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Erratum: Volume 11, No 2, November 1983, P 161.

JAPANESE AMERICAN INTERMARRIAGE,
Russell Endo and Dale Hirokawa.

Starting Line 36, Column 1 should read:

The 1910-1941 Denver rate is comparatively high, as is the 1970-1971 level of 64 percent, which is approximated only by the 1971 San Francisco rate at 58 percent.

ARMED ROBBER CHARACTERISTICS & CRIME PATTERNS VS JUDICIAL RESPONSE

Werner Gruninger, Norman B Hess
Oklahoma State University

A research population of 113 armed robbery convicts held at Oklahoma State Penitentiary during 1982 were interviewed to determine variables that influence robbery planning and the robber's experience in criminal court. It was assumed that the age of the offender at the time of the robbery, the criminal history of the robber, and his professed attitudes would influence both the degree of prior planning and the judicial disposition of the case.

The 1982 Federal Bureau of Investigation Uniform Crime Report shows that robbery accounts for only 4 percent of the total 1982 crime index, and that it increased 5 percent over the year 1981. There has also been an increase in robbery by very young offenders, according to arrest statistics. In 1981, 29 percent were under 18; in 1982, 34 percent were under 18. Of the robbery offenders, 60 percent were black. The offense was concentrated mainly in urban areas. The 1976 National Crime Survey shows that only 53 percent of all robberies were reported to police (McCaghy 1980), and only 24 percent of all robberies were cleared by an arrest. The great majority of robbery offenders successfully committed the crime without any punitive consequences.

Previous research shows that robbers are a highly diverse group. The offense pattern varies from simple street muggings to carefully executed assaults on a bank. Most offenses, however, are spontaneous and opportunistic with little prior planning and no weapons (Feeney, Weir 1979). Conklin (1972) identified four common patterns: 1) a drug-related pattern; 2) an alcoholic pattern; 3) the professional heist; and 4) the opportunist pattern. The professional robber is described as a competent lawbreaker who gains large sums of money, works with a team, and rarely uses actual force (Gibbons 1973). Robbers tend to be characterized as persons who have skill in managing people under stress. They are self-confident, but lack the technical skills of the safe-cracker or burglar. Some robbers require a high level of tension and anxiety, while others try to calm everyone after the initial confrontation (DeBaun 1950). One study of criminal careers showed that mature armed robbers had been incarcerated half of their career span, and had graduated from youthful theft and burglary to armed robbery (Petersilia et al 1977). The general pattern with increasing age is an increase in the severity of offenses, a decrease in use of crime partners, and a lowering frequency of offenses.

There is consensus in the professional literature that the majority of robberies are unplanned. This assumption may be valid, because all the studies cited are based on convict groups which are by no means representative of robbers in general, since most are never apprehended, and hence, are not available for study. The present study deals with a group of offenders who were successfully identified by police, convicted in a court proceeding, and processed into the penitentiary for an extended stay. However, one would expect that age and criminal history might explain some differences in offense behavior and planning.

OFFENDER CHARACTERISTICS AND CRIME PATTERN

The 113 convicted offenders were held in the maximum security state penitentiary. Other cases in the state prison system which were reclassified to serve sentence in reformatories, work camps, or pre-release centers were excluded due to lack of access. Also excluded were death-row offenders involved in robbery-homicide. The data indicate that robbery is a young man's offense. Those under 18 years of age at the time of the robbery, and certified to stand trial as adults were 14 percent of the sample. These were presumably more serious cases in which the juvenile court declined jurisdiction. There were probably others under 18 years of age in the juvenile justice system, classified simply as delinquents. The age distribution is shown in Table 1. Blacks constituted 38 percent, which on a population basis shows an overrepresentation by a factor of 5. Only 18 percent were married; 87 percent lived in urban areas, and 11 percent were homeless; 2 percent were from rural areas; 6 percent were street

sleepers; 3 percent were shelter residents.

In employment status, 55 percent were fully employed at the time of the robbery; 14 percent were living by crime alone; and the remaining 31 percent were on an entitlement program such as welfare or unemployment insurance. Admitted problem drinkers make up 11 percent of the sample; 59 percent were drug abusers. During the robbery, 19 percent claimed to be under the influence of alcohol, and 33 percent claimed be under the influence of drugs. The great majority, 82 percent, had juvenile and adult criminal histories which had led to multiple incarcerations. Previous offenses included mostly property offences plus a few cases of drug charges and assault charges, and one sexual offense. This is a rather typical pattern of theft and burglary.

Convenience stores were the prime target for this group of robbers: 83 percent robbed a convenience store or a drug store, and 9 percent entered a financial institution. Most were looking for money, and 11 percent were hoping to obtain drugs. The amount obtained was usually small — often only $20 or $30, but 87 percent used firearms in the robbery. There were a few street muggers armed with a knife or no weapon at all. Three robbers were shot down by storekeepers; four were surprised by a routine police check of the premises. The others said that they left enough clues for the police to find them.

A disguise such as a mask or wig was used by 37 percent, mainly very young offenders. The more experienced robber did not bother to disguise himself. Partners were involved in the robbery with 69 percent of the offenders, who were typically aged from 15 to 25 years. In 47 percent of the cases where a partner was used, the partner was a known ex-convict, and sometimes was the instigator of the robbery. Younger robbers are much more likely to cross racial lines in the choice of target; older and recidivist offenders tend to rob members of their own race. (Table 2)

As to planning the robbery, 72 percent of the offenders did no planning at all. The more typical robber habitually carries a firearm, notices a storekeeper alone, and robs the store on impulse. A few thought about committing the robbery for a several hours, or consulted a friend about it. They did not reconnoiter the intended robbery site in any way or think about escape routes. They had little or no prior information about what they might gain. Contrary to expectation, the most experienced robbers did not plan the robbery in any way.

TABLE 1: YEARS' SENTENCE LENGTH BY ROBBER CATEGORY

Variable	Years	N
All robbers	18	113
Plea		
Guilty	16	79
Not guilty	26	34
Type of defense		
Public defender	19	75
Private attorney	21	37
Self defended	150	1
Criminal history		
First offender	13	30
Recidivist	18	55
Habitual	25	27
Age		
Under 18	25	16
19-24	16	59
25-30	21	25
31 and over	27	13
Race		
White	18	62
Black	18	43
Hispanic, Indian	22	8
Antisocial level		
Low	20	42
Medium	15	59
High	12	12

The average prison sentence for the offense of armed robbery is 18 years, with a range from 2 to 150 years. The longest sentence was imposed on a very young offender who elected to conduct his own jury trial defense, in lieu of a regular attorney. Most of the robbery victims offered no resistance during the robbery, and only 5 percent of these offenders inflicted any physical harm on their victims. The robbers had no prior contingency plans in case the victim should resist, and simply chose to act according to circumstances. There was also no pre-arranged assignment of tasks between the robber and his accomplice. (Table 2)

THE ROLE OF AGE IN PLANNING

We hypothesized that the age of the offender

at the time of the robbery might have an influence on the various planning dimensions, because the older and more experienced man should be more careful and wiser than teenage offenders. But the differences in age are slight, as shown in Table 2A. The tables are composites of separate interview schedule questions. To be brief, we have extracted responses that are of importance to the study. Some percentage differences are based on small frequencies and should be regarded with caution. The gamma values are also in some doubt since they are derived from extended tabulations of questions with several response options. The youngest offenders are less likely to plan the robbery, but they do discuss it and carry it out with an accomplice. Older offenders often act alone. There is a slight difference in perceived risk of apprehension. Offenders in their 20's more often believe that the risk of getting caught is high; they are less likely to want to share proceeds with an accomplice; they may use a knife or a gun in the robbery; and older offenders more often used a stolen car, or stolen license plates. Younger offenders almost always used a gun.

Offenders aged 19 to 24 are most likely to use one or more partners, which they usually recognize as ex-convicts, and older offenders more likely commit the offense in a familiar neighborhood, not far from where they live.

There is an interesting relation between the offender's age at the time of the robbery and his criminal maturity and professed antisocial attitudes, as shown in Table 3. Age groups are divided in three criminal maturity categories: 1) first offender with no prior detention or incarceration; 2) intermittent recidivists with an occasional juvenile arrest, training school stay, and up to two adult prison sentences; 3) the habitual criminal, first arrested before age 18, with three or more instances of juvenile detention, and three or more adult prison sentences. We applied a simple point scoring system. In criminal maturity, 27 percent were first offenders, 49 percent were recidivists, and 24 percent were habitual criminals. But there was no significant relation between criminal maturity and age ($Chi^2 = 11.3$; $df = 6$; $p = .15$).

There is a negative relation between age at the time of robbery and the robber's antisocial attitudes (Table 2C). Antisocial attitudes are measured on a 20-point scale of responses to 20 statements. We used 12 statements previously used to derive prisoner role types

TABLE 2: AGE, CRIMINALITY & ATTITUDE BY ROBBERY PLANNING VARIABLES (Percent)

Planning Variables	A. Robbery Time Age					B. Criminal Maturity*				C. Antisocial Attitudes			
	15	17	25	31	Gamma	Low	Med	High	Gamma	Low	Med	High	Gamma
Unplanned robbery	88	59	64	69	.05	53	64	82	.26	64	63	91	−.08
Talked to accomplice	81	59	52	23	.44	47	64	52	.00	52	64	36	−.05
Reconnoitered site	19	15	20	8	.16	20	16	11	.18	12	20	9	−.05
Gave accomplice task	19	25	24	15	.15	17	35	7	−.06	17	31	9	−.14
Knew risk was high	13	22	24	0	−.07	20	20	15	−.19	19	12	55	.11
Ignorant of gain	63	64	68	77	−.40	67	64	74	−.07	71	64	64	−.08
Rewarded finger man	44	22	24	0	.63	17	29	15	−.65	19	27	18	−.42
Provided for gun	44	59	56	46	−.11	63	53	48	.28	55	56	55	−.08
Gun used in robbery	94	75	80	62	−.22	80	80	67	−.43	74	81	73	.27
Disguise used	31	36	28	31	.07	37	31	30	.15	31	34	36	−.12
Had stolen car/license	13	17	32	23	.28	13	31	7	.12	19	22	18	−.10
Used accomplice(s)	81	75	56	54	−.03	70	73	59	.03	64	73	73	.17
Partner was ex-convict	38	24	48	23	−.19	30	38	19	.35	33	31	27	.23
Robbed a store	94	75	60	92	.04	77	80	67	−.39	81	75	73	−.13
Victim race different	63	32	32	15	−.34	43	31	30	−.19	19	41	64	.55
Total N	**16**	**59**	**25**	**13**	**113**	**30**	**55**	**27**	**112**	**42**	**59**	**11**	**112**

*Criminal maturity code: Low = First offender; Med = Recidivist; High = Habitual.

by Schrag (1949), Garabedian (1962), Wheeler (1961) and Gruninger (1975). Sample statements include: "Take what you can get and to hell with everyone else." "Lawyers, judges, and politicians are just as crooked as the men they sent to the pentitentiary." The other 8 statements were suggested by prison inmates in an international study of prisonization (Gruninger, Hayner, Akers 1974). Robbers rated low on the antisocial scale affirmed 7 or fewer items; those rated medium affirmed 8 to 14 items; those rated high in antisocial attitudes had 15 to 20 affirmations. (See Table 4).

For the groups expressing medium and low antisocial attitudes there is a consistent age gradient. Older offenders tend to affirm only a small number of antisocial items, and there are fewer radical antisocial types among them. It is unclear whether these patterns represent life experiences, or whether older age groups are more reluctant to admit such values. It did not appear that offenders were blocking during the interview, and they seemed quite ready to admit their views.

CRIMINAL MATURITY & PLANNING

Criminal maturity and experience shows a tendency contrary to planning the robbery (see Table 2B). Habitual criminals and recidivists act more on criminal impulse than first offenders. Poor impulse controls may explain why they are apprehended so often, and why they are involved in crimes both as juveniles and as adults. Recidivists and habitual criminals share their criminal gain more often. Experienced offenders are somewhat less likely to make deliberate prior provisions for a firearm. They were more likely to use knives, and to perform unarmed muggings and yokings on the street. There is a consistent pattern to use an ex-convict as a partner, and the partner is more often a naive first offender who apparently serves as an apprentice. More experienced offenders choose a wider range of establishments as targets, and are less likely to cross racial lines in their attacks. But there is little prior deliberation about steps to avoid detection. Since the majority of reported robberies are unsolved, those involved in unsolved robberies must be more elusive than the prison population in this study.

ANTISOCIAL ATTITUDES & PLANNING

A tabulation of ciminal maturity against antisocial attitudes shows a pattern of theoretical interest. Previous research on prisonization has led to a long-standing controversy about this relation. Clemmer (1938) and Sykes (1948) founded a theoretical tradition that prisoners' antisocial attitudes were a product of prison life — a notion which gave

TABLE 3: SENTENCE LENGTH BY AGE, CONTROLLING FOR CRIMINALITY
(Percents)

Age level	First offender		Recidivist		Habitual criminal	
Sentence, years:	**20 –**	**21 +**	**20 –**	**21 +**	**20 –**	**21 +**
15-24 years	60	7	40	25	48	19
25 + years	17	17	15	20	7	26
Gamma	**.80**		**.36**		**.80**	
N	**30**		**55**		**27**	

TABLE 4: SENTENCE LENGTH BY AGE, CONTOLLING FOR ANTISOCIAL ATTITUDES
(Percents)

	Antisocial level:	**Low**		**Medium**		**High**	
Age	**Sentence:**	**20 –**	**21 +**	**20 –**	**21 +**	**20 –**	**21 +**
15-24 years		33	21	56	17	58	17
25 + years		14	31	12	15	17	7
Gamma		.54		.61		.27	
N		42		59		12	

rise to many later studies. Other researchers came to believe that antisocial attitudes were imported into the prison based on criminalization on the streets, rather than arising from the "pains" of imprisonment (Garabedian 1959; Wheeler 1959; Cline 1968; Irwin 1970). Grunginger (1974) demonstrated that for offenders without distinction as to offense, the two factors operated conjointly to bring about antisocial attitudes, but that the imported characteristics of inmates explained a greater portion of the total variance. The most important variables were early arrests, juvenile arrests, and the number of adult incarcerations. This relation does not hold for robbery convicts. Criminal maturity and antisocial attitudes are unrelated ($Chi^2 = 3.2$; $df = 2$; $p = .20$). Apparently, robbers are criminalized outside the prison, and the effects of prior imprisonment seem absent.

The relation between antisocial attitudes and robbery planning are shown in Table 2C. Gamma values are small, but it is evident that the most antisocial robbers do the least planning though they recognize the high risk of apprehension. Other differences are small, except in interracial victimization. The more antisocial offender is more likely to choose a member of another race as a victim. Young black offenders are the most alienated, and are more likely to rob establishments with white attendants.

The independent variables of age at time of robbery, criminal maturity, and antisocial attitudes have some effect on various elements of robbery planning, but the effects are not uniform. This finding is not surprising in hindsight, since our sample reflects of Conklin's general robbery patterns: the alcoholic, the drug, and the opportunist patterns. The professional pattern is notably absent from this group of offenders. Professionalism is rare among convicted robbers. The finding in this study is that convicted robbers act mainly on impulse when they think they see a favorable situation.

JUDICIAL RESPONSE TO ROBBERY

A short review of sentencing practices in the courts indicates legally indefensible variations in sentencing. Lane (1941) reviewed 1660 sentences in a state prison system, and found that a fifth of the inmates had received prison sentences which did not conform to legal criteria. Short sentences had been imposed on habitual offenders, and long sentences were given to first offenders. At about the same time (1948) Lemert and Rosberg investigated racial differences, and found that whites received considerably shorter sentences than blacks and Hispanics. Bullock (1961) showed that criminal histories were not significant in sentencing, but the type of plea was a strong factor. It was also shown that offenders from large cities who pleaded guilty received long sentences. A study of 439 death penalty cases showed that whites, especially with white attorneys, more often had their sentences commuted (Wolfgang et al 1962). A study of 1437 records from a Philadelphia court showed that the seriousness of the offense and the number of indictments exerted the greatest influence (Green 1960, 1961, 1964). Racial discrimination did not appear as a factor. Social class is shown to be a factor in granting probation (Nagel 1965). Hogarth (1971) found that judicial characteristics and court workload were related to sentencing, but Chambliss and Waldo (1975) found no such differences. Eisenstein and Jacob (1977) found that public defenders obtained lighter sentences, and that guilty pleas were rewarded with lighter sentences. Chiricos and Waldo (1975) found that prior criminal records were significantly related to sentences, but Bullock's study (1961) had not shown this relation. The picture as shown by research shows little consistency.

Table 1 shows that the average sentence for our prisoner sample is 18 years. There is a strong relation between sentence length and pleas of not guilty, compared to guilty pleas. Offenders who bargained for a shorter sentence were rewarded. Our study reveals that the typical bargaining pattern was for shorter sentences, and not for charge reduction. And the majority of robbers said that such bargains actually had been kept, though several offenders claimed that plea bargain promises had not been honored in the court.

Both the public defender and the private attorney pleaded their client guilty at the same 70 percent rate. The public defender, perhaps because he was a court regular, on average, obtained a sentence that was two years shorter than that obtained by the private

attorney. Criminal history is significantly related to sentence length in Oklahoma courts. The first offender obtains an average sentence of 13 years; the intermittent recidivist gets 18 years; the habitual offender on average gets a sentence of 25 years. This is legally defensible. There is also some consistency in handing longer prison sentences to older offenders. The exception is the very young offender who came to adult courts because the juvenile court declined jurisdiction for a serious crime. These presumably more serious offenders obtained a sentence, on average, of 25 years. Differences in sentencing between blacks and whites do not appear, but American Indian and Hispanic offenders receive a sentence four years longer on average, than those of blacks and whites (Table 1). Contrary to expectation, offenders low on the antisocial attitude scale get long sentences, while the highly antisocial group gets the shortest sentences, 12 years, on average, in all categories.

This latter finding merits exploration. We tabulated the data at time of robbery against the sentence, with criminal maturity held constant. When the prior record of robbers is held constant, an increase in age brings a longer sentence, especially for first offenders and for habitual offenders, as shown in Table 3. The relation is weaker for intermittent recidivists, perhaps reflecting judicial indecision in dealing with this offender type. The sentencing pattern shown here represents valid sentencing procedures as required in legal theory, which advocates consideration of the relative youth of the offender and his criminal history. With antisocial attitudes held constant, Table 4 shows a strong relation between age and sentence for the low antisocial group and the medium antisocial group. For highly antisocial robbers, the relation is diminished, but in the expected direction, but the frequencies are low, and require cautious interpretation. The criminological literature suggests that highly antisocial and psychopathic offenders are adept at showing remorse to the court, and can verbalize it well.

SUMMARY

Armed robbers do not act rationally. They are young, impulsive offenders who are rather easily detected by criminal justice agencies. They are aware that their crime is not lucrative, and carries a high price in the courts. When asked what group they admire, the consensus of opinion was that the embezzler or fraud offender was doing things correctly. The robbery convicts noted that these offenders use their heads, get a large amount of money, and a short sentence. They saw themselves as losers. This may explain why only 14 of the 113 robbery convicts had previous convictions for armed robbery. They had engaged chiefly in other types of property crime. Though 59 percent were drug abusers, only five persons had previous sentences for drug possession. And 69 percent were engaged in robbery with one or more partners.

Most offenders act on impulse, with alcohol and drug influence being very common phenomena.. Examination of business hours, days of the week, or months of the year shows no time pattern. Robberies are distributed though the day and through the year. There seems to be no consideration for payroll days, or for night-time cover for easier getaway.

Judges retaliate rather severely when robbers appear for trial. Actual time spent in prison is controlled by the Parole Board, however, and is far short of the sentence imposed in the court. Plea bargaining reduces the sentence by an average of 10 years. Judges consistently hand down more severe sentences to more experienced robbers, in line with established legal theory. The most effective strategy by the defendant is to plead guilty with a public defender, because other options are more costly. This study corroborates research by other criminologists who have defined armed robbery as an unplanned crime with little gain and serious legal consequences.

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CRIMINAL JUSTICE EVALUATION RESEARCH AND THEORY RESEARCH

Robert Sigler, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa

CRIMINAL JUSTICE RESEARCH

As defined in the professions, criminal justice research has broad parameters. In some academic settings the focus is on theories of criminal behavior, while in others the emphasis is on the dynamics and operations of the system itself. While criminology enjoys a long history of emprirical endeavor, much of the research in criminal justice emerges from theory and methods developed in contiguous disciplines such as anthropology, political science, sociology and psychology, and applied professions such as social work, business, law, and public administration. Much of the empirical effort in criminal justice focuses on management information, needs assessment, and evaluation research.

Evaluation research has been challenged as effective research (Weiss 1972). It is suggested that evaluation research is inferior to theoretical research. Needs assessment and development of management information in criminal justice settings are not perceived as research. I will argue that any collection of data which meets rigorous standards in design, collection, and analysis is intrinsically equal as research, and can be used for various purposes, regardless of the primary character of the research.

STATE OF THE ART

The quality of research in criminal justice settings has been challenged by several scholars, and most visibly by Martinson (1974). He collected and reviewed all available English language reports focusing on rehabilitation which had been completed from 1945 to 1967, and found no evidence that any rehabilitation program consistently reduced recidivism. This challenge focused attention on the rehabilitation process (Palmer 1975). His second, perhaps more vital conclusion received little review. Martinson suggests that the problem may be one of *methods* rather than *substance*. "It is just possible that some of our treatment programs are working to some extent, but that our research is so bad that it is incapable of telling." (Martinson 1974 3) After applying criteria such as measurable outcomes and the presence of a comparison group to the reports in his study, only 231 reports remained, and he found that many of these studies had fatal or confounding effects in the design. Unlike the challenge to rehabilitation, this assertion has not been challenged, and its ready acceptance by scholars indicates general doubt about the quality of research in this area.

A similar project focused on the use of volunteers with criminal offenders. Scioli and Cook (1976) evaluated 250 reports, monographs, and supporting statements which attempted to present findings from evaluations of volunteer programs. When evaluations which did not measure program outcome were eliminated, only 43 reports remained. Of these, 35 measured program impact on offenders, mainly focusing on one-to-one volunteer relationships, excluding consideration of other program components. Only 3 reports were free of defects which seriously limited the quality of the evaluation. The focus of scholars and practitioners was on the absence of support for volunteer programs rather than on the comments regarding the quality of research.

Earlier investigators drew similar conclusions in assessing the state of the art (Shelley 1971; Baily 1966; Schnur 1965; Glaser 1965; Cressey 1958). More recently, Logan (1980) evaluated research in the late 1960's and early 1970's and reached the same conclusions. All assessments of evaluation research end with an expressed need for improvement in application of research techniques in criminal justice or correctional settings. Logan (1980) set seven criteria to serve as a guide to the minimal level of acceptable technical competence which focused on efforts to evaluate treatment programs. None of the 100 studies, met the seven minimal conditions for quality research. Only 12 adequately measured the independent variable, and only one satisfied as many as six of the seven conditions.

THEORETICAL & APPLIED RESEARCH

The inadequacies of criminal justice research have been attributed to the applied or practical nature of the field. There is a sense that applied research is less rigorous than

theoretical research. Such a position is inappropriate, because research methods are neither good nor bad. They are either correctly or incorrectly applied to the problem under study. If applied or practical research is inferior, the appropriate response is an indictment of the researcher who has used research tools incorrectly, and no indictment of applied research.

EVALUATION RESEARCH AND THEORETICAL RESEARCH

It has been suggested that evaluation research is inferior to theory research as conducted in the various professional disciplines in pursuit of theoretical issues. *Evaluation research is research.* It must be qualitatively equivalent to theoretical research. The tasks and techniques are, or should be the same. The safequards, standards and objectivity are, or should be the same, to insure that quality is maintained in the research process.

BIASING FACTORS

The quality of research is limited to the skills, abilities, and objectivity of the researcher. Environmental pressures impinge on research efforts, regardless of setting. While emphasis has been placed on the unique nature of environmental stresses in the evaluation of action programs, simlar stresses can be identified in other research settings.

The funding agency or evaluated agency is likely to try influencing the research process (Adams 1975). In the early 1970's a research team was evaluating a community treatment program in a major urban area under contract from the county commission. The state planning agency had invested heavily in the program of prime concern. State planning agency representatives met the research team and stressed the importance of finding the program effective and essential. They indicated with little subtlety that future grant and research funds from the planning agency would depend on "cooperation" from the research team in this case. The team refused to modify the research design, and insisted that the findings must flow from the data.

If a researcher succumbs to such pressure, the weakness is not in evaluation research techniques. Similar pressures exist in academic and professional communities. Only research with "significant" findings can be published. A researcher had completed an experimental examination of one aspect of human behavior, but had achieved non-significant results. On replication, the results were again non-significant. The researcher said that the same design would be repeated until the "correct" results were obtained. When researchers manipulate their designs and significance levels to reach "significant" results, the weakness does not lie in methodology, but in falsifying objective research operations.

The funding agency defines research goals (Street 1974). The outcome expected from experimental intervention determines both the dependent and independent variables. But the researcher must determine the manner of definition and measurement of the variables. "Timeliness" and "relevancy" as defined by the discipline may also impose professional bias on the researcher who naturally wants to publish findings and theoretical analysis.

A political element affects public program evaluation (Weiss 1972). Programs in the public sector are created in politics, and the products, effectiveness assessment, and evaluation are all political. Evaluation findings may provide the basis for support or rejection of the program. It is difficult to avoid biasing pressures. Effective researchers will state findings objectively, and will avoid involvement in debates about interpretation. There is a place for the social activist, but such concerns must be kept out of the program evaluation process because they destroy objectivity and invalidate the research. Findings and design must be determined by the data and the type of research question approached, and not by the preference of researcher, funding agency, or the social research object itself. The competent researcher separates areas of social involvement from areas of application of research skills.

Evaluation research must be conducted with greater care than other types of research. If the evaluation develops information which is viewed as unfavorable to the program, then the quality of the data will be questioned (Weiss 1972). Even if the data is favorable, the evaluation will be challenged by opponents of the program. They will diligently seek flaws to discredit the methodology or the

analysis. The basic data gathering procedures and the analysis of data will be scrutinized to a degree seldom applied to basic and theoretical research. Thus, each component of the research design must be carefully constructed to gather data which is high both in quality and in relevance.

PRACTICAL APPLICATION AND THEORY

Theoretical research and applied research need not be separate endeavors. If the quality of applied research is equal to the quality of theoretical research, then the quality of data will permit analysis focused on verification of theoretical propositions. The return from the investment of resources in developing evaluation research can be maximized by including the measurement of variables which assess theoretical hypotheses.

Sophisticated empirical research can be conducted at the same time that practical research is conducted. Two products result: 1) a report on the practical findings, and 2) a theoretically significant journal article. While the main variables are determined by the nature of the program being evaluated, with the stated program outcomes, other variables can and should also be measured. If the main dependent and independent variables are inappropriate for the study of the theoretical issue, then the primary variables for the theory test can be entered as secondary variables in the practical evaluation research design. A major evaluation is a series of minor hypothesis testing situations, or at least, minor comparisons which can be converted into hypothesis testing situations. The practical report focuses on those comparisons from the perspective of the information needed to manage the program. The theoretical analysis focuses on the comparisons relevant to the verification of theory.

APPROACHING THEORY

Development of scientific theory is recognized as the province of the academic scholar-scientist. There are differences in approach which scholars take in the development of theory, but there is some consensus as to the purpose of the development of scientific theory. While non-professionals and some scientists see the purpose of science as practical improvement in the "real world," science is more correctly viewed as the effort to expand knowledge and understanding. The pursuit of science is to establish general laws which help to integrate and develop knowledge about a field of inquiry (Braithwaite 1966). The basic purpose of science is to develop theories which explain natural phenomena including those encountered in criminal justice as well as the other social sciences.

Some scholars define the development of theory in rigorous terms. Philosphers of science suggest that the model advanced by the physical sciences is the proper model for the development and testing of theories (Popper 1961; Hempel 1939). This model stresses the logical deduction of testable propositions from a broad general theory. According to this model, the development of theory involves development of a formal system of explanation through a set of systematically interrelated postulates from which testable hypotheses can be drawn (Zetterberg 1965). In this context, research becomes a mechanism whereby hypotheses are tested.

The inductive method of theory development is less frequently discussed as an appropriate scientific approach. In this context, information is gathered about the relations between phenomena. As more becomes known about the relations among the variables under analysis, a theory or set of theories begin to emerge which explain the findings. In this context, research becomes the mechanism whereby relations between variables are discovered.

The pursuit of theory, whether inductive or deductive, requires the accurate and careful testing of relations between variables. Applied research can provide information which can be used in the development of theory. The original purpose of research does not change the nature of the data. If the data are not sound they cannot be used for development of theory or for program evaluation. Sound data must be used for both.

SUMMARY

Criminal justice is a newly emerging field with broad parameters not clearly defined in contemporary literature. While criminology is well established as an area of professional research, criminal justice research, particularly

evaluation research, has been judged inadequate. Research in criminal justice is often practical or applied research. The techniques and procedures used in applied research are identical to research employed in the verification of theory. If the quality of research is maintained, then theoretical hypotheses can be tested in applied research deisgns. The development of theory in the area of criminal justice is a legitimate and essential activity. Both deductive and inductive approaches are appropriate vehicles for developing theory in criminal justice research. As an emerging field of study, criminal justice must be carefully developed through application of rigorous and effective research methods. The quality of research will determine the quality of knowledge. Thus, the quality of criminal justice research must be maintained at high levels regardless of the form which the research effort takes.

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C W MILLS, INDUSTRIAL SOCIOLOGY & WORKER PARTICIPATION PROGRAMS

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MILLS' THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Mills' 1948 article, "The Contribution of Sociology to Studies of Industrial Relations" castigated applied sociologists and the human relations school of management for lending themselves to management as consultants. In his critique, he charged that the human relations school was trying to create a "pseudo-gemeinschaft" atmosphere in an authoritarian industrial setting by manipulating workers and their informal groups to follow cheerfully the directives of management. Manipulation occurred through consulting with workers and listening sympathetically to their complaints so as to gain their cooperation and confidence. The human relations "counselor" may even be able to compete with the shop steward or coopt the union into "promoting collaboration in the pursuit of a collective goal." Intelligent human relations management should make happy, cooperative workers without changing the social structure of the workplace.

Why does Mills see this as a problem when it would appear that human relations management works, and that management, shareholders and workers are happy? Morale, productivity, and profit should rise. Alienation, absenteeism, turnover, strikes, and industrial conflict should fall. With a simple grid shown in Figure 1, Mills shows the subjective and objective possibilities of worker morale, and explains why this school of management is a "sophisticated conservative" approach which in no way liberates the worker.

Mills is saying that the pseudo-participation of human relations management, if it is successful, places the "cheerful robot" in Cell 2 of Figure 1. It does not really allow the worker decision-making participation, as in Cell 1. Cell 1 participation implies either the social structure available to the old-fashion craftsman who was self-managing, or to workers' control under some new structure. Cell 3 contains workers who do participate, but still do not like the work — hopeless malcontents who remain unadjusted. Cell 4 contains those workers who are alienated as in Cell 3, but who have not been manipulated into false consciousness like the cheerful robots of Cell 2.

FIGURE 1: MORALE ANALYSIS MODEL

Individual's Subjective State	Objective Power Structure Participates	Does not
Cheerful, willing	1	2
Sullen, unwilling	3	4

Adapted from C W Mills, "Contribution of Sociology to Studies of Industrial Relations," reprinted 1970 in *Berkeley J of Sociol* 15 24.

Cell 4 is what management has on its hands if it does not apply human relations methods, or if management bungles it.

Mills holds that what social scientists should be seeking is not the management goal of Cell 2 but the humanist Marxian goal of Cell 1. Sociologists and other social scientists have been willing to allow the structure of the workplace to shift from the left side of worker participation in decision-making to the right side of authoritarian power relations without batting an eye. In pursuing their own career development, social scientists have accepted management's definition of the problem of morale and productivity, allowing their political range of alternatives to narrow and atrophy. Mills castigates the social scientists of the 1940's for being so apolitical in their pursuit of the technician role that they cannot "sell out" something they do not have.

From "The Marxists," (1962) Mills' preferences on "self-managing" and "workers' control" can be distinguished. He does not want either economic influence or political direction from a small financial capitalist class, or the authoritarian dictates of a bureaucratic state-controlled economy. He wants a form of social democracy exemplified in the theories of Kautsky, Luxemburg, syndicalist G D H Cole, and grassroots economic democracy incipient in the Yugoslavian workers' council experiences. Decentralized decision-making should be based on worker control/democracy in the economic sector. Is there one pattern, good for all the world? No. The sociological imagination knows that in each culture and historical time, grassroots democracy might work itself out differently. The paths to that

devolution of decision-making for the "little man" might be different.

Mills feels fervently that worker participation in decision-making is, or should be the goal of social scientists' endeavors. He described himself as a "plain marxist," meaning that theory and praxis should be used in a dialectical manner, continually to improve workers' knowledge of their social condition. Social scientists should be on the forefront of exposing how people have been shaped by their social structures and how, they can consciously reshape their future structures through public policy decisions.

"In their work, plain marxists have stressed the humanism of marxism, especially of the younger Marx, and the role of the superstructure in history; they have pointed out that to underemphasize the *interplay* of bases and superstructure in the making of history is to transform man into that abstraction for which Marx himself criticized Feurbach. ... They have emphasized the volition of men in the making of history — their freedom, in contrast to any Determinist Laws of History and, accordingly, the lack of individual responsibility." (Mills 1962 99);

The central theme of all Mills' work was that a critical social science must promote freedom and democracy. Men in "publics" must have the ability to formulate the "available choices," to argue over them — then the opportunity to choose." (Mills 1959 174) A critical social science must provide information to these publics (Ford 1978; Scimecca 1977). The overall macrostructure of society must be understood first, because it is the institutional structure which gives the framework for social roles. Social roles are the basic point of contact between the individual and society -- particularly the occupational role. Most communicative action takes place within roles. Basic motivations, skills, values, and social codes are learned as parts of social roles that an individual plays or prepares to play in the future. All cultural phenomena -- language, ideology, symbols, communications – all types of individual character structure, all social roles occur within an overall historically specific social structure. Without a framework of institutions, norms, and roles, there could not be shared meanings and shared expectations.

In trying to include both structural and cultural factors in his model, Mills insists on a model in which the social scientist can tack between macro and micro, between broad theory and empirical studies, in a society's historical development and in individuals' collective biographies (Ford 1978 26).

Mills wants all persons, not just managers, to participate in decision-making which will affect their lives. The most important roles which people play are their occupational roles. These roles have helped to shape peoples' lives and thinking, and are the locus for what Mills feels should be a primary place for decision-making and growth. People cannot understand these roles without understanding how the roles are a part of the macro institutional structure. If theoretical and applied sociologists do not work to promote this end, they have failed. Worse yet, they have become a political tool by allowing themselves to be used by elites.

THE WORKER PARTICIPATION MOVEMENT

The 1970's have seen a groundswell of interest in worker participation. The overall economy among the industrial nations of the world has seen a slump after a relatively long period of economic gains since World War II. In the United States, in addition to the inflation seen elsewhere in the world, there has been a slowdown in the growth of productivity as measured by the ratio of real output to labor hour input. In the manufacturing sector, both in the United States and Great Britain, between 1967 and 1977, labor productivity increased 27 percent. During the same period, labor productivity in the manufacturing sector increased 107 percent in Japan, 72 percent in France, 70 percent in West Germany, 62 percent in Italy, and 43 percent in Canada (McConnell 1979 38). In the 1973-1977 period the United States has slowed to an annual growth rate in labor productivity of only 1.2 percent per annum (Economic Impact Report 1977 45).

The economic problems of United States workers have been compounded by the increase in plant shutdowns as corporations close subsidiaries or move the plants to other countries and to less unionized areas. Corporations which are labor intensive seek the

more docile, more tractable, and less costly labor force of the South, or Third World countries. Equally important, and sometimes overlooked in the rush to blame United States labor unions, is the tax break for foreign investment given by the United States, foreign governments, and some southern states, and the tax write-off for dumping less profitable plants.

United States firms have an advantage of operating from inside the European Economic Community to avoid trade barriers which they would have encountered in attempting to export from the United States. Of the United States multinational investments in 1982, 75 percent were in other industrial countries in Europe, where tax break and trade barrier relief were the chief concern, or where financial and service functions which must be performed on the spot were offered (Dollars & Sense 1982; DeVos 1981; Moberg 1979; Bluestone, Harrison 1980). Over 60 of these plants have been salvaged from shutdown by employee and community buyout (Rosen 1981).

Other factors have caught the interest of some management, worker, and union personnel, and some social scientists regarding worker participation. Labor is not satisfied. The labor force is more educated, with 12.7 median years of education (Bureau of Labor Statistics 1981). This and the long period of relative prosperity have increased expectations for more interesting work and more responsibility (Frieden 1980 41). The civil rights and women's liberation movements must also be credited for their impact on cultural values concerning participation, individual rights, and the impetus to change traditional social roles.

In the postwar period came the *demonstration effect* of successes in worker participation from Europe and Japan (Frieden 1980 20; Jenkins 1974 92, 176, 246). Workers' councils have been used in all Western European countries, usually by legislative mandate, and six countries require workers' representatives on company boards of directors (Schwartz 1981 4). Shopfloor participation has been spreading in Great Britain and Italy (Hill 1981 147). Yugoslavia remains the prime example of worker control of industry (Vanek 1971 39; Zwerdling 1980 159). Japan has about 10 million workers participating in shopfloor level quality circles to raise problematic issues, discuss them, and suggest solutions to management (DeWar 1979 9). The Mondragon system in the Basque region of Spain has stimulated interest abroad in industrial and producer cooperatives. Since the introduction of the first industrial co-op in 1956, the network has grown to over 80 industrial co-ops and more than 20 service and consumer co-ops, including a co-op bank, medical, day care, and educational services and retail establishments (Thomas, Logan 1982; Mollner 1982).

U.S. WORKER PARTICIPATION PLANS

There have been several attempts at worker participation plans in the United States. The Northwest plywood cooperatives are the best known producer co-ops, 16 of which still exist (Zwerdling 1980 95; Berman 1967; Bernstein 1974). Scanlon plans have been well known since the 1940's, and a 1967 estimate placed the number at 500 (Frieden 1980 27; Jenkins 1974 222). Other companies have been using profit-sharing plans, quality circles, and *Employee Stock Ownership Plans* (ESOP) which were facilitated by the Employee's Investment and Retirement Act of 1974.

Mills would be interested in the degee and level of worker participation and whether the program could possibly lead to an increased awareness and involvement by the worker in decision-making in the future. The social scientist might look too, at the following: 1) Does the plan offer shopfloor decision-making, middle-level decision-making at the departmental level, or top management decision-making at the company level, with representation of the non-managerial workers on the board of directors? 2) Does the plan return a share of profits from sales or increased production value to the workers for their increased efforts? 3) Does the plan offer ownership of stock to the workers, how much of the stock is in the hands of non-managerial workers, and can they vote their stock on important company issues? 4) Is there potential for workers to increase ability for leadership and decision-making by training in problem solving and experience in decision-making with adequate encouragement and information sharing by the company?

