial, this new hair style will be part of the impression he makes in the courtroom. It will also be a central part of his appearance and the impression he makes on people in other settings during this period. One of the basic uses of *now,* whatever the sense of employment, is for comparison to the state of affairs extant at some previous time: *then.*

COMPARING *NOW* AND *THEN*

We have noted that a basic goal of the trial, besides agreeing on a definition of the in-court situation, is to arrive at a consensually validated definition of past situations. During the trial, competing interest groups strive to reconstruct the past, *then* along lines that will lead to the trial outcome which they advocate. One commonly used technique to establish meaning at the trial is to compare the situation now with the situation then. This comparison may be used to support the endorsed definitions and meanings of either the current or the past situation. The technique is used by both the state and the defense.

We will now consider elements of the situation that may be cited to compare *now* and *then.* The purpose is to show how this technique is used to build meaning, especially, moral meaning. The term *moral* is used in the general sense to connote right or wrong action. In each comparison of *now* and *then* it is relevant to ask who is doing the comparison, to what end, and to emphasize the meaning of which situation. We have distinguished between *now* referring to courtroom prodeedings, and *now* referring generally to the status quo in other matters at the present time. We will use this distinction when citing the elements of the situation to be compared.

First, consider comparisons drawn between the courtroom situation *now* and and the situation back *then.* It is in the face-to-face situation that the other is fully real, while all other forms of relating to the other are in varying degrees, remote (Berger & Luckman 1966 29). The implicaations of this must be considered in the courtroom situation. It is possible that the well-behaved and neatly dressed defen-

dant in the courtroom may seem more real to the jury than the violent or evil charactrer that witnesses and the prosecutor describe. The defendant now present in court often bears little resemblance to the defendant as described to those present *then* at the time of the alleged offence. This seems to indicate that it is the prosecution that most often calls up elements of comparison in order to contrast the courtroom situaton with the situation at the time of the alleged criminal action. There is a moral overtone inherent in such comparisons.

Physical appearance may be compared across the two situations. Often is it the physical appearance of the defendant that is at issue. In this instance it is usually the prosecutor who is attempting to show that the defendant's appearance at the time of the alleged crime was very different from the defendant's appearance now in court. This is because the defense attorneys can have the defendant dress in a manner consistent with the moral image they intend to present. They generally do not have to contest their client's courtroom appearance.

It is not only the defendant's appearance in court that is compared to that of earlier occasions. The appearance of a victim may also be the subject of such a *now-then* comparison. In the case of the victim it is often the prosecutor who planned, or is content with the victim's appearance in the courtroom while it is the defense who may contrast this appearance with that of the victim at the time of the alleged offense. In a rape case the victim was a nursing student who appeared in court in her crisp white nursing uniform, wearing thick glasses, with her hair pulled back severely into a ponytail. During closing arguments the defense attorney pointed out that on the night in question, the alleged victim had been in her room nude, and had started to paint before the arrival of the defendant. The defense was grounded in an attack on the propriety and morality of the victim.

Statements made from the stand during the trial may be compared to statements made by the same person at the time of the alleged crime. Statements are usually taken by the police shortly after an alleged offense. The statements made in court may be compared with the witness' statements at the time of the crime in an effort by either the defense or the state to impeach the witness' current testimony and decrease its impact on the jury and other audiences. This is done when the statement made from the stand does not corroborate, or actually contradicts the version of the situation *then* which an attorney is trying to build.

The two sides do not consistently support the validity of statements made at the time of the incident when compared to statements made in court. The parties at a trial generally take a very pragmatic approach supporting and making a case for the validity of those statments which most nearly support the definition of the situation which they advocate. The defense may challenge the validity of the defendant's statements to police immediately following the alleged crime by having the defendant testify to being under duress, or not having been advised about constitutional rights.

Since a distinction was made between *now,* referring to affairs in the courtroom, and *now* referring more generally to the status quo in other matters at present, we should also consider some of the comparisons that can be drawn between *now* in the more general sense of the status quo and the status quo *then* at the time of the event in question.

Finances may be the subject of such a comparison. Consider the case in which the defendant was unemployed at the time of the robbery of a convenience store, but had since received a grant to go to upholstery school. In this case, it is the defense that makes the comparison since the present situation compares favorably to that in the past. Using such an approach is actually looking to the future, since the inference is made that the individual now has a recourse and may stay out of trouble in the future.

These examples are merely illustrative. While I have been referring to *comparisons* between *now* and *then*, most of th examples have actually involved the *contrasting* of *now* and *then* by one side or the other to support the definitions and moral meanings of the situation, both current and past, which they are trying to construct. We must note that some comparisons do involve a claim of consistency across the past and present situations. This occurs when the defense maintains

that the alleged crime was in fact an unfortunate accident that was unavoidable. Such a contention was made in a case involving a couple charged with injuring their infant son after his death. The defense held that the child vomited and choked on the vomitus, which caused his death. The defense contended that this sort of accident occurs even when a child is being cared for in the hospital nursery. Thus, since this was an accident, the parents were defined as morally blameless both then and now.

At this point it becomes clear that this still represents an oversimplified conception of the process of building meaning in court. This is so because the foregoing refers to the situation *then* as a single entity to be considered and defined during the trial. Such is often not the case. Since time is a continuous variable, there are infinitely many different *thens* which could be intended. While this is not done in practice, it is true that there are often numerous different *thens* whose moral meanings need agreement to permit a jury's verdict.

MULTIPLE *THENS*

It may be that situations occurring at discrete times in the past are being compared, as Time 1, Time 2, and Time 3. In the case of the injury of the child, the doctor on duty in the hospital emergency room when the child was brough in testified that he weighed six pounds seven ounces at death. This doctor also testified that the hospital records showed that this child had weighed seven pounds eight ounces when born. Here, two distinct times in the past are being considered: the time of the child's birth and the time of his death, four months later. The state compared the weight of the child across these two past situations and contended that the fact that the child weighed less at death than at his birth four months earlier showed the parents' criminal neglect and immorality.

In some cases one side may strive to rstrict the consideration of past events to one particular *then*, the time of the alleged offense. The other side may wish to introduce evidence describing and defining situations that occurred at other times in the past. In fact, the situation is not simply one in which one side wants to restrict consideration to just one *then* while the other side wants to consider other past situations. Each side wants to get in discussion of those past situations which can be construed as supporting their theory of the moral meanings involved in the case. They want to discuss those past situations that are consistent with and support their definition of the situation at the actual time of the alleged offense, and that seem to support their definition of the situation *now*. They try to block discussion of any situation that does not support the moral meanings they are advocating for such situations.

Such a process is obviously an exercise in information control. The bank robbery trial of Patricia Hearst clearly illustrates how each side struggles to present those past situations consistent with their theory of the case, and to suppress those that are inconsistent. It is obvious that much of the testimony in the Hearst case and the disagreement between the state and the defense centered on the question of the moral identity of the defendant. The state strove to depict the defendant as an enthusiasstic and voluntary bandit and a willing convert to terrorism – an unacceptable moral identity. The defense sought to depict the defendant as a captive, frightened kidnap victim struggling for survival – a blameless moral identity. There was a very selective use of *thens* by the two sides. The defense sought to bring in testimony regarding past situations that tended to support the moral view of the defendant which they were constructing, and tried to suppress any mention of those situations that seemed to contradict this image. The state likewise tended to select those past situations supporting their theory of the moral meaning of the case, and tried to suppress seemingly discrepant past situations.

IN THE FUTURE

There are various definitions of possible future situations. Not surprisingly, consensual validation of future situations can be instrumental in effecting the moral meaning of present and past situations. In one sense the entire trial is geared to the future in an attempt to determine what should happen to the defendant. It is evident that different futures are usually envisioned by different parties at the trial. During the course of the trial, however, a party may find it necessary to modify the future situation that it endorses.

Generally, the state endorses a definition of the future with the defendant as a convicted felon who receives punishment. The defense endorses a definition of the future with the defendant either acquitted of the charges, or if convicted, placed on probation or given a minimal sentence. The question of the possible range of punishment for the offense charged usually arises during voir dire when the attorneys ask jurors if they could consider the full range of punishment allowable under the law. The prosecutor usually asks jurors if they could conceivably give the maximum allowable, while the defense asks if they could conceivably give the minimum allowable. Jurors who acknowledge that they cannot consider the full range of punishment are usually dismissed.

This procedure is consistent with the state's version of the future, since they see the defendant as criminal and immoral, and they seek the maximum level of punishment. For the defense this presents a dilemma. The defense often maintains that the defendant is morally innocent, and should be acquitted. Yet at this phase of the trial, the defense must ask if the jurors could consider probation or short prison terms, if the defendant were to be convicted. They do this to exclude jurors who could not give lighter sentences. This puts the defense attorney in the position of saying: "My client is not guilty, but if you decide on conviction, could you consider a minimal sentence?" The attorney must admit that there is a chance of a guilty verdict which may lead some jurors to think that the defendant indeed may be guilty.

The futures depicted may vary by the phase of the trial. During the guilt phase, the state usually maintains that the defendant is quilty and should be convicted. The defense maintains that the defendant is innocent and should be acquitted. But here again there are problems of consistency. The jury may have the option of acquitting, or of convicting the defendant of one of several offenses. In cases with such multiple conviction options both the state and the defense may have trouble maintaining consistency. The defense has the main dilemma. The state may consistently maintain that the defendant is guilty and morally to blame, and argue for a conviction on the maximum charge while conceding that the jury may choose to convict on a lesser charge. The defense must argue that the defendant is innocent and morally blameless, but if the defendant is determined to be guilty, then the jury should convict on one of the lesser charges.

After the guilt phase of the trial the jury decides the question of guilt or innocence. If the defendant is acquitted, the defense view of the future is validated, and the state has no recourse – the trial is ended. But if the defendant is convicted on at least one charge, the trial goes on to the punishment phase. This presents yet another dilemma for the defense. At this point they must modify their version of the future. The defendant is now a convicted felon with a morally unacceptable identity. The defense has not been able to salvage a moral identity for the defendant. During the punishment phase of the trial the defense generally tries to convince the jury to endorse a definition of the future situation that includes probation or a minimal prison sentence for the defendant. Having failed to avoid punishment, the defense efforts shift to minimizing punishment. The state is faced with no such dilemma. The jury has thus far validated their program for the future, and they may continue the same line of prosecution, pressing for the sentence they advocate.

Another question that arises when discussing possible future situations is: "Whose future is being considered?" While it is obvious that the defendant's future is at issue, the futures of the victim and of society may also be considered. The defense often places more emphasis on the defendant's future, pointing out some change in the defendant's life that indicates that such an offense will not recur. If there is family support for the defendant, the defense will often put several family members on the witness stand to testify that they are willing to help the defendant, perhaps with a place to live, a job, and emotional support. This would fulfill the conditions of probation. The defense may build sympathy indirectly for the defendant's family in an attempt to secure a light sentence. Direct solicitation of sympathy is not allowed.

The state, on the other hand, is more likely to look at the future of other parties. The state may cite the altered future of the victim and attribute this future to the defendant's actions.

The state is also likely to broaden the scope of the discussion and talk about the future of society. This generally leads to a discussion of the safety of society and of the jury's moral obligation to protect society. The state may point out that at least three different ways in which a long prison term protects society. 1) In prison the defendant will not be able to repeat this, or commit new crimes. 2) A long prison term may serve to deter the defendant. 3) A long prison term for the defendant may serve to deter others in society who may be contemplating such an offense.

The defense generally does not take such an expansive perspective when considering the future. However, we must note that when the defense indicates that the defendant is nonviolent or harmless, or will not commit the offense again, they are implicitly considering the future of the society and asserting that the defendant is not a threat in the future. The argument may be made that the defendant, though with some moral defects, does not pose a threat to society. Or the defense may argue that since the time of the crime, the defendant has experienced some form of moral regeneration as a result of treatment. Thus, it seems that in the process of envisioning different possible futures, the state tends to emphasize the protection of potential victims in society, while the defense focuses narrowly on the protection of the defendant.

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VIOLENCE IN COURTSHIP RELATIONS: A SOUTHERN SAMPLE

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INTRODUCTION

"Cruel to be kind means I love you, baby.. You gotta be cruel to be kind."

The sentiment of this lyric in a recent popular song expresses the truth about a segment of society in the United States. The notion of abusing one's loved ones -- both physically and emotionally -- is distasteful if not horrifying to most people. But in many sectors of society it is closer to the norm than it is to deviance. Many skeletons have been found in the closet in the past twenty years, and important among these is family violence. Sociological research in the 1970's focused on the problem of spouse abuse and the factors surrounding it. Wife or husband beating moved from obscurity to recognition, and abuses of young children, and of aged parents were increasingly recognized.

Recent research indicates that the cruelty phenomenon may extend from the privacy of the family to the somewhat more public domain of dating relations (Makepeace 1981). The incidence of violent and abusive behavior in dating couples is comparable to the same types of aggression in marital relations. Laner (1981) lists the following characteristics which serious dating couples share with their married counterparts: "greater time at risk; greater presumed range of activities and interests; greater intensity of involvement; an implied right to influence one another; sex differences that potentiate conflicts; roles and responsibilities based on sex rather than on interests and competencies; greater privacy associated with low social control; exclusivity of organization; involvement of personal, social, and perhaps material commitment; stress due to developmental changes; and extensive knowledge of one another's social biographies which include vulnerability, fears, and other aspects of each other's lives that can be used for purposes of attack."

EMERGENT AREA OF INVESTIGATION

The Makepeace sample included 202 college students, predominantly freshmen and sophomores, from rural and small town backgrounds, middle income Catholic and Protestant families. He examined both direct and indirect knowledge of courtship violence, asking his respondents to indicate both their own experience, and that of others about whose courtship violence they knew. He recognized seven levels of violence ranging from "threat" to "assault with a weapon." He found a fairly low degree of direct experience with violence, ranging from 14 percent for pushing and slapping, to 1 percent for assault with a weapon, and higher levels of indirect experience, with 49 percent for slapping to 7 percent for "choking" and 8 percent to assault with a weapon. Females were more likely to report themselves as victims, and males were more likely to perceive themselves as aggressors.

Laner questioned more than 500 college students concerning their experiences with violence in the context of the dating relation, and with violence as children. She found that violence was more likely in serious dating relations than in casual dating, and that childhood experiences of violence seem to be related to experiencing and inflicting abuse in the dating encounter. The expected inverse relation between socioeconomic status and violence was not found. Laner indicates the need for a theory of violence in intimate, voluntary, heterosexual relations, and the need for longitudinal studies to find the relation between premarital and postmarital violence.

These later studies have shown a much higher degree of violence in the dating relation than has been reported for the dating stage for marital abusers (Gelles 1972).

THE RESEARCH SAMPLE

We gave a short questionnaire to an opportunity sample of 195 high school and college students in a large southern city during the Spring of 1982. The sample included students from a small religiously affiliated university, a medium size private university, a private religious sponsored boys' high school and a large public high school. There was no

response from a private girls' school, due to administrative problems. Respondents indicated their experience both as inflictors and as victims of courthip violence in *casual* and *serious* dating relations. *Casual* was defined as a relation with a low degree of mutual commitment. *Serious* was defined as a relation in which those involved have a high degree of mutual commitment, and/or see themselves as "in love" in the relation. The items of abusive behavior were adapted from the *Conflict Tactics Scale* of Strauss and associates (1980 254). The respondents were predominantly Catholic, white, and middle income.

We expected: 1) that incidence of abusive behavior would be greater in serious dating relations; 2) that females would be more frequently abused than abusing; 3) that college level respondents would be more involved than high school level respondents in abusive behavior; 4) that the relation between violent behavior and socioeconomic status would be negative; and 5) that black respondents would report a higher incidence of abusive behavior than white respondents.

FINDINGS

General Profile.

Those in serious dating relations were consistently more likely to be abused and abusive than those in casual relations, as expected. The most frequently encountered behavior was pushing, grabbing, or shoving, followed by slapping, throwing something, kicking, biting, or hitting with a fist, and hitting or trying to hit with an object. This corresponds to the incidence of these behaviors in the Strauss study (1980 37).

Gender Variations. In the serious relation, in 7 of the 8 categories of abuse, females were more likely than males to be aggressors, as shown in Table 1. Females were involved in slapping their partners 3 times more than males, in kicking, biting, or hitting with the fist 7 times as often, and in hitting or trying to hit with an object almost 3 times more often than males. The difference is not quite so marked in causal relations, but females are more aggressive in 4 of the seven categories in casual dating relations. Twice as many males as females threw something at their partner, and males were more involved in the more serious categories of beating up and using weapons. Except for the use of a weapon in this the only positive response, and it came from a female.