At the level of individual job enrichment, the picture is not very encouraging. Many times, jobs have been enlarged simply by rewriting the job descriptions by managements and social scientist consultants (Jenkins 1974 168). Often, the worker is not consulted, and if no structures for group decision-making are included, a chief mechanism for democratic discussion, leadership training, and decision-making is lost.

Profit sharing plans have been in the United States since Proctor and Gamble initiated one in 1887. A 1973 estimate places the number of firms with deferred and combination plans at 150,000 and cash plans at 100,000. These plans covered 10 million employees and held between $25 and $30 billion in trust assets (Metzger 1974 40). These plans pay a percent of the profits on sales to all employees, either directly in cash or stock, or indirectly to employee accounts held by a trust to be paid at severance or retirement. Some companies use a combination of cash and deferred payments. The amount of stock distributed in this way is usually quite small, and is not voted by employees. These firms generally ignore participation by employees in shopfloor and managerial decision-making, with no employee committees formed. While productivity has been higher in firms with profit sharing plans, compared to earlier productivity, these companies have not been effectively compared to similar firms in their industry which have more employee participation (Frieden 1980 79).

The Employee Stock Ownership Plans (ESOP) may offer only individual profit sharing through stock ownership, or may offer a great deal of worker participation. ESOPs and related worker/community ownership plans have increased rapidly in the 1970's and 1980's due to plant shutdowns, tax advantages to the corporation setting up an ESOP trust, and ability of owners of small firms to have a built in-market for their stock when the owner wishes to divest without selling to a conglomerate. The corporation sets up such a trust which borrows if the company wants extra capital. The trust gives the money to the company in exchange for company stock. The company pays the trust back out of its profits each year. The trust then pays back the lender and credits shares of stock to employee accounts, and the employees are vested with ownership of the stock at some annual percent -- usually 10 percent. The tax advantage comes from the fact that both principal and interest paid from profits to the trust are tax-free dollars. The loan has been acquired cheaply, and the employees are the recipients of stock in the company in a sweat-equity agreement. In more than half of the ESOP, employees are not allowed to vote their stock.

In more than 60 cases of employee buyouts to avoid shutdown, the entire company stock is owned by employees, sometimes in partnership with the community. Ownership does not automatically transfer control, unless control mechanisms are specifically built into the original plans. While almost all ESOPs have increased worker morale and productivity and profits in the short run, if employees' expectations of increased participation in decision-making are unfulfilled, there follows a period of strong dissatisfaction, as the well-known cases of South Bend Lathe, and Rath Packing have demonstrated (Zwerdling 1980 65). The potential for meaningful worker participation is there, but will remain dormant until structural changes are made in the organization through committees at the shopfloor level up through representation on the board and through the right of employees to vote their stock.

At the shopfloor level there are two major modes of employee participation being tried in the United States. Quality circles are becoming rather popular, according to the Quality Circle Institute (DeWar 1979). By February 1980, at least 65 companies had active quality circles and the number was increasing rapidly (DeVos 1981 95). These companies include such giants as General Motors, J C Penney, Uniroyal, General Electric, Firestone Tire and Rubber, International Harvester, Northrup and Lockheed Aviation, Rockwell International, Phillips Petroleum, Ford Motor, and the United States Navy and Federal Aviation Administration. The reason quality circles have spread so rapidly to hundreds of companies in the industrial nations may be to avoid restructuring into shopfloor teams, requiring employee stock ownership, or posing a threat to the management hierarchy.

A recent Oregon State University report

found that 75 percent of the quality circle programs die within a few years because the manner in which they are planned and operated leaves the workers feeling manipulated (Watts 1982 3). Many of these quality circles have a certain amount of autonomy, are cost effective, average acceptance of about 80 percent of their suggestions by management, tend to boost morale initially, promote a certain amount of leadership and decision-making training, and may sometimes include bonuses or profit sharing. However, they do not deal with company-level problems (DeWar 1975 15,27).

Quality circles must be structured from the beginning by both top management and by workers' representatives so that management goals of increased productivity and profits do not overshadow worker goals of participation in creating a more satisfying workplace. In the initial contact between workers and management, there must be some guarantee of worker rights, such as job security and voluntary participation, equality between union or worker representatives and management, and the goal of a better worklife.

Another form of shopfloor participation which calls for more restructuring of the workplace than does the quality circle is the shopfloor work team. The best-known example of this in the United States is the General Foods Gravy Train Plant in Topeka Kansas. The 8-person processing team and 16-person packaging-warehousing team -- one each on the three shifts – had genuine autonomy. The work teams decided who would do what job each day. There were no job categories, and each worker was paid according to the number of jobs learned. Besides job scheduling, the teams did their own hiring and firing, maintenance and cleanup work, and quality control (Jenkins 1974 225; Zwerdling 1980 19). Productivity and profits and quality were higher than at similar conventional plants, but the project was eventually scuttled because it "worked too well," making management and staff nervous (Frieden 1980 43).

The Rushton Mining experiment with work teams of miners was also successful in terms of extra training, morale building, productivity, and safety, but was not applied company-wide. Jealousies from miners not in the experiment and from supervisors who did not have special training and feared their loss of power, ended the experiment by a company-wide vote. Harman International Industries in Bolivar Tennessee adopted a Harman-United Auto Worker work improvement program which included virtually every worker in the factory. Shopfloor committees were developed to make their own workplace decisions. All committees contain union, management, and worker representatives. Their new employee-run newspaper presents real debates and communication about company and larger issues. While it has taken several years and many heated arguments to develop this system, the workers have continued to develop problem solving skills and have maintained their workplace participation even after the compnay was sold and new management assumed control (Zwerdling 1980 31).

Another plan reminiscent of quality circles but often aimed at the departmental level is the Scanlon Plan, pioneered by Joseph Scanlon in the 1930's to save a company during the depression. The basic concern was to increase productivity, but wider issues sometimes arising in quality circles are not treated. Scanlon plans send up production innovations from the shopfloor or departmental committee to management or to a plant level worker/manager committee for consideration (Zwerdling 1980 179). A base line of worker productivity is decided at the start, and subsequent profits are based on the increased value of produced goods, rather than profits from sales. Such profits are divided among employees (Frieden 1980 27). Usually, 75 percent of increased profits are reserved for the workers, and 25 percent for the company. There appears less of group interaction and training in problem-solving under Scanlon plans than in quality circles. Eight studies of Scanlon Plan applications indicate production gains in most instances and tremendous gains in a few cases (Frieden 1980 27). In both the Scanlon Plan and quality circles, the problems considered for solution are at the shopfloor or departmental level, rather than at the company level.

There are presently only a few labor-management committees. Labor-management committees began in the United States during World War II under the aegis of the War Production Board, with the blessing of the

American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations. Only the conservative National Association of Manufacturers was reluctant, seeing it as an attempt to dilute management's prerogatives (DeVos 1981 87). By 1944 there were some 5,000 plant committees which represented over 7 million workers. Many limited themselves to blood banks, car pools, and the war bond drives, but the memory lingered, and in some areas such as the steel industry, these committees continue to function. The 1970's have seen a resurgence of these committees in various forms. Some include only labor and management. Some include the community in a tripartite form. Related to these early labor-management committees is the more recent idea of the Quality of Worklife Program, but these have not dealt with worker participation in management-level decision-making.

The most thoroughgoing form of employee decision-making in the United States is the cooperative. The plywood cooperatives of the Pacific Northwest have been outproducing their conventionally owned and operated competitors since the 1920's (Berman 1967). The cooperative setup allows one vote per owner-employee. Some co-ops have retained complete worker control over decision-making; some have abdicated in favor of allowing management to make all decisions. The basic problems faced by co-ops are in assuring mechanisms for continued employee involvement and in providing a means by which all employees are owners, and by which ownership does not go outside the company through employee turnover or retirement, if departing employees sell their stock outside the company. In addition to the annual vote for the board of directors, owner-employees could participate in overlapping committees from shopfloor to plant level for active involvement. To assure that ownership does not go outside the plant, a trust could be set up to purchase the stock of departing employees on a "right of first refusal" basis, allowing new employees to purchase this stock through sweat equity over a period of time, as in an ESOP.

APPLIED SOCIAL SCIENCE IN INDUSTRY

Mills might see some improvement in the conditions under which social scientists can now operate in the applied realm of industry. It was once widely argued that worker participation at any decision-making level was a wildly radical and impractical idea, and that workers had only muscles, and not minds, to contribute. There are those that still see the situation this way, and the majority of industries are still engaged in some combination of scientific management and human relations pseudo-participation styles. But this is becoming increasingly challenged by data from experiments and studies. In a national poll in 1975, 65 percent of the respondents were in favor of working for an employee-owned and managed firm, as opposed to a private company or government-operated organization (Whyte 1977). Yankelovich notes that his surveys of the aspirations of workers reveal a trend toward seeking freedom and choice. Having experienced the "Me decade" in which self-satisfaction came first, but was unfulfilling, and having rejected the self-denial ethic of the parental generation, young men and women workers are seeking commitment. According to Yankelovich, "Commitment is in terms of both a hunger for deeper personal relations and a yearning to belong to a community where people share many bonds in common. The meaning of life lies in finding a commitment outside one's self." (Yankelovich 1981)

In response to the growing awareness of alternative ways of structuring the workplace and the increasing readiness of workers to "do our own thing" and the advancing necessity for worker buyouts, there have been a number of state and federal laws to facilitate employee ownership and control. At the same time, organizations which offer technical and legal advice, dissemination of information on current experiments, and lobbying for favorable legislation have sprung up around the United States. The climate for worker participation has improved since Mills first wrote about industrial sociology.

Mills might agree that at the far end of the spectrum of worker participation there is a possibility of expansion to a form of social democracy capitalism. Cooperatives and ESOPs in which workers own and set policies for management are in line with his criteria for grassroots democracy. This fits his approval of G D H Cole and the early Yugoslavian efforts. He might have been even more

enthusiastic about the Mondragon system, since it demonstrates what can be done within an ongoing capitalist economic system. It is possible that he would see an increase in democracy in the workplace as a mechanism for eventually moderating the influence of the major corporations on the government.

Third, Mills would realize that this is only a possibility in the future. Today's political and economic institutions are only minimally affected by the growing idea of worker participation. Then what is the current role of the social scientist to be? Must the applied industrial social scientist concentrate only on co-ops or ESOPs which are 100 percent worker owned and directed, or is it acceptable to take assignments in industries further to the conservative side in worker participation?

Mills was always an active researcher and knowledge disseminator. He would probably advise us to take those jobs which can expand our knowledge and give us a chance to share findings with management, colleagues, and the ordinary worker. How can this be done when management defines the problem for the researcher or the consultant? What if the report is company property and strictly confidential? In answer to the first question, which is an ethical dilemma discussed for many years by social scientists, the researcher might decide to enlarge the assigned task. Instead of taking a social engineering approach and dealing only with the problem as given, the social scientist might give clients more than they asked. Enlargement of the task means that the social scientist can bring a broader framework to the research project both in theory and in a knowledge of other research and other alternative hypotheses, sharing this information with management to expand their knowledge of the situation.

The second question deals more with sharing knowledge in the other direction, with colleagues and workers. Before an assignment is accepted, it is advisable to agree explicitly with the client on what findings can be shared, and in what form. None of the firms I have approached in doing studies for the National Center for Employee Ownership have balked at sharing all kinds of information with the Center, although many have requested that the company name not be included in reports to the public. They seem anxious to contribute to public knowledge and scientific research on organizational structure, management, worker morale, and productivity.

Today, Mills might well be an active member of the International Cooperative Association, the National Center for Employee Ownership, the Association for Workplace Democracy, the Center for Economic Alternatives, or work at the Institute for Social Research at Michigan Unversity on the effect of worker participation on productivity, or the New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations at Cornell University. He might even found his own applied industrial research institute. He would be irritated that things were not progressing faster, but would probably throw his energies into the struggle.

Of all sociologists, Mills best understood the value of organization, research, and getting the information to the public.

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THE PENAL COLONY: RELIC OR REFORM?

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STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

After some 150 or 175 years, depending on whether one begins imprisonment in the United States with the Walnut Street Jail or the Pennsylvania system of experience at punishing and reforming prisoners simultaneously, though with little evidence of success, today's prison system symbolizes the most abject failure of the criminal justice system. As the trash can of that system, the prison is held responsible for protecting society while having no control over the selection of its clients. We currently find the nation in a punitive mood that reflects societal concerns about the economy, national security, and criminal activity. Daily there are reports of overcrowding, prison abuses, law suits, intolerable conditions, and prisoner resistance. The response of institutions, agencies, and the government traditionally has been to escalate restraint and control in existing facilities, and to construct new prisons.

Prison overcrowding has reached such proportions that we witness a backlog of prisoners accumulating in local jails, awaiting space in the longterm prisons. This generates a situation which approaches the critical stage. For Oklahoma the proposed alternatives range from not sending any more offenders to prison until the overcrowding abates, to the projected building of 24 new prison facilities over the next five years at a cost of about $348 million 1983 dollars, which is three times the annual budget for the Department of Corrections in the State.

Concerns for reform have been diverted from the more esoteric discussion of such "vital" reforms as whether the inmates should have access to a notary public 24 hours daily (Arkansas) and to avoidance of triple celling (Oklahoma). Simple care and custody assume pre-eminence as the major reality facing prison administrators today.

THE PENAL COLONY

The State of Georgia was originally established by English convicts. During the latter half of the 19th Century, Australia became the discharge resource for all English prisoners from the penal colonies of Tasmania and Norfolk Island. Most European nations developed their colonies with prison labor. The abysmal practices and conditions associated with those institutions have produced revulsion, and have relegated such penal colonies to the same discard as the rack and the thumbscrew.

As an artifact of the tortured past of prison management, the penal colony is only of academic interest to the scholars who parade the atrocities before students when they need to arouse the class. It is sometimes convenient to use them to demonstrate progress in the evolution of penology in the United States. This places the penal colony in the museum of archaic, medieval practices.

But the penal colony, located in geographically remote regions, provides a method for achieving banishment, development of resources, alleviation of crowding in prisons, reducing unemployment, and aiding a depressed economy. In the United States the precedent for the basic facility has been established through such agencies as the Civilian Conservation Corps during the depression of the 1930's. Another example is the World War II "relocation camps" for United States citizens of Japanese descent, and prisoner of war camps for captives taken from the Axis belligerents in Europe. More recently, detention camps have been established for Haitian and Cuban refugees.

Such colonies could provide shelter and food while the workers perform public works projects. All of the cost savings advocated in this paper could be incorporated and realized in the penal colony. During economic crisis, voluntary commitment could be allowed for the unemployed who wish to earn a living. It could also answer the criticism of "unfair competition" by convict labor. Such new prison communities might more closely resemble a town than a prison.

Penal colonies and labor camps have been widely used for prisoners for some time. The manner of conducting such colonies can be such as to avoid abuse of human rights. Contemporary institutions such as those in Las Islas Marias in Mexico, agricultural colonies in India, the Davao penal colony in the

Philippines certainly point the way to a different kind of colony. While such institutions are not new, the option of voluntary commitment for unemployed persons is a new element.

HISTORICAL REVIEW

From ancient times, the traditional punishment for criminal offenders has been exile: banishment from the community with the attendant deprivation and death. As banishment to the wilderness became impractical, societies assigned prisoners to slave status, road building, propelling ships, and in more recent history, colonizing foreign possessions during the expansionist era. Commitment to the modern prison differs from ancient concepts in form, not in content.

Prisons exist for punishment. The punishment should be restricted to the natural consequences of banishment and deprivation of freedom — and should not include physical abuse imposed by inmates or prison staff. Society has the right to banish those convicted in regular court proceedings. The major difficulty in prison management is not necessarily inherent in the concept of prisons. It is a function of mismanagement that results in forced idleness, degeneration, physical abuse, and production of a worse offender by the time of release.

ECONOMIC COSTS OF PRISON

Americans have a blind faith that incarceration of criminal offenders, at a greater rate than any other nation, will necessarily protect society. A corollary to excessive imprisonment is that most prisoners do not require the level of custody and containment created for them. According to most prison wardens, probably 85 percent of the nation's prisoners could safely be detained in facilities that are less secure, and much less expensive.

While the offender "pays" for the crime only by serving time, it is the crime victim and the public who pay extremely high financial costs.

1) The victim suffers the initial money loss from a property crime, and for the cost of treatment for physical injury.

2) The public pays through taxation, about $50,000 per bed for constructing high security prison facilities.

3) The public pays through taxation about $14,000 per inmate per annum for maintenance, services, and administration.

4) Society loses the potential benefit of the manpower resource while the prisoner is in custody, and pays to support any dependents left behind while the offender is in prison.

5) Society loses again when the prisoner is released, because there is usually a resumption of the crime pattern, and a costly return to penal custody.

The present system is designed to punish, but does so only at a tremendous cost. It is the victim and the public who bear the dollar costs, not the offender. The offender is relieved of the need to support self or family, and thus achieves a psychological state envied by many — freedom from responsibility. Surely it is apparent that one cannot learn responsibility through irresponsibility. The modern era must deal with prison problems from an economic base. Humanist arguments for prison reform have little meaning. A better focus is on alternative methods to alleviate the high cost of incarceration, preferably, with some reform of the system.

REDUCING CONFINEMENT COSTS

Jurisdictions in New Jersey and California have gone far in judicial effort toward creative sentencing. Judges, not correctional administrators, have diverted some offenders from prison into more productive avenues of punishment. In so doing, punishment has become more cost effective.

- A San Francisco judge sentenced a veterinary doctor convicted on a federal game law violation to provide free service for the city zoo animals for one year in lieu of a fine or imprisonment.
- A Florida judge sentenced a murderer to life time probation on condition that he financially support the victim's widow and children.
- Across the country, judges are sentencing offenders to community service projects which they perform while living at home or in a local jail.

Legislators could change the laws which presently provide only for fines and imprisonment. Military service in lieu of prison confinement should be reinstituted for selected offenders. Correctional administrators have a responsibility to suggest, plan, innovate and

administer changes that lead out of the quagmire of endless prison construction and staffing. We can no longer afford administrators concerned only to maintain the status quo.

Prison construction in response to overcrowding of institutions is currently a national concern. A different approach could alleviate this problem. Staff and inmates could build new facilities at a considerable financial saving. The Texas Department of Corrections has been doing so for many years, giving an example which could benefit many prison systems. Most of the older prisons in the United States were originally built with prison labor. We then had a requirement that physically capable inmates of the system can and should provide labor to build the facilities.

New facilities are not always needed, nor are they always practical. In the past decade, Oklahoma prisoners have been housed in motels, trailers, and tents. Most jurisdictions have outdated and antiquated facilities, such as old hospital buildings, schools, or military bases which, through prison labor, could be made suitable for detention for most prisoners. Renovation would generally be less costly than new construction, could be ready for occupancy much sooner, and would orient prisoners toward self-sufficiency.

Nowhere is it mandated that all prisons be built of granite, concrete, and steel. There is no reason why barracks-type wooden facilities, within a secure perimiter, cannot be appropriate for a large portion of inmates. With less costly construction, materials and labor, new institutions could be constructed at great financial savings. Inmates would be productively engaged in building their own shelter, prison idleness would be reduced, and prisoners could pay some of the direct costs of their confinement.

SOME EXAMPLES

About 20 years ago, in Alaska, with the cooperation of citizens, labor unions, government and inmates, we built an institution for 120 inmates. At the end of the construction period we had a physical plant valued at $500,000 at a cost to the State of $79,000. The cost per inmate was a modest $658. In the building process, inmates learned skills useful to themselves after their release. And the inmates had a vested interest in the project because they were involved in the design as well as the construction. They were motivated; they were not idle; and they created something where there had been nothing. In the occupied facility, there were no escapes, no assaults, no homosexual rapes, no drunkenness, because it was *their* institution.

In contrast, two years later a second facility was built for 100 inmates about 50 miles distant from the first. Traditional procedures were used, with architects, contractors, bids, and union labor. The planning grant alone for the second facility exceeded the entire construction cost of the first. The second facility cost $5,200,000, or $52,000 per inmate, and it has been plagued with escapes, assaults, and grand jury investigations. The cost ratio for the two facilities is 1:79, and the efficiency of the first installation was far greater than that of the second.

There are other ways to reduce costs of incarceration. Since the inauguration of the industrial prison in New York about 160 years ago, prisoners have manufactured goods for the state with little or no financial compensation for their labor. Arguments for a slave labor system have no more than superficial merit, and fall in two categories: 1) Prisoners should be forced to work at hard labor, and thus learn to become good citizens. 2) It is repugnant to pay criminals to work when unemployment is high in the outside world.

What is needed now is an "industrial revolution" in concept and in practice within the prison. Many jurisdictions have *state-use* statutes which permit or mandate purchase of prison-made goods by state agencies if the quality and price are similar to those of private manufacturers. Such provisions should be broadened to encompass a wider range of prison-made goods. Private enterprise should be allowed to operate manufacturing facilities inside the prison. A revival of the *contract system* would relieve prison guards of supervisory tasks, remove the industrial component from prison administration, increase normal contacts with the outside world, and the operation could become more efficient. The prison could be compensated for rent and utilities, and the manufacturer would be responsible for quality control, marketing and related activities, which are usually beyond the training and expertise of prison administrators.

To be more creative, the prison industries could be inmate-owned and inmate-operated. A Mexican prison near Mexico City operates in this fashion. Various industries are totally operated by inmates under the custodial supervision of staff. Parolees become outside salespersons. Inmates are paid wages from the earnings of the industries. Prisoners have informally conducted their own industries by making crafts for resale in most prisons. By legitimizing such operations, profits could be shared with the state to reduce the costs of confinement.

Whether the private contractor model or the inmate-owned model, or a combination of the two is used, prisoners should be paid full wages in order that the prison product is not subsidized by free labor. Thus we can avoid unfair competition. The wage-earning prisoner would pay living expenses at the prison and reduce incarceration costs. With this earning capacity, the prisoner with dependents could also be required to support them, remove them from welfare roles, and sustain the family normal support function. Such a working prisoner could be assessed a portion of the court costs, and contribute toward restitution to the victim of the crime. How can the offender " pay" for the crime, when incapacitated for productive paid labor by confinement in a custodial institution?

When I was prison superintendent in Arkansas in 1967, we developed a plan to employ 17 inmates in producing cleaning supplies used by state agencies, such as schools and hospitals. This project would have yielded $500,000 annual income based on known consumption rates. The capital investment would have been less than $75,000. Under the guise of vocational training, complete installations can be built. A preliminary grant was approved by the U.S. Labor Department to provide funds for inmates to build a new prison as vocational training on an abandoned army base near Little Rock. There was a potential saving to the State of millions of dollars while the inmates learned useful technical skills. These plans were scuttled along with my administration, *but the concept was valid and cost effective.*

"The possibilities of human achievement are limited primarily by the arbitrary boundaries we ourselves place on our own imagination." (Murton 1982 285)

MANPOWER UTILIZATION

An uncounted cost of imprisonment is the waste of prisoner manpower. Even with institutional maintenance, vocational training and prison industries, the prison is still largely characterized as housing idle men. The basic rule of prison management should be: Humane treatment of prisoners *in a productive environment.* Some possible labor projects to reduce costs and permit the prisoner at least partly to pay for the crime are as follows:

- Minimum custody prisoners could be assigned work with fish and game officers, in agriculture activities with universities, and in forestry projects.
- Roadside cleanup and maintenance along highways.
- Development of parks and recreation areas.
- Conservation work building sanitary fills, dam and water projects, watershed development, and shelter belts.
- Rest area campground facilities could be prefabricated and erected on site by inmates.
- Disaster crews could be trained to work with Civil Defense agencies during tornadoes, floods, earthquakes, fires, or other major disasters.
- Temporary camps to endure perhaps for several months could be built to deal with more involved projects such as highway bridge and interchange construction and highway restoration.

The key is innovation through adequate classification and selection of staff and inmates. The camp could be largely self-governing. There should be concentration on unfunded projects where there is no unfair direct competition with free labor. The labor should be paid at a fair wage, to permit restitution to the state and to the victim.

LOOKING BACK TO THE FUTURE

I am advocating return to the *transportation system* of the past. Convicts would be transported to internal penal colonies to serve a state jurisdiction, or multiple jurisdictions of a group of states. State boundaries would become irrelevant if such a plan were implemented under the auspices of the Interstate Compact on Prisoners. Ideally, the prison

colony would be operated by private enterprise under contract for services by the correctional authority. Advantages are as follows:

- Offenders would be socially "banished."
- Offenders build facilities for confinement.
- Construction costs would be controlled and minimized by use of less expensive materials, group living, and inmate labor.
- Public works projects would become feasible.
- Prisoner idleness would be eliminated.
- Prisoners would be paid for working, and could be required to meet personal and moral obligations from honest earnings.
- Convicts would be tax payers, and less a tax burden.
- Convicts would learn trades and skills.
- Offenders' dependents could visit at the facility.
- Under certain conditions, civilian workers could have employment in colony industries at the usual wage.
- The colony could become self-supporting.
- A substantial part of confinement costs would be transferred from the public to the offender.
- The prisoner would learn to accept responsibility for the offense, any dependents, and self-support.
- There would be fewer incidents of institutional violence, escapes, and assaults.
- The transition to self-sufficiency on release would be made easier.

NOTE: No discussion has been provided on strategies of implementation. This is *not* an oversight. For the penal colony to be designed constructed, and organized into a positive entity, I can be hired to establish it.

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VALUES OF FINE ARTISTS IN AN INDEPENDENT PROFESSION

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INTRODUCTION

Artists, long regarded as unique and creative, have a different life style from those in more conventional walks of life. When 57 students listed characteristics of artists, 86 percent mentioned eccentricity and uniqueness, which we believe matches the view of others generally in the United States who are not involved in the world of artists. We then decided to investigate the values of professional artists.

The fine artist is an independent professional who meets criteria established by Friedson (1970): 1) Their activities are called *work.* 2) They receive compensation. 3) They have legitimate and organized autonomy. 4) they have a recognized right to declare outsider evaluations as illegitimate. In addition to these qualifications, the fine artists in our sample had specialized education in related areas, and 72 percent had both specialized art training and college degrees which further emphasized their independent position. Previous studies on values among artists emphasize the expressiveness in values and the artists' ability to lose themselves in their work (Kavolis 1963; Merrill 1968; Roe 1946). Our study is intended to take the previous investigations of value one step further by ascertaining specific types of artists' values.

METHODOLOGY AND SAMPLE

The study was conducted with 100 questionnaire respondents and 35 in-depth interviews (69 females; 66 males). The questionnaire consisted of 47 closed-end items and 8 open-end items. Salient values were determined by content analysis of the responses to open-end questions for the artists' most important values. Responses were coded into 9 categories where applicable, and otherwise into a tenth "other" category. Given the presumption of uniqueness and eccentricity, we were surprised that no more than 22 percent of the women and 27 percent of the men gave responses which could not be coded into our conventional categories. The research was conducted in the Chicago Metropolitan Area from October 1982 to January 1983, and included only persons who identified themselves as artists. They were fine artists engaging in painting or sculpure or both. Of the group, 63 percent had other employment but assumed the occupational identity of artist. No commercial artists were included.

The sample was white, age range 20 to 60 +, and the majority had received formal art school or college training. Art was the first choice of career for 59 percent. The original sample was obtained throught the Fine Arts listing in the business section of the Chicago Telephone Directory. Further contacts were facilitated by the Chicago Art Institute School, the Chicago Coalition of Artists, the Contemporary Arts Workshop, and the Beverly Art Center of Chicago. Two all-female cooperatives, Arc and Artemesia were also involved in the study.

TYPOLOGIES

To establish the direction of values among artists, we will use four typologies which should reveal convergence or differences in value orientations. Meeting the scientific and logical requirement of mutually exclusive and discreet categories is often difficult in the social sciences. Using the Likert or the Thurstone scales overlooks problematics, as it must, and gives the appearance of meeting the requirements. The assignment of the artists' expressed or indicated values into 9 categories was done with minimal ambiguity. In assigning categories developed from content analysis, the guide was our interpretation of the respondent's manifest intent.

The value categories are: 1) truth; 2) family; 3) work; 4) health; 5) security; 6) self; 7) art; 8) God; and 9) universals. According the the typology of W I Thomas, as reflected in Figure 1, the primary values are *new experience, recognition, mastery,* and *security.* We found that only art belongs in the category, *new experience,* and work is in the *recognition* category, in spite of its subjective dimension which might relate *mastery* to the artist. To the *mastery* category we assigned *truth, self,* and *universals.* The rationale for that assignment of *self* was the idea of feeling good about oneself, and feeling confident. This was more appropriate than the *recognition* category.

FIGURE 1: BASIC TYPOLOGIES FOR SOURCES OF ARTIST VALUE ORIENTATIONS

W Thomas	**New experience**	**Mastery**	**Security**	**Recognition**	
	Art	Truth	Family	Work	
		Self	Health		
		Universals	God		
D Riesman	**Autonomous Values**	**Inner-directed Values**	**Other-directed Values**		
	Truth	God Security	Family		
	Universals	Art Health			
		Self Work			
A: Parsons	**(A)**	**(A)**	**(A)**	**(B)**	**(B)**
B: Parsons, and Bales		**Affectivity**	**Neutrality**	**Expressive**	**Instrumental**
	Particularistic	Family Self	Work	Art Family	Security
		Art Health		Truth God	Art
		Security		Self Work	
				Universals	
	Universalistic	God	Truth		
			Universals		
A Maslow, Needs:	**Physical**	**Safety**	**Belonging, and love**	**Esteem**	**Self-Actualization**
	Heath	Security	Family	Work	Art Universals
					Truth God
					Self expression

Under the Thomas schema, three categories relate to what the artists mean by security: 1) family, 2) health, 3) God. Redundant artist value types are omitted in Figure 1.

In applying the Thomas typology, the values most pronounced among the artists concern security (men, 39%; women, 38%). Mastery is significant for 21 percent of men, and 25 percent of women. Recognition is less important (men, 6%; women 9%), and new experience was stressed even less (men, 7%; women, 5%).

In applying Riesman's typology (1961) the respondents showed a strong inner-directed orientation (men, 31%; women 36%). These findings agree closely with Riemer and Brooks (1982) who found 37 percent of the Kansas artists inner-directed. These values are indicated in Figure 1. The *autonomous values* category contains truth and universals, which were chosen by 39 percent of the men and 39 percent of the women, which happens to agree exactly (39%) with Riemer and Brooks. Meeting the other-directed criteria is connected with communication with others, and its values deal with the family. Categorized as other-directed were: men, 27 percent; women, 21 percent, which is in close agreement with the Riemer and Brooks finding of 24 percent. Given the smaller proportion of Chicago artists sampled, relative to the Riemer and Brooks Kansas City study, the similarity of our data suggest that there are commonalities of values among artists.

We have argued that artists have an internal locus of control (Birg, Peterson 1983). An amplification of inner-directed values comes from the Parsons and Bales dichotomy (1955) of *expressive* and *instrumental* values. Instrumental concerns are reflected in a proportion of the sample expressing concern about material security and also by a fraction of the artists who have an instrumental orientation to art. Less than 10 percent of the sample express instrumental concerns, and the vast majority of artists stress the expressive dimension of life values, which affirms the orientation of Kavolis (1963).

The Parsons typology (Parsons 1951; Parsons, Bales 1955) applies three of the five pairs of pattern variables. Included are: 1) universal-particular, 2) affective-neutral, and 3) instrumental-expressive. Not included are 4) diffuse-specific, and 5) quality-performance. Affectivity and particularistic concern prevails with *family, health,* and *security* (men, 42%; women 38%). One could argue that *art* is a universalistic value but for this sample, the emphasis is specifically on one's *own* art. The artist's attitude toward God and faith is best characterized as universalistic affectivity (men 4%; women, 5%).

Work was coded in the dimension, *particularistic neutrality* (men, 6%; women 9%). *Universalistic neutrality*, including our categories of *universals* and *truth* was relatively larger (men, 18%; women, 16%). We conclude from this typology that artists' values stress affectivity with universalistic considerations as a strong component of the artists' world view.

The final typology is Maslow's (1954) hierarchy of needs. Here, low concerns were indicated for physical and security needs, which we categorized as *health* and *security*. Belonging and love needs were expressed by 27 percent of the men and 21 percent of the women. The Maslow need for esteem was expressed by some in the *work* category, and for others in the for the Maslow need, *self-actualization* in the *art* and *self-expression* categories. There was some artibrariness in coding *work* to the esteem need. We justify this as follows: Even assigning the total category to the *esteem* need did not significantly distort the data (men, 6%; women, 9%). Considering the large difference between category loadings, there was no effect on the conclusions.

Respondents who expressed concerns about art were classified as being oriented toward self-actualization (men, 7%; women, 5%). Another category of values associated with Maslow's self-actualization need were *self-expressive* orientations (men, 7%; women, 6%). For a relatively large part of the sample, truth was a significant self-actualizing value (men, 11%; women, 8%). Although *truth* would fit our *universals* category, we thought it more important to segregate it from other universals such as *beauty, humanity, honor, peace for mankind, sharing,* and *betterment of the world.* Artists indicating universal values included 8 percent of the men and 8 percent of the women. The same rationale was used for separating *God* and *faith* from the *universal* category, which were values stressed as having primary significance by 4 percent of the men and 5 percent of the women. Using Maslow's schema, we conclude that artists' most significant values are generally in the area of self-actualization. As is evident from the data which we have presented, the difference in values between men and women artists is small and statistically within the limits of chance due to sampling variation. Overall, 35 percent of the men and 32 percent of the women emphasize some form of self-actualizing values.

SEX DIFFERENCE AND VALUES

There is a vast literature surrounding sex roles and associated values. Parsons and Bales (1955) discuss stereotypic sex role characteristics, and they conclude that, relative to men, women are perceived as lacking in instrumental characteristics, and men are seen as lacking in expressive characteristics (David, Brannon 1976).

From the data given, and the fact that no significant Chi square or correlational differences were found comparing the responses by sex of respondent, it appears that there is no strong difference in value orientations between male and female fine artists. On the contrary, the values expressed by respondents in our sample come close to those in the Tavis (1978) study of 28,000 men and women, where the ideals expressed by the two sexes were very similar. The primary values were: ability to love, standing up for beliefs, warmth, and self-confidence.

Among men and women artists, the quantitatively largest value expression relates to concern about family. As reflected in Table 1, this is the only value where there is a marked percentage difference which was found in an unexpected direction, where 27 percent of the men, compared to 21 percent of the women emphasize family as a value. Among the artists, the second and third proportionally largest categories were truth and universals, which accords with Tavis' (1978) findings. This sample of artists is significantly more

TABLE 1: ARTISTS' PRIME VALUES BY AGE & SEX (3 choices per respondent)

Value	Men's Responses by Age: 20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+	Sum	%	Women's Responses by Age: 20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+	Sum	%
Truth	7	11	0	2	2	22	11.2	8	5	2	1	0	16	7.8
Family	18	14	10	4	8	54	27.4	10	13	13	4	3	43	20.9
Work	4	4	1	2	1	12	6.1	1	5	6	1	5	18	8.7
Health	2	1	0	3	2	8	4.1	4	7	1	1	1	14	6.8
Security	2	3	1	2	1	9	4.6	2	4	3	0	1	10	4.9
Self	3	4	3	2	1	13	6.6	5	6	1	1	0	13	6.3
Art	6	4	0	1	2	13	6.6	3	1	5	2	0	11	5.3
God/Faith	3	2	2	0	0	7	3.6	1	3	3	2	1	10	4.9
Universals	6	3	4	1	1	15	7.6	5	5	4	2	0	16	7.8
Other	17	14	3	5	5	44	22.2	15	10	16	9	5	55	26.6
Sum	**68**	**60**	**24**	**22**	**23**	**197**		**54**	**59**	**54**	**23**	**16**	**206**	
Percent	**34.5**	**30.5**	**12.2**	**11.2**	**11.7**		**100**	**26.2**	**28.6**	**26.2**	**11.2**	**7.8**		**100**

homogeneous in expressed value orientation than would be anticipated from the literature on socialization, sex roles, or the feminist perspective. We conclude that sex role discrimination is not of primary importance in values expressed by artists.

VALUES AND AGE

According to Troll (1979), most Americans value family, but for most, achievement overrides the importance of familism. For our sample, the most frequently mentioned single value is the family. Values related to family tended to decrease with women's age. For men there is a relatively more even distribution of significance of family in all age groups. However, for both men and women the family is more important before age 50.

The value of work occurs earlier for men than for women, with two thirds of the men valuing work before age 40 while the modal age for women valuing work is 45. This is consistent with the fact that women enter the art world at a later stage in life.

Contrary to Axelrod (1960) who claimed health concerns come to the fore in the middle years. concern with health in this sample is expressed by younger women. For men concern with health is low and relatively unvarying by age.

There is an inverse relation between holding universal values and age, and the same is true for *faith, art,* and *truth* for both men and women. Precisely the values which are unique for artists, namely the intrinsic value orientation, declines with age. Further study could be directed to exploring the values of older artists.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, there were no statistically significant differences related to sex, age, and values for fine artists. Probably the best-known studies of values were those of anthropologists and social psychologists, such as Kluckhohn (1958), Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961), Gillespie and Allport (1955), and Morris (1956). Sociologists have more typically dealt with more specific areas or have discussed values under sex role socialization, in conjunction with work in the management literature. The area is fraught with methodological difficulty, and those who insist on quantification are highly critical of the blend of impressionist analysis and data-based conclusions.

Our study confirms the opinion of Riemer and Brooks that it is mythical to view the artist as a struggling, romantic figure who creates masterpieces in poverty-stricken seclusion. We found that the majority of artists were deeply involved in relations with family and friends. We claim that the unique value orientation of these fine artists is the degree to which they hold universal values such as concerns for mankind, beauty, and peace. The demonstrated values of unique inner direction are apparent when we compare artists to free lance writers, who are also regarded as regarded as artistic, and independent in

orientation (Birg 1983). In an impressionist sense, they also hold values far more inner-directed than most occupational groups in postindustrial society.

It may be that the internal dialogue, frequently a part of preparatory activity for execution of art work, supports speculations on universal considerations. Another finding is the lack of statistical differences between men and women and their values in their model of the world view. Finally, those values which are unique to artists decline with age.

It appears that a new role is imminent for artists in the United States, and this role organizes the occupation more, and increases pressures which emphasize participation, in contrast to seclusion (Sanders 1976; Becker 1982). This may preclude viewing the artist in the future from an independent occupational perspective.

The fact that Riemer and Brooks measured artists' value orientation against the Riesman typology because of his claim that the concepts are appropriate for delineating occupational values provides the backdrop for discussion (Riesman 1961 111). A discussion of the quantitatively high categories across the typologies yield the following results. From the Thomas perspective, artists value security first and mastery second, while recognition and new experience would be substantially less valued. Applying the Riesman approach, artists are substantially more inner-directed and other-directed, and not very autonomous. From the Parsons (1951) and Parsons and Bales (1955) approach with pattern variables, the artists' values stress particularism in the affective domain, and universal values which are neutral. Of less importance are universalist values in the affective domain and particularist values which are neutral. Expressive values far outweigh values concerned with instrumentalism. For the Maslow schema, the major needs are self-actualization, belonging, and love. Physical, safety, and esteem needs are of secondary importance.

Artists value security and mastery. They are inner-directed, but influenced by others. Their values stress affective and particularist concerns with a strong component of neutral universalist values. They value self-actualization with strong belonging and love needs. The dominant modality is expressive rather than instrumental.

Qualitative analysis analysis tends to oversimplify the value structure by its inherent reductionism. The distortion mainly concerns values of other-directedness and universalist neutrality, while the belonging and love needs are easily intuited and do not contradict particularist affectivity and expressiveness. Our analysis suggests that Riemer and Brooks (1982) have underestimated the degree to which artists are other-directed and to which they hold universalist and affectively neutral values.

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PERCEIVED CONSEQUENCES OF ERA ON FAMILIES AND JOB OPPORTUNITIES

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INTRODUCTION

Historically women workers were found only in a few occupations. From 1900, as the society became industrialized and rationalized, the proportion of women in the labor force and in different types of occupations kept increasing. Meanwhile, societal attitudes toward women's participation in various types of work has undergone great change. However, to this day, employer prejudice and womens' own sex role socialization keeps most women workers out of better paying jobs. The anticipated equality of sexes has not been achieved despite federal and state laws mandating equal pay for equal work, and equal opportunity in the labor market.

Although an Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution (ERA) has been introduced in every session of Congress since 1923 to eliminate sex discrimination, it was not approved in Congress until 1972. The amendment reads: **Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.** Even after years of effort by womens' organizations, and after extension of the time limit for ratification to 10 years, legislatures of only 35 of the required 38 states (three fourths) had ratified, and the amendment failed. It will be reintroduced, but a major opportunity was lost.

Opposition to ERA was more vigorous and more publicized than its support. It was argued that ratification of ERA would damage standards of behavior and social norms. It would command legislatures to ignore the sex of the individual in lawmaking, and would endanger women by nullifying laws which require the husband to support the wife and minor children. Major points of the opposition centered on the family and the law, property rights, unisex lavatories, desegregation of institutions such as prisons, homosexual marriages, and womens' place in occupations.

Resistance to ERA came from women as well as men, and a cross-section of organizations. One of the main reasons for the ERA defeat in most non-ratifying states was active opposition by a minority of women resisting a measure intended for their benefit. Phyllis Schlafly, the anti-feminist leader, identifies the supporters of womens' movements as radical, anti-family, and pro-lesbian. She insists that womens' place is at home. Arguing that the ERA would deprive women of rights, Schlafly (1977) stated: "... this will avoid the husband's obligation to support his wife, to provide her with a home and to support their minor children... most people do not think a union of a person and a person is the same as a union of a man and a woman ..." because passage of ERA requires neutralization of all sexist words.

Many conservative religious, labor, political and social organizations worked against passage of the ERA at the national level and in wavering states. The Republican Party withdrew its longstanding support in the 1980 presidential election. Such groups argued that man and women are made differently, being equal partners in life, but not the same. They argued that the ERA would increase responsibilities for the wife and reduce them for husbands, threatening the stability of the family (Baumi 1980; Goode 1980; Hacker 1980; Mandle 1979; Millstein, Bodin 1977; Snyder 1979; Walum 1977; Yates 1975).

Most professional women felt that life would be incomplete without children. "So long as women fight only for increased employment and ignore alternative life plans, and other values, they will exchange one confining role for another. The brass cage of domesticity is no smaller than the golden cage of the office." (Bardwick 1973)

Only limited research was conducted in determining the variables associated with women's liberation ideology and activism. Analysis of a sample of 448 undergraduate college women from distinctive educational settings showed that mother's religion, mother's politics, college major, number of relationships, types of relationships, marriage and career expectations, political preference, homosexuality and aggression were significant predictors of the female student's ideology on womens' liberation (Goldschmidt et al 1974). Another study showed that age, education, occupational status, religious practice, ever married, political party identification,

and liberalism were strongly related to the womens' liberation movement (Welch 1975). Analysis of responses by Illinois residents in two random samples taken in 1976 and 1977 showed that womens' approval lagged behind that of men, but increased slightly in the interval between samples. Regression analysis revealed that womens' ERA approval related positively to higher educational attainment and negatively to being non-Protestant (Huber et al 1978).

National polls indicated that several variables were associated with women who continued to resist the liberation movement. Women who were older, or less educated, or low income, or rural or married tended to take the opposing side (Harris 1980; Roper 1980). Women living in the south and midwest were likely to withold support. Working class women and minority women were also likely to doubt the intent of the movement, and perceive it to emphasize change only in the womens' domestic role which gives more meaning to their lives (Mandel 1979).

METHODS

The present study examines differences between male and female college students in the consequences they perceive for the ERA on the family and the job market. We believe that these attitudes will have far-reaching consequences for the future of the womens' liberation movement.

Data came from 300 undergraduate students enrolled in five educational institutions in Jackson Mississippi. In the sample, 36 percent were male, 64 percent female; 35 percent were white, and 65 percent black. There were 15 predictor variables and four dependent variables. Four statements were used to assess the predictor variables (Huber et al. 1978): If ERA were passed, it would—

1) be harder for men to get good jobs.
2) increase women's job opportunity.
3) be easier for men to get a divorce.
4) be easier for women to get a divorce.

Respondents chose on a scale of five responses from "very unlikely" to "very likely."

Demographic variables include: age, race (black, white), year in college, grade point ratio, college major (social science, other), church attendance (5 points, weekly to never), home town (5 points, rural to large city), family income (6 points, under $5000 to $25,000+), mother's education, father's education, mother employed (yes, no), attitude to ERA (support, oppose), and student residence (on-, off-campus).

To determine whether one considered oneself as supporting the feminist movement, students were asked: "Defining a feminist as someone who believes in total equality between males and females, do you consider yourself to be a feminist?" Response choices were: *definitely, somewhat,* and *definitely not.* High score indicates a nonfeminist response. To measure sex role orientation, an 18-item sex role ideology scale was used; 13 items dealt with the traditional wife role and the traditional mother role (Scanzoni 1975); 5 statements developed by the authors refer to sexual role orientation:

1) A woman's place should be in the home.
2) A woman should be protected first by her father, then by her husband, finally by her son.
3) A woman should not mix freely with males in her social relations.
4) A woman should give more importance to the needs of her family than her personal ambitions and needs.
5) Although a woman is highly educated, she should be encouraged to assume the domestic role.

Responses on a 4-point forced-choice scale ranged from *stongly agree* to *strongly disagree*, with lower score indicating the more traditional sex role orientation.

FINDINGS

Analysis includes 1) examination of percentage difference in male and female attitudes to ERA effects; 2) stepwise multiple regression to weigh the rank effects of independent variables on the dependent variables.

No significant differences appeared between males and females in attitudes to effect of ERA passage on whether it would be harder for men to get jobs, increase job opportunities for somen, or make it easier for men or women to get a divorce (t-tests). Almost 57 percent of the respondents do not think that the passage of ERA would increase difficulty for men to find good jobs. At the same time, 67 percent report that it would increase job opportunities for women. On divorce, 36 percent think that ERA passage would make it easier

for men to get a divorce and 39 percent think it would facilitate getting a divorce for a woman; 33 percent were not sure about the effects of ease of getting a divorce.

Stepwise multiple regression indicates the joint impact of socio-economic and demographic variables in perceived consequences of ERA passage on four criterion variables — two for getting jobs, by sex, and two for ease of getting a divorce, by sex. Tables show the results 1) for the total sample, 2) for males, and 3) for females.

Consequences for men's job opportunities. A 3-variable model was the model of choice for *men getting good jobs* for the total sample. Grade point average, sex role orientation and church attendance were significant for explaining the variance in the dependent variable. Those with a high grade point average expressed liberal sex role attitudes and attended church less often. They also tend to think that ERA passage would have little effect on men's job opportunities. These variables explained 5.6 percent of the variance in the criterion variable. The optimal model for males indicates that those with an egalitarian sex role ideology, reporting high grade point averages, and having working mothers did not think ERA passage would adversely affect men's job opportunities. The model for males explained 13.4 percent of the variance while all independent variables together explained 16.7 percent of the variance. The female model reveals that women students who did not attend church frequently, and who had high grade point averages also did not think that ERA passage would hurt men's job opportunites. We note that although grade point average is the second most potent contributor in explaining variance in both models, it is a greater factor in the male than in the female model. The female model explained only 4.4 percent of the variance.

Consequences for women's job choices. Two variables— attitude toward ERA and church attendance— emerged as most significant in explaining variance in perceived ERA effects on women's job opportunities. Though church attendance was not significantly related to the criterion variable, it was significant in explaining variance. Those favorable to ERA passage with high church attendance think that ERA would improve women's job opportunities. For the criterion variable the two predictors in the model explained 12.8 percent of the variance. Most of the effect was due to attitude to ERA.

Regression analysis shows that attitude to ERA, mother's employment status, and sex role orientation were the salient variables for the male subsample, while attitude to ERA, sex role orientation, church attendance and residence were more salient for the female subsample, for explaining effect on the dependent variable, women's job opportunities. Males opposing the ERA had a working mother, and expressed liberal sex role attitudes with doubt that passage of the ERA would increase women's job opportunities. Females unfavorable to the ERA reported traditional sex role attitudes, attended church less often, lived off-campus, and thought that ERA passage would not improve women's job opportunities. As we expected, sex role

TABLE 1. STEPWISE REGRESSION ON EFFECTS OF ERA PASSAGE
(Total Sample: N = 300)

Variables	Multiple R	R^2	Change	Beta*
1. Men getting jobs				
Grade point average	.15	.02	.023	-.12
Sex role orientation	.21	.05	.022	-.16
Church attendance	.24	.06	.011	-.11
All variables	.28	.08		
2. Women get jobs				
Attitude to ERA	.34	.12	.118	-.29
Church attendance	.36	.13	.010	-.10
All variables	.40	.16		
3, Men getting divorce				
Father's education	.19	.04	.035	-.15
Year in college	.24	.06	.021	-.08
Race	.27	.07	.018	.13
Feminism attitude	.30	.09	.017	.13
Residence	.32	.10	.012	-.12
Home town size	.34	.11	.011	.11
All variables	.36	.13		
4. Women getting divorce				
Father's education	.15	.02	.022	-.13
All variables	.27	.17		

Significance criterion: .05; * Standarized beta.

TABLE 2. STEPWISE REGRESSION ON VARIABLES AFFECTING ERA BELIEFS
(Male subsample: N = 103)

Variables	Multiple R	R^2	Change	Beta*
1. Men getting jobs				
Sex role orientation	.25	.06	.062	-.26
Grade point average	.35	.12	.062	-.25
Mother's employment	.37	.13	.010	-.11
All variables	.41	.17		
2. Women getting jobs				
Attitude to ERA	.31	.10	.097	-.29
Mother's employment	.33	.11	.012	.08
Sex role orientation	.34	.12	.010	-.09
All variables	.38	.14		
3. Men getting divorce				
Race	.34	.12	.117	.14
Residence	.39	.16	.038	-.17
Father's educationi	.42	.17	.019	-.05
Attitude to ERA	.44	.19	.016	-.20
Feminism attitude	.45	.21	.015	.10
College major	.47	.22	.011	-.09
Church attendance	.48	.23	.010	.10
All variables	.52	.27		
4. Women getting divorce				
Attitude to ERA	.22	.05	.049	-.21
Mother's employment	.27	.07	.025	.17
Sex role orientation	.32	.10	.029	-.22
Residence	.35	.12	.020	-.17
Feminism attitude	.38	.15	.023	-.17
Father's education	.40	.16	.011	.13
All variables	.41	.17		

Significance criterion: .05; * Standardized beta

TABLE 3. STEPWISE REGRESSION ON VARIALE EFFECTS ON ERA BELIEFS
(Female subsample: N = 197)

Variables	Multiple R	R^2	Change	Beta*
1. Men getting jobs				
Church attendance	.18	.03	.033	-.15
Grade point average	.21	.04	.011	-.08
All variables	.29	.08		
2. Women getting jobs				
Attitude to ERA	.36	.13	.131	-.29
Sex role orientation	.40	.16	.026	.15
Church attendance	.43	.19	.028	-.21
Residence	.44	.20	.011	.09
All variables	.46	.21		
3. Men getting divorce				
Age	.17	.03	.029	-.10
Father's education	.26	.05	.022	-.15
Year in college	.26	.07	.016	-.07
Attitude to ERA	.28	.08	.011	.12
Home town size	.30	.09	.010	.10
All variables	.33	.11		
4. Women getting divorce				
Race	.15	.02	.021	.22
Church attendance	.21	.04	.023	-.16
Family income	.26	.07	.020	.14
Father's education	.28	.08	.010	-.12
All variables	.32	.10		

Significance criterion: .05; Standardized beta.

orientation had differential influence for males and females. Females with liberal attitudes tend to think ERA would increase women's job opportunities while men with similar attitudes expressed the opposite view. The model for males explained 11.9 percent of the variance, compared to 19.6 percent for the females. Attitude to ERA explained the most variance in both models.

Consequences on men's divorce. The optimal model for ease of men getting a divorce was the 6-variable model for the total sample. Father's education, year in college, race, attitude to feminism, residence, and size of home town were influential variables. White respondents with more educated fathers, in later years of college, considered themselves feminist, lived in rural areas, and tended to think that ERA passage would not make divorce easier for men. The model explained 11.4 percent of the variance.

Turning to regression analysis for both sexes, we find that race, residence, father's education, attitude to ERA and to feminism, college major and church attendance were most significant variables for the males, while age, father's education, year in college, attitude to ERA, and size of home town were salient variables on female beliefs about ERA effect on ease for men to get a divorce. For males, the model explained 22.6 percent of the variance, while for females, it explained 8.8 percent of the variance. Race alone accounted for nearly half of explained variance in the male subsample. Age explained about

one third of the variance in the criterion variable for the female subsample.

Consequences on women's divorce. A weak 1-variable model shows slight effect (2.2 percent of variance) of high level of father's education on facilitating divorce for women. For male respondents, attitude to ERA, mother's work status, sex role orientation, residence, attitudes to feminism and father's education were the salient variables. For female respondents, race, church attendance, family income and father's education were salient variables. Males opposed to ERA had a working mother, expressed liberal sex role attitudes, lived off-campus, said they were not feminist, had fathers with less education, and did not think that ERA would facilitate women getting a divorce, a belief shared by black women more rarely attending church, with high family income and more educated fathers. The 6-variable model explained 15.7 percent of variance for males and 7.6 percent of variance for female respondents.

CONCLUSION

Since women tend to gain much more from equality, we expected that more women than men would approve passage of ERA, but the data reveal no significant differences between the sexes. The rate of approval for both is about 55 percent. Though women are the intended beneficiaries of the Amendment, they may perceive themselves as loosing protection of existing family support laws, and facing more hardship in the competitive world of work.

Although no significant intersex differences were found, the predictor variables were different. The gender of the respondent may condition effects of demograhic, socioeconomic and other variables on anticipation of ERA consequences on family and job finding. Explanation of attitude variance for the total sample may obscure effects of other variables across sex groups.

More study is needed on effects of social and situational variables on male and female attitudes to the women's movement, either to substantiate or modify or reject our findings. This was a homogeneous sample of college students, with background characteristics which may not be comparable to other populations. Therefore, caution is advised in generalizing to other populations.

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THE TRANSGRESSIVE AMERICAN: DECODING *CITIZEN KANE*

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INTRODUCTION

The social sciences have not yet developed an adequate analysis of the film's relation to politics and culture. Propagandist uses of film for political purposes are well known since the advent of the cinema, but the readiness of film makers to apply machinations of power-hungry elites to the entertainment and manipulation of the masses has been little explored. The susceptibility of film, in contrast to other art forms, to exploitation as a weapon against traditional culture needs clarification. I will analyze the American film classic, *Citizen Kane*, as an esthetic objectification of contra motifs in contemporary western culture. First, emphasis on publicity and psychology leads to shallow understanding of social life. Second, the focus on esthetic performance and technique in this film implies impoverishment of culture. Third, there is systematic denial of the idea of forbidden knowledge.

PUBLICITY AND PSYCHOLOGY

It is an open secret since *Citizen Kane* first opened amid controversy, over 40 years ago, that the protagonist, Charles Foster Kane, played by Orson Welles, is a thinly disquised stand-in for the sensationalist news magnate and publisher, William Randolph Hearst. Kane was billed as "... the greatest newspaper tycoon of this or any other generation." (Kael 1971 100) Part of the film's popular appeal derives from application of journalistic techniques to the Kane/Hearst character in the same manner that Hearst sensationalized the lives of others. In the film, little remains hidden or private. Instead, the private merges with the public context, only to overpower and scandalize it. Kane enters newspaper publishing, not with a motive of profit or public service, but because he thinks that it might be "fun" to run a newspaper. He fails in politics due to a scandal with a mistress. His makes his second wife an "opera singer" because he imagines that he has power to create talent where none exists. All of this is valid in the context of the film, and the power of *Citizen Kane* as a cultural weapon turns on its capacity to make the viewer think the private and psychological fully explains the public and the social.

Film must be analyzed as a culturally subversive art form in its tendency to exploit the established tension between private desires and public ideals, and the higher and lower energies of the self, in favor of the private or lower side of our culturally defined nature. Film, like the romantic novel before it, relies on exploration of ambiguities in social and personal life for much of its attraction and power. But film is a much more public art form. It explores and exposes the undersides of society and personality in the social realm, and thus creates a complicity with the audience which cannot possibly exist among novel readers, except in a most abstract sense.

The novel derives from a culture of the printed word. Part of *Citizen Kane's* brilliance resides in its pictorial description of the transition from an era of printed words to an era of moving pictures which Kane/Hearst helped initiate by using the printed word more to arouse than to inform. The transitional nature of the Kane/Hearst figure may be gleaned from the opening "News on the March" newsreel which records with stilted seriousness the life and death of *Charles Foster Kane.* The newsreel and the reporters almost certainly represent the Luce organization, displacing the Hearst empire as the most influential publishers in the United States. The reporters' decision to concentrate on Kane's dying word as the key to understanding his life marks the symbolic death of a culture in which the dying have something of importance to teach about the conduct of life.

Kane dies alone, muttering the word "Rosebud," the manufacturer's trade name painted on a coaster sled, his plaything in boyhood. The word had private and psychological reference to his severance from his childhood home and family, particularly, his mother. The two images could not have been more antithetical. On one hand a great moral teacher offers insight into the conduct of life, even when dying; on the other a corrupt dying publicist mumbles a meaningless word.

Emphasis on the private in *Citizen Kane* logically enters the realm of psychology. Luce reporter Thompson simply does not dig deeply enough for his story. Like other characters, he

suspects that the term *Rosebud* is connected with a scandal. The film picks up where journalism fails, thereby delving more deeply into the private side of life.

Although depth psychology may offer the most shallow level of interpretation, the structure of the film encourages the viewer to think otherwise. By drawing the viewer into the search for the meaning of *Rosebud*, the film implies that Kane's quest for power, as expressed through his pursuits in business, politics, the arts, and his private life with family and friends, can best be explained by reference to the childhood incident when his mother sent him away for tutoring under the care of Thatcher, his guardian, and trustee of Kane's enormous estate. According to this popular reading, Kane's quest for power may be attributed to the psychological scar that he carries from childhood. Kane hurts others because he has been hurt. He does to others what others have done to him. He turns them into objects to be manipulated by his will.

Several *Citizen Kane* scenes depict Kane's inability to escape from his childhood trauma, and from childish patterns of behavior. The original hatred that Kane expresses as a child against Thatcher in thought and action when he struck him with his sled, continues to reveal itself. Decades later, Thatcher asked Kane: "what would you like to have been?" Kane replied: "Everything you hate." (Kael 1971 302) On a more abstract level, examples of childlike behavior are never clearly linked to the trauma. Kane says he feels like a kid in a candy store after buying away the staff of a rival newspaper. He impulsively buys art without regard to merit. He refuses to say that he is sorry after slapping his second wife in the tent scene. These examples suggest that psychology offers the deepest explanation of Kane's thought and action.

Yet Kane is not an isolated individual thinking and acting in a social vacuum. He may also be defined by his relation to society, by reference to his social and moral self. The psychological view of Kane offers only a partial explanation. Worse, it ignores the capacity of religion, politics, business, and other communal commitments to transform the psychological into a meaning entirely different. Marriage and friendship may transform a person's motives, helping to cure self-love. Vocational commitment may provide a safe outlet for hatred and aggression. Politics can allow a socially controlled and beneficial quest for power. Patronage of the arts may refine the patron's sensibilities. Kane undergoes no such inner changes as a consequence of his communal commitments. In fact, it is his social and ultimately his moral failures that become lost in the film's focus on the determinative power of childhood character. *Citizen Kane* fails to convey adequately the alternative possibility, which only *begins* to open up through the character of Leland, that Kane cannot escape from his prison of self-love because he cannot change his basic self-interpretation. This is another way of denying the transformative power of communal commitments. The film does not reveal the hidden link between impulsive, infantile behavior patterns and moral failure.

CULTURE AS TECHNIQUE

Objections to what Orson Welles has called the "dollar-book Freud" gimmickry of the *Rosebud* theme are nothing new. One American film critic, Kael (1971) of *Citizen Kane* says that it simply does not work, and contends that it "... is not a work of special depth or a work of subtle beauty ... but a *shallow masterpiece*." Yet she clearly thinks that it is one of the finest American films, which qualifies as a masterpiece precisely because of its well executed shallowness. It is a triumph of technique and a mastery of showmanship by director-producer and starring actor Orson Welles. It dazzles the most critical and sophisticated of audiences.

Kael (1971 5) argues for the superiority of *Citizen Kane* on the basis of esthetic criteria, by which, I refer to modes of communication, to the shaping of sensation, rather than to what constitutes beauty, which represents a more recent understanding of the term. *Citizen Kane* ranks high esthetically not simply because of its use of innovative techniques, such as deep focus and fadeouts, but from the theatrics of Welles, who managed to create a popular masterpiece, "comic-strip tragic ... and overwrought in style." For Kael, *Citizen Kane* is an esthetic masterpiece primarily because it *works*, not because it produces understanding or insight.

To value efficacy while conveniently ignoring

illuminative aspects of culture accords well with the film's spirit, which devalues acts of interpretation and critical reflection in favor of immediate impact and response. Kane shares a similar view of culture. The hidden link between the newspaper age and the film age is not only emphasis on publicity, but also the view that ideas, images, and symbols which we call *culture* ultimately depend on function and utility rather than on meaning for their importance in human affairs.

In the context of the film, Kane's inability to believe in anything or anyone except himself illustrates well the problems associated with a purely instrumental "understanding" of the world. The newsreel segment in which Kane is accused of being a Fascist and a Communist before he declares himself to be an "American" underscores the utility-of-belief theme. What the Nazis, Fascists, Communists, and Americans all have in common, despite popular misconceptions, is the *absence* of fixed beliefs (Arendt 1973 476). Kane holds no traditional convictions or principles. His "Declaration of Principles" becomes an "antique" because as an American, he values performance instead of a highly developed sense of purpose.

Such a perspective squares entirely with the sensationalist journalist's cavalier attitude toward the truth, because in his world there is no truth, either factual or moral. Kane's paraphrase of the famous Hearst quip about "providing the war" in Cuba exemplifies his disregard for the factual truth, and his claim to be both a committed capitalist and a public crusader for the downtrodden demonstrates his contempt for moral truth.

The assumption that the world of ideas and images derives from instrumental uses implies a coercive view of culture, without moral order, in which the world becomes merely political and subject to those best able to manipulate symbols for their own ends. In this vein, Kane runs for political office, and relies on esthetic effect instead of a systematic set of beliefs. Politics is a matter of style and ceremony, bolstered by ideas understood as purely functional. Hence slogans prevail which do not really mean anything, but are calculated to arouse strong feeling and uncritical response. Kane understands his own public crusades as propaganda. If he did not, he might have to admit that not all symbols are reducible to instruments of coercion.

DENIAL OF FORBIDDEN KNOWLEDGE

Like all films, *Citizen Kane* succeeds largely because it enchants audiences and draws them into a fantasy world. Technical effects abound. The film is melodramatic rather than dramatic. It applies popular formulas, such as the notion that the rich are lonely and unhappy, calculated to confirm the more typical viewer's pet illusions. But the fantasy world of *Citizen Kane* cuts more deeply because it tends to invert our common and accepted sense of character and culture. It implies that the individual is best understood *qua* individual, not as a social being. To suggest that culture is reducible to a war for power, holds the fantasy that personal and collective worlds must submit to no authority, and that human existence is infinitely malleable.

The history of western culture leads one to suspect that human nature and human culture incorporate safeguards which limit the freedom of humans to invert their world. Thus, every culture depends for survival on the idea of forbidden knowledge — that certain things cannot be done except at the cost of self-destruction. Following Philip Rieff (1972 98) I shall refer to these cultivated limitations as *interdictory motifs* and to exceptions to these interdicts as *remissions.* Interdictory motifs may coexist with the structure of reality, or they may be buried so deeply within us that we cannot escape them even as fantasies, particularly in the collective fantasy of a film.

The psychological and esthetic levels of *Citizen Kane* represent remissive motifs which obscure but do not eliminate the hidden interdictory structure of the film. *Rosebud* may be understood as a psychological reference to the idyllic home of Kane's childhood, or alternatively, as an esthetic reference to the life of self-realization and self-expression which he never achieves. But both understandings assume that what Kane's life lacks is possibility, and opportunity for change. The alternative to both understandings emphasizes not possibility but necessity, suggesting that *Rosebud* refers not to past or future life, but to the present life which Kane fails to recognize because of his rebellion against all self-limitation, and his preoccupation with

doing rather than *not* doing.

Kane remains a willful, destructive and self-immolating individual without the inwardness of character that the internalization of cultural limits would engender. Not even what the critic calls Orson Welles' "charming, wicked rapport with the audience" (Kael 1971 50) can disguise the transgressiveness of his actions. Kane's confrontation with the corrupt political boss offers a case in point. Even after it is clear that he will be ruined by scandal if he stays in politics, Kane refuses to quit, and consequently insures his own humiliation and the destruction of his family. Like a "professional magician," as his second wife, Susan Alexander, jokingly calls him, Kane values the effective performance, which is merely another method of getting one's way. On the rare occasions when Kane does not get his way, he becomes demented with rage. This is most spectacular in his fit of meaningless temper, triggered when Susan deserts him. The havoc he wreaks with the furnishings in the bedroom scene provides an image of what life would be like if we were completely uninhibited, and able to express everything.

Psychological understanding of Kane's drive for power, expressed in his pursuit of business, politics, the arts and his private life cannot sustain the interpretive weight of the filmic details of his life involvements. His expulsion from the Eden of his childhood is more myth than reality, because it too is the creation of his radical contempory expression of journalistic imagination. This easily justifies his failure to recognize in any serious way that *not everything* is permitted, and that even the rich and the powerful must live in a world of interdicted possibilities. Kane recognizes no forbidden knowledge. Just as reporter Thompson thinks that he can crack the case of Kane's life by discovering the meaning of the publisher's dying word, Kane fantasizes that the real meaning of life is trapped in the artificial past of his glass snowball, which he cannot recapture. He likes to imagine that even if he had not been rich, he could have become a great man.

CONCLUSION

Kane is best understood in terms of form rather than content, and in style rather than in psychology or economics. He is a breaker of cultural interdicts, where the enchantment with generating news detroys any ethic of newspaper responsibility. He is both capitalist landlord and public crusader for the downtrodden who recognizes no conflict of interest. He is a transgressor against binding commitments of family and friendship. As one of Toqueville's defaulted democratic citizens exercising privilege without responsibility, Kane retreats into his private fantasy, complete with "No Trespass" signs, and thus externalizes his failure to internalize any cultured limits.

Kane is an archetypal transgressive American because his symbolic offerings to everything that is not himself, like the Cain of old, are merely masks for his own elaborate self-aggrandizements. No binding tradition, no inhibiting guilt feelings, no constraining ethic restricts his disarming boldness or thought and action. He lives in no moral universe. The psychological scars, which supposedly prepare for the abuse of economic privilege, political failure, and social misfortune, do not reduce a young man's charm to an old man's loneliness. Rather, repeated infractions of cultural interdicts, and institutionalized trespassing cause the very problems that Kane uses as excuses. It is precisely this reading of social and personal life that the film systematically obscures.

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OLD ORDER AMISH IN OKLAHOMA & KANSAS: RURAL TRADITION IN URBAN SOCIETY

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INTRODUCTION

In the past 190 years, U.S. census data demonstrate a major shift from a predominantly rural society to a predominantly urban society. The 1790 Census indicated that 95 percent of the nation's workers were engaged in agriculture, while the 1970 census indicated that only 5 percent were engaged in agriculture. This shift represents much more than a change in residential and occupational patterns in the United States. It represents a dramatic change in the attitudes, values, norms, beliefs, lifestyles, and overall culture of the people.

A theoretical framework often used to analyze the impact on a society which undergoes such a change is provided by Toennies' (1887) *gemeinschaft-gesellschaft* continuum. Toennies' conceptual scheme suggests that the structural changes experienced by a society in the urbanization and industrialization process helps to bring about an accompanying change in the nature of social relations and interaction. Contemporary social science literature is replete with examples of how the shift from a rural and agrarian society to an urban and industrial society has brought about emphasis on social roles, secondary relations, bureaucratic institutions, depersonalization and dehumanization.

However, not all Americans have surrendered to the urban-industrial conversion. *Gemeinschaft* type communities characterized by primary relations, fact-to-face interaction, and informal social control mechanisms still exist to some extent in rural and small-town America. Perhaps the perpetuation of traditional rural culture and lifestyle characteristic of the *gemeinschaft* community is nowhere better preserved than in the Old Order Amish communities of Kansas and Oklahoma.

FOCUS OF THIS STUDY

These Old Order Amish communities have battled the national trend toward urbanization and industrialization in an attempt to preserve a rural agrarian culture compatible with their religious beliefs.

I will apply the symbolic interactionist perspective to demonstrate how the Old Order Amish of Kansas and Oklahoma create their own sense of social reality. Rather than conclude that external forces such as industrialization and urbanization define social structure, as suggested by Toennies, I contend that through day-to-day interaction among themselves, the Old Order Amish create their own sense of social structure. The members of these communities phenomenologically create their own social construction of reality. By creating, defining, manipulating, and redefining a multitude of social and cultural symbols, the Old Order Amish perpetuate a social world that is meaningful to them. They use the nature of their day-to-day interaction to insure that they are not overcome by urbanization, industrialization, and technology.

THE COMMUNTIES

The two Old Order Amish communities in this study have very similar histories. Both were established at the turn of the century during the "fourth wave" of Old Order Amish diffusion and growth patterns (Crowley 1978). Young families from the Old Order Amish settlements in the Pennsylvania area moved westward to alleviate some of the problems of overcrowding and lack of available farm lands in the east, in order to establish new communities west of the Mississippi River in Kansas and Oklahoma. Both communities grew slowly through subsequent migration and natural increase. The Kansas community is divided into two church districts consisting of about 20 families each, with a total population of just over 300 people. The Oklahoma community is slightly smaller, and is also divided into two church districts with about 35 families, totaling just over 250 people.

Members of the Kansas and Oklahoma communities maintain ties with the Old Order Amish communities back east, both literally and symbolicly. Virtually all of the families in these two western communities have relatives and close friends in the Amish communities of Ohio and Pennsylvania. Written correspondence is continuous, and occasionally,

the Kansas and Oklahoma Amish take trips back east to help maintain these ties. The Amish of the Kansas and Oklahoma communities also subscribe to traditional Amish publications, most of which come from Ohio and Pennsylvania. Since both Kansas and Oklahoma have other Anabaptist communities, such as Hutterites, Menonites, and Beachy Amish, members of these Old Order Amish communities feel that maintaining close ties with the traditional Old Order Amish communities of the east, especially those of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, helps to maintain their identity as Old Order Amish and distinguishes them from more modernized and more liberal Anabaptist groups. There are also meaningful links between the Old Order Amish communities of Kansas and Oklahoma which have close family relations, and maintain contact through correspondence and periodic visits.

RESEARCH METHOD

The field methods for this study include limited participant observation, with full disclosure of the sociological research intention (Schatzman, Strauss 1973 61; Spradley 1979, 1980), and the use of selected knowledgable informants who were members of each of the communities (Back 1960). A primary relation developed with one of the Oklahoma Amish families which proved to be an extremely valuable source of information about the community and its members.

Approximately three years of periodic visits to the Oklahoma community preceded any contact with the Kansas community. A general description of the Old Order Amish community of Oklahoma can be found in an earlier work (Thompson 1981). The primary informant in the Oklahoma community introduced me to his parents and family in the Kansas community, greatly facilitating entrance and acceptance in that community for observation and research. I made periodic visits to the Kansas community over the next two years to observe and gather data for this descriptive analysis.

RURAL TRADITION AND OLD ORDER AMISH CULTURE

Rural tradition and Old Order Amish culture seem almost synonymous in many ways. "If you live in any one of America's farm belt states, you are not more than a few hours from Amish farming country. Here, you can stand in the doorway to the past and witness horse-drawn plows turning up rich farm land, barn-raisings, and quilting bees." (Sielinski 1981 102)

Living much like their ancestors of 200 years ago, the Old Order Amish strive to maintain and perpetuate a plain, simple agrarian lifestyle consistent with their fundamental religious beliefs (Hostetler 1980).

My analysis will concentrate on how the Old Order Amish of Kansas and Oklahoma have managed to adapt to the very different environment than that of their eastern counterparts. Yet despite these adaptations, which actually make the lifestyle of Kansas and Oklahoma Amish people vastly different from that of the eastern Amish, they symbolicly redefine the meaning of this lifestyle so as to minimize and in a sense, negate those differences.

On the other hand, while it has been pointed out that the Old Order Amish attempt to maintain and perpetuate a rural lifestyle similar to the Amish of centuries past, this does not mean that they are preserving a lifestyle similar to that of non-Amish farmers of earlier centuries. A study of another Amish community in Kansas notes that the Old Order Amish are not merely living a nostalgic life as the United States was before the industrial revolution. Rather, they are living much as *their* ancestors lived then (Knight 1977). The Old Order Amish have *always* been different from their non-Amish counterparts.

Finding themselves in a pluralist society, the Old Order Amish have always tried to maintain a clearly defined sense of boundary maintenance (Knight 1977; Buck 1978). The success of this maintenance of a cultural boundary, especially among the Old Order Amish of Kansas and Oklahoma has depended largely on their ability to differentiate themselves symbolicly from non-Amish rural society, and to link symbolicly with the traditional Old Order Amish culture of Pennsylvania. At the same time, to survive as farmers in Kansas and Oklahoma, these people have had to alter their lifestyle, and especially their farming techniques, in order to adapt to a different environment.

ADAPTATION & PRAGMATISM

To the sociologist, cultural adaptation usually refers to "... those aspects of culture ... that represent a society's adjustment to its physical environment and enable it to survive." (Theodorson, Theodorson 1969 96) The Old Order Amish in Kansas and Oklahoma have shown an uncanny ability to adapt to the physical environment in which they live, while they preserve the desired social and cultural environment. Old Order Amish have always viewed their ties to the land as a moral imperative to maintain and perpetuate their religious beliefs and desired lifestyle (Ericksen et al 1980). A major part of that moral imperative, and a critical aspect of maintaining their traditional culture has focused on their reluctance to incorporate modern agricultural technology into their farming techniques. In the eastern part of the United States, the Old Order Amish still rely on horse-drawn farm implements, and only the more rudimentary farm machinery (Hostetler 1980). The creeping inroads of modernity into the Amish culture has often been cited as a major problem with which the old order must cope if they are to maintain their identity and preserve their culture (Kephart 1976).

All the emphasis on preservation of culture, identity, boundaries, and simple agrarian lifestyle consistent with their religious beliefs, as a central theme in most of the literature about the Old Order Amish, tends to shift attention away from the fact that the Old Order Amish farmers are innovative, willing to try something new, and extremely pragmatic when it comes to making a living on their land. The 18th and 19th century Amish in the United States were noted for their agricultural innovations, and were among the first to practice: "stall feeding of cattle, crop rotation, meadow irrigation, and to use natural fertilizers and clover and alfalfa pastures as a means of restoring fertility to the soil." (Kollmorgen in Nagata, 1968, cited: Stoltzfus 1973 197)

Of course, in recent years with the advent of large scale capital intensive farming operations common to rural America, the Old Order Amish seem set in their ways, and unwilling to try innovative farming techniques. This is not entirely true.

The Old Order Amish farmers in the two communities in Kansas and Oklahoma understand that the land on which they must make a living is not identical to the lush soil of the Ohio valley where many of the eastern Amish communities are located. Consequently, these western Amish farmers have developed some very pragmatic adaptive strategies to retain as much traditional Amish agrarian culture as possible, and yet make their farms reasonably productive. Horse-drawn farm implements are not feasible to till land of east central Kansas and northeastern Oklahoma. Consequently, tractors and harvest combines are used in both communities. The Amish farmers make every effort to buy older used tractors without most of the luxury options, but some find that in order to buy a tractor large enough to do the job, they must buy one which is equipped at least with power steering and hydraulic lifts for implements. While the introduction of the tractor alters traditional Amish farming practices, it is rationalized as a necessary compromise if Amish farming is to survive at all in Kansas and Oklahoma. Thus, the Amish farmers take what is generally considered a modern technological device and simply redefine it as being a necessary implement in preserving thier most basic traditional value — living off the land. Consequently, what could be interpreted as an element of *major change* in Amish culture becomes redefined as being a major element of *preservation* of that culture. Likewise the use of commercial fertilizers, hybrid seeds, modern plows, combines, and a multitude of other modern farm implements are all pragmatically defined as being absolutely necessary if the Old Order Amish are to survive on their farms and maintain their "non-modern" simple agrarian lifestyle.

Perhaps electricity is one of the best examples of how the Old Order Amish in these two communities have effectively introduced modern technology for pragmatic reasons, and yet, effectively limit its use so that it can be rationalized as important to maintaining their culture. Most of the farmers in both communities own herds of dairy cows, and sell the milk. Their dairy operations are small by today's standards, and most farmers milk 30-60 cows. The Amish farmers do not have all the necessary equipment to meet the minimum standards to have their milk sell as "Grade A." Their milk is usually graded lower, and is used

in other dairy products such as cheese and butter. Even to meet the lower grade standards, the milk must be obtained under sanitary conditions and refrigerated until it can be collected by the milk trucks. This requires electric milkers and electric refrigeration tanks. The Old Order Amish have always rejected electricity and all the gadgets dependent on it for their use.