In the serious dating relation, more males than females reported being victimized in 5 of the 8 categories of abuse. Almost 5 times as many males as females reported that the partner "threw something at me." More than twice as many males as females reported being slapped, and kicked, bitten, and hit with a fist. In casual relations, more males than females reported that they had received abuse in 7 of the 8 categories of violence. This higher incidence of female abusive behavior also agrees roughly with the findings of the Strauss study where wives were more likely than husbands to be involved as aggressor in 4 of the 8 categories.

High School vs College Differences Table 2 shows that a higher percentage of high school age respondents were involved in 6 of the 8 categories of violence as aggressors in serious relations. They were also more involved in 5 of the 8 categories in casual relations. A larger percentage of high school respondents were victims in 4 categories of violence for serious relations, and in 6 of the 8 categories in casual relations.

Race Differences The focus, as shown in Table 3, is on the black versus white respondent. There were only 8 cases of Hispanic descent, of which only one reported any dating relation violence. In serious relations, a higher proportion of black respondents were involved as aggressors in all 8 categories of violence. They reported "threw something at my partner" 3 times more often than white respondents, and were involved 2 times more frequently in pushing, grabbing, or shoving, and more than 2 times more often reported slapping, kicking, biting, or hitting with the fist. All positive responses in the three most extreme categories were from black resondents.

As victims in serous relations, a higher percentage of blacks were found in four categories. Except for kicking, biting, or hitting with the fist, where more than 2 times more blacks than whites reported such experience, the differences by race of respondent was not very great. In casual relations, blacks were more often victims in 6 of the 8 categories. Almost 2 times as often, blacks appeared as victims in the pushing, grabbing, or shoving, and the slapping category. Blacks

TABLE 1: COURTSHIP VIOLENCE BY TYPE, ROLE & GENDER
(Roles: Aggressor, A; Victim, V; percents.)

	Type:	Serious				Casual			
	Gender:	Male		Female		Male		Female	
Violent Acts	Role:	A	V	A	V	A	V	A	V
Throw object		8	24	11	5	11	16	5	5
Push, grab		29	28	27	18	23	25	18	14
Slap		9	24	26	9	7	18	12	4
Kick, bite, punch		2	13	15	5	3	11	7	0
Hit with object		4	10	12	3	4	7	8	1
Beat up		0	2	4	4	1	3	0	1
Weapon threat		1	1	1	1	2	1	1	0
Weapon use		1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
N		*90*	*90*	*79*	*78*	*90*	*90*	*79*	*78*

Note: Column totals may exceed 100 due to multiple violent acts.

TABLE 2: COURTSHIP VIOLENCE BY TYPE, ROLE, & AGE
(Roles: Aggressor, A; Victim, V; Percents.)

	Type:	Serious				Casual			
	Age:	H.S.		College		H.S.		College	
Violent Acts	Role:	A	V	A	V	A	V	A	V
Throw object		14	21	7	13	14	22	6	7
Push, grab		33	33	26	20	30	30	16	15
Slap		15	28	17	13	10	25	9	6
Kick, bite, punch		8	11	8	9	2	16	6	2
Hit with object		8	7	7	7	6	4	6	4
Beat up		4	2	1	3	4	4	1	2
Weapon threat		4	0	0	2	0	2	1	0
Weapon use		2	0	1	0	6	0	0	0
N		*50*	*49*	*119*	*119*	*50*	*50*	*119*	*118*

TABLE 3: COURTSHIP VIOLENCE BY TYPE, ROLE, & RACE
(Roles: Aggressor, A; Victim, V; percents.)

	Type:	Serious				Casual			
	Race:	Black		White		Black		White	
Violent Acts	Role:	A	V	A	V	A	V	A	V
Throw object		15	13	7	17	20	12	6	12
Push, grab		41	25	24	24	45	32	14	17
Slap		29	14	12	19	17	18	6	10
Kick, bite, punch		13	24	6	10	3	18	6	3
Hit with object		16	6	5	8	14	6	4	4
Beat up		5	5	0	3	3	9	0	1
Weapon threat		5	3	0	0	8	3	0	0
Weapon use		5	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
N		*38*	*38*	*120*	*120*	*36*	*36*	*125*	*125*

TABLE 4: COURTSHIP VIOLENCE BY TYPE, ROLE & INCOME LEVEL
(Roles: Agressor, A; Victim, V; Percents.)

	Type:	Serious						Casual					
	Income:	Lower		Middle		Upper		Lower		Middle		Upper	
Violent Acts	Role:	A	V	A	V	A	V	A	V	A	V	A	V
Throw object		21	29	11	10	7	23	24	24	8	5	5	17
Push, grab		35	29	23	16	32	36	33	31	23	16	12	21
Slap		41	29	13	11	16	20	31	31	10	11	4	5
Kick bite punch		26	24	4	7	5	11	19	25	4	2	2	4
Hit with object		11	6	5	5	9	11	22	13	6	2	0	5
Beat up		12	6	0	4	0	2	6	6	0	4	0	0
Weapon threat		5	6	1	1	0	0	6	6	2	0	0	0
Weapon use		11	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0
N		*17*	*18*	*83*	*82*	*57*	*56*	*18*	*17*	*83*	*84*	*57*	*56*

were about 5 times as often found in the victim category for kicking, biting, or hitting with the fist.

Income Level Variation Although 7 levels of income were listed on the questionnaire, ranging from under $10,000 to $50,000 and over, these were simplified to low, middle, and high levels as shown in Table 4. In serious and casual relations, the lower income levels were more likely be be aggressors in all 8 categories of violence. As victims, lower income level respondents were more frequent in 5 of the 8 categories. In casual relations, lower income level respondents were more frequent in 7 of the 8 categories. In all situations, middle income respondents usually ranked in the middle. But the involvement of upper income respondents was usually not far below that of the middle income group, and often was close to that of the lower income group.

POSSIBLE INTERPRETATIONS

The findings of this relation between degree of commitment between dating partners from casual to serious, and abusive behavior were as expected. Serious relations contain the greater opportunity for abuse, carry a larger battery of arms which partners may use against each other, and have a greater potential for occurrence of stressful situations.

The finding that females were generally more abusive than males was not anticipated. The sample of females was generally older, since 85 percent were college level, compared to 54 percent of the males. They were more often black, composing 35 percent of the females, compared to 19 percent black among the males. There were slightly more from the upper income group, with 38 percent, compared to females from other groups. In spite of the fact more females where in the college level group, the college group as a whole showed less involvement in physical violence in courtship relations, the age difference could be an explanatory factor. The younger respondents, who were mostly male, could have been less likely to be black, even with the black race relating positively to both abuse and victimization.

Aside from possible explanations lying in the makeup of the sample, we could speculate that courting males are less likely to be abusive, having been socialized to the notion that it is unacceptable to strike a woman in a courtship context. This could also be a regional characteristic of the South. The Makepeace and the Laner studies were conducted in the West, showing it more likely for females to be victims, and males to be aggressors. Perhaps greater male courtship passivity is a Southern quality, linked to the ideal of male chivalry.

This phenomenon could also indicate norm variation between males and females. In a dating relation, women may still have control. Males may be more anxious about displeasing or angering a dating partner than they would be about a wife. A woman can more easily end the dating relation. And a woman is more likely to tell others if she receives physical abuse in a dating relation than in a marital relation. Abuse in the dating relation may be more private for the female than for the male due to the greater reluctance of the male to tell others about it. A link may also be found in the influence of increased feminine assertiveness in the last decade.

The fact that younger respondents were more involved in violent behavior was also surprising. Perhaps high school students did not respond as carefully as the college group to the questionnaire. Besides sampling biases, the unexpected findings may also reflect a more violent subculture in the younger adolescent group. This age group, less skilled at interpersonal commnication, may be more likely to use physical force to express anger and other emotions. Older persons are likely to have more alternatives to physical abuse, as in talking it out, and other activities. Younger adolescents are also likely to be less secure in a dating relation, and more prone to apply physical dominance and aggression.

This does not explain why the college level respondents, who by this reasoning, should have become less violent on leaving young adolescence, still reported less lifetime violence in courtship. Perhaps the more violent high school group never enters college, which could have eliminated them as potential respondents in the college sample. It is also possible that the high school group are more violent than the college group. The popularity of the "Punk Rock" movement in

the youth subculture, with its many violent components, could indicate the more violent tendencies in today's high school youth, as compared to the college cohort. The high school group has also been exposed to more graphic violence on television and in movies, and exposed at an earlier age, and for a longer time than the college cohort.

Though the lower income group respondents were generally more involved in violence than the others, the difference is far less than we expected. Violence in lower income levels is expected as connected with the culture of poverty and the fact that lower income persons are more prone to frustrations, have fewer legitimate outlets for their anger, and a sense of powerlessness in society. They are more prone to violent expression of emotion (Wolfgang, Ferracutti 1967; Gurr, Bishop 1970). The upper class presumably does not have such inducements to violence. The relatively high level of violence in the upper income group could be caused by a sampling anomaly in this study. It is also possible that these findings indicate some aristocratic tradition. Perhaps high income level people are bored by having already achieved so much as lower level people are by being able to achieve so little. Or perhaps the economic dominance that goes with higher income also comes into play in interpersonal relations.

The finding that blacks were more involved in violence in courtship than other racial groups was expected. The violence that characterizes the black subculture seems to enter also in courtship relations.

CONCLUSION

Society in the United States seems characterized by a fascination with violence. The media, the music, and lifestyle of the people all seem to support acceptance and respect for violence as a way of life. It is important to study the violent aspects of the national culture to better understand and control them, and to help bring the lifestyles of the people closer to the ideals which they seek. We hope that future research will more adequately uncover information in the problem of violence in courtship, and that such information will lead to a more stable dating pattern and less violent marital relations.

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TRANSVALUATION SOCIOLOGY: NIETZSCHE AS CRITICAL THEORIST

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INTRODUCTION

An analysis of Nietzsche promises to illuminate some of the central concerns of *critical theory.* Questions of the role of reason in society, the relation between values and knowledge, and the effects of Western civilization on humanity occupy places of prominence for both Nietzsche and the Frankfurt School. Examination of the Nietzschean roots of critical theory is worthwhile as intellectual history. The value of such an exercise is increased if it can be used to reformulate productively the critical vision of society. This reformulation is not predicated on the assumption that Nietzsche is the primordial critical theorist, but uses Nietzschean thought to address the central concerns of critical theory.

THE NIETZSCHEAN INFLUENCE

Nietzsche's influence on Horkheimer appears in three areas. 1) As an exponent of the *Lebensphilosophie* Nietzsche is praised for his dominant theme on the connection of thought to concrete human concerns, and for his sensitivity to the changed circumstances of human existence. The tradtional bifurcation of reality into the *true* and *apparent worlds* has collapsed, and with it, the anchorage for the meaning of existence has disappeared. Nietzsche's ringing critique of *The Last Man,* and his biting characterization of European and German society transforms Nietzsche's antimetaphysical polemics into a kind of social criticism.

2)Horkheimer is enamored of Nietzsche's uncompromisingly critical style. Not only does Horkheimer adopt the essay/aphorist character of Nietzschean style, but the inherent critical quality of the intellectual conscience also leaves its mark. Nietzsche rejects convictions which do not permit experiment. The *courage of one's convictions* is to be replaced by the courage to *attack* one's convictions.

3) Nietzsche's careful and contentious examination of the genealogy of Western morality strikes a resonant note with Horkheimer. That ascetic deprivation has become virtuous, and that an entire culture has been organized on this principle, are fundamental Nietzschean insights on the repressive, ultimately inhumane character of the emerging bourgeois order.

However, Horkheimer finds Nietzsche wanting for what he deems the ahistorical character of his work. More serious criticism came from Habermas, as chief spokesperson for the Frankfurt Institute. In his complex effort to trace the dissolution of epistemology, its later replacement by the philosophy of science, and the ultimate triumph of pure methodology, Habermas locates Nietzsche on the last step on the path to a sterile research, purged of really interesting problems. Habermas finds Nietzsche so caught in positivism that his efforts to demonstrate that science is an illusion can not fully extract him from the contradictions which science produces. Habermas' general concern is the positivist denial of self reflection as a form of knowledge (Habermas 1971 298). Because positivism identifies science as knowledge *per se* rather than as *one form* of knowledge, the worth and importance of self reflection are deprecated (Giddens 1977 201). Without reflexive knowledge of its human authors, science degenerates into techniques for manipulation and control. Habermas siezes scattered Nietzschean aphorisms which deny the possibility of the cognitive faculty achieving any sort of self reflective knowledge as evidence that Nietzsche "wrote the last chapter" of the prehistory of modern positivism. Thus, Habermas inverts Horkheimer's view of Nietzsche as responding to the emerging crisis in Western thought and Western society in an essentially critical but not wholly satisfactory way. For Habermas, Nietzsche is the final movement toward the crisis, and not the initial response to it.

CENTRAL CONCERNS OF CRITICAL THEORY

We require a general outline of critical theory before we can assess the critical impact of Nietzschean philosophy. Horkheimer provides a concise summary.

> .. The critical theory of society is .. the unfolding of a single existential judgment. .. The theory says that the basic form of the historically given commodity economy on

which modern history rests contains in itself the internal and external tensions of the modern era. It generates these tensions over and over again in an increasingly heightened form. And after a period of progress, development of human powers, and the emancipation for the individual, after an enormous extension of human control over nature, it finally hinders further development and drives humanity into a new barbarism. (Horkhiemer 1972 227)

Horkheimer's characterization of the contradictory nature of the commodity economy gives a dialectical cast to the modern era. It is at once, progressive and repressive; emancipating and enslaving; humanizing and dehumanizing. This theme, which both Horkheimer and Adorno (1972 xiii) call "the self destruction of the Enlightment," becomes the virtual *petitio principii* of the Frankfurt School.

Although this axiom is the foundation on which critical theory is based, other cardinal features can be identified. First, the theory is *critical* in the Kantian sense. It not only opposes existing social forms, but also opposes epistemological categories by which social forms are known (Horkheimer 1972 207). The critique of the means by which the social world is apprehended and understood moves the critical enterprise toward a distinctive theory of knowledge. Second, critical theory is *negative*. This designation is not used here to describe the critical style of refusing to outline positions in any fixed way, defining itself by saying what it is not. Rather, it denotes the virulent nonpositivism of the Frankfurt School. Positivism seeks to remove the presence of the theorist in the knowing process, hence producing knowledge which is sure, methodologically sound, and *positive*. Critical thought places the subject "reflexively investigating the grounds of his claims to knowledge" at the heart of the epistemological process (Giddens 1977 201).

Knowledge is intimately bound with human interests and hopes. It is negative and should be examined and criticized, not idolized (Jay 1973 65). Finally, critical theory is *humanist*. It is concerned with human happiness, and is deeply rooted in the notion of *praxis* (Marcuse 1968 135). The conviction that humanity can *realize* itself only through a transformation of society and the means by which it is known, is but a corollary of the central proposition of critical thought. Modern culture frees as it enslaves. If humanity is to be free at last, the nature of our knowledge and our society must be radically transformed.

NIETZSCHE & CRITICAL HUMANISM

To hold that Nietzsche is humanist in the same sense as the Frankfurt School is to claim that he shares the twin judgments: 1) that the human life is worth living, and 2) that specific possibilities exist for the amelioration of human life (Marcuse 1964 x). Certainly, Nietzsche is seldom described in these terms. The vitriolic character of large portions of his work would seem to belie any humanist sentiments. Still, there is a strong and abiding humanism at the core of Nietzschean thought. It says "Yes" to life. His affirmation of life as something to be cherished, and is crystallized in the notion of *amor fati (love of fate)* which, for him, is the mark of human greatness (Nietzsche 1968c II 10):

> That one wants nothing to be different, not forward, not backward, not in all eternity. Not merely bear what is necessary, still less conceal it – all idealism is mendaciousness in the face of what is necessary – but love it.

While the *amor fati* formulation appears in the last of Nietzsche's works, the theme winds throughout his work. Early, it forms the lens through which the nature and meaning of science and art are brought into focus. In Nietzsche's *Zarathustra* we are reminded to remain faithful to the earth, joining the joyous laughter of overcoming ourselves rather than to escape into metaphysical castles. Finally, life and its value form the base from which Nietzsche condemns Christianity and traditional morality as *ressentiment*, a rancor which is:

> *hostile to life*, an agent of the dissolution and destruction of man, an attempt to assassinate the future of man, a sign of weariness, a secret path to nothingness.