As a pragmatic compromise, the Amish farmers in these two communities use simple generators, usually homemade from spare tractor parts, to generate electricity needed for milking machines and refrigeration equipment. This is defined as being a pragmatic necessity if they are to retain their milking operations. But these same farmers steadfastly refuse to use electricity in their homes. Homes are typically lighted with kerosene oil lamps, and are heated with wood-burning stoves. Refrigerators and cookstoves in the farm home are typically operated on propane gas, and some of the homes in Oklahoma use natural gas.

Why these seeming irrational inconsistencies in allowing electricity in the Amish dairy barns, but not in the farmhouse? When asked these questions, the Amish farmers will look quite confused that the inquirer does not see the obvious logic in these actions. In the barn, the Amish farmer uses electricity only to carry out a basic function of the farming operation. Its use is temporary, sporadic, and absolutely unrelated to convenience, comfort, or avoidance of labor. Amish farmers will say that they prefer to milk all of their cows by hand, but simply cannot do it. Virtually all handmilk one or two cows for their family's supply of milk, cheese, and butter. The Amish farmers argue that when a house is wired for electricity, its use is usually constant, and the family typically becomes dependent on its use. Eventually, a lot of unnecessary and merely convenient electrical items are used. In the barn, the Amish farmer uses and *controls* the electricity; in the house, the Amish family runs the risk of becoming dependent on electricity, and hence, being *controlled* by it.

The inconsistencies in the logic of this argument may seem readily apparent to anyone who chooses to look for them. The key is that the Amish people do not choose to look for them. Rather, they look to what they see as consistencies which apply to the introduction and use of any modern technology in the Amish community. If possible, they try to avoid the introduction and use of any technology if at all possible. If deemed impossible to reject the new technology, before any technology is allowed into the community, the implications and effects of its use are discussed by the community members. Usually, the church elders take a vote on the more controversial items.

If the introduction and use of new technology is defined as being absolutely necessary for the community, they will also make a conscientious effort to use the technology in a unique way so as to enhance and perpetuate the conventions of the Amish lifestyle. There can be no mistake in the minds of community members. They are not becoming more modern, but are using a modern technology in order to avoid becoming more modern. In this way, the members of these two Old Order Amish communities simply define the situation in such a way that the *new* becomes a means of preserving the *old* (Thomas 1931). This redefinition becomes a necessary element in the process of their construction of social reality (Berger, Luckmann 1967). While using modern farming equipment, the members of these Amish communities retain virtually all of the other significant symbols of the Old Order Amish. They drive horse-drawn buggies, dress in the traditional Amish attire, and speak German as their first language.

CONCLUSIONS

The main thesis here is that the Old Order Amish in Kansas and Oklahoma have successfully managed to retain and perpetuate their traditional agrarian culture in an increasingly more modern, industrial, urban United States. The explanation for this success is offered in part, as being the pragmatism of the Amish farmers in their willingness to introduce change into their culture, coupled with their tremendous ability to redefine the meaning of these changes in such a way as to minimize their potentially harmful effects. Thus, what might threaten severely to weaken traditional Amish culture and lifestyle, instead serves to reinforce it. They refuse to get caught up in an urbanizing, technologizing world which would drastically alter or destroy their culture

and lifestyle, as would be inferred from the more functionalist approach suggested by Toennies. Instead, as suggested by the symbolic interactionist approach, the Old Order Amish define their social world on a day-to-day interactionist basis, both symbolicly and literally, constructing a society that is meaningful to them. Not merely a static society caught up in the nostalgia of trying to live in the past, the Old Order Amish of Kansas and Oklahoma have used pragmatic adaptive strategies to survive in the present and in the future. They have managed to do this in such a way as to allow them to preserve their basic philosophy and keep their traditional culture largely intact.

Can the Old Order Amish of Kansas and Oklahoma continue to retain their identity, culture and lifestyle in the urban society which surrounds and threatens to consume them? There is a multitude of problems the members of these Old Order Amish communities must address and overcome if they are to continue to survive. However, anyone familiar with the history of the movement knows that ever since their European beginnings in the 1660's, they have continually faced, met, and overcome serious threats to their existence. With the potential threats of nuclear holocaust, large scale economic upheaval, and a variety of other possible conditions, many suggest that the entire world communiy is in a critical struggle for survival. Gerald Wilkinson, Director of the National Indian Youth Council put it this way:

"Now, when you talk about the destruction of the earth, you are talking about political states and social systems and psychological attitudes. You are not talking about the end of life. There will be some people left, who will learn to live again. Who will survive? People who are close to the earth, who are the custodians of the soil, who have learned from the earth's wisdom, who have learned how to survive. They will survive." (Cited, Sterner 1976 296)

Who will survive? The Old Order Amish will survive.

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PREPARING FOR APOCALYPSE: SURVIVALIST STRATEGIES

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INTRODUCTION

Survivalists are those who believe that the United States is on the verge of collapse. They hope to survive economic, social, or nuclear disaster by making preparations for self-sufficiency and breaking away as much as possible from mainstream society. They are willing to defend what is theirs (Liebmann et al 1982). Survivalists have come under increasing public recognition and criticism. Survivalism has been condemned as an inadequate response to critical social problems, and survivalists are chided for retreating from social responsibility (Besser 1982). They are also criticized for succumbing to fear (Mitchell 1983).

My discussion focuses on survivalist strategies and practical preparations. In referring to the scenario for disaster or catastrophe, survivalists use terms such as *the collapse, the crash, apocalypse,* and *when the balloon goes up.*

METHOD

Data were collected by participant observation, letter exchanges and examination of survivalist literature. Survivalists express fear and suspicion toward strangers because of the survivalists' deviant status and stigmatization, public misconceptions, and fear of theft of their supplies. They are often reminded to: "Think, speak, and look camouflage ... at all times be wary, suspicious and distrustful of others' motives." (Epperson 1982). Although delicate methodological and ethical issues were involved, covert methods still seemed most appropriate for such a milieu. Researchers have observed that deliberately misrepresenting oneself in deviance research is not automatically an unethical practice. Some information from deviant groups can only be attained through covert means (Henslin 1972; Douglas 1972).

I attended three gun collectors' shows in southern California to get experience with the practical aspects of survivalism, and I attended the 3-day Self-Reliance and Survival Expo '83 in Pasedena California. At the Expo, 20 seminars were given, and 61 exhibitors of survivalist goods promoted various equipment and supplies, including the *Survival Guide* and *Survive* journals. Seminar topics included *Desert Survival, Stress in Survival Situations,* and *the Need for Self-Reliance in Today's Society.* Finally, in collaboration with Richard Mitchell of Oregon State University, dialogue was initiated with survivalists through a secure 2-way letter exchange service. This service is widely advertized in survivalist journals, to assist survivalists who wish to contact those with similar interests without compromizing anonymity or personal security. The letter exchange service proved a useful data-gathering tool when we posed as survivalists.

SURVIVAL CONTINUUM

Survivalism, like other deviant movements, is a matter of degree of commitment, based on a typology created by Linder (1982).

Level 1. Weak survivalists read survivalist literature, buy a few items such as guns and dehydrated food, and attend introductory survivalist training courses.

Level 2. More committed survivalists spend more time and money acquiring survivalist supplies and attending advanced survivalist training courses.

Level 3. Moderately committed survivalists maintain mainstream jobs, family, and friends, but they have established membership in a *retreat group.* These survivalists visit their retreat periodically throughout the year.

Level 4. Hard-core strongly committed survivalists usually have severed most social and economic ties to mainstream society, and have moved permanently onto a retreat site.

STRATEGIES

The strategy of survival is much more than an intellectual exercise for survivalists. The possibilities of social collapse, nuclear war, and economic chaos are as frightening and as palpably real as human perception can make them. One can only speculate on the time and energy which survivalists spend sifting through disaster scenarios and formulating response strategies while being mindful of constraints of physical and mental conditions, personal finances, family and employment, their location, and their philosophy of life,

and finally selecting the most feasible. For some survivalists this process amounts to little more than a game to be played sporadically throughout the year, rehearsing one's *response scenario* and mapping escape routes to the retreat site. With increasing commitment, there is an increased degree of discipline, planning, and more intense simulation of the survivalist strategies. As in wargames, they devise alternative strategies and become more flexible in order to build their *response repertoire* for various Doomsday scenarios.

There are micro and macro strategies. For example, a survivalist group may opt for escape from Los Angeles by boat and travel north to their cabin retreat on an Oregon bay, which is a macro strategy. The micro strategies concern the type of boat, supplies to be stocked, crew composition, circumstances under which they leave the city, and the exact route to Oregon. Macro strategies are openly debated and discussed in survivalist literature. Once selected, they must then be refined by individuals or groups to suit particular circumstances. It should be remembered that from the survivalist perspective, thoroughness of prepartion can mean the difference between life and death.

Urban Retreating. Few suburban and urban Americans are in any position to quickly retreat to a rural community (Mitchell 1983). The majority of survivalists no doubt must remain in urban areas because the greater number of high paying jobs, and emotional bonds to family and friends are there. Very few plan to remain in urban areas after Doomsday. Here is a grim scenario for the post-catastrophe city:

> Without utilities, sanitation and a public health service, most cities would become nightmares of disease within a fortnight, and if that weren't enough, the inevitable arson committed by looters and other violence-prone denizens would -- without the customary services of the fire department -- develop into firestorms, incinerating every structure and creature in the area. (Tappan 1981 30)

Field research clearly reveals that the more committed survivalist views urban life as threatening and may choose to keep firearms handy at home and in vehicles.

Marine Boat Retreating. For coastal survivalists the advantages of escape to sea by boat include speed, a self-contained vehicle which can be stocked with food beforehand, and access to one of the world's greatest food sources. Though the marine retreat would be open to attack by seaborne pirates, there would be no problem from land marauders and looters. However a boat with open sea capability costs about $50,000, and would equire good seamanship and navigation skills (Payne 1982). Knowledgable survivalists also point out the possible danger of tidal waves from earth-quake or nuclear attack.

Wilderness Nomad Retreating. Wilderness retreating is derisively called the *mountain man* approach, and *playing Batman in the boondocks.* The escape usually involves a van, camper, trailer, motorcycle, or horse. The approach is criticized as simplistic and doomed to fail (1978 Spec Rpt 1, Delta Press Ltd). A shortage of fuel would limit the escape range, and there would be great vulnerability to gangs of looters. One cannot carry sufficient survival equipment and supplies. During the Pasedena Expo, a survivalist panel sponsored by the *Survive* Journal thoroughly discussed this method without a single panelist recommending it. One member of the audience was cautioned against it.

Wilderness Group Retreating. This retreat mode requires small isolated farms, cabins, or subterranean sites. It appears from the survivalist literature that the majority of survivalists, who recognize safety in numbers, either belong to a retreat group or are seeking to join one. However, small retreat groups would quickly become targets of hordes pouring out of devastated urban areas. The retreat area should offer a low population density and a reasonable climate for agriculture and available areas for hunting, fishing, and trapping (Tappan 1981).

Small Town Retreating. The small town retreat with about 2,000 to 3,000 population offers the best opportunity for collective defense and subsistence farming. Such a community should be sufficiently isolated from even moderate size poplation centers, military bases, and nuclear power plants. It should not be vulnerable to natural disasters such as

floods, quakes, and forest fires. It should also have a mild climate and adequate rainfall. Finally, the community should be inhabited by hard-working, disciplined, barter-conscious people (Tappan 1981).

PREPARATIONS

Preparations are categorized as micro and macro. The macro preparation may be to acquire medical supplies for a retreat group of perhaps 15 adults and 6 children. Micro preparations could include purchase of specific medicines, drugs, bandages, and other items. Containers of suitable sizes and types must be selected. The following types of survival preparation are categorized by level, based on gleanings from survivalist letters. The names are fictitious.

Level 1. Jim a 56-year old man has had experience in paneling, roofing, painting, floor tiling, furniture repair, and woodworking. He enjoys barter, but has few financial resources. Owns many tools such as garden implements, and carpenters' hand tools. Letters reflect abundant anti-Communist rhetoric but little in the way of active preparations for survival.

Level 2. Roger, a 31-year old dentist in Texas has nuclear war as a prime worry. Skills include dentistry, weapons repair, marksmanship with a high-power rifle, and care of casualties. Extensive collection of guns and ammunition. No food storage. Few supplies. Has sketchy emergency evacuation plans to two possible retreat sites, but admits possible problems with jammed roads. Knows that one of his biggest challenges is to create or find a survivalist support group in his area.

Level 3. Frank, a 50-year old Air Force retiree now works in civil defense in Kentucky. Life member of the National Rifle Association. Hunts for sport, and has 3-month food supply. Periodically visits his survival base (retreat), a large farm. Has supportive relations with long-time neighbors and nearby relatives.

Level 4. Rance and Ann, a married couple with 4 children live in central Massachusetts. Their prime worry is nuclear war, but now they feel that an internal conspiracy, planned by Trilateralists, Bilderburgers, and Rothchilds is occuring in the United States. Rance is a survival supplier, writer, and consultant, member of the National Rifle Association, experienced attack dog trainer, and skilled with such weapons as small arms, long bows and cross bows. Maintains a 3000 volume reference library. Wife is a registered nurse. The couple have developed homesteading skills such as bee-keeping, canning, and butchering. Most of their savings have gone into survival preparations. They plan to move to a permanent retreat, buying the land, and living in a trailer temporarily. Eventually, they want to build a small earth-sheltered home with internal greenhouse and aquaculture biosystem. Would use aquaculture and hydroponics in two planned greenhouses. Have stocked a professional grade medical kit, and are assembling a dental kit. Own large quantities of preserved and dried foods and grains. Have a garden area totaling 150x150 feet, with apple and nut trees and grape vines. They have several security devices with electronic and mechanical perimeter alarms and listening equipment. They have collected several hundred burlap and polypropylene sandbags. Saving money for a ham radio transceiver, and two portable transceivers. Maintain a full workshop of tools, and have kept a cast iron wood/coal kitchen stove.

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WORK PRESSURE SIMILARITY FOR HOMEMAKERS, MANAGERS & PROFESSIONALS

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For most Americans, their work roles constitute an important part of the self-image and an important basis of self-esteem. Typically, for men, their labor force occupation provides not only the financial resources which shape their material life style, but gauge their degree of success as human beings. For women, work in the labor force and as a homemaker, or exclusively as a homemaker is central in defining how successful and who they are as women, and as human beings. We judge others, and are judged in terms of value of work performed. This results in self-judgment highly colored by performance in work roles.

In the last decade, some social scientists have belatedly begun to pay attention to household tasks as *work*, and to compare this type of work with paid labor roles. We will compare practices of full time homemakers and those of certain white collar workers which, on the surface may seem quite different.

In the United States, about 40 hours per week constitute the *minimum* time investment required to convince oneself and others that one is fulfilling a work role adequately, and that visible, socially desirable products or services issue from the endeavor. In closely supervised work roles, including most manual and white collar jobs, real work will tend to fill the full work week. After all, the purpose of close supervision is to ensure that workers continue to work, and their tasks usually are well-defined and unending.

However, in many work roles in managerial, administrative, and professional positions, and in homemaking, direct supervision is absent. Task definition and accomplishment are left largely to the worker. Norms concerning the amount of work to be accomplished. amd even the level of the accomplishment are often ambiguous. In such cases, developing and maintaining self-esteem require that the worker fill at least the socially defined minimal hours with activities than can be *legitimated* as real work, and that there be acknowledged products, such as clean clothes, meals, reports, and records of clients served or treated. These must be credible both to others and to the worker as worth the time investment. Thus, the unsupervised worker must find enough *real work* to fill at least 40 hours per week, or create enough activities which can be justified as *real work* to fill the hours. It is not simply a matter of convincing others that one is doing a week's work. After all, without supervision, how is anyone to know if one is faking? The real issue is that in such a situation, one's self-esteem requires convincing oneself that one is *really working*. One may do that best, not merely by filling in the minimum hours defined as a work week, but by expanding the work week to 60 hours or more. The legitimizing techniques of full time homemakers and those of unsupervised labor force participants are very similar.

SOCIABILITY ON THE JOB

People appear to need sociability to enjoy their work roles. They may or may not need to interact with others, actually to accomplish the tasks associated with their work roles. Management and professional work roles are often characterized by extensive committee work. Consider the endless number of committees found in university and corporate settings, and the long hours the members spend in committee meetings. Then think about the actual policy changes and operational changes, and the real impact resulting from the committee time expenditures. Attendance at committee meetings is a legitimate use of *work* time, in the sense that nearly everyone recognizes this behavior as part of the work role. This is true regardless of the accomplishments or lack of accomplishment of the committees. Therefore, the individual can fill up considerable amounts of work time with meetings whose real function may be more one of sociability which goes under the mask of legitimate work activity. Indeed, commitees issue reports, the function of which is at least partially to justify to the members and others that *real work* was done, and that the time investment was legitimate.

The often-ridiculed *koffee klatch* of homemakers represents essentially the same phenomenon, lacking only the high level of legitimation which is accorded to committee meetings. Homemakers often legitimate such meetings in terms of getting their children

together for necessary interactive play. Such legitimation probably fails to convince people who are not full time homemakers. Nonetheless, it can serve to help housewives maintain their self-esteem, since they validate each others' definition of the function of their meetings as child-oriented.

Committee meetings and koffee klatches not only provide at least partially legitimated settings in which to fill sociability needs. They also provide the very important work-related function of information exchange. While a committee may actually accomplish nothing, information exchanged by committee members may help each to fulfill the work role requirements more successfully. Likewise, information exchanged on child-rearing practices, recipes, labor-saving methods, and cleaning products may help homemakers perform their work roles better. Lacking clear norms specifying the type and quantity of work output, they are developed informally through personal interaction in such settings.

USE OF LEISURE

If there is need to extend work roles to perceive oneself in a more positive light, then we might expect that some part of what is defined as *leisure* will be legitimated as work-related. Managers, administrators and professionals often organize leisure activities such as golf games, parties, luncheons and dinners around work related functions. They justify this in terms of competition: "When our competitors entertain clients and subordinates, we must do the same." If none did, clients would buy from someone and subordinates would not be unhappy because of the perquisites available to others. We suggest that the extension of work into leisure helps one to convince oneself of one's genuine commitment to the work role, which makes one a highly worthy person.

Homemakers similarly extend work activities into leisure, in excursions to the zoo, museums, movies and other enrichment activities *for the children.* Instead of relaxing, they convince themselves that all manner of structured leisure, which is scarcely relaxing for the parent, is necessary for the proper development of their children. Just as a male sales representative convinces himself of the extent of his work commitment by using leisure in work related ways, so does the homemaker mother convince herself of the extend of maternal commitment by such activity. For older homemakers, community volunteer work provides the same legitimation of self as a worthy and productive person.

Cocktail parties and golf games also serve another purpose. In such settings people attempt to redefine group boundaries to facilitate future personal and corporate gain. A client who regularly golfs with someone is more likely to place the order with that person rather than with a competitor. A subordinate who dines with the manager is likely to support that person in situations of office conflict. Individuals are likely to consider such leisure partners as friends too valuable to betray, cheat, or subvert. Sometimes the koffee klatch serves a similar function. The more mothers incorporate into the circle, the more prospective playmates for their children, the better the exchange of baby sitting services, and other perquisites for each member.

WORKER COMPULSIVENESS

The need to fill hours with legitimated activity can result in a lot of makework. Managers, administrators and professionals may draft many unread memoranda and reports, clean data decks endlessly, do a few more computer runs, "just to be sure," or make another round of patient calls "just to be safe." They may redo, or do to excess tasks that are legitimately part of their regular work in order to expand the hours they define as necessary to maintain their self-esteem. Such tasks are inherently legitimate: hence the excessive doing of them also appears legitimate.

Similarly, homemakers may do the laundry daily, dust, mop, vacuum several times weekly, or cook elaborate dinners on a regular basis. These are tasks that must be done more or less regularly, and they are intrinsically legitimate. However, as most homemakers who take on a full time job in the labor force soon discover, these household tasks can be performed far less frequently than daily or several times weekly. These household tasks, even when done to excess, seem to use time legitimately, maintaining the homemaker's self-image as hard-working and worthy.

WORKER INDISPENSABILITY

Perhaps the biggest boon to self-esteem is to be found in convincing oneself that one is personally indispensable — that one's absence or failure to accomplish a given task at a given time will seriously affect the ability of the larger organization, client, or family and household to function. Rarely are people really indispensable, and rarely will the failure to get something done now, rather than tomorrow really do more than create a minor inconvenience for others.

The scholar who works extra hours to complete a paper for publication is self-convinced that the work must appear in the earliest journal issue. The physician who works extra hours to see a few more patients may assume that other doctors are less competent. The manager who takes a report home to read must believe that there will be major organizational problems if the report were left for later reading. The homemaker who stays up late to finish the laundry must think it vital that her family have clean clothing to wear tomorrow. In each case, the person is convinced that spending more hours is necessary because no other person can to these extremely important tasks soon enough or well enough. That is potent balm to self-esteem.

The process by which workers come to define themselves as indispensable can be suggested. In social settings, workers and those with whom they interact share a common set of understandings about the criteria for evaluating work. In highly supervised work roles, there may be training periods, an apprenticeship, clear job specifications, and even contractual agreements involving both the worker and those specifically charged with supervision and evaluation. However, homemakers and many professionals cannot apprentice with those who will later serve as evaluators, but did so with an earlier generation who can rarely render judgments after apprenticeship is ended. Thus the worker and evaluator are less likely to share a set of rules for judging performance. The homemaker apprentices with her family of origin, but is judged by her family of procreation, and by friends. The professional apprentices with an earlier generation at the professional school, and later works in other institutional settings.

When the worker creates both the norms and the justification for an adeuqate performance, shared understandings may not be adequately articulated to the evaluator. In turn, the evaluator and observer becomes an outsider who is assumed not to understand the one *correct* way to perform the task, as established by the worker, and yet is expected by the worker to accept all the worker's criteria for task performance. In cases where the observer has to fill in for the worker who is temporarily unavailable, it is likely that the task will be performed in a way which differs from the worker's understanding of the *correct* way. This serves to heighten the worker's perception of self as indispensable, and the only one who can perform the task adequately. The worker may so severely criticize the work of the substitute who filled in, as to extinguish the substitute's future willingness to help. With no others available or willing to perform the task, the worker creates a self-fulfilling prophecy of being indispensable.

Unsupervised workers are also often unwilling to delegate authority or even specific tasks to others so as to lighten their work load. To do so would reduce the amount of avaliable *real work* to fill in the time. Moreover, delegation of part of the task by definition declares that the worker is not indispensable. Finally, as suggested concerning the way in which workers come to see themselves as indispensable when authority or tasks are delegated, their performance usually disappoints the delegator. When a homemaker delegates some aspect of child care to her husband, she is likely to find that he accomplished the work differently than she would have done, and incorrectly, by her standards. Henceforth she may not readily ask him to help again. An irony of the homemaker's refusal to delegate authority or tasks is that the observer may never come to discover that homemaking tasks involve *real work*, by which the observer would become more willing to accept the homemaker's definitions of adequate performance of the role. Similarly, the manager may delegate responsibility for a report to a subordinate, only to feel compelled later to redo the report to meet private expectations. Unsupervised workers often expand their work and feelings of indispensability beyond the work they actually must do, by discouraging or denying others the opportunity to participate.

TECHNOLOGY DILEMMA

We have argued that occupations in the porfessions, management, and administration, along with homemaking share three characteristics: 1) their work is not subject to close supervision; 2) norms for adequate performance are largely self-created, subject to challenge, and problematic; 3) there is often less *real work* than can readily fill a conventionally defined work week. Such occupations have two needs: 1) fill the time with activities to be busy or apparently busy; 2) define to oneself and others that those activities are important, profitable, and a wise use of time.

Technological innovations make work easier, less tedious, and faster. In turn, these innovations tend to decrease the amount of *real work* time needed to produce a given quantity of quality products. As a result, the technological innovations often serve to increase the need to fill the time with work, as well as to alter definitions of adequate performance and productivity. Computers and word processors make the creation of reports and research articles more rapid, and hence increase the number produced. In addition they provide users more time to recheck findings or to do more complex analysis. Thus they raise expectations of quality. In the same way, the micro wave oven, food processor, and automated washers and dryers increase the need of homemakers to justify to themselves and others that they worked long enough. These devices serve to change expectations regarding quantity and quality of the products of labor. Gourmet meals are more expected, and less appreciated than before advent of the professional kitchen equipment. Standards of cleanliness have risen because of technological innovation. Dishes cannot be just clean — they must be sterile, mirror-like, without water spots. A century ago, ring around the collar was of small concern to the homemaker.

The very devices created and sold to reduce the tedium of work and to enhance work quality cause stress for the unsupervised worker, often forcing more time-filling and more labor on more creative products which take as much or more time to produce as the same product of an earlier time, preceding the new technololgy. Where they fail to create new time-filling activities, and fail to heighten role performance, unsupervised workers may actually experience diminished self-esteem, and come to view their performance and themselves as inadequate.

CONCLUSIONS

In work settings where people are not closely supervised and work-related norms are ambiguous, self-esteem is fragile. It depends at least partly on filling the hours one is supposed to be working with tasks resulting in products which can be defined by self and others as legitimate work. It is further enhanced if the hours can be extended with legitimated activity, and especially if one can convince oneself that the extra hours are required on the basis of indispensability.

Homemakers do not differ from professionals, managers, and administrators in the types of mechanisms they use to attempt to legitimate their activities and maintain self-esteem. They differ only in one important way. People within and outside of the labor force tend to legitimate the techniques employed by those whose labor is *paid*. Committee work, and business-related use of leisure time, work-related compulsiveness, and indispensibility are generally widely perceived as part and parcel of upper-level white collar jobs. Koffee klatches and housework compulsiveness are the butt of jokes by those who are in the *paid* labor force. The fact that homemakers often forego real leisure in an attempt to enrich the lives of their children is scarcely perceived, to say nothing of being respected as a work-related and helpful activity. Lip service is given to the indispensability of the homemaker, but no one equates that to the indispensability of the work of the physician or the accountant.

The fact that the homemakers at best legitimate one another in these ways suggests that the result is lower self-esteem for them than their counterparts whose salaried techniques are more generously and more richly legitimated in a social sense. This may explain why, when asked what they do, homemakers are inclined to say: "I am *only* a housewife." Her professor husband, who spent the day at a meeting of the Academic Advisement Committee, and in cleaning his data files for a study of attitudes toward the use of guns in neighborhood crime would never respond: "I am *only* a professor of sociology."

SOCIAL HISTORY AND AMERICAN PREOCCUPATION WITH IDENTITY

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INTRODUCTION

Symbolic interactionism has often been accused of ignoring history and 'social structure'. These complaints have come from outside and from within the sociological perspective (Rock 1979 217; Meltzer et al 1975 119). Such criticisms, usually based on misunderstanding of the perspective's theoretical and methodological presuppositions are largely misplaced. Adherence to a symbolic interactionist view does not necessarily preclude an interest in historical processes and structural factors, as the work of Mills (1956) and Strauss (1971) amply demonstrates. Appreciation of such factors is often central to an adequate analysis of problems at the heart of the symbolic interactionist concern.

A concern with identity is central to symbolic interaction, and this concern mirrors a general preoccupation with identity, which is a characteristic feature of the embedding in United States society. In contrast, in British sociological circles and in British society, there is little concern, let alone preoccupation, with identity. It is sometimes suggested by British sociologists that their American colleagues are overly and irritatingly concerned with identity both personally and professionally. This preoccupation with identity in the United States srpings from history and social structure.

THE AMERICAN PREOCCUPATION

In the United States, at the start of each day in schools, children reaffirm their American identity by reciting the pledge of allegiance to the flag. Nothing similar to this occurs in British schools. In the United States, preceding many public sporting events, at the professional, college, and high school level, the National Anthem is played. This is not the case in Britain. In the more modern major American airports, waiting areas have individual television sets to be watched privately by travelers. This is thought to be a pleasant accommodation in America, but is not understandable to Britons. A usual practice in British cafes and lunchrooms is for strangers to share tables and to chat amiably and politely. In the United States this is never done. In some delikatessens during rush hours, strangers may share tables, but conversation is rare. If unaccompanied, one eats mutely. In no American restaurant would an American ask to sit with strangers and then chat with them.

The British are basically sure of who they are, and feel it quite comfortably when their accents, clothing and demeanor label them British in an American setting. Americans are basically unsure of who they are, and experience their instant identification as Americans in the British setting as very different and very pleasant. It is a very pleasant change to be *someone* in a situation without effort. Americans who continuously strive at home to become *something* find to their delight that in Britain they alreay are *something* every time they speak.

Another issue of note is the American style of interaction. Most observers would agree that Americans are generally more garrulous and more assertive than Britons. Reflection on this matter indicates that Americans seem to say more but to reveal less. They use a kind of concealment through revealing, a technique of holding the world at bay through display. Nancy Reagan would not curtsey to Queen Elizabeth when representing the United States at the wedding of Prince Charles, whereas Queen Elizabeth, visiting Arabic countries, accepted the Arabic customs relating to women's behavior and appearance, rather than impose English customs on her hosts. Americans at home and abroad seem to act in ways which make the encounters very much *their show.* In the language of sociology, the forwardness and demonstrativeness of Americans in encounters works to define situations in the American's terms, and their manner of enjoining interaction works to make all situations their own, especially in the British setting. This mode of jumping to the fore and estabalishing the game plan for the encounter avoids the anxiety of operating in an unfamiliar manner, and it stems from a lack of surety of self.

Americans are more preoccupied with identity because they are less relaxed than Britons

about who they are. This preoccupation is manifested in the divergent but related behaviors of display and protectiveness. The Anthem is played; the American stands with knowing self-awareness, as at table or watching television in public places, and protects personal singularity at the same time. The American's behavior is similar in conversation, where one announces oneself on one's own terms, forcing others to relate to that.

IDENTITY

In a succinct and influential definition of identity in symbolic interaction, Stone (1970 300) says that an identity is a validated announcement which establishes what and where a person is in social space. A person announcing or laying claim to a particular identity does so by appearance and demeanor, which includes social place, grooming, and clothing. And when the *audience* of others in the encounter respond in kind, indicating by their behavior that accept this claim, the announcement is validated and identity is established in the concert of behavior. Thus established, it is experienced reflexively by the person as a felt identity, which is to say that it seems or feels experientially real, and for the moment, becomes the meaning of the self.

The phrase *for the moment* is important here. It is generally held, in symbolic interaction that the self is an essentially unrelated bunch of identities which exist as meanings when successfully played out in interaction, but which do not exist in any other way. In this severe dramaturgic view of everyday interaction the world becomes only a stage. While one plays the part of *Hamlet* one *is Hamlet*. When one is not playing any role, one is not anything at all. The implication, supported in many interactionist quarters, is that there is no permanence in the self beyond such permanence as there might be in a particular social role in a particular historic period. In modern society, where such permanence is rare, the self becomes a kaleidoscope. This view is peculiarly American.

Such a vision is not entirely foreign to British consciousness. *The Guardian* newspaper from 1979 carried an advertisement which asked, "Shamed by your English?" It went on to offer a course in proper speaking which promised to give one a "leg up" in the business world. The British novel, *Cards of Identity* (Dennis 1961) features members of a British identity association who meet annually to give reports on their identity changes. Author Dennis' view so fits the view of symbolic interaction that one character reports behavior which was never experienced, but which is purely imaginary. The clear implication is that there is no difference in *life experienced* and *life imagined*, as both are equally symbolic fictions. In George Bernard Shaw's *Pygmalion*, Eliza Doolittle's mastery of English through Professor Higgins' tutoring merely allows her to pass as a young woman of breeding among his friends. In the American movie version, Miss Doolittle ends up marrying the professor. Americans seem to insist that the self is apparent rather than substantive. They seem to be preoccupied with identity, and to lack surety of self. Symbolic interaction seems to mirror this preoccupation and lack of firm grasp by conceptualizing identity as a dramaturgically realized will-o'-the-wisp.

IDENTITY IN BRITAIN & AMERICA

How is Britain different in terms of identity? If we take identity as the often-changing sense of who or what one is, gained through role playing in everyday life, and admit that such behavior is a large part of what goes on in both America and Britain, we may still ask if the wherewithall so to play roles is really all there is to self. Rootedness in social history makes for persons who possibly have real consistencies in behavior over long periods of life in many different situations, and who possibly play at many of their roles with great awareness and deliberation. They certainly have a consistent and fairly unshakable sense of what they are. Such more permanent aspects of a person do not represent a more real or true self than the less permanent ones. But such aspects exist, and they make a difference in behavior. The difference is the basis for the American preoccupation with identity and the British ease about identity.

Stone (1970) suggests that four types of identity may be distinguished, varying by their relevance in various situations. 1) Universal identities such as sex and age, "designate one's humanity." They are *basic identities*, taken for granted, which have influence in almost all situations in terms of deference

and demeanor, and at the same time, they are essentially given. There is no effort involved in estabishing them. Rather, they are difficult to avoid. 2) There are identities which are embedded in what Stone calls *structural relations.* Simply put, these are the institutionalized roles of life which have relevance in many, but not all situations. Various work roles, especially professional roles are good examples. 3) Less formally structured interpersonal relations are both more diffuse in meaning and more restricted in scope than structurally based identities. 4) There are *relational identities* which are peculiarly characteristic of mass societies. These are not particularly important, and have a very limited relevance across situations, such as shopper, and movie-goer. By using Stone's ideas we can get a small but crucial difference between America and Britain.

In the United States, the only aspects of a person which seem basically to inform most situations, and the only universal identities, are age, sex, and race or ethnicity. In Britain, it seems that one must add national or regional identity to the list. Some Britons think of themselves as British. Others think Scot, or Welsh, or Gordie or English identity. These identities are basic because they are essentially given in situations. They are not open to negotiation and they are not doubted. They constitute a base for interaction. In the United States one is an individual, a person, and one may also be Italian, Irish, Polish, or Norwegian. In Britain, one is English, Scottish, or Welsh. The important difference here is that the seeminly similar designations in the two societies are not the same. In the United States their character is essentially adjectival, while in Britain it is essentially nominal.

This sense of self which Britons have is not merely ideational, and not merely a reflection in their heads. These identities of British, English, Scottish, or Welsh are manifested in their behavior. While a British reader might readily agree that such identities and the actions which go with them are basic and given in interaction, American readers might have trouble with this, because identity is problematic in the United States. These identities are basic in Britain, *as they are never challenged and no one ever loses them.* In Britain, people seem to be something before they act, and seem to act from the stance of what they are. This is history built into people. In the United States, people seem to act so that they can become something, and indeed, the best American sociological thought on identity claims that a person who is not acting out some identity is nothing at all.

DIFFERENT HISTORIES

1) Different Attitudes Toward Authority. Britain had a feudal system for a long time and moved out of it very slowly. It is no news that certain legacies of that system continue in British life today. America never had a feudal system, and many of its immigrants were seeking to escape from what they regarded as oppressive forms of institutionalized authority. America was established on the conscious notion that long-held customs and traditions are to be abandoned (Noble 1968). Thus we may say that America is a deliberately enacted society rather than a historically cressive one. It is a society which was deliberately started by consciously rejecting a heritage of long-held customs and traditions. We need to consider but one telling point. The United States has operated reasonably well for almost 200 years on the basis of a quite excellent written constitution which contains various checks and balances to protect against the usurpation of authority by any one individual or group, while protecting the rights of all individuals to specific freedoms. Britain has operated reasonably well for a longer period with no written constitution. Attitudes to institutionalized authority are founded on a long tradition of centralization, and compared to the United States, relative trust and acceptance of centralized power (Thornton 1966). Today, Britain is the more tightly centralized of the two societies.

2) Geographic Space. The United States is a vast country, and Americans think of it as such. Further, there is a history of people moving out over that space in the past, especially when they felt their independence threatened. Ideationally, in the American popular consciousness, the spaciousness of the country has long been associated with individuality and separateness. And popular consciousness aside, communities spread out across the space of America more than 100 years ago with broad geographic separation.

Britain, by contrast, as a relatively small country. There have been many people relatively crowded in Britain for a relatively long time. Britons are conscious and proud of their position on an island off the mainland of Europe. This small island geography, as opposed to the continental geography of the United States, seems to make for a certain *all-of-this-island-together* mentality for which there is no equivalent in the United States. Further, this attitude has been periodically reinforced by British involvement in European wars which, unlike most war involvements of the United States, posed the *immediate* threat of invasion, and directly involved a large portion of the male population. The British, as against the American involvement in World War II, highlights this difference. Not merely *internal space*, but also the spatial relation with other countries is important in engendering different senses of identity.

3. Ethnicity. The ethnic intensity of Britain is contrasted to the ethnic diversity of the United States. It is quite a different thing to be a member of one of a very few ethnic groups, as in Britain, as against being a member of one of a large multitude of ethnic groups, as in the United States. Compounding the issue of diversity, and leading to the dissolution of ethnic identity in America, is the fact that while Scots, Welsh, and English always were Britons, American Italians, Lithuanians, Greeks, and others of immigrant origin were not always Americans. The British situation has worked toward the maintenance of ethnic identity, while the American has worked toward its dissolution.

History as Idea or as Actuality.

The key to the difference between the two societies' connection with the past is the large influx or immigrants in American history, the great mobility in American society, and the legacy of ahistoricism in the American consciousness of the past. So many Americans are of immigrant stock, and so many are geographically and socially mobile. This mobility is recognized as implying a lack of stable identification, a loss of symbols of the past, and a loss of personal and social history (Klapp 1969; Lifton 1969; Berger 1963).

American life is less rooted in history and historic symbols than British life. And there is certainly a physical difference. America is a new world. There is a fair number of structures 150 years old dotted over the American northeast, but most of the country has few structures built before 1900, and many towns have none. Britain has thousands on thousands of buildings — cathedrals, churches, castles, public buildings, houses and cottages — 300 to 600 years old. It has no mean number of churches and castles up to 1000 years old, and beyond that, is almost littered with Roman, Bronze Age, Iron Age, and Stone Age sites.

The impact of this difference on the people is hard to specify. If we consider that there are still a few people in the American northeast living in 200 year old ancestral homes, and if we imagine what it is like to live in such a situation, knowing that one's own forebears had lived in those very rooms for all those years, we begin to appreciate that the overwhelming majority of Americans have no sense of immediate delimited connection with the past. This kind of connection may be called the *past as actuality*, a kind of connection with history which Americans lack because they are so mobile and so newly established in such a vast country.

In Britain there are not large numbers of people living in ancestral homes, and the proportion may be no larger than in the United States. But in Britain, the plethora of older structures seems to combine with the other factors we have mentioned into something which comes down to the same thing: a sense of the past which anchors. This kind of connection with history, as *the past actuality* should be understood as more than a matter of perspective. Rather, it is an actual connection with the past as it has come down the years infused with the present in ways which make for particular perspectives and actions in the people involved, in *traditional* modes of behavior. This kind of connection anchors people, and being anchored, people seem to have a sense of who, where, and what they are. They cannot escape it. This describes the British.