As part of this affirmation of life, Nietzsche repeatedly posits humanity as valuable, potentially noble and beautiful. Nietzsche presents Goethe and Zarathustra as images of true humanity. Each is an emancipated and joyous spirit which says "Yes" to life. His portrait of

Goethe underscores his own affirmation of the potential of humanity:

> He did not sever himself from life, he placed himself within it .. and took as much as possible upon himself, above himself, within himself. What he aspired to was *totaltiy;* he strove against the separation of reason sensibility, emotion, will, .. he disciplined himself to a whole, he created himself. (1968f IX 49)

This image of man stands high above us, and with the rest of nature, we are straining toward it (Nietzsche 1964 IV).

NEGATIVE MOVEMENT OF AMOR FATI

Nietzsche's various treatments of the *amor fati* theme leave little doubt that he is humanist in the first of the senses noted above. But his claim to want nothing different, not forward, not backward, would seem basically opposed to critical commitment to amelioration of human life. Nietzsche's pessimism is well known. He consistently rejects any hope of correcting the world as a sublime and mystical illusion (1968c 15). He offers no positive hope of amelioration. Yet, *amor fati* contains hope, but hope which is *negative* in a genuinely critical sense.

Nietzsche teaches two things about life: 1) it should be loved as fate, without palliative or protection (Danto 1965 33); 2) it must be overcome. These facets of *amor fati* are at once an affirmation and a negation of life and humanity. Moreover, the first is the mechanism of the second. When life and humanity are loved as fate, they are at the same time overcome and transcended. The dialectical character of *amor fati* is manifest in Nietzsche's discussion of masters and slaves (1968e), and his much maligned *Superman.*

Nietzsche's genealogical search for the roots of morality is more topical than historical. Therefore, his treatment of masters and slaves must be dealt with as a construct rather than as a fact. When Nietzsche describes a *master morality* and a *slave morality* he is not dealing with actual masters and slaves mutually interrelated. Rather, he depicts two basically different dispositions to life; one of noble Yes-saying, and another of servile *ressentiment.*

While every noble morality develops from a triumphant affirmation of itself, slave morality from the outset says "No" to what is "outside," what is "different," what is "not itself;" and *this* No is its creative deed. This inversion of the value-positing eye – this *need* to direct one's view outward instead of back to oneself – is the essence of *ressentiment*; to exist, slave morality always first needs a hostile external world; it needs, physiologically speaking, external stimuli in order to act at all – its action is fundamentally reaction. The slaves' rejection of the value of life, their antihumanism, leads to the devaluation of this world and humanity. All rewards, all meanings and all values are projected into an imaginary, spiritual realm. The passions are repressed, and so become tyrannical, haunting, and tormenting, making life something to be endured, not lived.

Nietzsche's masters engage life with *amor fati.* The master does not praise life as good; he loves it for what it is. *Amor fati* is beyond good and evil, and by loving life as *fate,* the master emancipates himself and becomes a creative free spirit, transcending life and standing over it in judgment.

> The noble type of man experiences *itself* as determining values; it does not need approval; it judges, "what is harmful to me is harmful in itself"; it knows itself to be that which first accords honor to things; it is value-creating. Everything it knows as part of itself it honors; such a morality is self glorification. (Nietzsche 1968b 260)

The master, by saying "Yes" to life, negates and moves beyond slave morality and the culture it has predicated on the denial of human worth. Nietzsche remarks his genealogical discovery of master and slave moralities and his move "beyond good and evil as:

> .. in all essentials a *critique of modernity*, not excluding the modern sciences, modern arts, and even modern politics, along with pointers to a contrary type that is as little modern as possible – a noble, yes-saying type. All those things of which our age is proud are experienced as contradictions to this type, almost as bad manners; our famous "objectivity," for example; "pity all that suffers"; the "historical sense" with its submission to foreign tastes, groveling on its belly before *petits faits* and "being scientific."

The fulfillment of master morality leads to the *Superman* (Uebermensch). Like the master, Nietzsche defines the Superman in opposition to a despicable counterpart, the *Last Man*. These Last Men have invented happiness. They are content with their state, bound by the world and their guilt. Nietzsche could not accept humanity with such complacency and resignation. It was to be overcome. This is the meaning of *Superman.*

.. We perish as *merely* human beings in order to become something higher. Human life is a sacrifice, or should be, not to something trans- and extrahuman, but to something attainable by *us* .. We are more than we were, but less than we might become, and the higher fulfillment of ourselves is that which we should seek. The *Uebermensch* is merely a joyous, guiltless, free human being, in possession of instinctual drives which do not overpower him. He is the master and not the slave of his drives ..

There is a remarkable correspondence between the negation of the Last Man by the Superman and Marcuse's (1964) vision of the liberation of the "Happy Consciousness" in a sublimated but nonrepressive society. The Superman loves life, but does not accept it uncritically. He stands over, beyond, and against what is. He creates value, and thereby creates and fulfills his humanity.

TRANSVALUATION

The critical impact of Nietzsche's humanism and the dialectic character of his view of humanity is starkly revealed in his treatment of modern culture. He disparages the emerging bourgeois order under several pejorative labels: *European, German, Christian, Alexandrian, the herd,* and *the Wagnerians.* The meaning of all culture is the reduction of man, the potentially self-creating master, to a tame and civilized animal. For Nietzsche European culture represented a regression of mankind, and unless it could be transcended, permanently condemned humanity to the repellent sight of the ill constituted, dwarfed, atrophied and poisoned Last Man. Nietzsche longs for one glance of a man who justifies *man*, but leaves little doubt as to how thing are:

.. the diminution and leveling of European man constitutes *our* greatest danger, for the sight of him makes us weary. .. We can see nothing today that wants to grow greater, we suspect things will continue to go down, down, to become thinner, more good natured, more prudent, more comfortable, more mediocre, more indifferent, more Chinese, more Christian – there is no doubt man is getting "better" all the time.

Nietzsche's sarcastic *better* takes us to the heart of the matter. Modern culture, like the slave moraltiy on which it is based, inverts life and value. What is "better" is in fact worse; what is "human", inhuman; what is "good", bad; what is "growth", decay; and what is "life" is ultimately death to the Last Man.

The remedy for the decadence of the culture of the Last Man is simple, straightforward, and *critical.* The basic values of ascetic bourgeois culture must be surpassed, *transvalued.* Transvaluation is the essentially Critical Act. Culture and the criteria for its judging are simultaneously transcended. Transvaluation begins with *amor fati* as a fundamental predisposition to life. The conditions of life, including the Last Man and his culture, are not rancorously despised, but are loved as something to be overcome. Transvaluation proceeds through the constant negation of modern culture by a continual affirmation of the nobleness of a truly mastered human life. In the end, trnasvaluation moves beyond values. Humanity is no longer an object which is evaluated by an alien and imaginary realm. Rather, it becomes the true judging, valuing, and honoring subject.

Nietzsche describes this movement of transvaluation by metaphor in a parable of a camel, a lion, and a child. The camel bears an onerous burden, but does not succumb, and becomes a lion. The lion courageously stands against his foes, and becomes a child. Transvaluation is culminated. Transvaluation creatively bridges the gap between theory and *praxis*. Transvaluative thinking is self creating activity *par excellence*. Its dialectical affirmation of life, negation of Last Man culture, and attainment of true humanity grants to theory status as a genuine human acivity. In the world of the Last Man, that kind of theory is radically revolutionary.

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LIFE LONG WELL–BEING: A HUMANIST AND HOLISTIC ASSESSMENT

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INTRODUCTION

The study of lifelong development on an nterdisciplinary, holistic, and humanist basis is gaining ascendancy in the social and human sciences (Brim, Baltes 1980; Baltes, Schaic 1973). Sociologists, psychologists, anthropologists, and historians have treated portions of this holistic puzzle, and this treatment will promote better understanding of the lifelong process of optimum development and well-being. Various authorities in psychology and sociology have done creative work on the issues of optimum well-being (Bronfenbrenner 1970; Elder 1974; Riley 1972; Brim 1966; Riegel 1975; Neugarten 1969; Foner 1975). The human life offers many paths and dimensions which provide opportunity, influence, and obstacles in the endless search for human and social meaning.

WELL-BEING DEFINED

Well-being is the opportunity to maximize one's potential and to enlarge possibilities for meaningful transactions with self and society. It requires self-knowledge and the desire and opportunity for lifelong learning and social involvement. It is rooted in a basic biological level of fitness and wellness, not just absence of disease. Well-being assumes the flexibility of self, the ability to deal with ambiguous situations. It requires plasticity in daily encounters which often create stress and frustration. Individuals derive well-being from the ability to define, interpret, and construct meaningful bridges to environments they wish to engage. It is active engagement in challenging activities. It is rooted in awareness that chronological aging does not produce inevitable passivity, or decline and loss of capacity. Such awareness of aging is not inherently good or bad, but provides both opportunity and obstacles for being that is well, optimal, actualized, and world-affirming, not merely marginal and tolerable.

WELL-BEING OVER THE LIFE COURSE

There are four basic assumptions for life course well-being:

1) Individual change, growth, and self development goes beyond chronological aging. Inevitable change requires one to look at self development experientially and experimentally, rejecting a rigid view of externally imposed ages, stages, crises, and tasks. Well-being is diminished by viewing age as a set of imposed expectations and requirements.

2) Structured processes systematically set the stage for humanist self-actualization and well-being. The intrinsic factors in life course transactions include timing, extent and number of role relations, and possible discontinuities. Extrinsic factors include war, political struggles, and economic and social crises. Ecxessive emphasis on any one factor, divorced from analysis of the individual's interpretation of multiple contexts and social support networks gives a false picture of lifelong well-being. The life course consists of numerous life event paths which may intersect or run parallel, and do not necessarily run in orderly stages.

3) Demographic processes influence timing of individual transitions. Individuals are part of population cohorts. A cohort consists of people born into a social system in approximately the same social era. The life pattern of those born into a cohort is affected by the same social, historical, and environmental events.

4) Life choices by individuals as autonomous agents and as members of a cohort, can influence the direction of change in society. Many reforms in educataional, financial, military, and social institutions resulted from those born in the postwar cohort in the United States from 1946 to 1964. Individuals can receive arbitrary and patterned views of social role expectations and societal standards.

GENERATIONAL COHORTS

The generational cohort is defined by the average time it takes a female to replace herself giving birth to a daughter, who will later repeat the process, approximately in 30-year cycles. A generation becomes a point of reference for regarding common social and historical events which bind and separate members of society. The generation of the postwar period entered society in a time of rapid economic growth, suburbanization, coming of the media age, increased use of

automobiles, and expansion of public education. Specific demographics are of less interest than the consequences.

The baby boom generation affected decisions on resource allocation, consumer markets, war and peace, education, housing, media and employment. This generation helped spawn entire indistries and markets, creating both winners and losers. Although not evident in the economic boom of the 1950's and early 1960's, the cycle of economic boom and bust became more evident in the latter part of the Viet Nam War, when America's unlimited appetite for growth could not at once be satisfied with both guns and butter. Later, stagflation became a permanent fixture as so many groups petitioned the government to benefit each at the expense of others (Thurow 1981). Different cohorts encounter different social patterns, trends, and expectations, depending on the current of domestic and world events. The fact of large numbers influences these larger trends. Young bodies are needed to fuel the engines of war. Sophisticated consumers look for high returns on investments. An educated labor force demands more challenging jobs.

Social problems do not impact all generations or all members of society equally. Different segments flow through society with different consequences, and at different transitional points. The well-being of individuals of the postwar population boom, black women, the very poor, and single parent families are diminished by blocked opportunities and a reduced chance for education, and consequent rejection for employment in primary labor markets.

HOLISTIC THOUGHT ABOUT WELL-BEING

Everyone needs to feel a part of society, through the community, neighborhood, school, church, family, or work associations. Under the pressures of the modern world, people look for roots, purpose, and meaning. The idea of age provides one such sense of structure which can simultaneously allow one to feel part of something while limiting one to standardized behavior and expectations. Age norms are established by society as patterns of expectation which persuade one to act one's age and regulate behavior to the demands of society. Sometimes this pressure can seem unfair and constraining.

Age norms create predictability in our lives (Neugarten, Hagstead 1976 45). We need predictability in the early years when basic personality dimensions form, but many contemporary researchers beleive that we shape, alter, and reshape our personality configuration throughout life, and that one person's predictability may be another's burden. Everyone needs some guidelines and a safe haven for retreat. But predictability can become an excuse for failure, retreat from involvement, and a self-fulfilling prophecy. "You said I cannot succeed, so why should I try?"

Work norms provide general guidelines for the individual and society. We are constrained to play in our early years, work in middle years, and retire in our later years. It is comforting to depend on established life patterns. But rigid expectations often become the base for discriminating against adaptive patterns, and wasting potentially productive human and social resources. The rigid expectation that one cannot begin work until age 18, or that one must retire at age 65 may seem unnecessarily restricting to those wanting to contribute. Forced retirement may seem a punishment after a long career of service and public involvement. Those who challenge age norms and expectations often provide a good model for others.

Holistic living requires us to recognize that people make contributions at any stage in their lives regardless of age. Social norms may turn our episodic, fluctuating, and perplexing seasons of life into seasons of discontent. Age can become a label of experience and ability which in practice, spells presumed disability (Sennet 1974). Holistic life course analysis affirms the humanist search for multiple life paths and directions which are influenced by historical and social events, but not reduced to them. Holistic analysis provides insights into the existential and experiential meanings of role transitions and age norms. We engage and disengage social roles which may diminish us because of the social demands and lack of social supports. Our publica and private selves feel separated and unsynchronized (Bensman, Lilienfield 1979; Lasch 1979). Limits, boundaries and social patterns must also provide opportunities for self

actualization, growth, and public involvement (Lifton 1976; Birnbaum 1977).

Holistic analysis affirms our existentially and emotionally felt *brute being* in life expereinces (Douglas, Johnson 1977 3). Feelings and behavior must become integrated in a way which supports pattern and ambiguity, choice and necessity, retreat and involvement, recharging and giving. Meaning is derived from our engagements and involvements with the world, sometimes with focus, and sometimes without a clear purpose. The pictures which we create talk back to us, and reflect our value choices. We reap what we sow. If we sow paranoia, we create paranoid people who attack us first before we can attack them. Because we create meaning and value in the world through our daily acitons, we generate added energy for benefit or harm. Commitment and enthusiasm for our selves, families, community and world grows by involvement and concern for the things we care about. Our moral choices regarding what we allow in our world and time creates a habit of indifference or commitment.

We cannot abdicate responsibility for the world by passing the responsibility elsewhere. The morality of muddle and postponement, of constantly putting off decisions and responsibility for the world which we create catches up with us. We are never finalized as dead or devitalized as long as we are connected with things which make a difference to us, and as long as we live up to our principles and moral commitments. Holistic analysis also fits well with the idea of well-being over our entire life. But it must, as a matter of consistency, affirm the importance of unique experiences and their interpretation in a meaning-centered existence.

Both short term, intensely-felt encounters and long term struggles become important. Well-being must include ways of recognizing the gaps between the various dimensions of our personal life space and the social institutions which allow us freedom to explore, think creatively, experiment, risk and grow, over both the short and the long haul.

> There is no *necessary* rhythm or certainty in the sequence of segments of the life space that the individual will occupy. ..thus there is great variety possible in society, given the increasing numbers of segments of living in which behavior can be carried out. (Dubin 1979)

PERSONAL WELL-BEING

Well-being is rooted in our view of oursleves both as situated and as emergent. We construct ourselves as feeling beings in a social world. A belief in the indestructability of our deepest being and the importance of our feelings and emotions allows us to challenge, confront, rebel, and emerge as selves in process. This view of self resides in a nonpositivist, anti-Cartesian epistemology which rejects rigid reductionism, the separation of subject-object dualism, and the belief that personality must be reduced to fixed types. Such labels channel our attention away from our humanist potential for personal change and social well-being.

Well-being is situated both in our body and in our mind. Physical health is tied with psychological health. This holistic mind-body integration requires us to see lifelong physical health as fundamentally related to psychological health. These are based on holistic consciousness which leads to the search for understanding of being and becoming, being and doing, and being and praxis. The key point is that consciousness of our deep indestructable self depends on our attitudes toward the world which suggest engagement, existential possibility, and human affirmation.

Consciousness connects us to other social beings and the social world through our attitudes of optimistic concern and caring. Consciousness becomes a vital life line to authentic existence. It is a world truly beyond ourselves, yet rooted in our deepest core of self, neither over nor underinflated; neither narcissistic nor guilt-ridden and oversocialized.

The consequence of blocking our sense of purpose, our vital system, is th loss of objective meaning. When we block out the larger purposes of life, meanings outside our private sense of self, we elevate our own petty problems to unreal and fantastic proportions, and become neurotic, anxious and preoccupied. We lose well-being as we lose consciousness of our social and human connections, a sense of the larger purposes and values in life. When this happens, we turn in on ourselves in a self-destructive funk of guilt, inactivity and passivity. In this view, consciousness loses its greatest power, to focus, to engage, to take the role of the other, to confront, to connect,

to analyze with compassion, to join forces. We let the robot take over, and become passive, bored, frustrated, spiteful, and amplify the bad messages while ignoring the good (Wilson 1972 222).

The mind needs to amplify, to contact the deep levels of vital reserves and energy. Otherwise the trivial events of the day lead us into a fearful withdrawal or excessive activity and burnout. Existential and humanist attitudes toward a sense of possibility and a meaningful future provide a vision, a prospect of things worth doing. Affirmation of possibilities, goals, and visions of the future provide a link for consciousness and connection to the world. It offers the best chance for lifelong well-being.

THE CONNECTION

Marks discounts the scarcity approach to concepts which assume that we use up and drain away the time and energy by making social commitments. He offers instead, an expansionary view of self and consciousness. We expand our energy and time by enlarging our social commitment, public projects, and role involvements. Because we choose to do something meaningful with our time, we actually enlarge it. The *drain* metaphor assumes that the source of energy is based on sexual or libidinal forces, and that one sublimates or exhausts one's potency in bursts of creativity and engagement. Such scarcity or drain theories use reductionist metaphors because they view mind and body as separate. Energy is finite, and easily used up. By the holistic view, energy is abundant, and rooted in the physiology of living cells. The most significant contribution of this view is the emphasis on meaningful projects, goals, values, attitudes which call forth vital reserves, and ultimately stimulate activity which produces more energy. Time itself is not scarce, but varies with our meaningful commitments, valued activities, attitudes toward tasks, cultural scripts, and institutionalized roles. Such a view is compatible with notions of not wasting time, in order to foster innnovative life patterns. We must make tradeoffs among a variety of probable activities.

Finally, commitment, or lack of it, often functions as an excuse for noninvolvement, lack of energy and effort, misplaced priorities, and failure to communicate the need to disengage close creatively, and assimilate (Klapp 1979 12). The main point is the need to reconceptualize the hydraulic drain and scarcity metaphors which are applied to energy, time, commitment, and consciousness. Energy well invested in meaningful life events, social connections, and valued relations, produces more energy. Well-being over the life course increases as we choose and prioritize those meaningful private activities and social commitments.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE & SUPPORT SYSTEMS

Well-being over a lifetime involves innumerable transitions and decisions on paths and schedules for education, family, career, leisure, consumption, and life style. Personal stress is created by transitions that go against normative standards, age norms and chronology patterns. Sheer numbers of persons in large cohorts, or autonomous and creative persons may break out of rigid patterns and point the way to alternate life paths, schedules, and transitions. Such unprecedented responses open the way for necessary larger social and structural changes at other times.

Individual well-being is intimately tied to the available structural and social support systems which may limit or enhance human options and potential. Old, predetermined institutionalized patterns that once served a purpose are difficult to chanage because traditions die slowly, long after their original reason to exist is gone. The lockstep is built on rigid mechanical metaphors, such as the hydraulic metaphors of energy scarcity and fixed resources. Ignored are the options and joys of planning alternative life paths, schedules, and events in the life spiral. Flexible life scheduling as a significant prescription for lifelong well-being remains an undernourished alternative (Best 1980 3).

Changing requirements for knowledge and technical skill, and increasingly sophisticated work environments require new thinking about how education prepares one for work, leisure, and growth. Meaningful work is one of the most important components of lifelong well-being. It can be facilitated by lifelong study, retraining sabaticals, better career planning,

educational credits for what has been learned through work experience, and work credit for time spent in schools. Cramming all of one's education into narrow and arbitarary life stages of childhood and young adulthood prolongs boredom, irrelevance, inactivity and poverty, and curtails practical and necessary learning opportunities. Well-being is promoted by allowing students to combine school and work, to join cooperative education programs, and to alternate periods of work and education throughout life.

Flexible life scheduling should be joined with public recognition of the way social support systems encourage or discourage personal and social well-being over the life career. We must learn to diversify experimental social and policy support programs, and to diversify options and promote assessment of individual goals and plans. The issue of learning to cope with lifelong stress, strain, and burnout also indicates the importance of social support systems to maintain life-course well-being. Though scarcity theories may not govern the use of human energy, and spontaneous activity may actually expand human energy, the facts of work stress, overload, and role strain remain. Excessive amounts of work distract from a human the feeling of competence and mastery which degrades one's sense of quality involvement (French, Rosenthal, Cobb 1974). Options open the individual as part of flexible life scheduling allows a better fit between changing personal needs and environmental support, particularly when the fit creates strain.

Well-being is ultimately tied to one's source of belonging, connection and involvement with significant others. Humans are social animals, and only become fully human through interaction, communication and learning. For society to maximize well-being we must maximize significant, meaningful relations, connections and support systems. Loss is important because it reveals elements of the social bond, including seven dimensions: 1) intimacy and role relations; 2) mundane assistance; 3) linkage to others; 4) creation and maintenance of self; 5) support for nonconformity myths; 6) reality maintenance; and 7) mainatenance of possible futures (Lofland 1981 10).

Lifelong learning about optimal physical health is essential for well-being. Physical involvement with self realization includes reducing emphasis on winning, highlighting fun, creativity, spontaneity, excellence, and challenge in sports activities. Learners are the best judges of their own physical needs and capabilities. Social support systems should expand participant sports facilities, and encourage activities which can be continued over a lifetime (Spreitzer, Snyder 1978). This idea of leisure, as one dimension of lifelong learning sits well with the *autodidact* or self programmed learner who continuously learns to add vitality and zest to life (Highet 1976). Self education for lifelong leisure works on the principle of informal learning, personal involvement, and choice. When people discount professional, over-organized, and formal activities, they have more active control of all aspects of their own life.

CONCLUSION

Well-being is best facilitated by a holistic perspective on lifelong education, and involvement with significant activities, people, and institutions. The key is *participation*, and learning to forge new relations, open avenues of growth, and challenge old institutions to offer needed support structures and support systems. We need a holistic understanding of the forces that narrow our lives and restrict us to rigid chronological stages, timetables, and roles. We can break out of the lockstep mentality concerning education, careers, health, retirement, and institutional change. Such restrictive mentality limits our ability to learn and change.

Developing skills, resources, and support systems require lifelong commitment and participaiton in these personally significant projects. The challenge of a changing cultural and social environment requires the individual to recognize the complexity of events and the necessity to develop and maintain skills in assessment, decision making, organizing activities, and political participation.

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VALIDATION OF A CORRECTIONAL CLASSIFICATION SYSTEM

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INTRODUCTION

A parolee is given constraints on where he can live, whom he can see, the rules he must follow, and the number of contacts required with his agent. The Illinois Workload Management System rejects the traditional caseload concept that all community supervision and parole cases are equal in requirement for the parole agent's time, the client's needs, and the probability of client failure. Research has shown that the number of contacts *alone* is unrelated to the success of parole. Therefore, the classification system must identify factors which indicate the parolee's potential for successful parole completion, so that *effective* services can be provided. This is done by analyzing the client's risk and need levels.

Risk assesment measures dimensions of behavior such as the client's stability or violence in order to define the minimal amount of supervision required to protect public safety while helping the client to succeed in completing parole. *Needs assesment* measures the client's basic needs, such as living conditions, food, clothing, education, and the client's personal problems, such as drug abuse and emotional instability, in order to identify program needs.

Scales for the risk and needs levels were devloped from survey data gathered from all Illinois parole agents on the entire parolee population. Input was also gathered from district supervisors. Forms were then designed with the items shown in Figure 1, to permit scoring to establish low, medium, and high levels for risk, and for needs, to indicate necessary supervision level. The classification level for each client comes from these two forms, with a rating of low, medium, or high. To determine a parolee's overall risk level, the agent assesses the propensity for rule and law violations. Two forms are used. The A Form is established from the client's history prior to incarceration, as an initial evaluation, completed 30 days after release from prison to parole status. The B Form is based on current information during parole, with reevaluations every 60 to 90 days.

Each item on each of the four forms is weighted to the maxima shown in Figure 1 with grade levels for low, medium, and high for risk and for needs. These scores determine the parolee's classification level, which determines how much time the agent will spend with the parolee, and the level of services which the agent will try to provide. However, all parolees are classified *high* for the first 30 days until the agent is well acquainted with the case. After 30 days, the parole agent again evaluates the parolee's risk and needs levels, and reevaluates each case every 60 or 90 days. The system is then designed to determine the probability of successful termination of parole, and to assist agents in developing effective case action strategies. This validation study examines the extent to which these instruments can accurately predict parole outcome.

RESULTS

The data base contained 1168 terminated cases of a total of 4000 cases as of March 1982. Of the terminated cases, 368 were from Cook County, and 800 were from elsewhere in Illinois.

Six factors emerged from the research.

1) The risk, scorebased casework level, and final casework levels of the reevaluation instruments were better predictors than initial risk evaluations.

2) There is some hope of predicting short-term outcomes from knowledge of the supervision level. The outcome of 2/3 of the cases was appropriate to their classification. The reevaluation risk scale alone does an excellent job of identifying clients most likely to succeed, but does not distinguish well among the rest.

3) Demographic information does not have a strong relation to termination type, nor does it add significantly to the variance explained by the scales. The most useful of the demographic items was age, meaning that older clients do better on parole, at least in the short term.

4) Two further analyses of termination types were conducted. The best results were obtained with the following order of negative termination from most serious to least serious:

new felony, technical violation, new misdemeanor, and those *absent without permission.*

5) Independently, the risk and needs scales hold some predictive power, but the B-Risk scale is the best, accounting for 31% of the variance in termination type, as shown in Figure 2. For the possible combinations, the B-Risk and A-Needs combination has the best potential, explaining 48% of the variance. The client's pre-incarceration service needs and the most recent supervised assessment best identify the propensity for parole failure or success. This combination provides very few mispredictions for either the low or the high end of the scale.

6) These results can be used not only for continuous validation, but also for refinement of present instruments into administrative prediction scales comparable to adult institution dangerousness and adjustment scales. It would also be well to construct and test a third scale of the client preincarceration environment, to distinguish the home and community setting from offender characteristics.

TERMINATION TYPE REANALYSIS

Regression analysis was repeated with a new coding of termination types, from least to most serious (1 - 6) in the order: *discharge recommended; discharge expiration; absent without leave; technical violation; new misdemeanor; new felony.* All other terminations, including transfers, were excluded.

Statewide, there were 241 cases with an "A" form completed and terminated. With term types so coded, the A-Risk items explained 13% of the variance, compared to 11% in the previous analysis. *Agent's impression of client attitude* was the first entry, explaining 7% of the variance in the stepwise regression analysis. Remaining items brought the multiple R^2 to .13.

On the A-Needs scale, *agent's impression of needs* explained 8% of the variance. *Living arrangements* were next in stepwise regression, and brought the R^2 to .09. (See Figure 2.) *Academic/vocational* and *psychosocial adjustment* items were next, and brought the R^2 to .10. The effect of the other four variables was negligible.

For the statewide B-Risk scale, *compliance with the parole agreement, social interaction,*

FIGURE 1: EVALUATION SCALES

A-Risk Preincarceration Scale

Item	Maximum Weight
Prior felony convictions	4
Prior probation periods	4
Probation/parole revocations	4
Age, 1st conviction	4
Alcohol abuse history	4
Other substance abuse	4
Percent of time employed	2
Address changes past year	3
Agent appraisal of attitude	5
Robbery, burglary, assaults	4

Score range: 0-40

B-Risk Parole Evaluation Scale

Item	Maximum Weight
Total felony convictions	3
Probation/parole revocations	2
Age at 1st conviction	2
Current alcohol abuse	5
Current abuse, other substance	3
Time employed, or in school	2
Address changes	3
Current interperson problems	5
Social interaction	3
Comply on parole agreement	5
Use community resources	4
Burglary, robbery assault	3

Score Range: 0 - 40

A & B Needs Scales

Item	Maximum Weight
Basic needs	7
Living arrangements	6
Emotional instability	8
Mental ability	6
Psychosocial adjustment	6
Substance abuse, all:	7
Academic/vocational	7
Agent impression of client need	7

Score Range: 0 - 54

FIGURE 2: EVALUATION VARIABLE RANKING BY STEPWISE REGRESSION
(* indicates significant predictors; F-ratio 2.49 or more.)

A-Risk, Preincarceration

*Attitude
*Age, 1st conviction
Alcohol abuse
Prior convictions
Time employed, 12 months
Felony convictions

B-Risk, During Parole

*Keep parole agreement
*Social interaction
*Employment, 12 months
*Prior convictions
Age, 1st conviction
Felony convicions

B-Needs, Preincarceration

*Impression of client needs
Living arrangements
Academic/vocational
Psychosexual
Emotional instability
Substance abuse

N = 241; Explained variance = 14%

B-Needs, During Parole

*Impression of client needs
*Substance abuse
*Living arrangements
Academic/vocational

N = 541; Explained variance 35%

TABLE 1: CORRECT OUTCOME PREDICTIONS BY TIME OF EVALUATION (%)

Parolee Scores: Outcome, predict:	Low Success		Medium Success		High Failure		Predictive Accuracy	Total Cases
Instrument	n	%	n	%	n	%	%	N
Preincarceration:								
A-Risk Level	11	92	30	81	100	44	46	278
A-Needs Level	113	69	45	51	15	56	67	278
During Parole:								
B-Risk Level	281	96	321	85	116	56	79	877
B-Needs Level	590	86	85	55	22	55	85	877
Combinations:								
A-Risk + A-Needs	11	92	30	81	100	44	46	278
A-Risk + B-Needs	8	89	20	91	54	39	42	169
B-Risk + B-Needs	281	96	322	85	116	53	79	877
B-Risk + A-Needs	34	95	63	81	40	74	82	169

and *employment* items explained 30% of the variance in termination type. *Address change* and *interpersonal problems* had less predictive power than in the first analysis. On the B-Needs scale, all items explained 25% of the variance in termination type. In recoding termination type, making *absent without leave* less serious and removing extraneous terminations, most A-Risk and B-Risk items gained predictive power, and the scales gained slightly in predictive power.

There were 541 cases which had a B Form completed before termination according to the evaluation code, with a loss of 60 cases from the previous total of 601 cases. The *compliance with parole agreement, social interactions, prior felony convictions,* and *employment* items entered the stepwise regression in that order, and accounted for 33.4% of the variance in termination type. *Prior revocations, intersperonal problems, alcohol abuse, address change, and offence* items added little to the predictability of termination type. For all items except *agent's impression of client needs* and *substance abuse,* the independent multiple R^2's decreased in the second analysis, but all items together accounted for 27% of the variance. Since there

was some difference in analysis results comparing the Cook County (Chicago) results with the remainder of the state, it is recommended that scales should be constructed and tested separately for each jurisdiction at this state of the art.

ASSESSMENT: COMBINED INSTRUMENTS

The risk and needs scales held some predictive power when used independently. Little added variance was accounted for when client characteristics were included in the regression models. The A-Risk and B-Risk and the A- and B-Needs scales were combined to find the predictive power of conjoined instruments. At this point, the B-Risk scale had the best predictive power, The 12 items accounted for 31.4% of the explained variance in termination type. The B-Needs items explained 25.4% of the variance, and A-Risk and A-Needs items accounted for 13.3% and 10% of the variance respectively.

The combination of the B-Risk scale with the A-Needs scale held the greatest predictive potential, explaining 48.2% of the variance. The Needs items of compliance with parole and social interaction, and the risk item, substance abuse were the only significant variables. The employment and the agent's impression of client needs items entered second and third, but did not independently reach significant F-ratios. The two Risk scales combined to explain 46% of the variance in the outcome variable. Both prior felony conviction items had significant F values, and compliance with the parole agreement and the employment items from the B-Risk scale were significant. Except for age at first conviction from the A-Risk scale and social interactions from the B-Risk scale, remaining items had only negligible effect on the predictability of the parole outcome.

Separately, the A- and B-Needs scales accounted for only 25% of the variance, but when combined, they accounted for 44.7%. Of the 6 significant items, 5 were on the reevaluation scale. These, in order, were *agent's impression of client needs, academic/vocational, living arrangements, alcohol or drug abuse,* and *psychosocial adjustment.* These, with the sixth variable, *emotional stability,* from the A-Risk scale explained 42.2% of the variance.

The combination of the A-Risk and A-Needs scales produced the least powerful results, explaining only 17% of the outcome variance. The results were about the same with the combination of the B-Risk and the B-Needs scales. The combination of A-Risk and B-Needs scales, and the B-Risk with the A-Needs scales were used to examine the levels of successful and unsuccessful outcomes.