Americans lack this kind of connection, and being unanchored, they drift everywhere. They seem unable to stop the drifting. Living in a condition where traditional connections have been broken, Americans' sense of the past is what we may call the *past as idea.*

This means that the Americans' idea of the past is not the history of their own ethnic group, be it that German or Italian or Greek. It is not even the history of America in a conceptualization even somewhat related to what has actually gone on for the past 200 years. Rather, it is the imagined history of escape from the oppression of the Old World to the opportunities of the New World. This yields a completely distorted notion of history simply as a land of opportunity.

Since a people's notion of the past obviously informs their behavior, we may ask what this difference between Britain and the United States means in the way people relate to the world around them. Put dramatically, the British relate from the stance of having once built and ruled a great empire. The Scots and Welsh live from the stance of having long suffered the Vikings, the Normans, and more recently, the English. Britons do dramatize their history. We would expect a people with so much Celtic background and influence to exercise good deal of poetic license. But poetic license with the past is not what happens in the United States. Americans relate to the world from a stance of a totally imagined past of escape from historical and communal connections into boundless opportunity, where Miss Doolittle marries her Professor Higgins, or where the princess' kiss turns the frog into a handsome prince. American tradition is based on British and European dreams. The British are living in history, while Americans are living in a British fairy tale. But even in America, life is not at all like a fairy tale.

LOSS OF HISTORICAL CONNECTION

The overall combination of these differences in history and connection with the past make for what can be called a loss of historical connection in the United States. This is nothing less than a loss of culture. The term *loss of culture* is strange to sociology, where a liberal tradition has led to the wide acceptance of the idea, generally taken as fact, that all cultures are different but equal, and that all human beings have culture, because a cultureless human is not possible. This is true only in part. A human being without culture is impossible, but it is not true that all cultures are equal, equally effective and equally humanizing.

From an evolutionary perspective, all animals must connect effectively to the world if they are to persist as individuals and as species. Human beings, essentially freed from what we call instincts in animals, connect to the world through symbolic culture. In any human community which persists over a long period, a great deal of wisdom about the world — what it is and how it works, and how it can be manipulated, and how it is dangerous — is won through trial and error and long experience. In the United States over the past 200 years, the millions of immigrants from all over Europe and Africa have abandoned their ancestral culture. The new generations have abandoned the ways and wisdom of their parents and grandparents, and earlier forebears. Lost are their native language, folklore, wisdom, music, dancing, and arts. Such losses are not always total, and some elements are retained in many cases, but this is in bits and pieces. In a general sense, their past was totally lost.

It could be argued that loss of such items as language or music is not cultural loss. The Irish speak more English than Erse, and no one questions their sense of ethnic identity. Yet there is a difference. The Irish have made English their own, rendering and transforming it with the Gaelic rhythm and lilt. No successful American group has done anything similar. Only at the very bottom of the American class structure, with black and Hispanic Americans does one find English language with distinction. There may be regional accents in the United States, but these are not associated with ethnic groups. When ethnic groups came to the United States, their oral traditions stopped dead in a generation. The *old ways* were deliberately isolated and discarded in an effort to become "American." American ethnics are proud to acknowledge their ethnic origin, but they are also proud to be real "Americans," and do not want to be thought of as greenhorns just off the boat. Toward such new immigrants, even from their own old-world country, they condescend from the heights of their superior Americanism.

Americans have escaped their own individual ethnic histories and connections by getting lost in the ahistoricism built into American society on the basis of a European dream of

escape from history. This is the dream which followed the immigrants themselves to the New World, down to the present. The real bother in this is that an enacted tradition based on a human dream is different than a historical tradition based on a long history of informing human experiences. When this dream of unconnectedness has persisted as it has in the United States, the hard-won traditional wisdom which is being thrown away is never regained. The culture remains ever young and buoyant, full of hope and promise, but full of naivete as well. The glory of it is the typical American enthusiasm and frontier sensibility of being able to overpower the world. The cost is a built-in stupidity about life and the human condition and history.

CONCLUSION

These historical differences between Britain and the United States are what lie behind the the American preoccupation with identity, on the one hand, and the British ease about identity on the other hand. Acceptance of authority as against its lack, and smaller space as against space which seems boundless, ethic intensity as against ethnic diversity, the *past as actuality* as against the *past as idea*, and unbroken tradition as against tradition abandoned — these have made the difference. Britons are more sure of who they are, and so have a sense of surety and strength in themselves to be more individuated. In a remarkable reversal, there is in the people of Britain, much differentiation within sameness. The American situation is the reverse. Lacking a sense of surety about identiy, Americans are significantly less individuated and more conforming. While there is differentiation within sameness in Britain, there is much sameness within dissimilarity in the United States. Yet Americans can be much more individual. Less caught in history, community, and tradition, they can be more free if they dare, and when they dare, they are often explosively and startlingly creative. While such creativity may gain Americans much notoriety, and sometimes fame and fortune, it does not give them sureness of identity. Identity for human beings seems to come only from connection with unbroken historical community.

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TRENDS IN SOCIOECONOMIC RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION

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INTRODUCTION

Previous research on trends in residential segregation has focused on segregation based on race, indicating that a high level of residential segregation between blacks and whites persists in cities in the United States despite gradual decreases in recent decades (Taeuber, Taeuber 1965; Sorensen et al 1975; Van Valey et al 1977). Others examined residential segregation based on differences in socioeconomic status (Duncan, Duncan 1955a; Uyeke 1964; Erbe 1975; Farley 1977). Only Simkus (1978) has examined changes in the level of socioeconomic segregation over the census interval 1960-1970.

In this paper I assess changes in residential segregation based on socioeconomic status over the three decennial census intervals, 1940-1970. This period, including four decennial census years, is long enough to determine if minor shifts in socioeconomic segregation found for recent decades are part of longterm shifts, or are small fluctuations in a relatively stable residential pattern.

For the present analysis, data limitations preclude any explicit test of hypotheses derived from urban theory, but it has important implications for the theory of increasing societal scale as applied to the urban social environment (Greer 1962; Shevky, Bell 1955; Wilson, Wilson 1945; Hunter 1978; Berry, Kasarda 1977 Ch 4). An argument can be made that as the urban environment grows in size and complexity, increasing in scale, urban dwellers might have increasing motivation to carve out small homogeneous niches that are free from the uncertainties of the larger urban environment (St John 1981). This implies that residential segregation intensifies with increasing scale. We can view the homogeneous communities emerging in modern mass society as an adaptation to the scale of the urban environment. They allow urban residents to reduce the vagaries and gradations of the urban environment to fewer discrete categories. For their residents, *local community* defines "... an area relatively free of intruders ... where potential friends are to be found ... or cultivated. They minimize the prospects of status insult, and simplify the innumerable daily decisions dealing with spatial activities." (Berry, Kasarda 1977 78). Residential segregation should be positively related to increasing urban scale if this argument is correct. Longitudinal data presented here can only be suggestive as to the accuracy of this hypothesis.

DATA AND METHODS

This study applies longitudinal data for the interval 1940-1970 in which census tracts are the areal units for which residential segregation is calculated. Census tracts are small areas, averaging 4000 population, are relatively homogeneous, fixed, and with relatively stable boundaries. They are conceived to approximate urban neighborhoods (US Census Bureau 1970).

Most studies of residential segregation, whether they focus on race or on socioeconomic status, have been cross-sectional for a single point in time. Others that have included more than one point in time have not been truly longitudinal studies because they calculated the level of segregation existing in urban areas on the basis of all existing census tracts for each point in time. Because the Census Bureau continues to tract more territory as cities expand, and because they change the boundaries of some census tracts, such studies tend not be be based on comparable units over time. This would not be a problem if newly tracted areas had population compositions identical to older areas, or if tract boundary changes were random. But newly tracted areas tend to be suburban and quite different from older areas; and tract boundaries are often changed to preserve tract homogeneity, which is certainly *not* a random event.

To make this study truly longitudinal, three longitudinal data sets spanning all of parts of the 1940-1970 period have been constructed. The census tracts in each data set are limited to those in existence at the earliest date. This insures that for each data set, the urban area tracted is identical for all census dates. The tract boundaries also have been adjusted so that they remain constant over time. There are four types of boundary adjustments: 1) add

two or more tracts together at time 1 to equal a tract boundary at time 2; 2) divide a tract at time 1 into two or more tracts at time 2; 3) add two or more tracts together at time 1 to equal the area included by two or more tracts at time 2; 4) parcel portions of tracts at time 2 into a single tract at time 1. Adjustments 1, 2, and 3 can be exact, while adjustment 4 depends on a tract population being evenly distributed both heterogeneously and geographically. Only adjustments 1, 2, and 3 were needed to compile longitudinally comparable data for the 1940-1970 and the 1960-1970 periods. Compiling data for the 1950-1970 period required adjustment 4 because the suburban tracts of 1950 underwent considerable realignment before 1960, but were stable between 1960 and 1970.

The latter adjustment required tedious "hands-on" manipulation of data, which therefore was confined to one large metropolitan area, Chicago. The first data set comprises the 1940-1950-1960-1970 figures for 722 census tracts in an area for the central city of Chicago, holding consistent boundaries throughout the period. The second data set incorporates the figures for 1950-1960-1970, based on 1950 boundaries for 1021 census tracts including the central city and a substantial component of Chicago suburbs, including Gary, Hammond, and East Chicago, in Indiana. The third data set for 1960-1970 for 1218 census tracts adds more of Chicago's Illinois suburbs. The choice fell on Chicago because the census tract boundaries, particularly in the central city, have been more stable than in other comparable cities.

We will examine three types of socioeconomic residential segregation, based on three variable categories: 1) education; 2) occupation; and 3) family income. The census tract data contain information on educational composition of the adult population from age 25, and occupational composition of the male labor force with only minor classification differences. Family income data were collected only from 1950. From 1960 to 1970; tract socioeconomic composition can be determined separately for whites and nonwhites, allowing examination of trends in socioeconomic segregation separately for racial groups. It is instructive to examine these trends because the racial composition of the Chicago metropolitan area, especially the central city, has changed considerably during the period. The change has important implications for trends in socioeconomic segregation in the total population.

The measures of residential segregation reported here are based on the Duncan and Duncan (1955a,b) index of segregation. The index indicates how much persons with a particular trait, such as college education, are segregated from those with other traits relevant to the overall variable, in this case, education. The indexes of segregation for the several traits of the overall variable can be weighted and summed to produce an overall measure of the segregation based on a variable. Bogue and Bogue (1976) argue that the *relative index of segregation* (RIS), and the relative index of segregation for a *variable* (RISV) are influenced by population composition, and are therefore undesirable for longitudinal analysis of segregation where the population composition changes over time. The present analysis relies on relative measures of segregation which adjust the index of segregation (IS) and the index of segretation for a variable for changes in population composition. The calculation of the three measures, *index of segregation (IS), relative index of segregation (RIS),* and the *relative index of segregation for a variable (RISV)* are as follows: **Index of Segregation:**

$$IS = .5 \sum_{k=1}^{t} \left| \left[(c_i^k / C_i) - (c_v^k / C_v) \right] \times 100 \right|$$

v = general category, as *education.*
i = subcategory, as *college, high school, grade school* in education.
c = cell count, persons.
C = total count, persons.

The *Index of Segregation* is adjusted to yield a *Relative Index of Segregation (RIS)*: For each variable, v, let Q be the ratio;

$$Q = C_i / C_v$$

For $Q \leq .5$, $RIS = IS / (1 - Q)$;
For $Q > .5$, $RIS = IS / Q$

The *Relative Index of Segregation for a Variable*:

$$RISV = \sum_{i=1}^{m} (RIS \times Q)$$

m = total characteristics, i, in variable.

TABLE 1. LONGITUDINAL SEGREGATION INDEXES BY INCOME LEVEL (RIS) AND INCOME (RISV) FOR CHICAGO, 1950-1970

Family Income (Quartiles)	Relative Index of Segregation (RIS) Tracted 1940; 722 tracts			Tracted 1950; 1021 tracts		Tracted 1960; 1218 tracts	
	1950	1960	1970	1950	1970	1960	1970
High	32.4	39.4	40.8	32.7	42.5	40.1	41.5
Medium high	22.5	21.4	23.6	21.8	22.8	19.5	21.1
Medium low	11.4	14.2	14.7	14.1	14.7	17.9	18.7
Low	27.4	30.1	29.6	28.1	31.7	29.8	31.8
Income RISV	**19.9**	**22.0**	**22.8**	**21.3**	**23.4**	**20.8**	**21.7**

TABLE 2. LONGITUDINAL SEGREGATION INDEXES BY EDUCATION LEVEL (RIS) AND EDUCATION (RISV) FOR CHICAGO, 1940-1970

Education Levels	Relative Index of Segragation (RIS)	Tracted 1940; 722 tracts			Tracted 1950; 1021 tracts		Tracted 1960 1218 tracts	
	1940	1950	1960	1970	1950	1970	1960	1970
College 4+	39.6	37.2	38.2	42.3	39.6	41.5	38.9	39.4
College 1-3	30.8	29.5	23.2	23.8	26.8	23.1	23.7	22.2
High school 4	27.1	17.3	14.5	12.8	15.9	14.0	14.8	14.2
High school 1-3	10.6	8.4	8.3	13.0	9.7	15.5	10.1	15.7
Elementary 8 [a]	15.8	14.3	13.0	15.7	15.1	18.3	14.5	18.4
Elementary 5-7 [b]	24.8	21.5	19.7	20.8	22.4	27.0	32.4	34.6
Elementary 1-4	36.2	29.5	29.0	26.8	31.0	33.1	36.2	33.2
None	50.6	42.3	29.9	28.0	43.7	31.8		
Education RISV	**22.3**	**18.8**	**17.0**	**18.6**	**19.6**	**21.1**	**18.6**	**20.9**

[a, b,] 1940 elementary grade categories are: [a] 7-8; [b] 5-6.

TABLE 3. LONGITUDINAL SEGREGATION INDEXES BY OCCUPATION LEVEL (RIS) AND OCCUPATION (RISV) FOR CHICAGO, 1940-1970

Occupation Levels	Relative Index of Segregation (RIS)	Tracted 1940; 722 tracts			Tracted 1950; 1021 tracts		Tracted 1960 1218 tracts	
	1940	1950	1960	1970	1950	1970	1960	1970
Professional	30.4	28.8	27.7	32.0	30.0	29.2	27.2	27.0
Managerial	28.1	28.2	32.4	30.8	28.9	32.1	31.4	30.0
Sales [a]	--	28.3	30.5	28.7	28.1	28.0	28.0	26.2
Clerical	19.8	9.3	11.3	11.1	11.9	13.4	14.8	14.1
Craftsmen	16.9	18.3	20.1	19.3	18.6	19.5	19.2	19.1
Operatives	21.2	19.9	21.6	23.8	20.9	26.4	22.5	25.7
Service	23.8	34.0	31.7	23.0	23.8	19.4	23.8	19.6
Laborers					34.1	28.4	31.7	23.0
Occupat. RISV	**22.3**	**18.8**	**17.0**	**18.6**	**23.2**	**24.0**	**23.6**	**23.2**

[a] No Sales category in 1940.

RESULTS

Measures of residential segregation calculated for levels of family income are shown in Table 1, which shows a clear trend of increasing economic residential segregation. For both territorial bases, the segregation of income levels (RIS) increased consistently over time except for medium high income in the central city longitudinal data. When the economic information is summarized in single overall measures of segregation (RISV) the increasing economic segregation is again apparent. Consistent increases are found in all territorial bases. The pattern of segregation by level of income conforms to a U-shape; the extreme levels of income are more segregated than the mid-levels. The extremes also display greater increase over time.

Data for residential segregation based on education differences are shown in Table 2. These data indicate that trends in the level of educational segregation are less consistent over time than those for economic segregation. The summary measures of segregation (RISV) indicate that segregation increased somewhat between 1950 and 1970 when calculated for the data that is based longitudinally on the area tracted for 1950-1970, for the central city plus major suburbs. For the 1940-1970 data for the central city, there is no consistent increase. And when segregation is calculated by level of education, there are many exceptions to the trend of increase. In fact, levels of educational segregation in the central city remained fairly stable for the period.

Stability over time rather than consistent increase or decrease also describes trends in occupational segregation in Chicago from 1940-1970, as shown in Table 3. Summary measures of occupational segregation (RISV) display no substantial fluctuation. Examination by occupation levels (RIS) also reveals no consistent change.

The data presented to this point indicate that economic segregation increased in Chicago during the 1940-1970 period, while segregation based on education and occupation remained stable with relatively little change. It is income, and not education or occupation that is directly tied to the housing market. The considerable discrepancy that exists between income, education, and occupation as measures of socioeconomic status necessitates that many people with high education and prestigious occupations cannot afford housing in residential areas consistent with their other socioeconomic status characteristics. The life styles people wish to pursue are dependent on their financial capacity.

The absence of clear trends in educational and occupational residential segregation in Chicago from 1940 to 1970 may be at least partly the result of Chicago's changing racial composition. So far, all measures of segregation that have been reported pertain to the total population, both white and nonwhite living in the particular tracted area. However, the proportion of Chicago's population that is nonwhite has increased considerably in the 40-year interval, particularly in the central city area tracted in 1940 which conforms closely to the actual political boundaries of Chicago proper. The population ratios are shown in Table 4. If the level of socioeconomic segregation among the growing nonwhite population is lower than it is among the declining white population, then socioeconomic segregation in each group could increase over time while decreasing for the total metropolitan population.

There is considerable support for the proposition that there is less socioeconomic segregation among the nonwhite than the white population. For example, blacks receive less return in neighborhood quality defined in terms of the socioeconomic status of neighbors, and for their own socioeconomic resources than whites (Villemez 1980). Presumably, this results from middle and upper class blacks being "channeled" into predominantly black neighborhoods through housing market practices. Blacks may be reluctant to move into higher quality neighborhoods if those neighborhoods are predominantly white (Farley et al 1978). They may also fail to take advantage of known and affordable housing opportunities in white neighborhoods for fear that they will not be socially accepted (Farley 1980). Whites may actively try to prevent blacks from gaining access to housing in their neighborhoods, maintaining the strict lines of racial residential segregation (Berry, Kasarda 1977).

TABLE 4. POPULATION SHIFTS FOR CENSUS TRACTED AREAS FOR CHICAGO, 1940-1970

Tracted 1040 722 tracts	Total population	Nonwhite population	Percent nonwhite
1940	3 384 833	281 188	8.3
1950	3 591 523	509 422	14.2
1960	3 484 517	835 775	24.0
1970	3 312 402	1 143 375	34.5
Tracted 1950 1021 tracts			
1950	5 082 697	596 034	11.7
1970	5 836 702	1 334 375	22.9
Tracted 1960 1218 tracts			
1960	6 564 286	1 019 772	15.5
1970	7 606 379	1 404 716	18.5

Source: 1940 and 1950 data, Social Development Center, Community and Family Study Center. 1960 and 1970 data, US Census Bureau, 1977a,b.

Moreover, when upper and middle class blacks do move into white neighborhoods, they are frequently of higher socioeconomic status than their new neighbors (Denowitz 1980). These factors may all contribute to relatively lower levels of socioeconomic segregation among the black population. In turn, as the proportion of Chicago's nonwhite population increases, they may also contribute to a lower level of socioeconomic segregation in the total population, even though socioeconomic segregation might be increasing in both the white and nonwhite populations considered separately.

Segegation indexes for family income, education, and occupation, calculated separately for whites and nonwhites are shown in Table 5. The relative index of segregation for family income indicates a higher level of economic residential segregation in 1970 than in 1960 for both whites and nonwhites. Furthermore, economic segregation among nonwhites was higher in both 1960 and 1970 than among whites. This particular finding, though contrary to what was expected, is consistent with the previous result that economic segregation in the total population did increase consistently over time. This is an example in which changing racial composition contributes to a higher overall level of socioeconomic segregation.

TABLE 5. SEGREGATION INDEXES FOR INCOME, EDUCATION, & OCCUPATION FOR WHITE & NONWHITE CHICAGO POPULATION

Family Income (Quartiles)	Relative Index of Segregation			
	White		Nonwhite	
	1960	1970	1960	1970
High	23.5	25.2	28.7	32.5
Medium high	11.9	12.4	18.3	21.6
Medium low	17.7	18.6	11.3	11.4
Low	22.2	25.2	24.4	30.7
Income RISV	**18.4**	**19.7**	**20.1**	**23.4**
Education				
College 4+	38.6	38.2	42.0	47.8
College 1-3	23.8	21.6	24.8	27.0
High school 4	13.7	14.7	16.3	14.8
High school 1-3	10.7	15.4	9.8	13.0
Elementary 8	15.1	19.7	10.7	15.1
Elementary 5-7	20.1	27.5	15.1	19.5
Elementary 1-4	30.5	34.8	21.4	23.4
None	38.9	35.4	26.8	30.6
Education RISV	**18.4**	**20.9**	**15.9**	**18.6**
Occupation				
Professional	25.4	24.8	41.1	41.1
Managerial	29.2	27.7	35.4	33.9
Sales	26.0	24.7	30.6	31.2
Clerical	14.5	13.5	21.9	19.8
Craftsmen	17.1	18.6	15.9	16.5
Operatives	23.0	25.0	13.0	15.8
Service	19.8	17.4	19.7	18.7
Laborers	26.7	21.1	21.3	22.7
Occupation RISV	**22.0**	**21.9**	**19.2**	**20.7**

Residential segregation based on education increased significantly within both the white and the nonwhite populations between 1960 and 1970. In addition, there was a higher level of educational segregation within the white population than within the nonwhite population in both 1960 and 1970. In fact, the 1970 level of educational segregation among nonwhites was only slightly greater than the 1960 level among whites. Thus, because the proportion of the total population that is nonwhite increased between 1960 and 1970, increases in the level of educational segregation calculated for the total population are lower than increases calculated for each race separately.

The 1960 and 1970 results for occupational

segregation calculated within races are virtually identical to those for educational segregation. The only difference is that the level of occupational segregation calculated for the white population remained the same between 1960 and 1970, instead of increasing. The evidence presented here provides support for the notion that the changing racial composition of Chicago did influence the level of socioeconomic segregation calculated for the total population, independently of changing levels of socioeconomic segregation within each racial group.

CONCLUSION

These findings have important implications for the theory of increasing societal scale as it is applied to urban areas. First, it must be noted that this research does not constitute a direct test of the theory. It deals specifically with only one case, and no attempt has been made to measure an increase in scale. Before the theory can be tested adequately, more cities need to be examined and measures of increasing scale should be introduced. However, Chicago does represent a case to be examined, and is a city that did undoubtedly increase in scale over the course of the study period, given that population size and organizational complexity are two dimensions of scale.

But the data for Chicago do not indicate that a clear trend of clustering in homogeneous enclaves accompanied its increasing scale. The failure to find this trend may be largely a result of changing racial population composition. It may also be due to the failure of the theory of increasing scale to account adequately for urban residential patterns. The further possibility exists, that socioeconomic status is being replaced by other criteria as the basis for residential segregation. Life styles, stage in the life cycle, and ethnic pluralism may be cross-cutting socioeconomic status as determinants of residential location. If this is the case, we may find that segregation lays a foundation for homogeneous clustering as an adaptation to an urban environment that is increasing in scale. The establishment of this foundation might be responsible for the persistent levels of socioeconomic segregation found throughout the 1940-1970 period. However, once this foundation is established, life styles, stage in the life cycle, and ethnic pluralism may take over as more salient bases for segregation. The emergence of lifestyles and life cycle based communities as total living packages, and the rebirth of ethnic identity in the 1970's might well be symptoms of this trend. If this is the case, then residential segregation as an adaptation to increasing urban scale should focus on new sets of discriminatory criteria other than socioeconomic status. Furthermore, because life styles are largely purchasable commodities, especially in terms of living arrangements, increased segregation as an adapatation to increasing urban scale is likely to be concentrated among the middle and upper classes. To examine this possibility on a large scale would require census tract or comparable demographic data for socioeconomic status cross-classified by stage in the life cycle and life style variables.

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ATTITUDES TOWARD TECHNOLOGY AND SCIENCE IN A BIBLEBELT CITY

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INTRODUCTION

In recent years the crisis of science is thought to derive from waning public approval for science and technology (Gingerich 1975). This contradicts the view of some historians that the American public by tradition, equates science with progress (Rosenberg 1961; Handlin 65). Even so, such general approval would not necessarily indicate approval for specific technological and scientific issues. Others propose that the purported crisis of science is not a general anti-science crisis, but instead, consists of various controversies (David 1980; Hannay, Nunn 1974; Shils 1974). Opinion surveys reveal that the public is ambivalent. Despite general approval for science, there is evident disapproval and misunderstanding on some specific technological and scientific issues, which leads to speculation that the public may lack any coherent structure of opinion on these issues (Etzioni, Nunn 1974).

Previous studies have concentrated on general affect toward technology and science or on specific issues, without demonstrating a clear structure of public opinion (Mazur 1977; Taviss 1972; Goldman, Platt, Kaplan 1973; LaPorte, Metlay 1975; Anderson, Lipsey 1978). The southern Biblebelt region has not been studied. Several prior samples have been drawn from the west coast and from the northeast. Historically, demographically, and economically, the southern Biblebelt region has been the locus of several conservative movements, including some against secular scientific trends (Kahn 1974; Watkins, Perry 1974; Numbers 1982; Lo 1982; Thompson 1975).

PURPOSE AND METHOD

Earlier research suggests that the public is generally confident of science. Despite a decline in public confidence toward most social institutions, in recent years, science has risen to rank above government, business, and labor unions, and just below medicine (Mazur 1977). Our purpose is: 1) to measure general opinions on technology and science in a Biblebelt setting; 2) to measure opinions on specific technological and scientific issues. Of particular interest are issues thought to concern the Biblebelt region, namely, evolution and genetic engineering, which are anathema to many socially conservative groups. Finally, past studies suggest that public opinion is likely to be multidimensional. We will apply factor analysis to establish a structure of opinion on technology and science.

We surveyed a sample of adults of the metropolitan area of Tulsa, Oklahoma, which has many social, economic, and political characteristics prominent in recent controversies over technology and science. Tulsa has a high technology economy in petrochemicals, aeronautics, and information processing. It is dominated by powerful evangelical religious institutions. With a metropolitan population of about 500,000, it is one of the larger cities in the Biblebelt, of which it claims to be the "buckle." Concern is evident in that the Oklahoma legislature did not pass a "creation science" law because to do so would have required equal time for evolution science (Godfrey 1981). Tulsa is preparing for a major controversy over a proposed nuclear power plant. Finally, the city is situated near several highly polluted waste disposal sites, one of which was called the worst in the nation by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency.

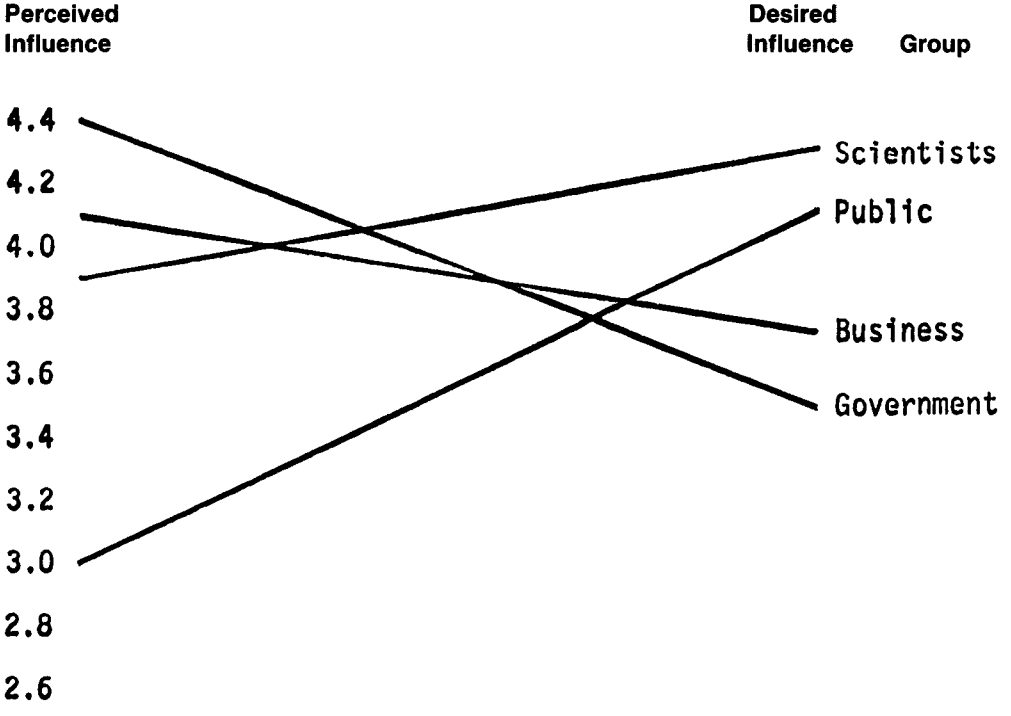
Trained telephone interviewers administered a 39-item questionnaire which we developed, to 308 respondents. These respondents constituted 54 percent of those contacted for an interview. Our findings suggest that respondents do not clearly distinguish between technology and science, as is the case in earlier studies, so we use the combining term, *tech-science*.

RESULTS

General Opinions. Initially, strong approval was given for both technology and science: 89 percent said that tech-science is important, or very important in their lives; and 85 percent said that tech-science has made the world better; 74 percent agreed that tech-science should be encouraged, and not controlled. Only 4 percent thought that tech-science is dangerous, and that it should be closely

FIGURE 1: PERCEIVED INFLUENCE IN TECHNOLOGICAL DECISION MAKING

(Scale 1-5. All groups: For difference between *perceived* and *desired*, p = .001)



controlled. They also thought that scientists should have more influence in decision making about technological advances than at present, and more influence than the government, business, or even the public should have, as shown in Figure 1, where the rating differences for all four groups is significant at the .001 probability level.

With respect to the general affect, this Biblebelt sample is similar to samples from other regions of the country in its strong approval of technology and science.

Specific Issues. Approval of tech-science is also extended to such specific issues as nuclear energy, the space program, and modern methods of contraception. Striking exceptions occur regarding genetic engineering and laetrile, where from 22 to 51 percent of the respondents are unsure about their acceptability and appropriateness, as shown in Table 1.

On other issues, respondents disagreed with established scientific opinion or they were uncertain. Thus, 44 percent thought that some questions should *not* be pursued by science compared to 41 percent who thought that science should be permitted to explore freely. In open-end questioning it was typical for respondents to point out that investigation into human origins, genetic engineering, and the like should not be continued. And 72 percent agreed that there is a "moral crisis" in the world today, while 33 percent thought that science is culpable, or were unsure of the complicity of science in the moral "crisis."

To determine the extent to which the respondents grant authority to scientific opinion, they were asked to judge two issues on which there is no substantial difference of opinion within science: 1) Is astrology a science? 2) Is evolution theory valid? Accepting astrology as a "science," or rejecting evolution theory, or uncertainty about the two would suggest a marked departure from opinion in the science community. And 48 percent either accepted or were unsure about the scientific validity of astrology, and 60 percent rejected or were unsure on evolution theory.

TABLE 1: PUBLIC OPINION OF TECHNOLOGY (Percent)

Technology Items	very bad	some bad	un-sure	some good	very good
Nuclear energy	8	11	22	36	23
Fertilize in vitro	32	21	23	19	5
Laetrile	8	11	53	22	6
Genetic engineering	21	15	38	17	9
Space program	3	6	9	36	46
New contraception ways	7	7	10	29	48

TABLE 2: OPINION ON SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AGAINST TECHNOLOGY (Percent)

Social Movement	dang-erous	bad	un-sure	good	valu-able
Against Nuclear Power	9	22	31	25	13
Against Pesticides	4	20	31	34	11
Against Supersonic Transport	6	27	40	22	5
Against Genetic engineering	5	20	39	28	8
Favor Government Control of Pollution	6	26	15	38	15

Respondents were also questioned about various anti-technology movements pertaining to nuclear energy, pesticides, the supersonic transport plane, genetic engineering, and the movement favoring government control of pollution. The results appear in Table 2. The plurality of respondents favored all of these movements except the movement against supersonic transport. However, more than 30 percent of the sample was unsure about the four anti-technology movements.

TECHNOLOGY DECISION MAKING

In technology decision making, government and business were thought to have the greatest influence, with scientists third and the public fourth. When asked how much influence each of these groups *should have*, the rankings were almost reversed, as shown in Figure 1. Moreover, 75 percent of the respondents indicated that the public *does not* have sufficient knowledge about technology and science. Thus, the data suggest an image of an alienated public. The respondents desire control, but recognize their lack of power and information. They think that power resides in dominant national institutions.

STRUCTURE OF OPINIONS TOWARD TECHNOLOGY AND SCIENCE

Factor Analysis of the Data. Factor analysis of the 29 opinion items yielded 9 principal axes with eigenvalues of 1.00 or greater. Varimax rotation was applied and it accounted for 58 percent of the total variance in the 9 factors. These factors have clear structure, with only three items receiving substantial secondary loadings. Items were assigned to factors on which they had at least $\pm .40$ loadings, including 2 items which fell slightly short of this criterion. Of the 9 varimax factors, 3 were omitted because each included only one item. The three excluded items were: 1) appropriateness of modern methods of contraception; 2) validity of astrology as a science; 3) validity of laetrile as a treatment for cancer.

The six remaining multi-item factors can be called either "operative" or "nominal," because they appear to be derived from the similarity and placement of items, and therefore, are probably dependent on the construction of the questionnaire. These are therefore eliminated from further discussion. And factors 2, 5, and 6 are defined as "operative" because they include diverse items, and appear not to be significantly dependent on instrumentation. See Table 3.

Operative Factors. Factor 2, *Life Processes* is defined by 6 items pertaining to social and living systems: in-vitro fertilization, genetic engineering, the social movement against genetic engineering, areas of inquiry that science should avoid, the validity of evolutionary theory, and the existence of a "moral crisis." We interpret Factor 2 as follows: Those who approve of in-vitro fertilization will approve of genetic engineering, disapprove of social movements against genetic engineering, not believe that areas of inquiry should be avoided, regard evolution theory as valid, and reject the idea of "moral crisis." Factor 2 suggests the current controversies, particularly that of creationism, which often divide evangelical Christians from other Americans. However, it is important to note that the *life process* theme is not associated with other public opinions about tech-science. Factor 2 indicates that

TABLE 3: MAJOR FACTORS IN OPINION TOWARD TECHNOLOGY AND SCIENCE

Factor Names	Items	Loadings
1. Influence in technology decision making	public influence	.68
	business influence	.71
	government influence	.70
	scientists' influence	.61
	desired public influence	.56
	desired business influence	.68
	desired government influence	.72
	desired scientist's influence	.61
2. Life Processes	approve in-vitro fertilization	.72
	approve genetic engineering	.79
	movement against genetic engineering	-.53
	Are there areas to leave alone?	-.60
	Is evolution valid?	.45
	Is there a moral crisis?	-.51
3. Social Movement against Technology	approve nuclear technology	-.51
	movement against nuclear energy	.80
	movement against pesticides	.63
	movement against supersonic transport	.54
	movement against genetic engineering	.35
	favoring government control of pollution	.58
4. Action Stance toward Science and Technology	general regard for technology	.81
	general regard for science	.86
	Has tech-science made the world better?	-.45
5. Products of Science and Technology	Is tech-science important in your life?	.66
	approve of space program	.68
	Has tech-science made the world better?	.48
	Has science caused a moral crisis?	-.41
6. Public Power	desired public influence	.47
	Does the public know enough about tech-science?	-.70
	Is there a moral crisis?	.35

"creationism" is not necessarily part of a general movement against tech-science, but appears to be an independent aspect of evangelical belief. This underscores research showing that activists among "scientific creationists" tend to work in high technology industries and do not disapprove of these endeavors (Nelkin 1977 71).

Factor 5, *Products of Science and Technology* is defined by four items referring to the importance of tech-science in one's life, approval of the space program, whether tech-science has improved the world, and whether science has brought about a "moral crisis." Persons affirming these items are likely to believe that tech-science is important, and that it has improved the world, and are likely not to believe that science has caused a "moral crisis." Because the space program has generated many consumer spin-offs, it appears that Factor 5 reflects approval for such scientific and technological innovation.

Factor 6, *Public Power* is defined by three items concerning how much influence the public should have in technology decision making, how much information the public has

about tech-science, and whether a "moral crisis" exists. This factor indicates that those who believe that the public should have greater influence are likely to believe that the public does not have sufficient knowledge about tech-science, and that a "moral crisis" exists.

DISCUSSION

Our findings are similar to those obtained in other regions of the country. Ambivalence is indicated. Although tech-science is approved in general and respecting some specific issues, there is also substantial disagreement and uncertainty about about established scientific opinion. Acceptance of tech-science is not necessarily contingent on accurate understanding (Tobey 1971).

Disparity between public and professional conceptions of tech-science is inevitable, particularly in light of the heterogentity of opinions and beliefs found in modern society (Berger, Berger, Kellner 1974). And there are influences contributing to public ambivalence. Dissemination of technological and scientific information is largely dominated by the mass media institutions, and not by the scientific community. Critics speculate that media preoccupation with discrete stories, rather than with continuing trends and processes results in fragmented public understanding. There may be other factors in public ambivalence and lack of an integrated conceptual structure about tech-science, but the mass media contribute to the situation.

Respondents do not have an organized structure of opinion toward tech-science, as is evident from the factor analysis of the data.

Factors 2, 5, and 6 illustrate patterns of opinion. Factor 2, *Life Processes* parallels recent efforts of activist groups to persuade and mobilize the public against in-vitro fertilization, genetic engineering, and evolution theory. Moreover, these issues are receiving considerable media attention. Thus, it seems that opinions toward tech-science may vacillate as groups vie for media attention and as various issues are presented as newsworthy.

Factor 5, *Products of Science and Technology* is largely defined by items that require only general opinions about tech-science. It may represent little more than gratuitous approval for the consumer conveniences that arise from tech-science.

Finally, Factor 6 *Public Power* underscores the relation between the public and science. Neither is Factor 6 linked with an identifiable social movement, nor does it concern the material rewards of tech-science. Instead, it stresses alienation and detachment, and the desire for greater information and control, and perhaps, the respondents' desire for more organized understanding about tech-science.

CONCLUSION

The data provides no evidence of regionalism in opinions toward tech-science. Evolution and genetic engineering are associated with the Life Processes factor. This suggests that issues pertaining to morality and the basis for human life are thought to be outside the domain of scientific inquiry. This wish to control and repudiate both the results and even the right to conduct scientific inquiry has often appeared in the history of fundamentalist Protestant and Catholic hierarchies.