Three points must be made here. 1) The risk scale still guides the calculation of the scorebased casework level. Only in the situaton where a client is scored high on the needs and low in the risk scales, will the needs level be taken into account. 2) Because the agents did not participate in this analysis, the casework level was represented by the matrix calculation only. 3) Only those who were evaluated with both an initial and a reevaluation were included in the interinstrument calculations.

For all cases, the B-Risk and the A-Needs unity identified the lowest percentage of false positives, which was 5% of all low parolee evaluations. The B-Risk - B-Need combination identified 4.4% unsuccessful lows, and recognized 2% more successful high evaluated parolees. The B-Risk - A-Needs combination misidentified only 16 of 169 clients. The A-Risk - B-Needs combination misclassified 61% of their high clients. Despite the smaller number of cases, the B-Risk - A-Needs statistics were highest in explained variation. Some support was generated for the B-Risk - A-Needs scales to aid in predicting outcome.

Through the various analyses, the B-Risk instrument seemed to provide the most useful predictive potential. It had almost equal power to identify misclassified clients when used with both needs instruments. Joining the various instruments did contribute to the predictive accuracy of the scales.

ASSESSMENT OF PREDICTIVE RESULTS

The seriousness of misprediction and its potential hazard to public safety must be examined, If the instruments or combination of instruments are classifying clients as *low* or *medium,* and these clients are actually committing serious violations, such as new felonies or technical violations, there could be societal danger. Clients classified *low* should

be eligible for early discharge. These decisions cannot be made effectively if many parolees are returning to prison for serious offenses. Further, if a large proportion of clients rated at a high casework level are not violating the law, or return to custody with only minor offenses, a great deal of agent time and energy will have been wasted. In times of limited resources, rising rates of violent crime, public concern, and political pressure, great care must be taken when implementing classification system decisions.

To test the seriousness of both misprediction and predictive accuracy, the specific types of positive and negative terminations were examined. Termination type frequencies were calculated for each casework client level, *low, medium,* and *high,* for successful and unsuccessful outcomes, and crosstabulated for all instruments and combinations. Results of interest are shown in Table 1. The incidence of correct and mispredictions should be noted for all scale trials.

When the A-Risk scale was combined with the B-Needs scale (n = 169), results were similar to those of the individual instruments. There were few unsuccessful lows and mediums, but most of the accurately classified highs violated parole guidelines, or were convicted of a felony. Of all three levels, 65% who terminated successfully were discharged from supervision via expiration of sentence. The hypothesis that the B-Risk - A-Needs combination provides the most predictive accuracy gained further support in this more precise analysis. About 75% of the negatively terminated mediums and highs were terminated for the more serious violations. Conversely, there were 2 misrepresented lows, with the less serious outcomes of absent without leave and a misdemeanor offense. Results were also impressive for those successful cases. A larger percent of lows was recommended for discharge than of mediums and highs. With other positive terminations removed, 41% of the lows and 15% of the mediums were recommended for discharge. None of the 8 highs were recommended to the parole board for early discharge.

Prediction of outcome for the combination of the B-Risk and A-Needs scales was more accurate than those projections made from the scales individually. Few highs and mediums were recommended for early release. All clients who were recommended and received an early discharge were classified as *low* or *medium.* On the other end of the continuum, the more serious violators were classified *high* while no *low* rated clients committed the more serious offenses. With this scale combination, the clients classified at the low end of the scale were usually successful, many being recommended for early discharge. *All of the serious violators were rated as either medium* or *high* on the B-Risk - A-Needs scales combination.

Thus, if predictions for recommendations for early discharge are to be made, and those clients with the most potential to commit the more serious offenses are to be identified, the B-Risk - A-Needs combination should provide a start toward accurate projections. This combination has already provided few mispredictions at both ends of the parolee rating scale. It has demonstrated that the offenders with the greatest potential for committing the least serious and the most serious offenses can be identified in most cases. Parole review board members should find these instruments for recommending low or medium classified clients for discharge and for testing results of such use.

ATTITUDE BEHAVIOR CONSISTENCY AND THE CONCEPT OF POWER

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PREAMBLE

Since LaPiere's seminal study (1934) there has been a long tradition of research on the relation between attitudes and behavior. Some call for more research in the established tradition (Schuman, Johnson 1976). We propose that the attitude-behavior (A-B) issue be redefined and approached as a study of power. This perspective brings the (A-B) consistency issue to a more central position in sociological theory, and clarifies the concept of power in social interaction.

DEFINITIONS OF ATTITUDE

Rokeach (1968) defines an attitude as "a relatively enduring organization of beliefs around an object or situation predisposing one to respond in some preferential manner." Similarly, Allport (1953) defined an attitude as "a mental and neural state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence on the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related." These differ little from more recent definitions by Summers (1970) and Triandis (1971). A widespread agreement appears on what is an attitude at the level of conceptual definitions.

We emphasize, the phrases "relatively enduring" and "organized through experience." An attitude is something which the actor brings to a behavioral setting. It is the actor's predisposition, or preferred behavior before meeting the *particular* setting. What an actor does in this behavioral setting is a function of the actor's attitude plus other characteristics of the setting.

LaPiere reported no consistency between the attitudes of hotel and restaurant managers toward Chinese people and the way a Chinese couple were treated in these establishments. Since that early study, many researchers have reported low correlations between attitudes and behavior. One reviewer of this research concluded: "It is considerably more likely that attitudes will be unrelated or only slightly related to overt behaviors than that attitudes will be closely related to outcomes." (Wicker 1969 65)

Several explanations are offered for the apparent inconsistency between attitudes and behavior. DeFleur and Westie (1963) argue that attitudes and behavior must be measured at the same level of specificity in any A-B consistency research. Attitude toward Chinese people in general is not expected to be a good predictor of behavior toward a well dressed middle class Chinese couple driving a new car. Attitude toward this specific type of couple would be a better predictor of behavior.

Some researchers suggest that attitude toward the behavior is a better predictor of behavior than is the attitude toward the object (Ajzen, Fishbein 1973). Thus, attitude to *overt discrimination against Chinese people* should be a better predictor of overt discriminatory behavior toward them than is *attitude toward Chinese people.*

Several authors have pointed to the importance of reference groups and individuals in conjunction with attitudes as determinants of behavior. Fishbein and Ajzen (1975) suggest that behavior *intention* (I), which is an approximation of *behavior* (B) is a function of an attitude toward performing the act (A_B), plus a subjective norm, (SN). The subjective norm, often called the normative component or the *social factor* is a multiplicative function of the individual's perception of the belief (b_i) of a reference group or reference person and the individual's motivation (m_i) to conform to this belief. This theory can be rpesented in the formula:

$$B \approx I = w_1 (A_B) + w_2 (SN);$$

where: $(SN) = b_i m_i$; w = weight.

Other researchers have presented a model containing essentially the same variables, but the two independent variables are depicted as having interaction effects rather than additive effects. Acock and DeFleur (1972) suggest that individuals' behavior will be consistent with their attitudes only if individuals perceive their reference group as sharing the attitude. As in the Fishbein and Ajzen model, *social*

support (SS) is seen as the crucial variable, along with attitudes, for predicting behavior. But the Acock-DeFleur model contains an interaction term:

$$B = w_1 [(A) (SS)]$$

Liska (1974) in reviewing *social support* theories of A-B consistency concluded that this variable should be the central theme in future research. He suggests testing a model which includes both additive and interaction effects, by the following equation:

$$B = w_1 (A) + w_2 (SS) + w_3 [(A) (SS)]$$

where w = weight.

Emphasis on the role of other actors in the behavioral setting relation between attitude and behavior is an important contribution to the A-B consistency issue. The social component of behavior is recognized and the A-B consistency issue becomes a sociological rather than a psychologicl question. We believe that the *power* of ego relative to other actors in a setting is a more crucial social factor than the norms shared among actors. The current emphasis on social support, in both the additive and the interaction models is plagued by the *oversocialized view of man in sociology* (Wrong 1961).

DEFINITIONS OF POWER

Nearly all definitions of power in soicology stem from Weber (1947): "Power is the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance .." Lenski (1966) slightly modified this definition of power as "the probability of persons or groups carrying out their will even when opposed by others."

We think that in these definitions, a person's *will* is a person's *attitude toward a behavior.* To carry out your will is to behave consistently with your attitude – to do what you are predisposed to do before meeting a particular behavoral setting. We can thus paraphrase Weber and define power as: *the capacity of an actor in a social relation to behave consistently with his/her attitude despite resistance.*

The phrase *despite resistance* is crucial, not only for the concept of power, but also for the A-B consistency issue. Social interaction involves at least two actors having attitudes toward the same behavior or object, which may be the actors themselves. Power is not exercised in all social interaction. Rather, it is limited to those situations in which ego and alter have incompatible attitudes. In these situations, if alter did what alter wanted, and behaved inconsistently with his/her attitude, ego would be unable to do what ego wanted.

There are other situations in which ego could behave consistently with his attitude if alter behaved consistently with his attitude. In this case, ego and alter have compatible attitudes. Power is not exercised in these situations since there is no actual or potential resistance by ego to alter's preferred behavior or by alter to ego's preferred behavior.

Some situations, although initially characterized by incompatibility between attitudes of ego and alter, become compatible because one actor changes his attitude. Such a change does not result from the exercies of *power* by one actor over the other. Rather, it occurs because one actor has exerted *influence.* According to Etzioni (1968) "Influence and power are often used synonymously. .. It is useful to keep these two terms separate in order to express a significant conceptual distinction. An application of power changes the actor's situation and/or his concept of his situation – but not his preferences (attitudes). Resistance is overcome, not because the actor subjected to the use of power changes his "will" (attitude), but because resistance has been made more expensive, prohibitive, or impossible."

Etzioni suggests that the target of influence will behave consistently with his/her attitude since the attitude has changed. As a result of attitude change, ego and alter no longer have incompatible attitudes, and there is no longer any resistance to overcome. On the other hand, victims of power behave inconsistently with their attitudes.

POWER & A-B CONSISTENCY

A-B consistency theory focusing on the role of *social support* has been emerging, and now seems to be the direction of future research. Sociologists have overemphasized the roles of internalization and social approval in shaping an individual's behavior, neglecting the

role of force, power, and coercion. According to Wrong (1961 188), sociologists have ignored "the degree to which conformity is frequently the result of coercion rather than conviction. Goode (1972) complained that the "systematic study of force as a distinct phenomenon or set of processes has been singularly neglected .."Nowhere is this more apparent than in current literature on the relation between attitudes and behavior.

When the concept of power is brought to the A-B consistency issue, it is clear why there is not a perfect correspondence between attitudes and behavior. There are many social relations in which power is unequally distributed. If the two actors in such a relation have incompatible attitudes, it will be impossible for both to behave consistently with their attitudes. In a situation of power inequality, ego has a favorable attitude toward going to a ball game with alter, but alter has an unfavorable attitude to this activity, either ego or alter, *but not both* will behave consistently with his/her attitude, assuming that neither changes attitudes due to influence. The actor who has the more power in the social relation will carry out his/her will despite resistance. The other actor will not.

This situation could occur even if ego wanted to go to the game alone. If alter wanted ego to stay at home, rather than go to the game alone, then alter's attitude toward going to the game constitutes resistance to ego's preferred behavior. Ego will overcome this resistance and go to the game, thereby behaving consistently with his/her attitude only if ego has more power than alter in their relation. If ego has more power, and goes to the game, then alter will not behave consistently with his/her attitude since alter had a favorable attitude toward staying at home with ego.

We will label situations in which ego could behave consistently with his attitude as situations of *discordant* attitudes. Situations in which both actors could behave consistently with their attitudes, where power is not exercized will be called *concordant* attitudes. A concordant attitude situation would exist if ego have a favorable attitude toward going to the game with alter, and alter had a favorable attitude toward the same action.

Our argument so far, suggests the following hypotheses on the attitude-behavior relation:

1) In a situation of concordant attitudes, there is a strong positive correlation between attitude and behavior among all actors.
2) In a situation of discordant attitudes, there is no correlation between attitude and behavior among all actors because: a) there is a strong positive correlation between attitude and behavior among those actors having the most power in the social relation; b) there is a strong negative correlation between attitude and behavior among those actors having the least power in the social relation.

In the equation expressing Hypothesis 1, A is attitude, B is behavior, and subscript C refers to the concordant situation:

$$B_c = A_c$$

Treating A and B as dichotomies, the equation predicts that in concordant attitude situations, an actor engages in behavior B if she/he has a favorable attitude toward behavior B.

Hypothesis 2, concerning situations of discordant attitudes is more complex. We assign codes to the variable categories as shown in Figure 1, where each is treated as a dichotomy. Now consider all possible combinations of A_d and P_d under each condition, as shown in Table 1. Recall that by definition, in a discordant attitude situation one actor will have a +1 value for a discordant attitude, and the other will have a −1 value for that discordant attitude. In the discordant attitude situation, two categories of people will engage in the particular behavior, with a +1 value for B: 1) those with a favorable attitude toward B and power, and 2) those with an unfavorable attitude toward B, and no power. A person in category *a* will behave consistently with his/her attitude, while a person in category *b* will behave inconsistently with his/her attitude. Likewise there will be two categories of people who will not engage in a particular behavior with a value of −1 for B in discordant attitude situations: 3) those with power and an unfavorable attitude toward B; and 4) those without power, and with a favorable attitude toward B. People in category *3* will behave consistently with their attitude, while those in category *4* will behave inconsistently with their attitude. The coding scheme in Figure 1 allows us to express these hypotheses in a single equation:

FIGURE 1. DISCORDANT ATTITUDE CODES

B_d	A_d	P_d
+1 = engages in B	+1 = favorable attitude toward B	+1 = has power
−1 = does not engage in B	−1 = unfavorable attitude toward B	−1 = has no power

$$B_d = (A_d)(P_d)$$

The value of B_d will be +1 when 1) both A_d and P_d have values of +1; or 2) both A_d and P_d have values of −1. The value of B_d will be −1 when 3) A_d has a value of −1 and P_d has a value of +1; or d) A_d has a value of +1 and P_d has a value of −1.

TABLE 1: ATTITUDE, POWER, & BEHAVIOR COMBINATIONS

(A_d)	x (P_d)	= B_d
+1	+1	+1
+1	−1	−1
−1	+1	−1
−1	−1	+1

MORE COMPLEX RELATIONS

Situations beyond elementary dyadic relations add complexity to our theory. Imagine the triad: ego, alter 1, and alter 2, each with the following attitudes:

Ego: wants to attend game with alter;
Alter 1 wants to attend game with ego;
Alter 2 wants to attend movie with ego;

In this triad, the relation between ego and alter 1 is a situation of concordant attitudes, and the relation between ego and alter 2 is one of discordant attitudes. Alter 2's favorable attitude to going to a movie with ego translates into alter 2 having an unfavorable attitude to ego's going to the game with alter 1. Our original hypothesis for concordant situations applies only to dyads. It suggests that both ego and alter 1 will behave consistently with their attitudes. We must now modify the hypothesis to account for the power of alter 2 in relation with ego. Ego and alter 1 will behave consistently with their attitudes only if ego has power over alter 2, and can overcome the resistance stemming from alter 2's attitude. If ego has power over alter 2, then two of the actors, ego and alter 1 will behave consistently with their attitudes. But if ego lacks such power, then alter 2, but not ego and alter 1 will behave consistently with their attitudes. It is impossible for all three actors to behave consistently with their attitudes, assuming no attitude change occurs.

Numerous variations of this type complexity can be introduced in our theory. Consider the triad with the following attitude situations:

ego - alter 1	: concordant
ego - alter 2	: discordant
alter 1 - alter 2	: discordant

Now assume that alter 2 has power over ego. This might suggest that neither ego nor alter 1 will behave consistently with their attitudes. We must now consider the distribution of power in the alter 1 - alter 2 relation. If alter 2 has power over alter 1, then neither ego nor alter 1 will behave consistently with their attitudes. However, if alter 1 has power over alter 2, the outcome is more problematic. Now we would have to consider the power of alter 1 over alter 2 *relative* to the power of alter 2 over ego. If alter 2's power over ego is greater than alter 1's power over alter 2, then neither ego nor alter 1 will behave consistently with their attitudes. On the other hand, if alter 1's power over alter 2 is greater than alter 2's power over ego, then both ego and alter 1 will behave consistently with their attitudes.

Our longterm objective is to develop a systematic theory which incorporates complexities such as these for social systems more complex than simple dyads. We plan to formulate hypotheses for all combinations of power distriubtion and concordance/discordance. We hope to reduce the set of hypotheses to a small set of equations predicting a person's behavior as a function of attitudes, and the relative power of other actors in the setting. From our theoretical perspective, it is not surprising that researchers find a less than perfect correspondence between attitudes and behavior. In discordant attitude situations, it is impossible for all actors to behave consistently with their attitudes.

We have not yet discussed the determination and measurement of the relative power of actors in a social relation. That is, we have not discussed theories about the source of

power inequality in social interaction. Though our theory of A-B consistency is not necessarily linked to any particular theory of power, we will rely on the *dependency theory of power* from the social exchange perspective (Emerson 1962). According to this view, actors exchange resources. The power of ego over alter is a function of the dependence of alter on ego for the things alter values. If alter is more dependent on ego than ego is on alter, then ego has power over alter. The degree of dependence of alter on ego is a function of the value alter attaches to the resources which ego controls *and* the availability of alternative sources besides ego for obtaining these resources. The fewer alternatives alter has, the more dependent he/she is on ego.

LaPiere (1934) sent a letter to hotel and restaurant managers asking if they would accommodate a group of Chinese. Nearly all replied that they would not. However, before these letters were sent, a Chinese couple traveling with LaPiere had gone in alone and attempted to register, or to be seated for service in the restaurant. In almost none of these establishments were they denied service. Some interpreted this study to indicate that whites' behavior toward Chinese people was not consistent with their attitude toward Chinese people.

A moment's thought reveals that there were two sets of subjects in the study. The first group included managers who did express discriminatory behavior by responding by mail that they would not serve Chinese people. The other group included the clerks and waitresses who *did not* engage in discriminatory behavior when actually confronted by the Chinese couple. If we assume, as did LaPiere, that in the 1930's there ware widespread negative attitudes among whites toward Chinese as a racial group, then one group, the managers, behaved consistently with their attitude, while the other group of service personnel behaved inconsistently with their attitudes. Both were in a situation of discordant attitudes with the Chinese people, assuming that the latter had a favorable attitude toward getting regular service.

Consider the resources the Chinese couple controlled which were valued by managers. Service managers need customers to operate their business. They do not require specific persons, but just customers. When the managers received LaPiere's letter, there were many other potential customers besides the group of Chinese mentioned in the letter. Here, the managers could presume to obtain the same patronage from alternative sources. The managers had an unfavorable attitude to serving Chinese people, and had the power, *via* the availability of other customers, to behave consistently with that attitude.

Now consider the resources which the Chinese couple controlled which the service workers needed when the couple asked for service. The couple had the potential of creating a disturbance which could result in loss of job for the employee. The service workers needed to avoid such a risk, and the Chinese couple in that setting, and at that moment, were the only source of patronage, a valued commodity. The service workers' lack of alternatives gave power to the Chinese couple. Assuming that the workers had an unfavorable attitude toward serving Chinese, while the Chinese couple had a favorable attitude toward being served, this was a situation of discordant attitudes. The service workers lacked power relative to the Chinese couple, and so, behaved inconsistently with their attitudes.

CONCLUSION

By considering the role of power in social interaction, we have formed hypotheses which predict attitude-behavior consistency among all actors in concordant attitude situations, but only among powerful actors in discordant attitude situations. We realize that the theory will become more complex as we consider more elaborate social relations. We must address more of the subtleties in the A-B consistency literature. Finally, we have treated power as a zero-sum property without considering that power inequality may vary in varying social relations. We have also omitted the situation of discordant attitudes where neither actor has power over the other. Perhaps in these relations, each actor alternates between behaving consistently and inconsistently with his/her attitude. Such issues can direct future work linking A-B consistency to the power concept.

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BANKING POLICY IN RELATION TO SMALL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

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INTRODUCTION

Small community growth or decline is largely the result of economic conditions over which local leaders can exert influence. Some have argued that economic dominants tend to guide local affairs by proxy (Schulze 1958). However there is increasing empirical support for the rather intensive involvement of local elites in the everyday concerns of both large and small communities (Ratcliffe 1979). Particularly in small communities, economic control of community development may be concentrated in the hands of a few powerful leaders, and those leaders are often bankers. Their commitment of scarce developmental resources is a key factor in the success or failure of community development goals.

Bankers have received little explicit attention in the sociology of community and community development literature. This is strange, since bankers are generally regarded by the public as powerful influentials in the structure of the American community. Sociologists generally have failed to examine the extent of control over resources that bankers can exercise, and have overlooked the significance of the banker's role in community development. This is unfortunate, since bankers have more reason to be involved in such activities than many local leaders which sociologists have assumed to be important community decision makers (A Schaffer, R Schaffer 1970; Walton 1970; Molotch 1976).

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Bankers are not simply business men. It is the banker's job to represent the bank's investors and shareholders when making investment decisions which affect the uses to which the capital and real estate owned by those investors and shareholders may be put. In this sense, bankers hold tremendous potential power in community political issues which involve the community's growth and stability, because these issues affect the community's property owners. Bankers must not only be good business operators, adept at turning a profit on investments and the redistribution of the community's wealth. They must also play a gatekeeping role, using their influence and the bank resources to manipulate outcomes in ways which accommodate those who have invested their wealth, trust, and influence with the banker.

Banks are an integral part of the local community economy, and bankers often find themselves involved in matters not usually acknowledged as banking concerns. It is not unusual to find local bankers wearing many civic hats, particularly in smaller communities where the number of potential civic leaders is limited. In small communities, local bankers are key participants in shaping the developmental destiny of the community.

Communities may have both growth and nongrowth coalitions of interest attempting to determine the development of the area. Despite their growth or nongrowth goals, these leader groups depend on banks for the kind of resource mobilization needed to secure growth or to prevent growth. Such development goals result from conscious decisions made by community leaders in determining economic issues in the local setting. Small communities can be conceptualized as types which can be classified by developmental goals, and developmental outcomes as shown in Figure 1.

FIGURE 1: COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT TYPES

Type	Goal	Outcome
A	Growth	Successful
B	Nongrowth	Unsuccessful
C	Growth	Unsuccessful
D	Nongrowth	Successful

We would expect that bankers as key leaders in community growth or nongrowth coalitions shape banking policy to reflect their developmental commitment. Examination of three measures of banking policy toward growth will reveal the extent to which such indicators predict resource mobilization by bankers to promote or inhibit growth.

METHODS

Four communities were selected for study according to typology dimesions in Figure 1. Successful growth was determined by increase in population and jobs added through industrial development. Successful nongrowth was determined by a stable population and absence of industrial development. A purposive sample of strategic informants consisted of bank directors and bank presidents in the four communities. Published banking data provided a secondary source of information to infer banking policy. Bankers were asked as part of the interview schedule a series of questions concerning their growth or nongrowth community orientation. Bankers' commitment to developmental goals are shown in Table 1.

In this analysis three commonly used measures of banking policy were assessed: 1) growth in deposits; 2) growth in loans; and 3) the ratio of loans to deposits. The empirically constructed typology of growth and nongrowth communities suggests that community types A and B, which experienced substantial growth, should rank higher on these banking measures than community types C and D, which did not experience growth. The expected rankings and the observed rankings are shown in Table 2, based on the assessment of banking policy measures.

GROWTH IN DEPOSITS

The growth in deposits measure reflects the amount of capital that patrons hve placed on deposit. Although generally cited as an indicator of banking growth policy, it may also indicate banking nongrowth policy. The profitability of a bank does not appear to rest on the rate of growth in deposits in an absolute sense. For communities experiencing growth, bank deposits may indeed reflect a particular financial institution's ability to garner its share of money in the local economy, and thereby its ability to profit from access to this capital. But in small communities served by just one bank, growth in deposits may actually reduce profitability.

In communities served by only one bank, the monopoly itself may be quite profitable. Growth in deposits might be viewed as a threat, since state banking officials may interpret growth in deposits to warrant the issuing a charter for a second bank in such a community. Sharing a small but expanding resource is perhaps less desirable than monopolizing a stable and stationary resource.

TABLE 1: BANKERS GROWTH COMMITMENT LEVEL BY COMMUNITY TYPE

Type	Growth			Nongrowth		
	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High
A		1	7		1	1
B		2		6	2	1
C	3	3	1			
D	1				1	2

TABLE 2: COMMUNITY RANK IN BANK GROWTH MEASURES BY TYPE

Rank	Expected Ranking	Observed Ranking		
		Deposit	Loan	L-D Ratio
High	A	B	D	D
	B	A	A	A
				B
Low	C	C	B	
	D	D	C	C

Table 3 displays the growth in deposits for each type of community in the seven banks over the ten year period, 1968-1978. Some growth in deposits is expected due to inflation. Assuming an average inflation rate of 6 percent yields a 79.1 percent increase in that period, and all seven banks showed some real growth. On this measure, the expected rankings were observed. Growth in deposits in Community B occurred mainly from the oil boom which began in 1974 and continued through 1981. Despite the nongrowth goal of local bankers and other community leaders, Community B was engulfed by the oil boom conditions which produced population growth from 2800 in 1960 to over 4000 in 1978. Bank deposits soared. Oilfield workers and the oil revenues and royalty checks were largely responsible for the fact that this community led in the growth of deposits. Communites C and D were low on this measure, as expected. Increasing deposit figures will create growth conditions throughout the community as more capital is pumped into the local economy. The

TABLE 3: MEASURES OF BANKING POLICY BY COMMUNITY TYPE
January 1, 1968 – January 1, 1978

Type	Growth & Percentage Change, $ Millions								
	Growth in Deposits			Growth in Loans			Loan-Deposit Ratio		
	1968	1978	Change	1968	1978	Change	1968	1978	Change
A	9.8	28.0	186	4.6	15.3	233	47	55	16
B	12.4	42.1	240	7.7	20.7	169	62	49	-20
C	22.0	47.6	116	11.2	21.5	92	51	45	-11
D	2.7	5.6	107	.8	4.3	438	30	77	160

Source: ***Texas Banking Redbook*** **Redbook Division, Bankers' Digest, Dallas.**

magnitude of the deposit increase will be further reflected in business and industrial development, and employment opportunities.

GROWTH IN LOANS

Loan figures also indicate banking policy progressiveness or conservatism. The growth in loans measure indicates the bank's willingness to invest risk capital in the local economy. All other banks in the three communities loaned out more money than the bank in Community D. Therefore, aside from the anomaly presented by Community D, community rankings on the growth in loans measure are consistent with the hypothesized relation between banking policy and community growth. Community D was by far the leader in loan growth during the period with a 438 percent increase. This was clearly inconsistent with the expected pattern. Since Community D had only one bank, higher demands were placed on the one bank to serve local needs for capital. During this period, Community D's bank did not offer interest on time deposits. This kept capital supply low, which kept lending funds proportionately small. With nongrowth banking policy, the meager capital available in Community D made a small absolute increase in loans yield a very large percentage increase. All other banks in the study communities loaned out much more money than Community D's bank.

LOANS TO DEPOSITS RATIO

The loans to deposits ratio expresses loans as a proportion of a bank's deposits. This is an indicator of banking policy toward local development. A figure of 40 percent or less may signal a bank's unwillingness to serve local needs, and may effectively inhibit growth opportunities. A ratio of 67 percent or more of loans to deposits may indicate poor fiscal policy and unwise loan practices. The ratio figure is also subject to wide fluctuation within the fiscal year. Banks that wish to satisfy state regulators that they are serving local needs may purchase a number of loan accounts from remote corresponding financial institutions. After auditors' and examiners' reports, those loans may then be resold to the corresponding banks, which produces a sharp decrease in the loans to deposits ratio.

Clearly, the practice of purchasing corresponding bank loans points out the caution that must be exercised when interpreting this measure. It is not enough to know loan figures alone. One must also know the extent to which the loans are made in the local economy. This does not invalidate the measure, but it does mean that the proportion of loans made locally are more likely to affect the growth than the sheer magnitude of the loan figures.

CONCLUSION

The analysis tends to affirm that banking policy does affect community growth with increases in the banking policy measures leading to growth opportunities in business and industry. Decreases on these measures would likely result in declining population and job opportunities, since this would signal a local economic recession. The three measures do support the general pattern of banking policy aggressiveness and community growth conditions. But caution is necessary when interpreting the loan measuers which are so deeply affected by factors external to the community though intimately tied to bank-

ing policy.

No conceptual schema is perfect. Two of the four study communities, B and D confounded the basic conceptual frame of this study. Community B did not become an oil boomtown until after its selection for study as a nongowth community type. The ability of bankers and other local leaders to guide the development destiny of the community was greatly reduced when the massive oil industry investments engulfed Community B. Community D had only one bank, compared to two banks in each of the other communities, which confounded the schema and made comparison with the other communities questionable. Finally, banking policy measures need further study. The flow of scarce developmental resources in small communities is a key component of the community development process. Especially in times of national economic recession, a greater understanding of local growth and nongrowth conditions is needed.

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THE MALE ROLE: LIMITATIONS AND INTERVENTIONS

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TOTAL ROLES

Role expectations of individuals are powerful determinants of behavior and social position. All persons adapt to various role expectations dedending on their envirnomental situation, but both men and women are socialized to specific sex roles which may be defined as *total roles. Total roles* are defined as an inclusive set of behaviors and a sense of self which permeates all aspects of life, and takes precedence over other more situation-specific work or social roles which are incompatible with the total role.

Much attention has been aroused regarding the effects of traditional total role expectations for women (Freeman 1979; Baker 1980). There is growing awareness among men and women that many of these traditional role expectataions have served to limit opportunities while increasing emotional, social and financial distress for women. Much less attention has been accorded the traditional total role expectations of men, and the possible limitations these expectations may have on male life options (Goldberg 1976).

MALE ROLE EXPECTATIONS

The traditional male role appears to be organized around the four following general behavioral expectations, synthesized from the ideas of many authorities (David 1976; Farrell 1974; Fasteau 1974; Kaye 1974; Nickols 1975; Pleck 1974; Stoll 1978):

Functional. Men are able to do. They know the way things work, and can understand reality. They are competitive and active with this knowledge. They have a worldly orientation with skills in a wide range of areas. They are expected to be skilled in occupations with a premium on technical task completion, as in business, mathematics, and science. They are providers.

Objective. Men are logical and rational. Truth and understanding are determined by observable fact. Men are distrustful of introspection, but bring meaning to events by manupulating the external. Men live by the Cartesian Theorem: "I think (*and act*), therefore I am."

Dominant. Men are in control. They respect power and its manifestation, and rule or are ruled by their permission. Men play to win, and protect what is theirs. Men expect that there will be times when they must stand and fight. Aggression is necessary. Achievement and winning are sufficient purposes for any activity.

Femiphobic. All that is not prescribed male is female. To be feminine is the greatest failure of all.

These role expectations for men form a systematic set of behavioral expectations. Even though it is possible for the sake of examination to view the behavior of men only as it is displayed in one of the four role sets, greater understanding is achieved by considering the dynamic interplay among all four sets. Each set tends to form a behavioral cue for another, and may be reinforced by a third. They form an image of the ideal man. Perhaps no man achieves this ideal, but in failing to achieve, a man is aware of threats to his masculinity.

ROLE LIMITING CONSEQUENCES

Adherence to the traditioal role expectations for men is costly. Most men at some time struggle with their own self image as they compare it to the social ideal. We can show the dynamics of this struggle by examining the intrapersonal and interpersonal costs of the traditional expectations.

Intrapersonally, many men are separate from themselves. They experience themselves by functional and objective criteria, and are often removed from any other capacity to understand. They are handicapped in the personal tools which whey have available to understand themselves. To be functional and objective is to be more concerned with the manipulation of external events. To be introspective, or to feel and operate on the basis of those feelings, is contrary to the dynamic interplay of the traditional role expectations. Research indicates tht men have significantly lower patterns of self disclosure, insight, and empathy, and are less capable of loving, as compared to women (Jourard 1971). Jourard says that man's role is one of *dispiritation*. If we recognize that suicide rates represent a significant measure of intrapersonal dysfunction,

American suicide rate per 100,000 population for men in 1978 was 20.2, compared to 6.9 for women.

There are apparently significant relations between sex roles and mental health problems. Although more women than men suffer from diagnosed neurotic and psychotic disroders, more men suffer from personality disorders. Rates for all types of substance abuse are considerably higher for men. The distribution of these disorders appears very strongly related to role expectation.