From this, one would expect the religious fundamentalist regions of the country to be particularly rejective of the idea of evolution and the practice of genetic engineering. But in contrast to a recent National Assessment of Education Progress survey, our data show that the position of the Tulsa sample is no more hostile than that of the nation as a whole (Miller 1982). The even split in the sample on the question of evolution is commensurate with the results of national surveys (Gallup 1977, 1981; Christianity Today 1979). This Biblebelt sample is actually somewhat more accepting than are the British on the issue of evolution (Current Opinion 1973).

Tulsa is a metropolitan center with high-technology industries tied to the national economy, which are expected to influence opinions toward tech-science. At the same time, Tulsa is dominated by major fundamentalist organizations, with 79 percent of the sample native to the region, 30 percent of the sample religiously fundamentalist, and 45 percent being politically conservative. Tulsa is characteristic of the Biblebelt, and the opinions of our respondents reflect opinions of the region.

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THE DIAGNOSTIC MANUAL (DSM-III) AND SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE

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INTRODUCTION

Controversy among social work educators and practitioners regarding the use or abuse of diagnostic labels has been revived with publication of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (1980, 3rd ed) by the American Psychiatric Association. We will use the common reference, *DSM-III* for this manual. For years, labeling theorists and critics of the prevailing medical model of therapy have warned mental health practitioners about the negative consequences of applying diagnostic labels to institutionalized persons, to those in therapy, or to those who fail to conform to society's expectations (Scheff 1974; Szasz 1961, 1976; Rosenhan 1973). Nonetheless, while the social work profession has remained somethat divided on the issue of diagnostic labels, the prestige and authority of the medical profession have continued to influence many functional aspects of social workers' practice, including that of diagnosis.

THE ISSUES

According to the American Psychiatric Association (APA) Task Force on Nomenclature and Statistics, whose job it was to guide the development of their diagnostic manual, DSM-III, the purpose was to classify and describe mental disorders (Spitzer et al 1980 152). In addition to defining mental disorders, the Text Editor, Williams (1981), who is also a social worker, notes that DSM-III includes the official codes and corresponding terms for all mental disorders recognized by the APA, and operational definitions and descriptions for each category of disorder. In Williams' view, the manual "... truly represents the most advanced development in diagnosis (and) ... Social workers must become familiar with DSM-III." (Williams 1981 101, 106) Williams feels that one of the most important new features of DSM-III which is particularly relevant for social work, is the comprehensive multiaxial system for evaluation. The DSM-III is said to provide: 1) comprehensive operational definitions of the recognized disorders; 2) greater diagnostic reliability than before; 3) a new 5-axis classification system. The system provides a comprehensive psycho-bio-social approach to evaluation (Williams 1981 102).

Williams cites three specific reasons for her position. First, if accurate diagnosis suggests the most effective treatment, and if social workers are responsible for diagnosis and treatment planning, then social workers:

> must become familiar with current standards for acceptable practice. Second, to maintain their position as respected members of multidisciplinary treatment teams, social workers must be able to communicate with their medical colleagues ... Third, DSM-III can serve as a comprehensive tool for learning ... about psychopathology ... and about mental disroders." (Williams 1981 101)

On one side is the position that social workers must be knowledgable about the DSM-III in order to improve the quality of diagnosis and the quality of treatment, and be able more effectively to communicate with other mental health professionals such as psychiatrists and clinical psychologists. Opposed is the argument that diagnositic labels of mental disorders are not within the purview of social workers, and further, that labeling itself has negative consequences. In particular, there are data suggesting that women, minorities of color, and lower income groups tend to be labeled with greater frequency and more pejoratively than other client groups (Dohrenwend, Chin-Shong 1967; Brenner 1982 48). However, the addition of Axis 4 and Axis 5 to the diagnostic manual, DSM-III while not a part of the "official" diagnosis, may be an attempt to offset some of the concerns expressed by the labeling critics. Specifically, Axis 4 provides a means of evaluating the severity of psychosocial stressors in the 12 months preceding the onset or worsening of the disorder. Axis 5 provides a way to assess the individual's adaptive functioning during the previous year. Our question now is: "To what extent are the five axes of the DSM-III diagnostic manual being utilized by social work practitioners?"

PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY

This is an exploratory-descriptive study that

provides information about current utilization patterns, and perceived advantages and disadvantages of DSM-III among practicing social workers. The research objectives are: 1) Identify and describe the extent to which DSM-III is used by social work practitioners in a variety of settings. 2) Determine the influence of practice settings and practitioner demographic variables on utilization or non-utilization of the DSM-III by social workers. 3) Identify and describe advantages and disadvantages of DSM-III utilization for social workers. 4) Explore the perceived influences of the DSM-III nosology on social work practice, with particular attention to Axis 4 and Axis 5.

METHOD

Study Instrument and Data Collection Procedures. A 15-item self-administered questionnaire was developed to gather data on utilization patterns and perceived advantages and disadvantages of DSM-III, and demographic and descriptinve professional variables from a sample of social workers. Respondents were solicited at a recent state conference of the National Association of Social Workers (NASW).

This approach was taken in an attempt to maximize the probability of obtaining a representative sample of social work practitioners across the state of Texas from a variety of practice settings, and with a heterogeneous utilization pattern relative to DSM-III. The respondents were sampled in two groups at the conference: a pre-conference workshop on DSM-III and a general meeting of the Texas Society of Hospital Social Work Directors. A total of 140 questionnaires was distributed, and 53 questionnaires were returned yielding a response rate of 38 percent.

FINDINGS

Study Sample. For data analysis, the study sample was divided according to frequency of DSM-III use as *Always*, 26 percent; *Sometimes*, 28 percent, and *Never*, 45 percent. With few exceptions, all respondents were Masters' level social workers. Demographic, professional, and work setting variables are presented by group in Table 1. There are statistically significant differences using one-way analysis of variance on all age

TABLE 1: CHARACTERISTICS OF STUDY SAMPLE BY USE OF DIAGNOSTIC MANUAL

	Always n = 14	Sometimes n = 15	Never n = 24
Age*			
Mean	42	37	34.5
Range	24-58	26-55	27-48
Sex			
Male	7	7	6
Female	7	8	18
Years in Practice*			
Mean	12.3	5.2	6.6
Range	1-34	2-10	1-13
Years in Position*			
Mean	5.9	2.3	3.0
Range	1-19	1-5	1-9

*p ◄ .05, 1-way analysis of variance

TABLE 2: PERCEIVED ADVANTAGES OF DSM-III BY FREQUENCY OF USE

	Always n = 14	Sometimes n = 15	Percent n = 29
Meets agency requirement	11	2	45
Enhances diagnosis	10	12	76
Saves time recording	5	—	17
Communication with colleagues	9	9	62
Treatment planning	9	9	62
Understanding patients	9	8	59
Insurance reimpursement	5	7	41
Total responses	**58**	**47**	

TABLE 3: DISADVANTAGES OF DSM-III BY FREQUENCY OF USE

	Always n = 14	Sometimes n = 15	Percent n = 29
Labels clients	2	7	31
Value conflicts	1	3	14
Too little training	--	2	7
None	11	5	55
Total responses	14	17	

variables between groups. As shown in Table 1, the older respondents were significantly more likely to be the more frequent users of DSM-III, with the youngest respondents in the *Never* use category. Consistent with age findings, the more frequent users also were significantly more likely to have the most years in practice, averaging 12.3 years, compared with 5.2 years for the *Sometimes* users. Using the Neuman-Keuls test for within-group differences, the older, more frequent users had significantly more years in their position, with 5.9 years average, compared to 2.3 years, average time in position. No differences were found in work setting by frequency of DSM-III usage. In terms of theoretical orientation, nearly half, or 45 percent of the respondents described themselves as *eclectic*, followed by *psychodynamic*, 17 percent; *behavioral*, 6 percent, and *Gestalt*, 2 percent.

Utilization of DSM-III.

Is is surprising to find that only 29 of the 53 respondents, or 55 percent, report using DSM-III in their practice. We did not expect this, with two-thirds of the sample employed in hospital settings. This is more interesting considering responses to the question: "Who determines use of DSM-III?" Nearly all, or 93 percent of those who always use DSM-III are required to do so by their agencies. Among the *Sometimes* users, 47 percent chose to use the DSM-III by individual option. In all, 72 percent of the usage is because it is required, and 28 percent choose it as a matter of preference.

Advantages & Disadvantages of DSM-III.

To identify and describe th perceived advantages and disadvantages of DSM-III, respondents were asked to indicate specific advantages and disadvantages of the system. Table 2 provides a summary of those responses according to frequency of use. Three-fourths of the respondents said that use of DSM-III enhances their diagnostic skills. One said that it helps to differentiate between diagnoses, and another said that it lends specific criteria to the diagnostic process. And 62 percent said that DSM-III facilitates communication with colleagues and the development of treatment plans, while 59 percent said that it helps in understanding patients. One observed that it was helpful to look at all five axes in the diagnosis. Only 45 percent cited *meeting agency requirements* as an advantage, and most of these were in the *always use* group. The only respondents who cited time saving in case recording as an advantage were in the *always use* group. Less than half saw the DSM-III as an advantage in receiving third party payments.

Four clear responses evolved in relation to perceived disadvantages (Table 3). Most, or 55 percent saw no disadvantages, but those who did see disadvantages cited the effect of labeling clients as such. Most of these negative perceptions came from the *never* and *sometimes* use groups. Clearly those who always use the DSM-III, and are required to do so by their agency support use of the DSM-III system, but here are some specific issues being raised in relation to DSM-III. One respondent was concerned that the therapist could easily get caught up with clinical diagnosis, and reify the label rather than treat the unique person. Another thought that DSM-III tends to be a standardized method to classify and quantify human behavior.

Axis 4 and Axis 5.

Because of the potential relevance to social work practice for Axis 4, *Severity of Psychosocial Stressors*, and Axis 5, *Prior Adaptive Functioning* for treatment planning, all users of DSM-III were asked to identify from a select list, the specific purposes for using each axis. Using the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test, findings indicated that users significantly more frequently selected "definition of current condition" and "planning treatment" as the major reasons for asking about stressful events ($D = 0.15$, $p < .05$) When respondents were asked to rank their responses related to the purpose of these axes, 1-4 from most to least useful, more respondents chose "definition of condition" than any other category. This finding was statistically significant by the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test ($D = 0.97$, $p < .05$). The same responses were solicited for Axis 5 with similar findings. Again, most respondents selected "development of prognosis" and "planning treatment" as the purpose for asking about prior social functioning ($D = 0.97$, $p < .05$). However, when asked to rank the usefulness of their choices, respondents ranked "definition of condition" significantly higher than "planning treatment

(D = 0.99, p ◄ .05). In both cases, DSM-III users appear to be familiar with the appropriate purpose for Axes 4 and 5, but do not relate this to their usefulness in practice. For this study, verification of current diagnostic label is the most important use of Axis 4 and Axis 5.

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

Only about half of the social work practitioners who responded to the questionnaire are current users of the diagnostic manual, DSM-III, and among those, the use of the manual is dictated by the employing agency. No one theoretical orientation was found to distinguish users from non-users. Older and more experienced respondents were more likely to use it than were younger and inexperienced practitioners. Enhancement of diagnostic skills was the most frequently cited advantage of DSM-III, but most repondents reported multiple advantages, which raises the question of whether attempts were made to discriminate among the various uses of DSM-III. The 29 social work practitioners who use the instrument gave 105 responses in the citing ways in which the system is useful, and only 15 disadvantage responses. Over half saw *no* disadvantages of any kind with the DSM-III. Overall, the diagnostic manual, DSM-III tends to be viewed in a positive light by social workers who regularly use it in practice.

Multiaxial Evaluation vs. Labeling Implications for Practice.

Presuppositions of this study were that diagnosis and evaluation: 1) are within the knowledge and skill boundaries of social work; and 2) are ethically congruent with the values and goals of the profession. But some social workers would argue that diagnosis whether based on one axis or five, is not an appropriate function of social work because of the potentially dangerous consequences of labeling. Others could argue against DSM-III on the grounds that it reflects the increasing movement toward "medicalization" of social and behavioral dysfunctions which may not be medical or mental disorders. When the DSM-III was first published in 1952 it contained 60 disorders; in 1968 there were 145 disorders (Garmezy 1978). The 1980 edition contains 230 disorders. Under Axis 2, some of the children's "mental disorders" included *Specific reading disorder, Attention deficit disroder, Shyness disorder,* and *Developmental articulation disorder*, to name a few examples (Garnezy 1978 4).

It is important to note that our respondents who indicated that the primary use for Axes 4 and 5 was to define the condition rather than to assist in planning treatment. This suggests that while social workers' concerns about the negative effects of labeling prevent them from using the DSM-III in treatment planning, they find the system a useful tool for communicating with medical colleagues.

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MOTIVATION: A FUNCTION OF COMMUNICATION, BEHAVIOR DEFINITION & REWARD

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"The question is why some workers tend to be high producers, or why persons of largely similar backgrounds who are engaged in the same activity under comparable conditions exhibit considerable variability in output." (Georgopolulos et al 1957 345)

During an age of cutbacks, declining federal support, and rising unemployment, one must try to understand what has fostered confusion for the past 25 years. What stimulates productivity? What can organizations and their managers do to stimulate employees, produce results, and enhance growth of subordinates?

Much effort has been devoted to the leadership inquiry. The *style approach* to leadership attempted to describe various leader styles (Lewin et al 1939; Blake, Mouton 1964; Cartwright, Zander 1960; Halpin, Winer 1957; Hemphill, Coons 1957; Kahn 1958; Katz et al 1950). The more recent *contingency* approaches to leadership assert that no one style of leadership is universally more appropriate than another (Fiedler 1967; Fiedler, Chemers 1974; Tannenbaum, Schmidt 1958; Hersey, Blanchard 1969). Theorists using this framework suggest that the appropriate leader behavior style depends on situational factors. Recent *path-goal* works have considered various contingencies including subordinate expectations, but have continued to focus on contingency-style impacts (House, Dessler 1973; Greene 1979; Schriesheim, DeNisi 1979; Evans 1974). The essential difficulty with this approach is the potentially large number of alternatives relative to style. Thus, it is reasonable to imagine equally as many "correct" style behaviors as there are performance situations.

An alternative approach to leadership research is to focus on supervisor-subordinate interactions and subsequent outcomes, rather than on styles and outcomes. The underlying logic of this process is straightforward. All persons are inclined to engage in certain behaviors to the extent that those behaviors will result in outcomes which are perceived as beneficial. If a congressman or mayor or president places high value on retaining an office, the aspirant will probably engage in behaviors thought likely to produce that outcome. Similarly, individuals in an organization who place a high value on money will probably focus their efforts to ensure that they receive what they value. Appropriate behavior for politicians is to position themselves on visible issues in a manner consistent with the majority of their constituency, and for the organization worker it may be to produce a large output.

Such a fundamental approach is valuable for supervisors concerned with employee motivation and productivity as well as for individuals considering research in organizational leadership. The central issue is: How can the organization influence subordinate behaviors through the use of benefits, or similarly, how can indiviuals best acquire from an organization that which they value for themselves and their families?

A four-step process is necessary to fulfill these identical, yet often widely divergent goals.

1) The most difficult step structurally is to provide the individual supervisor with authority and autonomy to control independently a variety of benefit options available to each subordinate. Innovations such as across-the-board "merit" increases clearly move away from this discretionary approach.

2) Assuming the implementation of supervisory discretion, an open and honest line of communication must be established between each pairing of supervisor and subordinate. This linkage has the primary purpose of articulation and understanding of subordinate interests and values. It is a linkage of critical importance which is constantly smothered by other concerns perceived to be more pressing. The wealth of literature on performance appraisal indicates the extent and severity of this problem.

3) The behaviors sought by the organization and the supervisor must be clearly defined for each individual subordinate. This requires not only the definition of immediate tasks, but more important, a clear indication of the overarching behaviors which the supervisor considers most important to the organization.

4) There must be appropriate valued rewards for subordinates who engage in defined behaviors.

One may contend that this approach contains at least two significant limitations. First, there is the possibility that individuals may not know or understand their own values. Second, it may be inappropriate for an organization inflexibly to define behaviors in which employees are to engage. In response to the first criticism, I suggest the implementation of a strategy whereby 1) the employee is provided a predefined benefit structure which includes a variety of incentives, and 2) that the supervisor works with the employee to understand better the employee's individual values and desires. This is entirely consistent with effective communication and efficient management.

The second issue requires acceptance and understanding, rather than rectification. We must recognize that the individual has a responsibility to the organization to provide the defined services. It is only in this capacity that the organization can and should articulate defined behaviors. These actions taken by the supervisor are appropriate and essential.

In sum, the worker of today is very similar to the worker of other eras, and like all workers, desires valued rewards for effective efforts. It is in the best interests of the organization to tie these benefit opportunities to motivated and productive behavior. This is the reponsibility of the organization to itself, its supevisors and its individual workers.

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OKLAHOMA DELEGATE TRAITS: 1981 WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON AGING

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BACKGROUND

After the 1981 White House Conference on Aging, a participant summed up her thoughts borrowing from Peggy Lee's song, "Is that all there is ...?" (Krogh 1981) Part of the answer to her question predates the Fall of 1981, and is anchored in the preparation stage at the state level. Prior to the national conference, each state was asked to provide viable input through a state conference, with national delegates from that body later representing their constituency in the national forum.

In early Spring of 1981 each of the 10 state districts in Oklahoma were asked to choose delegates for a State White House Conference on Aging. From this aggregate of 485, and during district caucuses at the state meeting, 72 potential national delegates were chosen. This panel was forwarded to the Governor's White House Conference on Aging Committee which selected the final 26 to represent the State at the National White House Conference on Aging in Washington, D.C.

With increasing emphasis on participatory democracy and the growing influence accruing to the politicized elderly, the elected and appointed advocates occupy key roles as agents of future change for the elderly. This research compares some of the selection and representative aspects of such a process.

An important question emerges: Does the process select the best qualified representatives for the national conference? This was measured by several instruments to tap those most knowledgeable about aging, measured on the Palmore (1977) *Facts on Aging Quiz*, and their degree of purpose, measured by the Crumbaugh (1964) *Purpose in Life Scale*, and their degree of anomie, measured by the Srole (1956) *Anomie Scale*.

THEORY

This research indirectly addresses some theories of aging (Atchley 1980). The *activity theory* perhaps has received the most support, both in terms of empirical research and public policy. Rooted in symbolic interaction theory in sociology, this approach ties successful aging to high levels of activity. Predicated on the notion of the social origin and development of self within a nexus of social interaction, this approach implicitly presumes the continuity of middle-age cultural orientations, including attitudinal and role continuity. This theory owes much of its present prominence to the increased involvement of elderly persons in the political process.

Disengagement theory is anchored in the functional motif in sociological theory. Accepting as axiomatic the detrimental nature of aging, it applies one definition of aging as a process of increased vulnerability and decreased viability. This approach assumes the inevitable and reciprocal withdrawal of society from aging individuals, and aging individuals from society. In theory, one may disengage without subsequent loss of morale. Although increasingly questioned on grounds of a conservative ideological bias, the physiological realities of aging, such as a decline in the homeostatic mechanism that maintains a static or constant state in the internal environment of the organism beg for some rapprochement of this old conservative theory with social reality. Social gerontologists offer a compromise position in the term *differential disengagement* to identify the partial function of disengagement theory (Streib, Schneider 1971). Older cohorts may disengage from the work role and concurrently increase the engagement level in less demanding roles (Bynum, Cooper, Acuff 1978).

Other theory orientations derived from or related to these theories are identified as *role theory, subculture theory, age stratification theory*, and *reference group theory. Role theory* addresses life transitions and the anticipatory socialization involves preparation for the next age category. Typically, society does prepare its members for all but the last stage of life. *Subculture theory* is based on some shared notion of common identity and common plight. Despite the obviously heterogeneous nature of some 25 million older persons in the United States, many believe that their similarities are strong enough to be molded into a viable political voice for social change which is advantageous to the aging.

Age stratification theory views the similarities and differences of age cohorts as being anchored in the shared historical, social, economic, and political experiences that tend to be imprinted, and to form a constellation of ideas, beliefs, values, and attitudes that are observable in common overt behavior. *Reference group theory* looks for behavioral norms and standards in reference relations, in those groups to which the actor aspires in a membership or symbolic identification.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

As eclectic research, this study makes no direct test of aging theories. Evaluation of the differences and similarities between the national and the state delegate groups involved in the sociopolitical process suggests some orientation from these theory perspectives. The two panels of the sample are *activity oriented* by virtue of involvement. Their participation grounds this axiomatic observation. The elements of the *disengagement model* also typify many of the respondents in the present research. For example, many are formally retired, but selectively maintain median levels of engagement, called *differential engagement*, with attendant high morale. Role theory is evident in the obvious transfer of previous skills to present positions. For many, a prior repertoire prepared them for leadership positions in aging circles. Clearly, and perhaps unconsciously, the respondents in this study are *advocates*, and thus are involved in the evolution of an *aging subculture*. As the data are presented, and with similarities more pronounced than differences, it appears that this population of respondents gives some confirmation to the tenets of *age stratification theory*. Finally, the prestige associated with selection to the national panel heightened the saliency of the *reference group theory*.

Prior to the state conference, and during the final selection of the 26 national delegates, the State Director of Aging shared a concern with the Governor's White House Conference on Aging Committee. Specifically, he questioned how representative the national delegates would be of the state conference of delegates. Did the process of selection assure fair representation of the State's concerns at the national level of decision making? Later, the authors met with the State Director of Aging and designed this study to investigate some of the characteristics of the two pools of delegates, to determine the equity of the selection process for delegates.

METHOD

Data were collected from respondents from the national and state delegates on marital status, race, sex, age, education, birthplace, perceived health, self-rated knowledge of aging, and degree of religiosity, and the Palmore *Aging Facts Quiz*(1977), the Crumbaugh *Life Purpose* questionnaire (1964) and the Srole *Anomie* (1956) questionnaire.

The target population consisted of 457 persons chosen as delegates from the 10 economic development districts in Oklahoma for the Oklahoma White House Conference on Aging. Of the 457 chosen as delegates, 74 were selected as nominees to be delegates to the National White House Conference on Aging in 1981. They were selected by the Governor's Advisory Committee, which from this pool of 74, further selected the final 26 delegates who actually attended the White House Conference on Aging in the Fall of 1981. The State paid travel expenses for 13 of this delegation, and 13 paid their expenses privately. For this study, the *sample population* and the *target population* are the same.

A questionnaire was mailed to each of the 455 delegates, excluding two who were familiar with the research project. The original list erroneously reported 458 names, because there was one duplicate listing. The returning questionnaires were monitored for missing data and identification numbers. Due to restrictions of time and funding, only one mailing was completed. Usable questionnaires were obtained from 227 of the original state delegate pool of 383 for a 59 percent return rate, and 42 of the 72 original national delegation nominees, for a 58 percent return rate.

RESULTS

Demographic characteristics of the two samples are shown in Table 1, where the criterion t-statistic value at the .05 level of confidence is 1.65 for a combined 267 degrees of freedom. There are significant positive differences between the national and state delegation groups for *level of education, size of town of birth, self-rated knowledge of*

TABLE 1: MEAN SCORE COMPARISON, NATIONAL VS STATE DELEGATES

(Criterion: $t_{.05,227} = 1.65$)

Variables	Range	Delegates: National	State	t
Marital, married	0-1	0.76	0.69	1.18
Race, white	0-1	0.79	0.78	0.15
Gender, male	0-1	0.52	0.62	-1.12
Age	26-99	60.83	63.32	-1.06
Education	0-20	16.00	14.44	**2.45**
Birthplace	1-5	2.79	3.36	**2.42**
Health	1-5	4.29	4.24	0.37
Knowledge	1-5	4.40	4.07	**2.95**
Religiosity	1-5	3.05	3.58	**-2.63**
Life Purpose	1-7	6.24	6.17	0.78
Anomie	1-7	3.39	3.46	-0.36
Semantic differential	1-7	4.84	4.91	-0.36
Aging Facts, Right	1-24	12.74	11.22	**2.62**
Aging Facts, Wrong	1-24	7.81	8.26	-0.85
Don't know	1-24	3.45	4.52	**-2.30**

aging, and correct responses on the *Aging Facts Quiz.* Thus, the national delegation appears to have been better qualified in terms of these criteria, to participate in the National White House Conference on Aging. The only significant negative difference was in self-rated religiosity, which is not obviously related to socioeconomic and sociopolitical factors in aging. We omit interpretation of the *Don't Know* response rate on the *Aging Facts Quiz.*

The samples were almost representative in racial makeup, with 78 percent white, 11 percent black, 9 percent native American, and the 2 percent Hispanic or other. More than 70 percent were married, and 20 percent were widowed, and 8 percent were divorced, separated, or single. In rating health, 95 percent perceived their health as average or better. In knowledge about the elderly, 38 percent claimed to be very knowledgable; 40 percent claimed good knowledge; and 22 percent claimed relatively poor or no knowledge about the elderly. In religiosity, 21 percent claimed the highest level; 25 percent claimed to be very religious; 41 percent claimed a moderate level; 10 percent were *not very* religious; and 3 percent claimed *none.*

Table 2 presents comparisons only of non-zero (significant) pairs of correlations among the 15 variables for the national and state delegate groups. Of the 105 paired correlation coefficients, only 10 pairs met the .05 correlation significance criterion, with the minimum, $r = .30$ for the 42 national delegates (bold print), and the minimum $r = .13$ for the 227 state delegates (regular print). In Table 2, the paired correlation coefficients are shown below the diagonal, and their z-transformations are shown in mirror image above the diagonal. Assuming equal variances, differences between the z-transforms of the correlation coefficients can be evaluated by the estimate of the standard deviation of the difference, a familiar operation in statistical tests with two groups. Calculating the correlation between two variables uses 3 degrees of freedom: one for the variance of each variable, plus one for their covariance. This requires subtracting 3 from each sample n when measuring the z-score difference with the estimated standard deviation of the difference. The standard deviation of the difference is estimated by the square root of the pooled reciprocals (1/x) of the degrees of freedom remaining in the two groups. The formula and calculation are as follows:

$$(1)\ s_{z1\text{-}z2} = \left[(n_1 - 3)^{-1} + (n_2 - 3)^{-1} \right]^{.5}$$

$$= (39^{-1} + 197^{-1})^{.5} = .175$$

The correlation coefficient, ranging from $+1.00$ to -1.00 must be transformed to a z-score of the same sign, ranging between $+4.00$ and -4.00, using the following formula for a correlation coefficient, $r = .6$:

$$(2)\ z_r = .5 \log \left[(1 + r) / (1 - r) \right]$$

$$= .5 \log (1.6 / .4) = .69$$

The z-score for the difference between two correlation coefficients is determined from their z-transforms as follows, where:

$r_1 = .61$; $r_2 = .22$

$$(3)\ z_{z1\text{-}z2} = (z_1 - z_2) / s_{z1\text{-}z2}$$

$$= (.71 - .22) / .175 = 2.80$$

TABLE 2: COMPARISON OF NON-ZERO CORRELATIONS FOR NATIONAL & STATE DELEGATES

(National, n = 42; $r_{.05,42}$ = .30; State, n = 227, $r_{.05,227}$ = .13)

(Correlations below diagonal; z-transforms above; decimals omitted; national r, z, bold type)

Variable		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Marital, married	1			**-32**								
				-35								
Race, white	2								**-32**		**-40**	
									-13		-18	
Gender, male	3	**-31**										
		-34										
Age	4									**-38**		
										-21		
Education	5						**31**				**-45**	
							22				-37	
Birthplace	6					**61**						
						22						
Health	7								**32**			
									-16			
Anomie	8		**-31**					**31**				
			-13					-16				
Age Facts Right	9				**-36**						**-85**	**-50**
					-21						-50	-74
Age Facts Wrong	10		**-38**			**-42**				**-69**		**-45**
			-18			-35				-46		-32
Don't know	11									**-46**	**-31**	
										-63	-42	
		1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**

z-score and error probability, p, for correlation differences:

r_1, r_2	3-1	8-2	10-2	9-4	6-5	10-5	8-7	10-9	11-9	11-10
z_{r1-r2}	0.17	-1.08	-1.26	-0.97	2.80	-0.46	2.74	-2.00	1.37	0.74
Probability, p	.43	.14	.10	.17	.01	.68	.01	.01	.09	.23

from the standard table for the cumulative normal distribution. This accounts for .998 of the distribution, leaving an error probability, p, of 1.000 - .998, and p = .002. This calculation identifies a significant difference between the two correlations coefficients, .61 and .21 for the given sample size.

The lower part of Table 2 gives z-scores and the probability, p-value for each of the 10 paired significant correlations. It should be noted that an n of 40 represents a lower limit for use of z transformations, and we recognize that the Pearson product-moment correlation, r, is not well suited to ordered categories of ordinal scale variables, where variance may be constrained by skewed distributions.

DISCUSSION

Being mindful of these limitations, we note that only 3 of the 10 significant paired correlations differ from each other enough for a significant difference. The main conclusion is that the two groups of national and state delegates are not measurably different, overall, in the 105 paired correlations of the 15 variables, and that the variables are mainly uncorrelated among themselves, since most of the correlations differ from zero only within chance due to sampling variation. This simplifies the task of analysis.

The 3 significant differences in correlation values shown on Table 2 are those between: 1) birth place and education

(Row 6, Column 5); 2) anomie and perceived health (Row 8, Column 7); and 3) Aging Facts: Right and Wrong (Row 10, Column 9). The national delegation has a much higher correlation between size of town of birth and level of education than that of the state delegation. The suggestion is that those born and reared in larger towns have more incentive and opportunity for education. This effect is hardly measurable for the state delegation where the R^2 or predictive power of the correlation (.22 X .22) is .05, compared to .37 for the national delegate group.

The significant difference in correlations for perceived health and anomie scores arises mainly from the fact that the correlation is positive for the national delegates and negative for the state delegates. Both correlation values are close to the significance criterion of $\pm$.30 for the national group and $\pm$.13 for the state group. For the national delegate group the R^2 is .09, while it is inconsiderable as a predictor at R^2 = .026 for the state delegate group. However, it appears that there is a real difference, and that the members of the national delegate group who perceived better personal health also were more dissatisfied with social and personal conditions. The correlation of the state delegate group is in the expected direction, but is so weak as to cast doubt on the logic of the relation.

The significant difference in the expected *negative* correlation between right and wrong answers on the Aging Facts Questionnaire is not readily explained. That the correlation is significant and negative in both cases indicates the probable consistency and real discrimination between the right and wrong answers. If there were zero correlations between these variables in either group, it would suggest random and meaningless answers due to poor questions or disoriented respondents. That this expected negative correlation is measurably higher for the national delegation,

with R^2 = .48, compared to R^2 = .21

for the state delegation suggests that the smaller national delegation was more homogeneous in background, and more consistent in response patterns to this test of awareness about the conditions of the elderly.

The original question of an equitable selection process of national delegates from the larger state pool of delegates can be answered in part. Although the two groups appear to be essentially equal on the majority of variables, several findings indicate some real differences. National delegates had more education, claimed to know more about the elderly, and were less negative about the elderly than the state delegates. Overall, the selection process appeared to select those persons who were best qualified to represent the State at the national level.

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"THE PRACTICAL": FASHION'S LATEST CONQUEST

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INTRODUCTION

Earlier descriptions of the expansion of fashion often centered on new areas of content, such as first names, or scientific approaches. Here we will see how an *old* area of fashion activity receives new treatment. The subject area is *food*, not in respect to vogue in dishes, but in reference to the *preparation* of food as a matter of vogue. The *practical* has become independent of the *strictly functional*.

It has been maintained in diverse contexts that the swings of fashion affect only things that are actually rather unimportant in life: superficial changes in clothing, adornment, decor, social conduct, and amusements. These fields are not seen as depending on really vital motives of human action. To be sure, even subjects such as religious faith and scientific interest can be steered by fashion, but not until they have been rendered superficial. Fashion does not reach them until they have become detached and therefore "independent of the deeper human motives." (Simmel 1971 298)

This limitation of fashion's activity is criticized today. To a discerning eye, fashion is readily seen as operative in many diverse areas of social life. Blumer mentions fields like the pure and applied arts such as painting, sculpture, music, drama, architecture, dancing, and household decoration. "There is plenty of evidence to show its play in the field of medicine ... it even touches such a relatively sacred area as that of mortuary practice." (Blumer 1973 328) Certain areas are still looked on as closed to fashion. One such sphere is the domain of the sacred, and another is the *practical*. Fashion is not supposed to take root in the areas of utility, technology, or science.

EXPANSION OF FASHION

When it is said that fashion is constantly expanding its fields of activity, it is often a question of new areas of content. Fashion has extended in this century to include not only clothing, but food, home decoration, topics of debate, first names, and scientific theories. I shall view the expansion of fashion from another aspect. Fashion can attack old areas from new angles. By adopting changing rules about *how* you cook, *how* you attend your garden, and *how* you clean, fashion attacks these utilitarian domains from a utilitarian aspect. And an expansion toward the practical is perhaps more significant in understanding today's fashion than further concern with content.

ACCESSING THE PRACTICAL

The practical domain which will illustrate this second type of the expansion of fashion is cooking. We go back a few decades in time, when the whole cooking process was most often hidden. In restaurants, food was prepared behind closed doors, and often from secret recipes. At home, the housewives stood with their backs to the rest of the family while cooking in the kitchen. For many, time and energy were at a premium in what concerned housekeeping and cooking. Further, most of the preparation and cooking of food had to originate in the home.

My hypothesis is that many of today's utilitarian areas have been liberated to a certain extent from "practical" doctrines and traditional rules. Today, in a completely new way, one can *choose to do some* of the cooking tasks at home. As one advertisement for a food processor puts it: "It does the heavy work: you have the fun."

The making of food is an area which has been opened to fashion. Fashion requires veritable *settings* where many new proposals can be presented. Here the term *settings* is not confined to fairs and exhibits and other places where the latest approaches are presented. Even on a pedestrian day-to-day level, fashion seems to require such staged scenarios. Many modern restaurants have *cooking scenes*. In pizzerias, restaurants with charcoal grills, and other arrangements, today's guests can watch their dinner being created, and the preparation itself becomes a performance. This is in clear contrast to the restaurants of yesterday, when the food was ceremoniously unveiled with the raising of a silver cover. Voila! There, displayed for the guest's admiration, was the *completed* dish.

Now we line up and watch at the same time

that our charcoal-grilled steaks, pizzas, ice cream sundaes, and flaming deserts are created before our very eyes. Putting the making of food in the limelight places different requirements on the cooking personnel. The chef is on-stage, and cannot retreat to the side to correct possible blunders. At *Benihana* the staff are especially trained so that the preparation becomes something of a spectacle (Wykoff, Sasser 1978 31).

Even if the whole dish cannot be prepared in front of the guests, one is careful to insure that certain strategic steps are carried out before their eyes. Certain elements of the process are more presentable than others, and certain dishes are more suitable for public preparation. In an ice cream parlor advertizing "home-made" ice cream, a great display is made of the machine that bakes the ice cream cones. Presumably, this phase is more suited to demonstration than the manufacture of the "home-made" ice cream.

Whereas in earlier times, the ingredients of a dish were often secret, now the contents are meticulously listed. In salad bars, everything that goes into the various types of salad are often published. Hamburger menus inform of exactly how many grams the different choices weigh, along with the trimmings. What cannot be prepared publicly should be described as exhaustively as possible.

COOKING AT HOME

Even the area of cooking at home has been opened to shifting trends of fashion, such as the move to the *technological*. Today's home kitchen is often equipped with food processors, household assistants, mixers, blenders, pasta machines, ice cream makers, and grain mills, to name only a few. Generally, these new kitchen appliances are not necessities. And there is an important difference when one compares this *home production* with that of the past. In the past, everyone was compelled to do these chores at home. Now, one *chooses* to do them, which means that one can produce and process one's own pasta, carrot juice, and ice cream.

Swedish "fashion commentators" have opposed fashion's dictating the color and design of our practical aids. These commentators, who are often its critics, seem to have misunderstood the extent of the fashion, because fashion reaches much farther than is apparent. Food processors have added many new *accessoires*, in addition to the old ones, such as strainers, meat grinders, vegetable slicers, and potato peelers. Now one can purchase grating cylinders to grate dried figs, juice extractors, grain mills, and noodle and macaroni presses. Some of these *accessoires* are particularly in vogue at certain times. Fashion may even prescribe that the grain mill should have "schnitzer type" mill stones. Thus, even the functions of the machines have become vulnerable in the highest degree to the whims of fashion.

A natural byproduct of the increased variety and functions of kitchen appliances is the increase in production of certain foods at home. This trend is contrary to what one would expect — that people eat more ready-prepared products and foods. Certain foods which, a decade past, were almost invariably purchased ready-made are now being made at home, with the help of fashionable specialized machines. Pasta is an example. Pasta machines are being sold more widely in Sweden now. Ice cream was formerly made in factories, and now is being prepared in the home.

We can also speak of an *expressive trend* which prescribes for the cook a certain emotional atmosphere and a *way of feeling*. In a brochure for the ingeniously developed technical kitchen appliances, one is very careful not to ignore the appeal to the senses in cooking. For appliances that one fears will be far too mechanical, one reads testimonials in the advertizements: "Sure I had my doubts in the beginning. I thought that there would be no place for feeling and imagination. But ..."

Cook books and food articles today have become both poetic and sensuous. In an article about newly published cook books, the "poetry of recipes" is mentioned. "They are beautiful, richly illustrated cook books filled with facts and fantasy. You can just imagine the colors, tastes, and smells." The same article, discussing some bread recipes says: "They are filled with lyrics and bread." (Translated: Svenska Dagbladet 1981 Nov 5)

Under the heading, "Food is Sensuousness and Perfect Raw Materials," a couple who publish cook books were interviewed. "They

believe that food should be a total experience — with serving and arranging. And it starts already in the kitchen ... with the proper attitudes and feelings." (Translated: Manads Expressen 1981 Nov 8 16) Here we see the new approach to fashion. It concerns instructions for the correct state of mind for the cook. One can distinguish shifting trends with regard the the proper temperament of the cook.

FASHION'S PLAY WITH THE PRACTICAL

One can perhaps discern a tendency towards hierarchical organization of fashion's various areas and angles of approach. The *latest thing* most likely appears as something more refined, and something to keep up with. Those who are *in the know* with the latest rules concerning the practical aspects of cooking stand out in the front lines of fashion. Fashion fixes the attention of the community on an object or process at a certain time and place. Now, may certain practical areas stand in the limelight?