There also appears to be a relation between physical health and role expection. Men have shorter life expectancy, contact more serious illneses, and have more accidents than women. Many characteristics of the male role are dynamically stress producing, and in most illnesses where stress appears to play a part in the development of the disorder, men have higher rates than women. Thus, "looking closely at the major causes of death, a number of them are directly related to certain behaviors such as cigarette smoking, drinking, violence, and aggressive-competitive Type A, *coronary-prone* behavior. All these behaviors occur more in men than in women, and all can be viewed as extreme forms of certain components of masculinity: risk-taking, competition, status, power, and violence." (Bascow 1980)

There are also interpersonal consequences for the traditional male sex role stereotype. It appears that the functional, objective, dominant, and femiphobic characateristics of the male role often fail to support the development of meaningful interpersonal relations. Many male authors have recently acknowledged the poor quality of interpersonal relations among men (Fasteau 1974; Farrell 1974). Many adult men never have had a close friend. The barriers to emotional intimacy between males appears directly linked to male role expectations. These barriers include competition, lack of self-disclosure, homophobia, and insufficient role models (Bascow 1980).

Most men are socialized to believe that actions are separate from feelings, and that they must compete in all actions including sports, work, sex, and conversation. These attitudes are more conducive to separateness from others, rather than to the warmth necessary for a meaningful relation. By sharing feelings, the male perceives that he becomes vulnerable. In a competitive atmosphere, this vulnerability may be threatening. Consistent with the male role expection, showing one's feelings is weak, and to be avoided at all costs.

Many men have polarized attitudes regarding the male sex role. Expressing positive feelings toward another male is often done at considerable risk. The choice is limited to either adherence to all expectations, or being considered homosexual. Lehne (1976) argues that homophobia must be eliminated before a change in sex roles for man can be achieved.

There are also insufficient role models of emotional intimacy among men. Men have few opportunities to see and experience affection between men, even between father and son. This barrier is both cause and effect of sex role training, and has a cyclic effect in succeeding generations.

The establishment of rewarding male-female relations suffers from the same male role expectation barriers (Chafetz 1978). The establishment of male-female relations is confounded even more by the polarized view of women implicit in the traditional male role. From the male view, women are recipients of "benefits" derived from the man's successful fulfillment of the male role expectation. As the man struggles to compete and fulfill the expectations of his past socialization, he tries to bring meaning to all these behaviors by attributing them to the needs of wife and family. Wife and family are expected to recognize and value this *functional duty* of men. Any request for time, sharing, intimacy, or companionship become threats to successful completion of the male role.

The sex role expectation that men handle emotional, intimate situations independently of self disclosure of feelings, and that they must respond only from a position of dominance, functionality, and objectivity, severely limits the behaviors available in those situations. For many men, the only available response is action. The expressed action or aggression must then be justified consistently with the male role expectations, or must be accepted passively with guilt and remorse and loss of "masculinity."

Today, there is an epidemic of reported family

violence in the United States (Blumenthal 1972). Spouse abuse is estimated by the Federal Bureau of Investigation to be the most frequent crime in the nation (Martin 1976). There is a growing number of services to respond to women who are victims of this violence, but there is general apathy to any structured intervention with men, even in the criminal justice system.

PRACTITIONER NEEDS

Comprehensive strategies need to be developed and implemented by helping professionals which reflect an understanding and integration of the possible limitatons fo the sex role of men and women. Several authorities have addressed this issue with vital suggestions for effective interventions with men (Bloom 1980; Brennecke 1980; Sheehy 1976; Levinson 1978). There are negative consequences for women in the helping relation with the clinical therapist who fails to recognize and address the limitations of the traditional male role stereotype (Maracek, Kravetz 1982). The failure of traditional sex role theories of behavior, practice skills, and values of these professionals to address the limitations which are imposed on women has led to an implicit assumption that those theories, skills, and values accurately respond to the needs of men. Such limitations also exist in the consequences of the male role stereotype, which are rarely considered by the helping professional. A more accurate appraisal indicates that both men and women historically have suffered from sex role stereotyping, which is used to manipulate and control the division of labor in the marketplace (Ginitis 1972).

The widely held professional value of client self-determination must be reexamined, recognizing the effect of the male sex role stereotype on male clients. To realize client self determination, helping professionals must be able to develop alternative options for client action. Alternatives which are restricted by the professional worker's prejudice, bias, lack of information, or adherence to sex role stereotypes places limits on client opportunities for self determination. Helping professionals who possess value orientations towards men limited by the functional, objective, dominant, and femiphobic characteristics of the male sex role unnecessarily limit the options of male clients and restrict their opportunity for self determination.

Intervention with male clients demands constant awareness and sensitivity to the accurate social diagnosis of client issues. Just as feminist therapists have reexamined the traditional view of factors generating women's issues, establishing that many issues are not personal but rather, of a social and political nature, so do men's issues need examination (Foxley 1979). Such an examination may well lead to a greater reliance on interventions into the social and political structures and processes of our society, advocating change and the expansion of alternatives for men rather than limit professional actions to treating the consequences of those limitations.

CONCLUSION

Helping profesisonals have begun to recognize the need for greater understanding of the cultural, economic, political, and social realities of the structure and processes of society as necessary knowledge for effective practice with women, minorities, the aged, and the handicapped (Sue 1981). Failure to assess these dynamics with male clients limits information available to the professional, and tacitly supports nonproductive or destructive sex role stereotyping. By increasing their knowledge of the economic and political control exercised by sex role stereotyping, helping professionals can increase their awareness of the environmental factors which impinge on client behavior. Without such knowledge, intervention can all too easily become a method of social control. This knowledge also appears to be an approach which could integrate one polarization of therapy in recent years. The issue is not that we need "masculine" helping professionals, but rather that more profesisonals need to develop a broader understanding of the purposes and power of traditional sex role expectations.

Men have traditionally struggled under the oppression of a role expectation which is self-limiting, destructive of a complete and fulfilled existence, and dangerous to their health and well-being. This role model adapted well to the industrial needs of society, and society has generally benefited from the role limitations of men (O'Kelly 1980). Men of future

generations of men may demand more attention for their needs as individuals, and less for the material social order benefits deriving from the traditional male sex role.

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COMMUNITY TYPE, SCHOOL SIZE, AND STUDENT BEHAVIOR

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INTRODUCTION

In his "reassessment of conventional wisdom," about rural education, Sher (1972) points to two characteristics of rural schools. 1) Rural schols are smaller than urban schools. There are few small public schools left in urban areas. 2) There is often a closer relation between school and community in the rural setting. There is a considerable body of empirical research on the school size factor. Barker and Gump (1964) found more participation and leadership experiences in extra curricular activity and more student satisfaction in smaller high schools, using a Kansas sample. These findings were replicated with other regional and national samples (Baird 1969; Lindsay 1982; Morgan, Alwin 1980). Here we test the hypothesis that the type of community in which a school is located has independent effects on student behavior, controlling for school size.

The advantages of small groups, organizations and communities are suggested in Barker's (1978) theory of behavior settings. A given setting, such as performance of a school play, has a limited number of places for active participants. When the total number of persons in a setting is relatively small, the setting is more likely to be "undermanned" because a greater portion of those present are required to operate the activity. This leads to higher rates of participation, which leads to more satisfaction. The population size of a given habitat is a powerful determinant of individual behavior. Barker illustrates his point with an example of a base ball game. Mead used this analogy to characterize the social process by which an individual learns what is expected in a given social situation and behaves in accordance with the expected role. Barker imagines an 8-person baseball team with no center fielder. Each player now is expected to do more. Outfielders and infielders adjust their positions and responsibilities to compensate for the gap in center field. The undermanned setting creates new obligations for each participant. Barker's theory has been supported and extended by Willems (1969) who finds that the effect of school size on sense of obligation is stronger for students of lower socioeconomic status and school performance.

Although Barker's theory includes community as well as organizational settings, the effects of the community on student behavior have not been studied as extensively as school size. It is axiomatic in sociological theory that the community context affects many aspects of school life, from the level of financial support to student and parent involvement to specific types of learning problems. The urban black ghetto, white ethnic neighborhood, affluent suburb, small town and rural community present different problems and challenges to schools. Case studies have illuminated characteristics of such communities and their impact on schools (Levy 1970; Peshkin, Larkin 1979). We will compare schools in rural settings to those in three other community types: small town, large city, and suburb. I propose that Barker's theory is appropriate for explaining not only student participation and satisfaction, but also attendance and retention in high school. Therefore, attendance rates and dropout rates are included as dependent variables. There is much diversity among rural communities. One dimension of the rural community is the extent to which the population is engaged in agriculture. A related hypothesis to be tested is that the degree to which students in rural high schools come from farm and nonfarm families will make a difference in attendance and dropout rates.

METHOD

Data from the base year and first follow-up surveys of the National Longitudinal Study of the high school class of 1972 are used (Riccobono 1981). This is a representative sample of seniors enrolled in public and private schools in the United States in the spring of 1972. A stratified sample of schools was drawn representing public and private schools, geographic regions, school size, proximity of institutions of higher learning, percentage minority group enrollment, income level of the community, and degree of urbanization. Then a random sample of 18 seniors was drawn from each school. Further data

was provided by school administrators about the students and the schools. The response rate in the base year survey was 71 percent, providing a sample of 16,683 students. This analysis was limited to public high schools. Cases with missing data on one or more variables have been excluded, yielding a sample of 13,638 students. Due to the nature of the data, analysis will proceed on two levels; the individual and the school. 1) The effect of community location on individual student participation and satisfaction rates will be examined. 2) The effect of rural location on school attendance rates and male and female dropout rates will be considered. The school level analysis includes data gathered in the first follow-up survey, in which the response rate was 92 percent. Excluding cases with missing data, the sample consists of 1060 schools.

Communities are divided into four types: 1) Rural or farming community; 2) Small town, under 50,000; 3) City, over 50,000; 4) Suburb of a city. Schools are classed in Table 1 and Table 2 as large (L) with more than 150 students enrolled in the senior class, and small (S) with 150 or fewer students in the senior class. Indicators of student participation are based on student responses to a question about their participation or leadership functions in nine categories of extracurricular activities. Indicators of satisfaction are based on questions about whether they feel that they are a part of their school, and whether they consider required courses in the curriculum a waste of time. Attendance rate, measured at the school level, is the approximate average daily percentage attendance. Dropout rates for men and women, also measured at the school level, represent the percentage of students who enter the tenth grade, but drop out before graduation, excluding transfers to other schools.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The advantages of rural schools with respect to student participation, leadership experience, and satisfaction are shown in Table 1. Rural schools are higher in all categories than schools in small towns and cities, which in turn, are higher than large city and suburban schools. Between the latter two types there is very little difference. Similarly, rural school attendance rates are considerably higher than those in other types of communities, as shown in Table 2. Large city attendance rates are the lowest, with small town and suburban rates about the same. Dropout rates for men and women are lowest in suburban schools, but rural schools compare favorably with small town and large city schools. The main question in this study is whether differences in individual outcomes and school rates are due to the community location or to the size of the school.

The relation between community type and student outcomes is weaker when school size is controlled. Generally, men's and women's participation in extracurricular activities remains higher in both large and small rural schools. Results from small schools in cities and suburbs should be interpreted with caution, since the sample size for these groups is small. Leadership experience and satisfaction tend to be higher for women in both small and large rural schools, but not for men. School size explains a considerable part of the advantage of rural schools with regard to these individual student variables.

In terms of Barker's theory of behavior settings, when the variable to be explained is behavior of students in schools, the immediate behavior setting factor, *organization size,* appears more important than the wider setting factor, *type of community.* However, there is an added independent effect of community location. In accounting for individual differences in participation, leadership, and satisfaction, the community effect is stronger for women than for men.

School rates of attendance and dropouts are also strongly affected by size of the school. With school size controlled, attendance rates in rural, small town, and suburban schools are about the same, while large city attendance is poorest. There are insufficient small schools in cities and suburbs for meaningful comparison. Statements about city and suburban schools are based on large schools only. Dropout rates, on the other hand, are lowest in suburban schools. Size makes an especially important contribution to the dropout rates in rural schools. When rural schools are small, their dropout rates are considerably lower than rates in similar size schools in small towns. However, dropout rates among large schools are higher for rural than for small town

TABLE 1: STUDENT ACTIVITY & SATISFACTION BY SEX, SCHOOL SIZE & COMMUNITY TYPE

(Percentages; N values in italics; Gamma decimals omitted.)

Response	Rural		Town		City		Suburb		Gamma.05	
Size:	S	L	S	L	S	L	S	L	S	L
Males										
2+ activities	69	56	64	53	76	46	58	48	ns	-08
Has leader role	38	27	36	28	41	25	28	25	ns	ns
Feels involved	65	62	64	62	57	58	67	60	ns	ns
Curriculum OK	51	43	54	46	56	45	48	44	ns	ns
(N)	*1006*	*359*	*518*	*1404*	*37*	*1854*	*60*	*1516*		
Females										
2+ activities	80	60	78	61	65	53	62	53	-16	-10
Has leader role	46	32	42	29	26	27	31	26	-16	-06
Feels involved	71	68	68	64	58	61	69	57	ns	-10
Curriculum OK	62	54	61	52	56	49	65	48	ns	ns
(N)	*996*	*366*	*468*	*1489*	*62*	*1948*	*65*	*1490*		

TABLE 2: SCHOOL ATTENDANCE & DROPOUT RATES BY SEX

(Percentages; N values in italics; Gamma, decimals omitted.)

	Rural		Town		City		Suburb		Gamma.05	
Size:	S	L	S	L	S	L	S	L	S	L
Attendance										
Over 95%	22	11	19	11	33	4	38	10	ns	-07
Dropout Rate										
Under 5%										
Males	52	24	43	38	44	25	63	54	ns	23
Females	62	33	44	45	67	32	63	66	ns	26
(N)	*165*	*54*	*79*	*229*	*9*	*287*	*8*	*229*		

schools. Among large schools, rural and large city dropout rates are similar. For the variables explored here, many, but not all of the advantages of rural schools are explained by their smaller size, rather than by their community location. There was no significant difference comparing students from predominantly farm families to those from nonfarm families, which may be due to the small number of schools where this distinction could be made.

Interesting findings emerge in the comparison of males and females. Not only do girls like school better than boys, but their rates of participation, leadership, and retention in school are higher for all types of community. Less expected, and closely related to our main interest, is that male-female differences are greatest for schools in rural locations. This appears in Tables 1 and 2 in the sex categories. Females are 8 percent more likely than males to hold leader positions in rural schools, while their advantage elsewhere is only about 2 percent. Controlling for school size, this pattern prevails with few exceptions. Comparing male and female dropout rates, in Table 2, while women tend to stay in school

longer than men, there is no clear pattern of difference between rural and urban schools.

SUMMARY

The community setting does make some difference in student participation, satisfaction, attendance, and dropout rates. However, much of the rural advantage is due to the smaller size of the rural schools. Small size seems to reinforce the advantages of rural schools respecting attendance and dropout rates, while large rural schools tend to have low attendnace and high dropout rates. Insofar as the community type affects student participation and satisfaction, this effect is stronger for women than for men. Finally, the advantage of women over men in participation and satisfaction is greater in rural than in urban schools.

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THE QUERIDA: THE SURROGATE DIVORCE SYSTEM IN THE PHILIPPINES

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ADJUSTING AN IMPERFECT SYSTEM

If there were a perfect human system, some would refuse to support it or share its benefits. Persons who do participate in a system may be emotionally, mentally, or socially immature. Persons do change over time, and it is difficult to legislate regarding emotional behavior except to punish violators. Such generalizations apply to most human systems, including family systems, in any culture. Each culture contains socially sanctioned ways by which marriage bonds may be effectively broken. In the United States, marriages may be broken through annulment, separation, and divorce. When the marriage contract becomes insufferable, it may be broken with legal sanction and social approval.

What is the adjustment in a system that makes divorce absolutely illegal? In the Philippines, once a marriage is legally contracted, it can be dissolved only by the death of a spouse. There are four conditions defined by law as sufficient for the court to declare that the marriage never existed, and to allow an annulment. 1) If within four years of marriage it can be shown that force or coercion was a condition of the marriage (the Philippine term *pikot* equals the American phrase, "shot gun marriage). 2) If one party was previously married and the spouse were still living, the marriage is bigamous. 3) If the officiant at the wedding was not duly registered to perform it, there is no marriage. 4) If within eight years, one spouse becomes insane. Annulments are possible in the Philippines, but they are rare, because they are expensive and time consuming.

Legal separation is possible on three grounds: 1) proven cohabitation by the husband and a woman not his wife over a prolonged period; 2) one instance of adultery by the wife; 3) any attempted murder of one spouse by the other.

In legal separation, each spouse may take tangible property which he/she brought to the marriage. Property acquired after the marriage is deemed common property, and may be divided as the judge determines. It is usually awarded to the innocent spouse. The two will now live separately, and the marriage fades into nonexistence, but they are still *legally* married to each other until the death of one.