The *practical* today can be described in Simmel's words as: to a certain extent, "... removed from the service of life that originally produced and employed it." Simmel sees the "numerous phenomena that we lump together under the category of play" as a particularly clear example of this autonomization of contents. Can we perhaps now say that fashion has acquired the possibility to play with the practical? And can we perhaps describe fashion in the same way that Simmel describes *play*? "From the realities of life it takes only what it can adapt to its own nature, only what it can absorb in its autonomous existence." (Simmel 1964 41,43)

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MANUAL-NONMANUAL DISTINCTION, STATUS INCONSISTENCY AND CLASS IDENTIFICATION

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INTRODUCTION

Class consciousness is an important concept in the study of social stratification and social behavior. Whatever criteria are used to identify classes, we do not have social classes unless there is class consciousness (MacIver, Page 1949). If individuals merely have similar placement on socioeconoomic measures, they do not form classes unless they subjectively perceive themselves as identifying similar interests with others in similar positions.

We will examine the individual's identification with a certain class as measured by response to the familiar subjective class placement question (Centers 1949). Some researchers regard this as the lowest and most fundamental level of class consciousness (Giddens 1973; Vanneman 1980). We are especially interested in how class perception is shaped by objective socioeconomic factors, but we view these factors in a different way. According to Hodge and Treiman (1968 539) "... the failure of subjective class identification to crystalize around objective features of the stratification system is attributable to the fact that different objective aspects of one's position in the class structure do not themselves cumulate into a well-defined class system." No one has thoroughly investigated the ways in which this failure to crystalize takes place.

Past research has shown that among the more important determinants of class identification are occupational prestige, education, income, and blue collar versus white collar employment (Jackman, Jackman 1973; Vanneman, Pampel 1976). As prestige, education, and income increase, individuals are more likely to identify with the middle class as opposed to working class.

The failure of these factors to cumulate well as a basis for common interests explains the absence of a well-developed class system in the United States. There are at least two ways in which these objective factors could fail to cumulate: 1) Inconsistency among objective factors may impede identification with a social class. Skilled blue collar workers with high school education sometimes have income fairly high in the income distribution. Public school teachers with advanced academic degrees often have incomes at or below the center of the income distribution. Both sets of individuals may have difficulty identifying with a particular class. 2) The determinants of class identification operate differently in different groups. Most determinants of class identification are less important for blacks than for whites (Legget 1968). This is generally attributed to the overriding significance of minority group membership as a determinant of class identity. Vanneman (1980) found that manual-nonmanual distinction was less important for women than for men. It is noted that prestige is less important as a determinant of class identity for blue collar than for white collar workers, and this is attributed to the overriding significance of being a manual worker (Vanneman, Pampel 1977).

INCONSISTENCY AMONG EDUCATION INCOME AND PRESTIGE

Most observers agree that inconsistency among education, income, and prestige is an important feature of the American stratification system. But *how* does this inconsistency affect class identification? It is said that inconsistency generates confusion, and this is consistent with a pluralist view of American society, which assumes that there are several competing and inconsistent bases for political action or dimensions of the stratification system (Hodge, Treiman 1968). Much of this inconsistency among prestige, income and education arises from structural features of the labor market. We will consider only white full time employed males who have completed their education. For this group, education is constant throughout the work career, whereas income and prestige usually change. In this conceptual framework we can view education as a resource and income and prestige as rewards. We can then discuss inconsistency in terms of being underrewarded or overrewarded, based on a comparison of reward levels to education level. Education is not the only resource which workers carry into the labor market, but it is probably the most

important (Sorensen 1977)

There are at least three causes of being underrewarded. 1) Some people, through bad luck or misfortune, cannot capitalize on their resources as well as others, though this is not the main source of inconsistency, and may not be permanent. Over time, the effects of bad luck and misfortune can be overcome. 2) Young people are more likely to be underrewarded. They enter the labor market with a fixed set of resources, and careers consist of a gradual increase in rewards until they reach a reward level which matches their resources. Young workers are likely to see being underrewarded as temporary. 3) Much if not most of the underrewarding is due to the structure of certain careers. Several heavily populated occupations such as public school and college teaching and social work require high education levels, but income levels are at or below the center of prestige and income distributions.

There are at least two sources of being overrewarded. 1) Through hard work, luck, or good fortune, some people are able to achieve income and prestige levels in excess of what others with similar resources can achieve. Some with high school education become successful small businessmen with incomes relatively high in the income distribution. These are rather rare. 2) A more likely source of inconsistency is occupation or career. Unions succeed in raising the income of many workers. Skilled workers are likely to have income levels which exceed the level of their formal education. Foremen, office managers, and other low level supervisors are also likely to have a prestige level exceeding their education level.

Inconsistency impedes the effect of vertical status on class identification (Hodge, Treiman 1968). Thus, if inconsistency were not present, the effects of status would be stronger. We can test this argument by examining the effects of status without controlling for inconsistency, and comparing it to the effect of status after controlling for inconsistency. If the effects of status are greater after controlling for inconsistency, we can demonstrate that inconsistency among status dimensions is an important factor in the class identification process. Our first hypothesis is:

H1: *The effects of status will be greater after controlling for the effects of status inconsistency.*

This means that status inconsistency suppresses the effects of status on class identification.

CLASS OF WORKERS AND CLASS IDENTIFICATION

Blue and white collar workers have different economic and political interests, and these interests are reflected in a strong relation between the manual/nonmanual distinction and class identification (Jackman, Jackman 1973). As regards prestige, being a blue collar worker is such a powerful determinant of class identity that many more subtle status differences are unlikely to be as important for this group as for white collar workers (Vanneman, Pampel 1977).

Recent work on other aspects of stratification also suggests that the distinction between blue and white collar workers is very important: "... the central class division within the labor market is along the manual-nonmanual occupational divide ..." and manual workers have become increasingly disadvantaged relative to nonmanual workers, since the latter have some incentive to ally with capital (Gagliani 1981 259). Further, the contraction in the proportion of manual jobs and the rapid expansion in nonmanual jobs has led to increasing homogeneity of the blue collar labor force and the increasing heterogeneity of the white collar labor force. Consequently, we expect that not only is prestige less important for blue collar workers, but that other determinants of class identity are less important for blue than for white collar workers.

Along with objective status, we investigate three other factors which we expect to be more important for white than for blue collar workers: 1) union membership; 2) unemployment experience; 3) age. Past research indicates that union membership is *not* a significant determinant of class identity when other variables are included in the analysis (Jackman, Jackman 1973). However, this could be due to failure to consider its effects for different groups within the population. Some research on white collar occupations suggests that union membership might be a significant factor in this group. Not all manual jobs are desirable, because they involve hard,

degrading work, and some pay poorly (Gagliani 1981). Consequently, some nonmanual workers identify as members of the working class. Membership in a union might enhance this identification, since membership in unions is one way in which nonmanual workers become polarized (Wright 1968).

Another aspect of the labor market experiences of individuals that might be related to class identity, and which has effects that will probably vary for blue and white collar workers is unemployment. This factor receives little attention in the recent class identification literature, though earlier work demonstrated its importance (Legget 1968). Recent unemployment experience is likely to help shape an individual's perceptions of the class structure and where s/he belongs in it. Though unemployment is generally more devastating for blue collar than for white collar workers, it is likely to have a larger effect on class identification for the latter, since the status of being a blue collar worker is so important.

Age is a neglected determinant of class identification. As individuals grow older, they accumulate property, such as automobiles, furnishings, and equity in a home. Their general life style improves, at least until retirement. Consequently, age is a variable which picks up these unmeasured changes in the quality of life. As individuals grow older they should be more likely to identify with the middle class. And we expect this variable to be less important for blue collar than for white collar workers. Our second hypothesis is:

H2: *Status and other determinants of class identification will be less important for blue collar workers than for white collar workers.*

SPECIFYING INCONSISTENCY MODELS

Evaluating these two models requires ability to measure inconsistency among education, income, and prestige. The crucial step in studying status inconsistency is the assumption that there is a single underlying status dimension, and that inconsistency can be defined as orthogonal to that dimension (Hope 1975). Ignoring other possible independent variables for the moment, one possible model of class identification would be the following:

$$1: ID = b_1E + b_2I + b_3P$$

where ID = class identification; E = education; I = income, and P = prestige. This is the basic model used by most researchers in the past, usually with some added independent variables. Three types of inconsistency among these variables are possible: inconsistency between income and education (I-E), inconsistency between prestige and education (P-E), and inconsistency between income and prestige (I-P). One statistically inappropriate way to examine inconsistency effects would be to retain the three separate measures of status and use difference terms to represent status inconsistency. This would result in the following model:

$$2: ID = b_1E + b_2I + b_3P + b_4(I\text{-}E) + b_5(P\text{-}E) + b_6(I\text{-}P)$$

But the covariance matrix of the variables in such a model would be singular, and no unique estimates of the b coefficients could be obtained. Another alternative would be to use interaction terms to represent inconsistency:

$$3: ID = b_1E + b_2I + b_3P + b_4IE + b_5PE + b_6PI$$

Here, interaction terms measure inconsistency plus other forms of interaction, and make it impossible to investigate linear forms of status inconsistency (Wilson 1979).

One appropriate way to assess the effects of inconsistency is to assume that there is an overall dimension of status and to define a number of types of inconsistency equal to the remaining degrees of freedom after creating the overall status measure (Hope 1975). We can create an overall measure of status called *socioeconomic status* (SES) which can be a weighted or unweighted sum of income, prestige and education. This leaves two degrees of freedom. Consequently, we must omit one type of inconsistency from the equation. In general, a model of n status variables generates a model of one overall measure of status and n-1 inconsistency variables. Trying to exceed this produces a singular covariance matrix. Assuming that we have some basis for choosing two of the possible forms of inconsistency over the other, we could arrive at the following model:

$$4: ID = b_1SES + b_2(P\text{-}E) + b_3(I\text{-}E)$$

There is question whether students of class identification want to give up the three separate status measures in order to

investigate status inconsistency. There are no methodological or statistical grounds for doing so. Equations 1 and 4 are technically the same, and would yield the same R^2, the same predicted value of ID, and identical coefficients for any other independent variables appearing in both models. The choice must be made between these models on theoretical grounds. The theoretical basis for choosing Equation 4 in our situation is that this model offers the only way to examine the impact of inconsistency on class identification.

DATA

Our data are from the 1974, 1975, 1977, and 1978 General Social Surveys collected by the National Opinion Research Center. The 1976 GES was not used because it omitted the question about union membership. We look only at employed white males. Employed status is required because earnings from a job and the prestige of an individual's job are important variables in our analysis. Past analysis shows that the process of class identification is considerably different for nonwhites and women than for white males (Evers 1975; Goyder, Pineo 1974; Jackman, Jackman 1973; Ritter, Hargens 1975). Since sample sizes were similar, we did not weight each sample to the harmonic mean. After excluding cases with missing values our sample included 1628 white employed males.

METHOD

Several alternatives can be used with a categorical dependent variable, including log linear models, probit analysis, and logit models (Goodman 1971; Vanneman, Pampel 1977; Feinberg, Mason 1979). In this analysis we use a linear logistic response model (logit; Haberman 1974). This model is appropriate for categorical dependent variables and both categorical and interval level independent variables. Assuming y is an independent binary random variable with values 0 or 1:

$$5: \Pr(y = 1) = p;$$

then the general logistic response model is:

$$6: \log [p / (1\text{-}p)] = BX$$

where X is a vector of independent variables, and B is a vector of coefficients. Thus, Equation 6 represents a model that is linear in the logits. Maximum likelihood estimates of B are obtained and reported below.

We collapse 4 categories into 2: *working* (lower and working class) and *middle* (middle and upper class; Vanneman, Pampel 1977). For the hypothesis we estimate the following equation:

$$7: \log [\, p_m/(p_m - 1) \,] = b_1S + b_2(P - E) + b_3(I - E) + b_4M + b_5Un + b_6U + b_7A$$

where p_m = probability of being in the *middle class* category; S = status; M = manual; Un = unemployed; U = union; and A = age. Other terms are as previously defined.

MEASURES

Education is measured in years of schooling, and occupational prestige applies the Siegel (1971) prestige scores. Measuring personal income is not as straightforward. Income responses were coded to categories based on uneven intervals, and it was not possible to standardize incomes for each year to a base year. Therefore we decided to convert the personal income variables to five ranks based on quintiles for each year, scoring the low quintile 1, and the high quintile 5. The composite measure of status (SES) was computed from factor loadings generated by a factor analysis of income, education, and prestige.

Inconsistency was defined in terms of the differences in rankings on *prestige and education* and *income and education*. Our basic measure of inconsistency was computed by subtracting standardized education from standardized income (Inc-Ed) and standardized education and standardized prestige (Pres-Ed). Four remaining variables are measured as follows: manual equals 1 for manual or blue collar worker, and 0 otherwise; Unemployment equals 1 if the respondent experienced at least one period of unemployment during the past 10 years, and 0 otherwise; Union equals 1 if the respondent belongs to a union during the survey year, and 0 otherwise. Age is measured in years.

RESULTS

Hypothesis 1. For Model 1 in Table 1 the composite SES measure is used but inconsistency terms are excluded. The

goodness of fit test indicates that this model represents a significant improvement over the assumption that each person has the same probability of identifying with.the middle class. The coefficients are metric, representing effects of the variable on the log of the odds of identifying with the middle class rather than the working class. A unit change in an interval variable modifies the log of the odds of identifying with upper class by the value of the coefficient, and for categorical variables, being in category 1 modifies the log of identifying with middle class by the value of the coefficient.

Being a manual worker diminishes the odds of middle class identification (-.438). This agrees with past research. Belonging to a union does not affect class identification, which also agrees with past research. The experience of unemployment reduces odds of middle class identity (-.179). This is as predicted, and suggests that unemployment operates as a variable in social class identification. Age is not significant. A significant effect appears for socioeconomic status (SES .765) which agrees with past research.

The test of Hypothesis 1 involves comparison of socioeconomic status in Model 1 to its effects in Model 2 of Table 1, which contains status inconsistency as well as status. The Chi-squared test of improvement in Table 2, which compares Model 2 with Model 1 shows that adding the inconsistency terms significantly improves ability to explain class identification. Further, the effects of socioeconomic status are substantially increased after controlling for status inconsistency: 1.034 in Model 2 compared to .765 in Model 1. Hypothesis 1 is supported. Inconsistency among the status measures suppresses the effect of status on class identification. When inconsistency effects are controlled, the effects of status increase.

Adding inconsistency terms has little impact on effect of being a manual worker, union membership, or unemployment experience. But adding inconsistency terms results in a significant effect on class identification for age (.015), suggesting that inconsistency also impedes the impact of age on class identification. This could occur from reduced likelihood of inconsistency, when education level exceeds income level with increased age.

TABLE 1. DETERMINANTS OF CLASS IDENTIFICATION

Variables	Model 1 with SES		Model 2: SES+ Inconsistency	
	Coeff.	t-test	Coeff.	t-test
Manual	-.438	-6.52	-.395	-5.74
Union	-.020	-0.34	-.066	-1.04
Unemployment	-.179	-2.92	-.174	-2.76
Age	.007	1.65	.015	3.38
SES	.765	9.07	1.034	10.74
Inc-Ed			.129	-2.19
Pres-Ed			-.552	6.94
Constant			-.706	
Chi^2 tests:	n = 1628, p = .001			
Goodness of fit	403.06; df = 5		457.04; df = 7	
Improvement test			53.98; df = 2	

t-test criteria: $t_{.05} = 1.96$; $t_{.01} = 2.58$; $t_{.001} = 3.29$

TABLE 2: DETERMINANTS OF CLASS IDENTITY: MANUAL AND NON MANUAL WORKERS

Variables	Manual	Nonmanual	p
Union	.090	-.312	.004
Unemploy.	-.284	-.024	.050
Age	.011	.021	.277
SES	.757	1.331	.004
Inc-Ed	-.070	.358	.000
Pres-Ed	-.303	-.803	.002
Constant	-.992	-.682	
Chi^2 tests:	n = 1628		
Fit goodness	481.8; df = 7		.001
Improvement	24.7; df = 6		.001

Notes:

1. p significance level is that of interaction laws.
2. Improvement test compares Table 2 model to Model 2 of Table 1.

When we control for effects of inconsistency, the effects of age appear.

We made no predictions concerning the effects of the inconsistency terms. The results indicate that as the level of education increases, the likelihood of identifying with the middle class increases. However, as the level of prestige relative to the level of education increases, the likelihood of middle class identification decreases. We hesitate to attribute significance to these coefficients since we see

no a priori reason to predict the direction of their effects. We suspect that their effects are due primarily to structural positions in the United States labor market which produced the inconsistency, and not to the inconsistency per se.

Hypothesis 2. Table 2 contains the results of estimating a model that will allow us to test Hypothesis 2. The Chi^2 Test of Improvement indicates that this model represents a statistically significant improvement over the Model 2 of Table 1. This means that the effects of at least some of the determinants of class identification differ significantly for manual and nonmanual workers. The effects of belonging to a union support the hypothesis. Belonging to a union deters nonmanual workers from identifying with the middle class (-.312), but slightly increases the likelihood of middle class identification for manual workers (.090). This finding supports those who suggest that unionization may be one way to facilitate the identification of nonmanual workers with the working class (Wright 1976). The finding illustrates the importance of unionization as a determinant of class identification. The failure adequately to explore possible interaction in the past led to a premature decision that unionization had no direct impact on class identification.

The effects of unemployment do not support Hypothesis 2. Having experienced unemployment in the past 5 years has a much larger effect on class identification for manual workers (-.284) than for nonmanual workers (-.024). Perhaps unemployment is a more devastating experience for blue collar than for white collar workers.

Age effects also do not support Hypothesis 2. The slight difference in effect for nonmanual workers (.021) and manual workers (.011) is insignificant. The effects of socioeconomic status and inconsistency terms do support Hypothesis 2. Socioeconomic status is considerably more important in shaping the perceived class identity of nonmanual workers (1.331) than of manual workers (.757). Inconsistency between education and income has a larger effect for nonmanual workers (.358) than for manual workers (-.070). Inconsistency between prestige and education has a larger effect for nonmanual workers (-.803) than for manual workers (−.303). Thus Hypothesis 2 is supported by 4 of the 6 variables. Only the effects of unemployment are the reverse of those predicted in Hypothesis 2. Most determinants of class identification are more important for nonmanual than for manual workers.

CONCLUSIONS

1) Inconsistency among measures of status does impede the effects of status on social class identification. With statistical control for inconsistency, the effect of an overall measure of status on class identification increases.

2) Union membership, socioeconomic status and inconsistency, as determinants of social class identification, are more important for nonmanual than for manual workers.

3) Important determinants of class identification which have been ignored or prematurely discarded in previous research include age, union membership, and unemployment experience.

Union membership and unemployment experience play different roles in class identification for blue collar and white collar workers. The effect of age is of particular interest, since it raises questions concerning class identification over the life course and the work career. The impact of status and other determinants of class identification may vary depending on the individual's career stage. The socioeconomic status of one's parents probably has an important impact on class identification early in adult life. This impact may decline with age as one's successes and failures come to play a larger role in the social class identification process.

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SOCIOLOGICAL UNCERTAINTY: ADVICE FOR HELPING PROFESSIONS

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INTRODUCTION

Practical men and women concerned with the shape of our times are becoming clear on one fact: that we are living in an age of uncertainty. The knowledge explosion has paradoxically succeeded in helping us to realize the severe limitations of expecting the future to unfold as a neat consequence of the present. This uncertainty, understood sociologically as an aggregate response rather than as an individual response, has important implications for the helping professions generally, and for social workers particularly.

I hope to sensitize human service practitioners to the process wherein variations in sociological uncertainty alter the nature of successful social adjustment. As we move steadily into increasing social uncertainty, the altering nature of successful social adjustment becomes an important aid to the human service workers seeking to know the nature of problems confronting their clients.

VARIATION IN SOCIOLOGICAL UNCERTAINTY

Each human generation attempts to make sense of its times. This collective sense-making procedure is an effort to encapsulate the core of common sense beliefs about our age. Unlike the biological generation period of 20 years, the sense-making procedure is facilitated by the mass media, and occurs more rapidly. During World War II, the existentialists, aided by the popular press, dubbed an entire generation *the lost generation.* The 1950's, as psychologists tell us, was an age of *status anxiety.* Psychoanalysts inform us that the 1960's were a period of reaction against the conformist anxiety of the 1950's. It was *the age of the counter-culture.* The 1970's, and perhaps the 1980's as economists, sociologists, and futurologists tell us, are the *age of uncertainty.*

The age of uncertainty, whether depicted by economist Galbraith (1977), the sociologist Merton (1976) or the futurologist Toffler (1971), is based on the increasing experience of unexpected and avowedly uncontrollable events. Things are changing, not only more rapidly, but spasmodically, and hence, unpredictably. As perceived and understood, the change is not at a uniform pace but an irregular, shapeless amoebic movement, advancing here and retreating there, apparently, in a random fashion. The age of uncertainty denotes a world in which citizens perceive a previously predictable and understandable reality becoming far less so.

This depiction of an *age of uncertainty* depends implicitly on perception of sociological uncertainty as a *relative* state. This rather abstract topic is concretized with three analogies: 1) sociological certainty,
2) sociological ambivalence, and
3) sociological uncertainty.

Imagine that you are watching a theater marquee in late evening, and the blinking lights announce the film. You read the message with certainty and base your decision to attend or not on trust in your comprehension of the message. This is an instance of sociological certainty. In this instance, certainty is not only possible, but prevailing. The messages out there in the environment are comprehensible, and moreover, meet your fundamental needs. It is important to round out this depiction and thus avoid the *utopian* strain in depicting certainty by noting that indecisiveness and inability to cope are possible under conditions of sociological certainty. In a psychological context, some persons are indecisive despite the clarity of the message. This individual response, rather than the aggregate response, stems from a low tolerance for ambiguity or inability to understand the message when read.

In the second instance, of sociological ambivalence, the blinking of the marquee lights is speeded up, making it impossible for those with normal vision to discern the message. This signals an increase in the rate of uncertainty. Now one has to weigh the importance of the message, because the cost, in time and energy, of comprehending the message now increases. Ambiguity also increases. Only those having the intellectual prowess and the will to spend the energy will succeed in solving the problem. The incidence of ambivalence here is remediable. Solutions are: 1) decide early in the scenario that the

message is unimportant, and go to other things; 2) use technological means, such as a high speed camera, to slow the blinking; 3) locate someone you trust who has seen the film and ask about it.

The third instance, unlike the other two, has no rational solution. It is sociological uncertainty. In this case the lights blinking out the message are not only blinking rapidly, but as in sociological ambivalence, are blinking randomly as well. The result is unpredictability. Efforts to master this unpredictability by intelligence, with genuine sociological uncertainty, can only frustrate. It is pointless to look to alternate activities on which one has more certain information, since all message-dependent actions under conditions of sociological uncertainty are equally random. Technological solutions only produce an indecipherable replication of randomness. Finally, it is impossible to find any one who has seen the film.

The third instance typifies the ideal conditions of sociological uncertainty. Elsewhere (Wexler 1981) I traced the relation of this depiction to the classical theory of *social anomie* and explored the reasons for emergence of the belief in ours as an *age of uncertainty*. In this historical framework, the age of uncertainty may not be empirically useful. Perhaps change is no more rapid and no more spasmodic than that prevalent in the Canadian west. Such reasoning, while interesting to the empirical scientist, is less so to the human service practitioner, who must deal with the simple but powerful fact that when people perceive things as real, they act accordingly.

The first time that I insisted that the "monsters" were not in the room with my drug-dependent client, I believed it, and my assistant believed it. But we were already acting in line with this belief. It became apparent to me, albeit not very quickly, that my empirical validation of a monsterless reality was powerless to dematerialize my client's monsters.

VARYING UNCERTAINTY AND THE CLIENT

If one accepts, either that ours is an age of uncertainty, or that many people believe it to be, then human service practitioners should be interested in reactions to sociological uncertainty. There are two related reasons for this assertion. 1) Those requiring and seeking assistance of social workers in *an age of uncertainty* will be of a different sort and more numerous than under conditions of either *certainty* or *ambivalence*. 2) Due to the difference, social workers ought to move towards an evaluation of the usefulness of present therapeutic techniques and styles. As products of an age of uncertainty, they may be less effective than under conditions of ambivalence or certainty.

Those requiring the aid of social workers in an age of uncertainty are neither the social and psychological marginals prevalent as clients in an *age of certainty* nor those unable to cope with accelerating and increasing change, as is the case in an *age of ambivalence*. The age of certainty forces itself most harshly on citizens who are firmly committed to mastering the rules of the game. These are the citizens with a high desire for control and mastery, to whom uncertainty is understood as a correlate of much-dreaded powerlessness. This fear of powerlessness, melded with a desire for control, and a commitment to the rules of order all provide a new type of client; one who has met with great success in adapting to the conditons of certainty and ambivalence, but not to those embedded in an age of uncertainty.

Let us now account for how variations in degrees of sociological uncertainty create a change in the number and type of clients likely to seek assistance of helping professionals. To get to this issue in an analytic mode, we will explore the sociological model of social normalcy and adaptation prevalent in the works of structural functionalists (Parsons 1949, 1951; Merton 1957; Wexler 1974). Structural functionalists are important in this context since they seek to address the problem of the ongoing adaptation of individuals to changing social conditions. The emphasis here is historical and macrosocietal. Individuals are depicted as constantly striving to fulfill their personal desires and needs in the context of altering social and historical conditions.

In the context of structural functional theory, social normalcy is viewed as a product of the degree to which the individual and society are

integrated. Social normalcy is realized, the functionalists argue, when citizens develop modes of legitimate action grounded in socially accepted values which effectively achieve or approximate the ends sought by individuals. Failure to achieve one's ends or to do so in the context of socially approved values, when recurrent, will lead to social strain, and to abnormality if not tempered. Within the structural functional perspective, helping professionals arise to maintain a congruence between the actions and values of individuals and those of the larger society or collective in which both acting and valuing are meaningful.

Helping professionals, according to structural functionalists, attempt to help citizens learn and coordinate effective strategies of adaptation. An effective strategy is one in which the individual achieves the end sought, and does so with the approval of his/her collectivity. The logic here is that socially normal individuals are those capable of successfully securing their needs or adjusting them so as to secure their needs while realizing the approval of society. Everyone will attempt to develop modes of adaptation, but when these fail and none are found to replace them, the individual becomes a client of human service practitioners.

The structural functionalists take their reasoning one important step further. They posit five basic strategies of human adaptation to the changing social world. In line with Merton's (1957) work these are the five:

Conformity - The mode of adaptation involving a reliance on tradition and well-established paths of action to socially acceptable ends.

Retreatism - The mode of adaptation involving a concerted search for a more controlled social microcosm in which the individual can achieve socially acceptable ends.

Ritualism - The mode of adaptation involving an elaborate and structured series of continued and often repetitive actions to achieve socially acceptable ends.

Rebellion - The mode of adaptation involving an effort to thwart or renounce specific or generalized authority figures in order to achieve socially acceptable ends.

Innovation - The mode of adaptation involving the synthesis of heretofore uncombined elements to generate a novel but socially acceptable path to approved ends.

These strategies of human adaptation are *ideal types* in the Weberian tradition (1964), and are simplifications of a complex welter of adaptive patterns. The simplification of ideal-type analysis occurs with the use of sensitizing labels like *conformity* and *rebellion* to denote broadly conceived adaptive strategies.

Humans, it is argued, in an age of certainty will generally develop adaptive strategies that differ from those in either ambivalence or uncertainty. Moreover, those unable to succeed in attaining social normalcy in an age of certainty will differ from those prevalent in either ambivalence or uncertainty. This logic assumes that individuals within populations seek stable and trustworthy information in order to achieve social normalcy. To fulfill both the means-ends and the social legitimacy aspects of social normalcy, it is imperative that one find or develop a means of making sense of the social world.

In the age of uncertainty this need for a sense-making procedure is easily fulfilled. As shown in Figure 1, the adaptive strategy most useful in this context is conformity. This conformity cannot be blind. The rules governing the social system are explicit, and one desiring to fulfill particular ends within a socially legitimate context ought to be aware of the social rules guiding that behavior and especially the particular nuances and emphases given to the general behaviorl stream by highly successful *known models*. The known model is the active agent whose behavior is made concrete, and not abstractly theoretical or rule-bound. The second most successful adaptive strategy in an age of certainty is innovation. The stability of elements in an age of certainty permits the emergence of the stable social entrepreneur. Social entrepreneurship goes beyond conformity in achieving one's goals. It takes a concrete instance of conformist behavior and generates a novel combination. The novelty of innovation is easily kept within the parameters of the *legitimate* and the *totally acceptable* in an age of certainty, but this becomes more difficult in both the ages of ambivalence and uncertainty.

Ritualism is the strategy least likely to work in an age of certainty. The ritualist relies on an elaborate and structured series of often

FIGURE 1: CERTAINTY IN HUMAN ADAPTATION:

Adaptation	Saliency
conformity	+
retreatism	+/−
ritualism	−
rebellion	−/+
innovation	+

FIGURE 2: AMBIVALENCE IN HUMAN ADAPTATION

Adaptation	Saliency
conformity	+/−
retreatism	+/−
ritualism	−
rebellion	−/+
innovation	+/−

FIGURE 3: UNCERTAINTY IN HUMAN ADAPTATION

Adaptation	Saliency
conformity	−
retreatism	+/−
ritualism	+
rebellion	−
innovation	+/−

repetitive actions to achieve socially acceptable ends. This behavioral strategy successfully anchors the psyche, and permits a feeling of control, but it often is incapable of ready transfer from one goal accomplishment to another. In an age of certainty, one must not only be able to use stable information to accomplish a goal, but be able to move on to other goals when one has succeeded with the first. Ritualism in an age of certainty is like a traveler with too much luggage.

Two adaptations that work for some and not others in an age of certainty are rebellion and retreatism. Rebellion works well when the individual is prevented from accomplishing socially acceptable goals by an authority figure. It works best when the authority figure is sensitive to rebellion as a *message* in line with *other's* desire to achieve socially acceptable goals. It works worst when directed to non-authority others with little direct influence on the individual's goals, or when directed to an authoritarian type authority figure who reads rebellion as a signal to increase blocking behavior. Retreatism works well for those seeking goals that are achievable in the retreatist context. These goals should be highly focused. Moreover, to be successful in either a hermitic, or a community retreatist endeavor, the retreatist must be fully engaged and unstinting in commitment to this adaptive strategy.

In an age of ambivalence the social world becomes more turbulent. Conformity, like its behavioral root, tradition, now becomes iffy. Conformity, as shown in Figure 2 works well when done selectively. Since the social processes have speeded up so rapidly, one must learn to adjust the old well-established rules of an age of certainty to one of ambivalence. One of the best and most important ways to accomplish this is to select a model who is proving successful in the accelerated social conditions of this period. The selection requires a clear understanding of one's goals and an ability to discern this in a successful model as *other.*

In an age of ambivalence, as in an age of certainty, retreatism can be both adaptive and non-adaptive. Retreatism is useful for those seeking limited goals with an intense focus and concentration, a strategy not easily accepted in the hurly-burly of today's urban life. But one must be aware that it is likely in an age of ambivalence, as turbulence increases, that more individuals lacking in deep commitment, will perceive the retreatist adaptation as a panacea. To these increasing numbers, the retreatist adaptation may produce an increase, and not a decrease in social abnormality.

The ritualist in an age of ambivalence sticks out less exaggeratedly than in an age of certainty, but the ritualist's insistence on highly routinized activities does not become any more functional. The reason the ritualist begins to assume the appearance of greater adjustment in an age of ambivalence is that the ritual routines often give others the feeling that here is a swift and assured decision-maker; one who is self-confident. Ritualism increases during an age of ambivalence. To many, as the script speeds up, the only way to tackle the acceleration is to memorize one's lines.

Rebelliousness in an age of ambivalence is

both adaptive and non-adaptive. In this respect it is like rebelliousness in an age of certainty. But there are two key differences to be noted. In an age of certainty, it is still highly useful to rebel in order to communicate feelings of being blocked to the blocking *other*. In an age of ambivalence, it is both more difficult to identify clearly the blocking *other*, and of equal import, to have the *other* recognize the rebellious content of the message. Thus, in an age of ambivalence, as individuals find it more difficult to achieve their ends, rebelliousness increases.

Innovation in an age of ambivalence becomes an important, but dangerous mode of adaptation. It is important because the age of ambivalence provides great opportunities to innovators. The rapidity of acceleration of social phenomena melded with increasing erasure of older and more concrete demarcations of the age of certainty not only make innovation possible, but demand it. The dangers of innovation are twofold. 1) It cannot be taught, and one is confounded by those who claim to be able to teach innovation. 2) More pressing is that the innovator in an age of ambivalence may be found on the *wrong* side of the law. The issue of social legitimacy of action, explicit in the structural functionalists' designation of social normalcy now becomes problematic. The categories of moral and legal evaluation often change more slowly than the motive force that stirs the innovator.

In an age of uncertainty, unpredictability prevails. In these circumstances, as shown in Figure 3, conformity is not a very useful adaptation. Traditional means of achieving socially approved ends no longer serve adequately to guide behavior. Moreover, direct modeling based on the perceptions of successful others, is adaptive in an age of ambivalence but is no longer useful in an age of uncertainty. Citizen A's perception of Citizen B's success in a venture with an outcome which A desires, in no way guarantees that B's method will succeed.

The speed which denoted an age of ambivalence is not joined to the incidence of spasmodic change. Patterned events occurring at Time 1, such as B's successful behavior need not be at all successful at Time 2 simply because the same behavior sequence is used.

The rebel appears very frequently in an age of uncertainty, but this frequency should not be taken to gauge rebellion's adaptiveness, because the perception of blockage increases when the rebel feels unable to achieve socially acceptable ends. But it is difficult to locate the source of blockage, and without this knowledge, tension reduction is temporary, and in the long run tension is increased. The reason that rebellion fails to reduce tension overall is the ubiquity of rebellion in an age of uncertainty. Tension likely increases as acts of rebellion are not received as messages of blockage, but as acts to be resisted with equal or greater rebellious intensity.

In an age of uncertainty ritualism will increase and provide a psychological anchor. Ritualism will not lead to goal attainment better than conformity, but it provides a sense of control. Excess behavior luggage which draws ridicule to the ritualist in the age of certainty helps to maintain calm and steady demeanor in times of social agitation. The ritualist takes refuge in a large corporate entity or fundamentalist religious interpretations. The ritualist adheres rigidly to a series of understandable behavioral prescriptions. The solidity of this step-by-step system provides a relatively sophisticated way to cope with uncertainty.

The retreatist and innovator, as shown in Figure 3 can adapt or fail depending on their mode of approach. Successful retreatism entails a formal commitment to the ideals and discipline of this mode of existence. Those seeking hermitic existence must insure that affiliative and social desires are well understood. Those entering the *community of retreatists* encounter a boom of such persons in the age of uncertainty, and many are drawn in less to the ideals of retreatist existence than by fear of the raw machinations of mass behavior. Successful innovation does not signal a mastery of the system or the use of intellect to fashion novelty. Instead, successful innovation requires patience, a playful disposition and good fortune. The unsuccessful innovator is one who, lacking patience, is continually frustrated by the randomness of occurrences, and looks at each failure as a threat to the self-perceived superior intellect. The successful innovator understands the importance of luck and appreciates the emergent, unpredictable age of uncertainty.

CONCLUSION

While more analysts focus on the *stress* variable as an important indicator of psychological and social problems, they do so at the expense of ignoring the manner in which stress in the aggregate plays a vital role as sociological uncertainty. Being a good helping professional requires cognizance not only of one's particular therapy, but also of how this can be adjusted to suit ongoing changes in the nature of society. I have tried to sensitize human service practitioners to the effect of alterations in sociological uncertainty on human efforts to achieve normalcy. As a practitioner one must grow familiar with one's own version of current normalcy, but it is even more important to realize how transitory such normalcy is in the face of altering social pressures.

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GOFFMAN: CONTENT AND METHOD FOR SEMINAL THOUGHT

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GOFFMAN CONCEPTUALIZATION

Erving Goffman, widely acknowledged as a leading contemporary social thinker, is a prolific and popular writer, having authored 35 major journal articles and many books. His influence spread through innovative concepts like *dramaturgic model*, and the *game metaphor* for analysis of social interaction, and his analysis of societal response in *stigma*. "Since the publication of *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1959), Goffman has been widely regarded as one who could develop effective and intriguing theory. His perspective and concepts have become part of the standard vocabulary of sociology." (Glaser, Strauss 1967 136). Regarding *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*, another of Goffman's admirers suggests that it represents the apex of the author's craftsmanship, brought about by a rare blend of scientist and humanist (Cuzzort 1969 6).

Looking at the relation between these two books may offer insight into the Goffman method of creating and validating theory. Methods of data collection, investigation of phenomena and style of presentation are similar, but *The Presentation of Self* clearly embodies the major theoretical development, while *Stigma* consists of a concentrated application and a sort of testing of the theory and concepts developed. In both books, Goffman's effort is directed to developing theoretical frameworks beyond the study of the substantive areas. In the Preface to *The Presentation of Self*, he begins: "I mean this report to serve as a sort of handbook detailing one sociological perspective from which social life can be studied ..." In *Stigma* he notes that numerous good studies of stigmas have accumulated; he wishes to show "how this material can be economically described within a single conceptual scheme." He continues, "This task will allow me to formulate and use a special set of concepts ..."

Stigma involves not only an application of a previously constructed framework, but also a continued theoretical development. Thus, the book provides opportunity to examine both the content-data of seminal thought and the concomitant methodology. Certainly, *Stigma* is a compelling and exciting book, filled with what C W Mills meant by "sociological imagination." It is filled with convincing glimpses of social reality, with a combination of keen, profound insights and a persuasive style. It is perhaps worthwhile to investigate what Goffman is *doing*, and the method and sources of data which lie behind his analyses. If theory can be defined as: *A map of an empirical referent*, it seems fair to assume that the ultimate validity and generality of theoretical contributions are determined by the data and method from which the theory was generated.

Textbooks on social research methodology condition the student to expect certain prescribed procedures in every report of sociological investigation. One expects the scientific method to be apparent in the process of formulating most research problems and research designs. Whatever the process entails, the interaction between theory and empirical reality should be reciprocal and ongoing. Movement from one to the other should involve use of unbiased data collection, stated hypotheses and variables specified in a form testable in a reliable manner, with careful consideration of causal relations and inferences.

These requirements constitute an ideal. But its acknowledgment is not to deny that notable contributions have been made to the fund of sociological knowledge through efforts which either fall short of the formal prescription, or even employ different criteria for what is acceptable and fruitful in sociological endeavor. The effect is to place the student in a vortex of controversy over different methodological approaches and the adequacy of differing theories generated from them.

One argument centers on the relative merits of quantitative versus qualitative empirical evidence. These two positions are often treated as polar opposites. They are referred to as *scientism, mathematical-statistical hard sociology,* and *methodolatry* by one critical faction, and as *humanism, verstehen,* and *soft sociology* by the opposing faction. Kingsley Davis supports the first position and criticizes

those who fail to found their theory on quantitative data: "Others share in a regrettable social science propensity: theory, instead of meaning the widest body of rigorous reasoning about a set of observed relationships, has come to mean a long stretch of purely verbal analysis." (Davis 1959 313)

Bierstedt (1960 9) champions the humanist orientation, suggesting that all sociology need not be scientific: "Veblen used no questionnaires, Sumner no coefficients of correlation, and Tocquevill was wholly untrained in the modern techniques of field investigation. One does not imply from these examples that either ignorance or neglect of formal method is a virtue. One does imply that something more than method is required to achieve a genuine superiority. The reason these writers were great sociologists is that they were humanist first."