Legal divorce does not exist. The Catholic Church has been dominant in the Philippines since the Spanish occupation, which began 400 years ago. The Catholic Church claims 85 percent of the population as communicants. The Church is adamant against divorce, and is the leading force against any movement to legalize it. There is considerable selfrighteousness among Philippine citizens when they make invidious comparisons of their divorceless society with the Western World, and especially with the United States, with its very high divorce rate.

COHABITATION

Social needs cannot be suppressed, ignored, or displaced by legal codes. To attain the desired end, ways are found to circumvent religious, legal, and cultural obstacles. So it is in the Philippine marriage and family system. The Filipino has two modes to attain the social effect of divorce while foregoing the legal status of divorce.

The first method is *avoidance of the marriage rite.* If marriage is indissoluble, then why get married? Cohabitation without formal marriage becomes the solution for many. The couple has the benefits of cohabitation without the legal responsibilities of marriage. Common law marriage is not recognized in the Philippine law code, so there are no permanent entanglements in cohabitation.

Living in is gaining popularity with those who feel disillusioned and stifled by the marriage institution. "Why go through the hassle of securing legal documents to prove that you are one with your mate?" comments an advocate of Live-Ins. "It's terrific to know that my man stays with me because he wants to, and not because he has to," says a liberated career woman (Reben-Yllana 1975 7).

There are two major problems with this alternative. 1) Due to the lack of legality and responsibility, there is little security for the woman or for the children which she may bear in this relation. Separation and breakup of the live-in tie is as simple as walking away. 2) There is no legitimacy for the children, and no way to force parents to provide for them. Some seek to avoid penalizing the faithful

paramour and her children by entering a "death-bed marriage" pact. When the man realizes that he is dying, he may summon a properly registered official of the court, usually a priest, to perform a wedding ceremony. The law allows this, providing that the officiant goes before a court and files the proper papers. Such a last minute wedding provides for a more equitable distribution of common property, and legitimizes the children, allowing them a full share in the inheritance.

The extent of live-in arrangements is not known. In July 1975 the Jaycees of Makati, an area of metropolitan Manila, held a free mass wedding with all of the amenities, plus valuable door prizes. There were 499 couples who participated. Alfredo Manga, 65, and his bride, Maria, 61 were wed after 8 children and 40 years of cohabitation. The oldest couple were a man named Balag and his bride, aged 75 and 68 years (Bulletin Today 1975). The following year, 1000 couples were united in such a mass wedding in Manila.

THE QUERIDA SYSTEM

Those who are already married are locked into a permanent, binding contract. What recourse do they have if the marital bond becomes an intolerable shackle? The people of the Philippines have developed a surrogate or substitution divorce system which functions as a divorce procedure with some legal sanction under another rubric. The *querida* system serves a social and biological need, despite religious and legal prohibitions. *Querida* is the feminine Spanish word for "loved one." The feminine form is typical because it is usually the man who abandons his wife to take a querida. The masculine form is *querido*.

The origin of the querida system is uncertain. A similar practice exists among the Muslim Moros in the Southern Philippines. But Muslim law permits both multiple marriage and divorce, so the system is not analogous. The Spanish Friars, who were both political and religious leaders during the long Spanish domination were not allowed to marry. This religious prohibition did not keep them from sexual liaisons with mates whom they called their *queridas*. Children of these non-marital unions were *mestizos*, or "half-and-halfs." This set the precedent.

Today the querida system is practiced by all social classes. At the higher social levels, having a querida, though not encouraged, is socially accepted. At the lower social levels, there are mixed feelings regarding a man with a querida. Such a differential in attitude by social class is not unusual. A student gave an expression common in his barrio about a prominent man who had a querida: "It's all right. He is rich, and can afford it." The querida system is often used by men whose work frequently takes them away from home, such as mariners, brokers, salesmen, judges, and itinerant workers. One respondent cited a judge with a three-city circuit having a wife in one city and a querida in each of the other two.

SOURCE MATERIALS

The author taught three sections of a university course called "Sociology of Marriage and the Family" at Silliman University in Dumaguete City of the Philippines, in 1975-1976. The students, mainly sophomores and juniors, did a term research project on marital relations resulting in 100 term papers, and provided information through structured interviews.

Students varied by sex on their assessment of the querida system. Men students offered six primary reasons for the querieda:

1) Wife cannot bear a child.
2) Man receives prestige from peers.
3) Sex life with wife is unsatisfactory.
4) Reaction to forced marriage.
5) Wife neglects personal hygiene & looks.
6) Desire for younger woman.

The older man's selection of a querida is explained by a Philippine aphorism, "An old carabao likes tender grass." The most commonly cited cause by the men students was to prove "machismo" or manliness. The Philippine housewife manages the household and controls the money, so that there is little avenue for the married man to assert machismo in his legitimate family.

Women students listed 13 dominant reasons for the querida.

1) Money. The querida is often well-paid.
2) Sex.
3) Nagging wife at home.
4) Suspicious or distrustful wife.

5) An uncaring wife.
6) Search for assurance & acceptance.
7) Lack of fulfillment in marriage.
8) Long separation due to work.
9) Barren wife.
10) Absence of sharing in marriage.
11) Jealous wife.
12) Too young at original marriage.
13) Too much parental influence at original marriage.

The most common "cause" which the women students listed was: "Because he is a man." Many assume that man is polygamous by nature (Liu 1971).

QUERIDA PROBLEMS

Five major problems result from the Philippine surrogate divorce system, and these problems are strikingly similar to those where divorce is legal, and some are intensified because this is a quasi divorce system with minimal legal recognition.

1) There is a serious threat to family unity. Much of the family income is spent on the querida. The wife is hurt, but helpless. The average wife is left with the care of 6 children. The social *mos* requires that she fulfill the responsibilities of home management. Often she is unskilled, and fit only for the most menial tasks. There is little chance of rebuilding a satisfying relation with her husband. The querida system often produces a broken home.

2) Children in the home lose respect for both parents. A woman student related her emotional trauma on learning, as a college sophomore, that her father had sired a child by his querida, a girl of her own age. She found it hard to accept her father's behavior, or ever again to trust him. Shame and embarrassment are common results for children, who are taunted by their peers about their parents' behavior. This produces a strong emotional stress, because a child is taught the social value of absolute duty to parents from a very early age.

3) When a man takes a querida it soon becomes common knowledge. All ramifications of the situation, real and imagined, are explored in the neighborhood gossip chain. Women gather at the local convenience store and the laundering place to share the scandal. The querida and the affected families are discussed openly and thoroughly in the most frank terminology. This verbal dissection makes life for the injured wife and children much more stressful.

4) The only recourse for the injured party is to await the death of the errant mate. Contracting a new marriage before such death is illegal, and lays one open to the charge of bigamy. The wife left at home is bound to a marriage that no longer exists, tied to a mate who no longer cares about her, and denied a real marital relation for herself.

5) Other effects, less frequently cited, were: spread of venereal disease; prejudicing girls against men, and causing them to hate and distrust men as they do their fathers; and murder, which may be sought to free the desperate wife.

STUDENT ATTITUDES

Regarding the taking of a querida, students tended to apply very pejorative terminology. Synonyms for the querida were: bitch, husband stealer, home breaker, flirt, kept woman, whore, and gold-digger. No student used complimentary terms for the querida. A male student cited the saying: "Bed now; cry later." A vehement woman senior said: "Whatever this querida business is all about, I'd be damned if I won't leave my husband the minute I'd know he is having a swinging affair or relationship of any kind with any woman in any situation. To be taken for a fool is one thing I cannot stand."

LEGAL PROVISIONS

Although divorce is not legal and children born of querida liaisons are considered bastards, the law still recognizes the social fact of the presence of such children. The law also recognizes that where privileges exist, there must be corresponding responsibilities. The Legal Civil Code of the Philippines of 1950 specifies three status groups of children.

1) Legitimate children. These are children whose parents are legally married to each other.

2) Natural illegitimate children. These are children whose parents are eligible to be married, but are not yet legally married. These

are the offspring of live-in arrangements. These children acquire the status of legitimacy when the parents are married, even as adults, when their parents enter the "death-bed" marriage. By recognizing this status group, the Legal Code tends to legitimize common-law marriages.

3) Spurious illigitimate children. These are children of parents who could not legitimately marry because of the previous marriage of one or both. Children of a man by his querida fit this category.

These three status groups of children were defined in the Legal Code for the express purpose of defining inheritance rights. The live-in mate and the querida do not have inheritance rights, but their children do. When a man dies, one half of his property goes to his legal spouse; the other half goes to his children to be shared as follows: Each surviving legitimate child receives one full share; each natural illegitimate child receives one half of a full share; each spurious illegitimate child receives three eighths of a full share. Thus the law recognizes the social realities of extramarital and premarital relations, and provides a degree of justice in the distribution of inherited wealth to the children.

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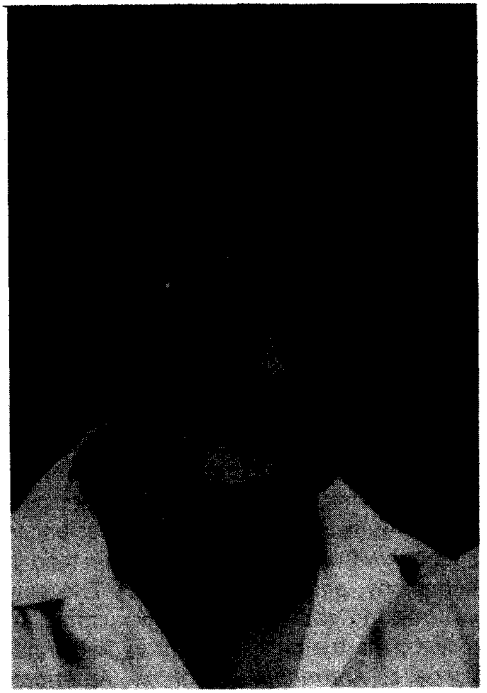
FICS EDITOR DESIGNATE: July 1, 1984

Marilyn Affleck, University of Oklahoma, Norman 73019

Announcement: Dr Marilyn Affleck, Associate Professor of Sociology, will assume editorship of *FREE INQUIRY in CREATIVE SOCIOLOGY* in July 1984. In assuming editorship, Dr Affleck continues active service to the Oklahoma Sociological Association. She was president in 1974-1975, and representative to the National Council of State Sociological Associations from 1974-1976.



Marilyn Affleck

Biography: Dr Affleck received her bachelor's degree, cum laude, from the University of Oklahoma in 1954 and her master of arts degree from Brigham Young University in 1957. She received several scholarships while attending both schools, and was elected to Phi Beta Kappa at the University of Oklahoma.

Starting in 1958, she taught various sociology and anthropology courses at Oklahoma Central State University for two years. She then left, to pursue a doctoral degree at the University of California, Los Angeles, specializing in minority group relations and sociological theory. Her dissertation, directed by Melvin Seeman, and supported by a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health concerned marginality among mentally retarded high school students. Completing her doctoral degree, she taught at Florida State University, and as an exchange professor at Florida A & M University.

Dr Affleck joined the sociology faculty at the University of Oklahoma in 1968, and taught courses in political sociology and classical sociological theory, emphasizing Marx, Durkheim, and Weber. In 1974 she received the University AMOCO teaching award.

She resumed full time teaching, fall term 1983, after a six year assignment in the Graduate College. She was Assistant Dean for two years, from 1976-1978, and served as Interim Dean from 1978 until January 1980. After appointment of a permanent dean, she continued as Assistant Dean until July 1982. In the Graduate College, she administered the State Regents Fee-Waiver Scholarship Program and the Graduate and Professional Opportunities Fellowships. She received federal grants for five years totaling $320,000 to support minorities and women in disciplines where they are under-represented. Her research then concerned conditions associated with departmental success with women graduate students.

Dr Affleck was active in university and professional service. She served as chair of the University of Oklahoma Academic Personnel Council, helped organize the women employees' caucus, and is treasurer of the South Central Women's Studies Association. She served on the Council of Graduate Schools Task Force assessing master's programs, 1979-1982.

She just completed a year of sabbatical leave to study the relation between feelings of time pressure and stress among working women. She now teaches in the women's studies area, including a course on women in higher education.

She is the mother of two adopted daughters, Michelle, age 13, and Kimberly, age 12. They are middle school children interested in music and athletics.

THE PROMISE OF FREE INQUIRY IN CREATIVE SOCIOLOGY

Donald E Allen, Editor, 1978-1984

Status Quo 1978: Of some 60 sociology periodicals published when I assumed editorship, none served the lay reader. All tended to be conservative, traditional, and highly selective. Some took pride in rejection rates as high as 90 percent. If any of several reviewers faulted a paper, it was readily rejected. Restrictive and rejective editorial practices generated uniformity of content and approach. Articles were remarkably similar both within and between journals. Small new journals strove to duplicate the model created by established journals.

Tradition vs Discovery. Nascent sciences like sociology cannot thrive under the restraint of traditionalism. Part of sociology's problem is the fear of daring to innovate or to work in ways which might violate established perspectives. The history of the influential sciences is replete with courageous ventures in theory, technology, and experimentation. The only well-recognized venturesome thing in sociology in the past half-century is Gunnar Myrdal's *American Dilemma*. American society still feels the aftershocks of this eminently serviceable piece of social science.

FICS Ecological Niche. I thought that the sociology profession needed a channel to the lay reader with potential interest in our ideas, methods, findings, and analyses. It appeared that most articles could benefit from editorial compression, and that a journal issue could serve much better with a large selection of varied articles where the lay reader would more likely find something of direct interest. Finally, the term *journal*, from French *jour* for "day" originally meant a *daily* record of events and actions, as with the *Wall Street Journal*, and was later applied to other periodicals. A journal offers a record of contemporary thought and action, which means that a science journal can be rather generous and prompt in what it publishes, while not squandering time or space on vacuous and nonsensical materials. Above all, it should disseminate new ideas, theories, methods, and data, and new challenges in sociology.

The Sociology Consortium. In December 1978, the sociology department heads of Oklahoma, Oklahoma State, Central State, and Tulsa Universities formed the Sociology Consortium and pooled slender resources to support about 60 percent of the printing costs for a slick journal edited according to these principles. Remaining costs were to be met by subscriptions, manuscript fees, reprint sales, and other sources which the Editor might generate. They constituted the Governing Board of the Consortium, and specified that subscription charges must be the same to all, regardless of income or endowments. The publication name was shortened from *Free Inquiry: A Journal of Sociological Expression* to the present title. I instructed reviewers on the purpose and standards of the Journal, and invited papers from sociologists of all brands from all lands. After five years, the Consortium support share dropped to 25 percent. The rejection rate is 30 percent, and 232 articles have been published. University library subscriptions have increased from 8 to 118, including some of the world's most prestigious. It is planned to invite other schools to join the Sociology Consortium at an annual inflation-adjusted $100 fee of 1983 dollars, with membership on the Governing Board and participation in editing services. It is also planned to rotate the editorship every few years, as determined by the Governing Board. For the sponsoring school the cost is quarter time for the editor plus quarter time secretarial support. A word processor is useful. The challenge is truly invigorating!

Author Reactions. A few authors feel bruised when papers are reduced by 25 percent in the editorial compression process. But more authors are grateful for the improvement in readability and suitability for publishing. Many authors with novel or unusual data and materials are very grateful to find a publishing outlet. Others are encouraged to seek publication when they see the wide range of materials appearing in FREE INQUIRY in CREATIVE SOCIOLOGY. FICS articles in the criminology and penology field are sought by the U.S. Deparatment of Justice. Some have been useful to United States Congressmen. Many are used by undergraduate sociology majors. The lay market exists! We must recognize its considerable potential for sociology.

AUTHOR INDEX: Volume 11 1983

(Title listed with first author.)

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FREE INQUIRY in CREATIVE SOCIOLOGY: Sociologists convey discoveries, ideas & research findings to students, colleagues and lay readers interested in social processes. Policy objectives are: readability, creativity, diversity, compactness, and economy.

READABILITY demands persuasive, interesting and lucid writing understandable to the literate lay person. It is lively enough to sustain interest, and sufficiently supported with evidence and logic to convince the skeptical reader.

CREATIVITY demands inventive, innovative and venturesome approaches to problems, propositions, questions, structures, data sets, theory, and social phenomena. Strange creatures are welcome if their outlines are clear. No gaseous nor dusty nebulae.

DIVERSITY calls for a persistent spread of materials in all areas of sociology, giving voice to all fields, positions, and technologies. We encourage sociologists in micro-, mezzo-, and macrosociology with 24 articles in at least 8 fields in each issue. Cross-cultural studies are most welcome. Foreign authors welcome.

COMPACTNESS demands parsimony of style and format. Printed articles are short, compressed editorially, and shorn of abstracts and summaries. No reviews, letters, or verbal vendettas.

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