Another argument centers not so much on the kind of data from which to generate or test theory, but the extent to which it relates to an actual empirical referent. Larson's (1973) differentiation between *grounded theory* and *ungrounded theory* illustrates the dilemma. According to Glaser and Strauss (1967 2), grounded theory means "the discovery of theory from data systematically obtained from social research." Ideally, grounded theory is solidly anchored in the empirical world. At the other extreme, ungrounded theory consists of abstract impressionism, rational construction without form or content. In this realm of theoretical development and testing, there is a tendency to present analysis without adequately explaining how certain conclusions were selected in preference to other logical and plausible conclusions. Not surprisingly, "... the personal style of the "ungrounded theorist" rather than the content of his work becomes the focal point not only of his detractors, but also his admirers." (Larson 1973 3) The whole effect is to remove from consideration the objectivity essential to scientific method."

GOFFMAN METHOD

The reader of *Stigma* soon becomes aware that Goffman is not concerned with formal method, and that his theoretical development and validation often veer toward the ungrounded pole. He does not rely on elaborate measurements, or structured questionnaires or interviews. He does not hesitate to use literary examples if they help to illustate a concept or idea. He relies heavily on case studies, gleanings of "expert opinion" from other sociological and psychological studies, as well as novels and casual conversations. His work is mainly of a descriptive, qualitative nature which seems to blend well with his own profound insights. According to Cuzzort (1969 192), Goffman qualifies as a scientist: "Goffman stands back and observes through perspectives of science, the artful behavior of man. The effect is powerful ... the large following ... in sociological and psychological circles is a result of the fact that he brings together the synthetic powers of the humanistic artist with the analytic and objective powers of the contemporary social scientist."

Since Goffman's seminal writings are devoid of conventional measures, the effort to determine his methodology must center on the content of the writings per se. Content analysis is the highly flexible tool which can be molded to any conceptual format deemed promising for assessing non-obvious characteristics about a corpus of scientific work. Goffman used copious short footnotes to illuminate his text for the reader concerned with possible sources for his ideas and demonstrative examples. A simple content analysis of those footnotes for *Stigma* provides an exploratory avenue to the Goffman method. Content analysis is quantitative in the sense that it involves measurement and classification of some component of documentary materials, providing a quantitative method of working with qualitative data (Simon 1969 271). Although content analysis of the footnotes is elementary, some intriguing facts emerge concerning Goffman's data sources which constitute much of his scientific methodology, and from that, his formulation of theory.

There is a total of 292 footnotes in *Stigma*, each citing a source which illuminates or demonstrates the various points made in the text. Of the 292 footnotes, 280 are included in the present analysis. Sufficient information was not available for the remaining 12 references to be traced. The frequency distribution by number of citations per source for 194 citations is indicated in Table 1.1, with 74 single citations listed alphabetically by

TABLE 1: SOURCE CITATION FREQUENCY IN *STIGMA* FOOTNOTES

Table 1.1 Multiple Citations

Citations	Authors	Source Year and Title
15	Chevigny	1962 *My Eyes Have a Cold Nose*
15	Henrich, Kriegel	1961 *Experiments in Survival*
12	McGregor	1953 *Facial Deformities-Plastic Surgery*
7	Goffman	1959, 1963 *Encounters; Asylums; Self*
7	Rolph	1955 1957 *Women of the Streets; Personal Identity*
7	Stearn	1961 1962 *Sisters of the Night; Sixth Man*
6	Carling	1962 *And Yet We Are Human*
6	Lemert	1948 1951 *Social Pathology*
6	Toynbee	1961 *Underdogs*
6	Yarrow, Clawson	1955 Social meaning of mental illness. *J Social Issues*
6	Hathaway	1943 *The Little Locksmith.*
6	Orbach et al	1957 Fear and defensive adaptations to loss of anal sphincter control. *Psychoanal Rev*
5	Baker W, L Smith	1939 Facial disfigurement & personality. *J Amer Med Assn*
5	Criddle	1953 *Love is not Blind*
5	Davis F	1961 Deviance disavowal: Management of strained interaction by visibly handicapped. *Social Probl*
5	Lewin K	1948 *Resolving Social Conflicts Pt 3*
5	Livingstone	1963 *Living with Epileptic Seizures*
5	Parker, Allerton	1962 *Courage of his Convictions*
5	White R K et al	1948 *Studies in Adjustment to Visible Injuries*
4	Barker R	1953 Social psychology of physical disability. *J Social Issues*
4	Johnson J	1960 *Autobiography of an Ex-colored Man*
4	Keitlin T	1962 *Farewell to Fear*
3	Atholl J	1956 *Reluctant Hangman.*
3	Riesman D	1951 Some observations on marginality. Phylon
3	Russell	1949 *Victory in My Hands*
3	Sartre J	1960 *Anti-Semite and Jew.*
3	Viscardi	1952, 1961 *A Man's Stature. Laughter in the Lonely Night.*
3	Wildwood	1959 *Against the Few.*
2	Becker	1963, 1955 *Outsiders.* Marijuana use and social control.*Social Probl*
2	Broyard	1950 Portrait of the inauthentic negro. *Commentary X*
2	Gowan A G	1956 *The War Blind.*
2	Greenwald	1958 *The Call Girl.*
2	Griffin J H	1960 *Black Like Me.*
2	Freeman, Kasenbaum	1956 The illiterate in America. *Social Forces*
2	Hartman	1951 Criminal aliases: A psychological study. *J Psych*
2	Hooker E	1961 Homosexual community. Unpubl
2	Hughes H M	1961 *The Fantastic Lodge.*
2	Landy, Singer	1961 Social organization & culture of former mental patients. *Human Relats*
2	Linduska	1947 1961 *My Polio Past. Madelaine: An Autobiography.*
2	Mills E	1961 *Living with Mental Illness.*
2	Rigman	1959 *Second Sight.*
2	Seeman	1958 The intellectual & the language of minorities. *Amer J Sociol*
2	Wolfe B	1950 Ecstatic in black face. *Modern Rev*

Table 1.2 Single references by author.

Adams R 1961	Ernst, Schwartz 1962	Lindesmith, Strauss 1956	San Francisco Chron 1963
Allport G 1958	Fleming 1954	Love E 1957	Savitz, Tomasson 1959
Baldwin J	Glass R 1962	Maurer 1949	Schachtel 1961
Bainbridge 1961	Gordon 1960	Meltzer 1962	Shaler 1904
Bartlett 1961	Greenberg 1950	Messinger 1962	Somer, Osmand, Pancyr '60
Belknap 1956	Heckstall-Smith 1954	Myerson, Maller 1960	Stone 1962
Berkeley Daily Gaz 1961	Henry 1954	Murphey Unpubl	Swartz 1957
Broom, Beam, Harris 1955	Hirshi 1962	Norman 1958	Thomas
Brossard 1955	Hodgson 1954	Parkins 1961	Unadjusted Girl 1923
Birdwhistell 1955	Hughes E 1958	Palmer 1958	Unpubl ms 1952
Burma 1946	Kane 1927	Perry et al eds 1956	Warner W L 1937
Clark E 1961	Kardmer 1951	Perry S E 1954	Wechsler 1960
Chaudhuri 1959	Kerkhoff 1952	Pear 1957	West N 1962
Coser 1962	Kogon, McLeod 1947	Phelan 1953	Westwood 1960
Dendrickson, Thomas 1954	Kohn, Williams 1956	Poli 1960	White D R 1961
Dentler, Erikson 1959	Ladieu et al 1947	Poll 1962	Marx Gary Unpubl ms
Dexter L A 1958	Lee R 1953	Reiss 1961	Sawadski, Lazarsfeld 1935
Dickens' Amer Notes 1842	Levin 1953	Roneche 1953	
Erikson E 1950	Lieber 1962	Rubin 1961	

author in Table 1.2, with year of publication. Listing titles for multiple citations shows the range and types of sources for Goffman's analytical thought processes. He freely acknowledged these intellectual obligations, (Figure 1) showing his personal contacts and generalizations from experience. He used an antenna to pick up stray fragments of data, examples, and concepts, and wove them into the sturdy web of his arguments. The wide range of sources incorporated in *Stigma* is definitely worth noting.

1) Case studies and fictional sources such as reflective novels are favorite sources to supply examples and illustrations of his point.

2) It is significant that social scientists have ignored the *pimp* category in prostitution research. Goffman calls this a hiatus in the

objective study of this subject. Much of the basic problem in social science research is made up of operant latent factors which the social scientist has yet to discover.

FIGURE 1: OTHER *STIGMA* NOTES

1.1 Personal Credits.

"I know a physician ... p 42
Harvey Sacks, p 55
Harold Garfinkel, p 62
Evelyn Hooker, p 83
Harold Garfinkel, p 88
David Matza, p 139
Dorothy Smith, p 143

1.2 Insightful Comments

"The management of stigma is, of course, a central theme in the English novel." p 5.

"... a convention seems to have emerged in popular life-story writing where a questionable person proves his claim to normalcy by citing his acquisition of a spouse and children ..." p 7.

"Although there is ample fictional, and even some case history material on prostitutes, there is very little material of any kind on the pimp." p 79.

DISCUSSION

Exactly half of all 292 references cited in *Stigma* refer to 22 of the 127 authors and confidants listed as idea and illustration sources. Of the 269 cited works, 191, or 71 percent were contemporary, within the previous 9-year period, and 78, or 29 percent were from earlier publication. Since Goffman relies so little on quantitative data, there is no barrier to current validity. And we can probably discount the heavy concentration of references on just one-sixth of the listed sources, since there is no clear requirement to distribute references equally among sources. However the analyst might probe further into the effects of source dominance in *Stigma*. Is there evidence that Goffman's analysis is misdirected by favoritism is source selection?

More in-depth analysis yields further implications. This analysis consists of classifying into a series of categories all those sources not considered to be of the quantitative, formal method type. Categories were constructed from information gained by tracking down and checking the content of all listed sources. The task was complicated because 40 of the references were published in Great Britain, and many were not available to us. Cases where the source could not be obtained were classified where possible according to information gleaned from literary abstracts and from Goffman's context. This classification was facilitated by Goffman's habit of indicating whether the source was a novel or a biography. Finally, sources were classified in four categories, in addition to that containing the more scientific studies. The categories appeared to be clearly defined and mutually exclusive. If a source qualified for any one of the categories, that was the only category in which it could be placed.

The four analytical categories are presented with a definition, an illustrative example, and the percentage which the category represents for all *Stigma* source citations.

1) Fictional or hypothetical. Not based on fact but on fantasy or conjecture. Example: I Levin's *A Kiss Before Dying.* 14 percent.

2) Bio- or autobiographical, or a single case. Example: Griffin's *Black Like Me.* 22 percent.

3) Essay, descriptive, & qualitative. These sources are similar in construction and content-type to Goffman's *Stigma*. 19 percent.

4) Intuitive suggestion. Based on intuition or suggestions from friends in converstion. Example: "Suggested by Evelyn Hooker in Conversation." 3.4 percent.

This category system accounts for a total of 58 percent of Goffman's citations. It provides an excellent example of extraordinarily fruitful qualitative output. This 58 percent of Goffman's research sources which lies outside the hard, quantitative data so popular with neopositivists in sociology today represents the key to Goffman's methodology. At the same time, we must recognize that 42 percent of the data sources used in *Stigma* are from studies by sociologists and psychologists that would be perfectly acceptable to more quantitative and formal methodological orientations. When these two groups of sources are brought together with Goffman's own inventive insights, we get a readable and provocative book like *Stigma*.

CONCLUSION

It is apparent that Goffman's methodololgy is an adroit synthesis of differently derived data. While the debate continued throughout the discipline between proponents of the qualitative versus the quantitative emphasis in research methodololgy, and between ungrounded versus grounded theory and theory development, Goffman boldly generated and applied theory on the basis of a subtle wedding of the polar types. He reflected an easy, unquestioning trust in his sources, which he quoted wholesale. Two alternative conclusions are possible.

1) Goffman has mixed clay and iron. Thus the theoretical contributions, because of their mixed data and unorthodox methohdology, are of weak and tenuous validity.

2) Goffman has combined two metals in a new and priceless alloy. The blend of content and methodology draws strength from both of these consitituent elements and offers a useful alternative to the quantitative/qualitative dichotomy in sociological analysis.

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CHANGES IN RUNNERS' VOCABULARIES OF MOTIVE: PHYSICAL FITNESS AS RELIGION

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Reason is essentially a servant of the passions — it is the faculty of devising ways and means to secure what one desires. --Thomas Hobbes

VOCABULARIES OF MOTIVE

In an earlier study (Edgley et al 1982) we described how the physical fitness movement, as embodied in running and jogging, has taken on many trappings of religion. The movement draws on the same symbolic foundations as religion, such as conversion, evangelism, testimonials, disputes over dogma, and sacred texts. It also must construct a vocabulary of motives to justify its activities to members, skeptics, and detractors.

Mills' (1940) concept of *situated actions* and *vocabularies of motive* was formulated in the Scott and Lyman definition of accounts:

> An account is a linguistic device employed whenever an action is subjected to valuative inquiry. Such devices are a crucial element in the social order since they prevent conflict eruption by verbally bridging the gap between action and expectation. (Brissett, Edgley, 1975 171)

HOW THIS STUDY WAS DONE

Since we were interested in changes in vocabularies over time, we extracted that portion of an earlier study (Edgley et al 1982), but it together with the Nash (1976) study which dealt with motives, and compared those accounts with those which we have observed and elicited in the last year. During 1983 we attended the New York Marathon, a gathering of over 17,000 runners, and the largest single running event in the world, the Dallas White Rock Marathon, where more than 8,000 were officially entered, and the Tulsa Run, the second largest 15 kilometer race in the world, attracting some 7,000 entrants. We attended events, participated in the scene and got a feel for each of them. In each case we attended accompanying seminars which brought together runners, prominent writers, gurus, nutritionists, cultural heroes, and leaders of the running movement to share observations with those in attendance.

In the course of watching and listening to runners talk, we often observed motive exchanges. And we challenged runners by asking them, "Why do you do this?" The context of the question was usually startling because we asked it with something of an edge, implying that what they were doing might be more problematic than thought. Despite the fact that the environment was that generated by fellow runners, the question usually created discomfort. We recorded our observations about the changes in the nature and types of vocabularies of motive used by runners, and compared and classified them, excluding those where we disagreed among ourselves.

RUNNERS AND MOTIVES

We initially thought that at running events, questions of motive would rarely arise. We presumed that there existed a well-defined substratum of agreement about why people run. This proved not to be the case. Runners found the question. "Why?" very problematic. We suspect that this is due to two major circumstances which runners encounter as they engage in running:

1) There is pressure from others to explain why they do what they do. Regardless of the fact that running has become enormously popular, there remains a non-running majority who do not fully understand why people run. This includes spouses who may not appreciate the time demands that running and training place on the serious runner, as well as supervisors who are also skeptical, and non-runners who may be positively threatened by the alleged new competition in the arenas of appearance, energy, and sex appeal said to be posed by the converted runner. 2) There is lack of agreement among runners themselves about why they run. We were amazed to discover this in seminars held in conjunction with every major running event in the United States.

The seminars, usually held the day before the race, consist of nationally prominent figures in the running movement who give testimonials, inspirational speeches about

running, and reminisce on past glories. Rather than take for granted the vocabularies of motive which rationalize running activities, these speakers lace their talks with reference to why they run. The seminar phenomenon suggested an important feature of the symbolic interactionist-dramaturgical view of motives. Most people think of motives as antecedents to action. "People first have motives, and their motives *impel* them to act." But in fact, *motives enable people to act by giving them and others a sense of why they do what they do.* People act, by taking up running. Then in their relations with other runners they discover why they run. Obviously, the initial motives for doing something are only a starting point. People take up an act for one reason, keep it up for another, and abandon it for still another. Motives, then, are basic acts of communication, and are in a continuous process of developing the rationales which support an activity. They are usually not stable over time, for they change as shared situations change, and as the others change, toward whom motives are directed. Runners are persons on the move in terms of self-understanding, and so running, perhaps more than other activities, involves a transformation in every component of the self, including its justifying motives.

A LEXICON OF MOTIVES FOR RUNNING

What are the common motives used by runners to justifiy their activity to audiences with which they communicate? Through both studies we gathered material on the most frequent motives given the question: "Why run?" We found important and insightful changes in the kinds of motives given 5-10 years earlier and the kind most likely to be given now. First we list the more common motives given for running. They are not in any particular order.

1) Healthy Bodies. Most adherents believe running to be "good for me." Most have an almost fanatical devotion to the body, and largely through self-study, have become rather expert about the body as a physio-chemical machine. The use of this motive is coupled to an explicit denunciation of its opposite. Fat is bad — thin is good. High pulse rate is bad — low pulse rate is good. A preoccupation with circulation, strong hearts, healthy lungs, low cholesterol counts, and a high percentage of high-density cholesterol plus the mechanisms for achieving such results, are all to be found in the rhetoric of runners and are implied in the use of the *healthy body* motive.

Runners almost never legitimize their running by this motive without reference to its opposite. Atrocity stories regularly encountered cite non-runners who had heart attacks, strokes, lung disease, and other cardiovascular and pulmonary problems are almost as couplets in statements about the health advantages of running. Not surprisingly, stories about runners who had heart attacks are played down. An interesting exception occurred in one seminar we attended in which one speaker was the radical diet impressario, Nathan Pritikin. He was there to promote his new book, *The Pritikin Promise*, and delivered to a packed ballroom a strident warning that if runners did not adopt his low fat diet they were courting heart attacks and strokes. He ennumerated ten cases of dedicated runners who died while running.

2) Longer Life. Some runners motivate their running as *life-saving* rather than merely *life-enhancing*. Citing the many examples of tragedy in the cardiac society, these people assert that they are literally running for their lives. Some have previous coronary problems, but many simply feel that by running they are engaging in the preventive medicine which will lengthen their lives. They use the same examples as those who run to preserve their bodies, but explicitly claim that running will also make them live longer.

3) Transcendental Motives. This set of motives, sometimes associated with religious values, but often meant in a purely secular sense, pertains to the "spiritual" rather than simply to the "physical" side of running. Running is said to increase the quality of mental life, make a person "in touch" with him/herself, give the runner a *natural high*, and spiritually to "fulfill" the participant. The philosopher-guru of the movement, George Sheehan, in his best-selling existentialist tract, *Running and Being* (1979 119) says:

> Every mile I run is my first. Every hour on the road a new beginning. Every day I put on my running clothes, I am born again. Seeing things as if for the first time, seeing the familiar as unfamiliar, the common as uncommon.

This is heady stuff for an activity that often

involves blisters, strained muscles, fallen arches, and an assortment of orthopedic problems, but such rationales are often found throughout the literature on fitness, and at meetings among runners one frequently hears references to *new consciousnes, new awareness,* and *spiritual rebirth.*

4) Weight Control and Personal Appearance.

"Running is a way to lose weight and to look nice." this motive was articulated often by both women and men, and it went without saying that the transformation is positive and beneficial. While some runners actually *gain* weight from running, most are convinced that running is the most efficient way to control body weight. Since lean muscle weighs more than fat, a decrease in body fat without dieting can actually cause the weight to increase. It is important to note, however, that weight is merely one element in a more ambitious program of improved appearance:

> After I got in shape my heart beat went down to 57 beats a minute, and that really excited my husband, but let me tell you the thing that excited me, because I am female through and through, was that I had dropped two dress sizes. I'd always been an eight at the top, but a 12 at the bottom. For the first time in my life, I could wear the same size dress all the way down.

Other testimonials from those in the movement speak of the revulsion they felt from being fat, the fear of rejection by others because of their weight, or as Harry Stack Sullivan might have said, the reflected appraisals of others would be just too devastating to bear.

In addition to these external appearances, there is also implied in much of the motive talk of runners a concern with certain "internal" appearances. In short, there appears to have emerged in the running movement a kind of hierarchy that has to do with appearances that are apparent only to those who understand the rhetoric of running itself. For example, various tests have emerged among runners which let other runners know the condition of their insides. Low heart rates are particularly good evidence that one's insides look good, and there are numerous wrist-worn high technology instruments which give an instant readout of this all-important information expressing a runner's inner appearance.

5) Appeals to the Self. It has been observed that society in the United States went through a fundamental change in the primary organizing activity of life, and that this change reached its apex during the decade of the 1960's. Instead of work being the prime organizer, consumption and preoccupation with issues of the self became more significant. This *culture of narcissism*, as Christopher Lasch called it, is characterized by a depth of concern with issues of the self which at other times would have been found wholly unreasonable. Suddenly, appeals to the self were the pre-eminent motive for justifying acts in question, and they could be found everywhere. Scott and Lyman note that what has more recently filtered to the middle classes was first seen among drug users and homosexuals (Brissett, Edgley 1975 177):

> Drug user: The whole point in takimg the stuff is self development. Acid expands consciousness. Mine eyes have seen the glory — can you say that?. I never knew what capactities I had until I went on acid.
>
> Lesbian: Everyone has the right to happiness and love. I was married once. It was hell. But now I feel I have fulfilled myself as a person and as a woman.

What was good enough for acid heads and lesbians was surely good enough for the middle class runner being harrangued about her/his obsession. Running may be an addiction, but suddenly it became a *positive* rather than a negative one. Self-fulfillment was its own motive and needed no other support. If the audience did not understand that, then too bad! But audiences *did* understand it, for the culture of narcissism was making the point on other fronts simultaneously.

CHANGE IN VOCABULARIES OF MOTIVE

Between our first and second studies we observed what we regard as significant changes in both the substance and style of motives used by runners to justify their activity before questioning audiences. While appeals to the body, to health, and to appearance, and to spiritual values can still be heard, appeals to the self now seem to be the predominant motive of the running community. It is important to remember that motives are not psychological constructs, but rather social constructs designed to communicate to

audiences a sense of why a person acts in a particular way. Thus, the shift of appeals from externals to appeals to internals is significant, for it means that society, in the form of validating audiences for the self has changed considerably in its views of self as a motivating force in life, acceptable now almost *sui generis.*

What seems to be a part of this change in the vocabularies of rationale which give meaning and substance to daily life is an emphasis on the consciousness of choice among the middle classes in the United States. Many Americans now have come to take for granted that they have virtually a constitutional right to choose their own style of living, even though the gymnastics necessary to pull off these choices can be formidable, given modern contingencies. There is a curious kind of individualism stemming from this consciousness of choice. Many Americans, recognizing the arbitrary nature of a society that is concerned more with style than with substance, have come to search for "reality" within their own personal lives, and almost in opposition to society, rather than in cooperation with it. What has resulted is the preoccupation with self that characterizes the motives of runners we observed. Tom Wolfe calls this preoccupation the *alchemical dream* of American society:

> The old alchemical dream was changing base metals into gold. The new alchemical dream is changing one's personality ... remaking, remodeling, elevating and polishing one's very self ... and observing, studying and doting on it.

This self-refurbishing project, which we observed in many of the runners in our study, means that society is merely a resource with which to tap the hidden reservoirs of the self. Appeals to the self may be satisfying, but the implications for society have not gone unnoticed. For some observers, running has become the perfect symbol for the social and political malaise that besets society today. The premise for this rather negative view of running is grounded in the fact that during the last decade, many younger Americans have turned their backs on politics and social concerns. This new apolitical majority, troubled by events of the past two decades, and cynical about the changes of producing lasting changes through the political system, have embraced aggressively a hedonism which, although a delight to merchandizers and media which cater to it, is the despair of others who feel that there is much that can and ought to be done about the problems which beset us (Schneider 1983 33).

From this point of view, running is the ultimate luxury: a socially approved vocabulary of motives for pouring energy and money into an activity that has as its sole purpose, the gratification to the self. The traditional motives for engaging in sport are suddenly subordinated. Few runners hope to win major or minor races because as amateurs, they can hardly expect to compete with the quasi professionals that even small races now attract. Glory? With fields of several thousand, that purpose makes little sense. The love of the sport of track and field? Almost all of the participants have come into running only recently, after it became fashionable. Schneider captures this duplicity in his attempt to anser the question, "Why has the marathon become so popular?"

> Because it is the ideal narcissistic sport for our time. It is striking that virtually all of the runners assert that their only goal is to "finish the race." Of course, sporting their designer running outfits, cossetted by friends and crowds of bystanders, and scrutinized by television cameras, they have every reason to prolong their moment in the sun by finishing the race.

The New York Marathon, the world's most popular, winds its way through some of the most depressed and crime-ridden areas of the city. We asked several runners at that race, about what they thought of those areas. Their responses were best summarized by professional skier Jean-Claude Kiley, who entered the race "... to see if I can do it."

> "I'll probably take $10 with me on Sunday for a cab if I need it," he said, hoping to finish the 26.2 mile race.
>
> "The subways are free for anyone with a number," interjected race director, Eliot Lebow.
>
> "I'll never use the subways in New York," Kiley said. "You can get killed down there." (New York Times 1983 84)

When athletes run through neighborhoods that are afflicted with a wide ranage of problems, they seem to be successful in screening out almost everything except their own image.

CONCLUSION

Through the two studies we have constructed about modern running and fitness, it has become clear that while the movement has taken on many characteristics of religion, it is a religion based on an indvidual rather than a social ethic. First motivated for health reasons, then spiritualism and then personal appearance, running has culminated in the abandonment of most motives except a simple appeal to the self. Apolitical, uninvolved, non-participants in the usual concerns of social life, runners have found a vocabulary of motives that allows self-indulgence without guilt. While some observers complain that American society has become too much a spectator society engaged in the pursuit of vicarious pleasures, and involvement without commitment, running seems to offer involvement and participation with real commitment. On closer examinaiton, however, it would seem that while the participation is real, and the commitment is also real, it is a commitment to the self alone and to nothing else.

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FEATURED SECTION: Four Articles on CLINICAL SOCIOLOGY

Clinical Sociology Editor: H Hugh Floyd, University of New Orleans, Lousiana

INTRODUCTION The clinical application of sociology has been part of sociologists' activities for many decades (Wirth 1937). Yet it was not until 1978 that an effort was made to transform what had been a personal career practice of individual sociologists into a collective professional organization. At that time, a group of 50 sociologists established a network of interested professionals which evolved into the Clinical Sociology Association (CSA). CSA now has a membership of 500 and supports the journal, *Clinical Sociology Review*. The first meeting was held at the 1978 annual meeting of the American Sociological Association. It remains the intent of the membership to maintain professional identity as sociologists, and to base their theoretical and clinical practice in the discipline of sociology.

Three decades ago Straus (1957) in efforts to establish a link between sociology as a behavioral science and medicine as a health service profession proposed that one might refer to: 1) sociology *of* medicine and 2) sociology *in* medicine. Sociology *of* medicine is concerned with investigation of medicine, focusing on sociological theory testing conducted by professional sociologists outside formal medical settings. Sociology *in* medicine was conducted by sociologists cooperating with other professionals *within* a medical setting. Its goal is to use sociological theory and research in the medical setting to produce more effective service delivery by health practitioners.

Clinical sociology is an addition to this typology. Although in no way practicing medicine, clinical sociologists are placed directly into the role of change agent in service to clients seeking help. Thus, sociologists take a position among the helping professions. In this role, practitioner sociologists focus on specific cases or clients who seek resolution of specific problems. Such clients may be individuals, families, organizations or communities seeking competent professional help. The goal of clinical process is to facilitate or engender change in the client that will result in resolution of the problem, and growth for the client (Freeman 1982).

This feature section of four articles is offered to clarify and identify clinical sociology as a part of the sociological process. 1) The authors offer examples of how the sociological imagination might serve as a conceptual framework for specifying clinical goals.
2) The authors point out how the application of clinical sociology is relevant for different content areas of human experience.
3) The authors illustrate various levels of analysis used by clinical sociologists.

I anticipate a continuation of this feature on clinical sociology in the November issue of FICS.

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A SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY OF CRISIS INTERVENTION

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INTRODUCTION

The word *crisis* has become part of the terminology of psychiatry, psychology, social work, and sociology, and it is found in standard dictionaries in these fields (Dushkin 1974 64). The concept of *crisis* usually refers to certain events or conditions which have clear negative consequences for an individual or for society. Such events and conditions are endemic to modern post-industrial societies. They can also be viewed as part of the biography which is outside the normal world, and hence can be considered time-limited. These events and conditions may require counseling, the development of new norms, or initiation of special social policies to cope with the dysfunctional consequences associated with crisis. There is a clear practical need for better understanding of crisis situations and treatments, but the literature in sociology affords little more than definitions. Theoretical explanations of crisis have come mainly from psychology and psychiatry, as have the clinical counseling methods.

Some of the more worldly professions and occupations have developed a clear understanding of the need to deal with concept of crisis, both in academic and applied aspects. But these agencies have turned to the micro approach to crisis intervention offered by psychology and psychiatry. In recognizing the practical importance of preparing for crisis situations, communities and organizations from small cities to police departments and political bureaucracies have developed strategies to cope with crisis. These strategies include crisis management teams, and telephone crisis centers.

Most of the literature and practice concerning crisis intervention has a particular set of assumptions which disregard a substantial part of collective human behavior. Analysis of many of the definitions of crisis and crisis intervention yields both psychological and social dimensions, but clinical methods have generally avoided any meaningful component from the sociological perspective. The lack of sociological imagination becomes increasingly problematic when major forms of crisis are identified, because they are to some degree social in character, and many stem directly from larger social institutions and cultural arrangements.

DEFINITION OF CRISIS

Behavioral science definitions of crisis include the following elements: a crisis-producing stimulus; a disruption of normal psychological functioning; and a set of negative or ineffective behavioral responses resulting from them. Figure 1 depicts these elements and some common examples. Not all societies provide as many crisis-producing stimuli as post-industrial societies, and some individuals are more able than others to cope with crisis. Those more able to cope have learned coping techniques from previous experience with crisis events, or they may be in a more favorable position in the social system relative to coping ideation. At the same time, the behavioral response is a function of several components, including role placement and various sociocultural factors. There is a chance of crisis resolution even with a severe stimulus and poor coping. However, the general assumptions of the model are that one can learn coping techniques or one can benefit from crisis counseling. This learning or counseling may greatly enhance a person's behavioral response.

While this model seems straightforward, the crisis model literature is not uniformly clear regarding the definition of the term *crisis,* which, as a single phenomenon, and separate from other considerations, seems to evade most theoretical schemes (Burgess, Baldwin 1981 25). Perhaps the confusion results from the way the term is used, because at times it is used as a substitute for the more general crisis model designation. As Figure 1 indicates, the crisis model contains three stages, whereas the crisis concept in psychology identifies the specific point within the model where psychological functioning is impaired. There is usually a time frame specified in most crisis models. The stimulus may precede the actual crisis by as much as three weeks, and the behavioral response may follow as much as two months later (Dixon 1979). And the crisis itself has several

FIGURE 1: A CRISIS MODEL BY STAGES, WITH EXAMPLES

Stage:	Pre-crisis	Crisis	Post-crisis
	Crisis stimulus	Psychological disequilibrium	Behavioral problem
	Precipitating factor	Cognitive dysfunction	Response problem
Example 1	Divorce	Fear	Isolation
Example 2	Combat	Anxiety	Shock
Example 3	Failure	Depression	Suicide

(Adapted from Dixon, 1979.)

psychological symptoms which include anxiety and depression. However, these symptoms should not be viewed in isolation from the other components of the crisis model.

Another point of confusion stems from the consequences of crisis. The outcomes are multidimensional. A crisis can result simultaneously in danger and opportunity (Aguilera, Messick 1978 1). A crisis can also converge with other life events and yield anything from personal devastation to self-realization. These consequences depend in part on how the individual copes with the stimulus and the opportunities for self-realization.

The crisis model involves a linear progression from stimulus to crisis, and finally, to behavioral response. The crisis is "... a functionally debilitating mental state resulting from the individual's reaction to some event perceived as to be so dangerous or problematic that it leaves him/her feeling helpless and unable to cope effectively by usual methods." (Dixon 1979 10) The psychological disequilibrium is highly individualized in the person in crisis. While the crisis definition is a subjective process, there are events which typically cause crises. In the United States, death, loss of status, divorce, and marriage can cause crises. But the psychological tools for coping are socially bestowed and culturally transmitted. The crisis associated with death is more severe in our society than in most others. We deny death, and usually hide it from children in real life, though not in the unrealistic dramatized versions in the media. In preindustrial societies, where death is a normal part of the life process, and is not particularly age-specific, the crisis is diminished because the culture has a more positive view of death (Charmaz 1980 87). Each step in the crisis model can be seen as dependent on the nature of the society in which crisis occurs.

MAJOR FORMS OF CRISIS

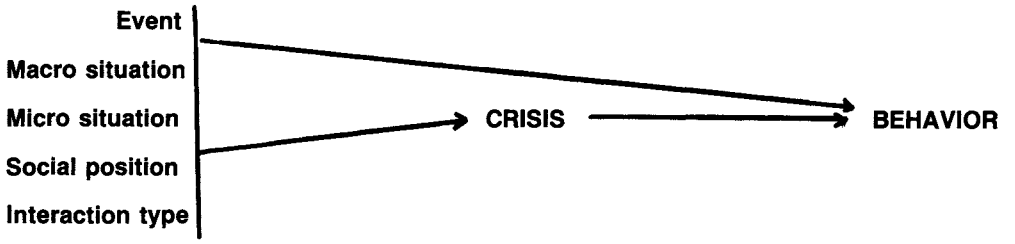
The forms of crisis are classified by typical precipitation events. A quantitative evaluation of the intensity of certain stressful events has been used to create the *Social Readjustment Rating Scale* (Holmes, Rahe 1967). There is some evidence that this scale may be used on a cross-cultural basis, but these forms should be taken as most relevant for people in the United States, since they comprised the population in which the scale was tested (Arthur 1971 87). It is a rank-ordered scale of life events ranging from death of a spouse to minor law violations.

Many of these events are part of the roles within social institutions. Of the 43 events, 26 are related to social institutions; 7 are biological in nature; and 10 of the events are not readily classified. Many events have social aspects, and some relate to personal factors. The next step in the model suggests that the events will increase the chances of a crisis response.

THE CRISIS

It follows that the crisis itself is a psychological response to events which often have institutional ties. However, the psychology of crisis has yet to be discussed in a sociological frame of reference. There are macro and micro level determinants of

FIGURE 2: A CRISIS MODEL WITH SOCIAL FACTORS



anxiety, depression, and general psychological functioning. Factors related to rates of mental illness and to mental well-being include social class level, micro environment, status accumulation, and positions of relative powerlessness (Hollingshead, Redlich 1982; Kessler 1982; Kadushin 1983; Thoits 1983; Morowsky, Ross 1983). Situation correlates of psychological distress are also noted, such as situations which are highly repetitive or which involve sensory deprivation and produce psychlogical dysfunctions (Sheff 1966 42). Such findings come both from traditional studies in sociology, but also from contemporary journals, and these findings have been replicated by sociologists of different generations and diverse schools of thought.

Social factors influence the events leading to a crisis and to the crisis itself. The behavior which is seen to be a result of the event and psychological response is clearly influenced by these social forces, which indicates that the model in Figure 1 is inadequate. Figure 2 represents the crisis model more adequately, and clarifies the social forces that affect both the psychology of the person in crisis as well as the person's behavioral and social responses in that crisis. We can now offer a sociological perspective relative to crisis intervention.

CRISIS INTERVENTION

Crisis intervention involves a set of assumptions as well as a treatment or clinical methodology. The methodologies and assumptions differ by model (Burgess, Baldwin 1981 8). The assumptions generally involve the idea that early intervention in the form of counseling will not only relieve the crisis, but will also reduce the chance of subsequent, and more serious pathology. And failure to relieve the crisis can lead to serious psychological distress. The model also assumes a substantial amount of self-determinism or *voluntarism*. The aim of crisis intervention is to restore the individual to prior levels of functioning.

The methodology in the crisis model usually stresses the importance of expressive feelings. Some models also try to improve cognitive functioning by assessment of the problem and its development. Other models are more oriented to the present, and suggest that behavioral change is the most salient aspect of crisis treatment. Finally, some models involve some combination of the previous models, such as the *convergence model* to offer the best therapeutic tactics (Burgess, Baldwin 1981).

In most models, the practical and clinical aspects are well-stated, while the theory is either not given or poorly stated. Most of the models give lip service to the sociocultural factors which influence crisis situations, but the clinical method remains almost exclusively psychological (Aguilera, Messick 1978 46; Dixon 1979 55). Therapeutic models which take a macro view by suggesting that most psychological problems result from institutions are regarded as radical (Agel 1971). While it is true that clinical sociology is radical in the sense that such a perspective differs from the psychological and the psychiatric approach, there is nothing in the sociological approach which demands any other radical element from practitioners.

The sociological approach to intervention would involve the clinician in locating problems within a larger context. Client's goals should be analyzed with respect to the sociocultural system in which the client exists. The crisis should be viewed in terms of these

goals as well as in terms of the larger context. The client's feelings, cognitive functioning and particular behavior may concern the clinician, but the main focus is on the systematic roots of personal crisis. While all therapy involves change, sociological intervention seeks either to change the social forces linked to the crisis or to change the client's relation to these forces. The social nature of the problems should be identified, and treatment should be centered at the group or institutional level.

Unemployment exemplifies a critical problem. If a client cannot find or keep a job, family problems and other personal problems are intensified. Instead of talking about the client's feelings, psychological functioning, or behaviors in this situation, sociological intervention might seek to relate the individual's unemployment to larger forces in society, such as changes in technology, corporate mission, and organizational structure. The client's feelings about work would be viewed in the larger cultural context of the work ethic and family values.

Behaviors can be viewed in the role and group context. Cognitive functioning could be viewed in the existential context and the sociocultural forces which penetrate the client's life. Again, the focus is on the institutions and groups in the client's frame of reference. Changes in these larger forces or in the client's relation to them, is the aim of intervention. Job placement in another setting, vocational training, migration, and transformation of the former job setting are examples of possible tactics for the clinical sociologist. The sociologist realizes that social and cultural forces will always place restraints on real alternatives for interventionists.

The crisis of divorce in modern families deeply involves private feelings and behaviors. The sociological approach places these individual factors in a larger setting. The terminated marital relation occurs in a particular environment. Divorced persons can often help each other by joining singles groups, and by peer counseling. The interventionist can point out the consequences of a change in family roles for the individual's other roles. And the interventionist can help to combat the client's social isolation by involvement in community activities.

Many problems have a much more macro sociological cast. Poverty, hunger, poor medical care, lack of adequate infrastructure, and other conditions are more clearly the target of sociological observation and action. But we must begin the critical and creative process of relating personal unemployment to the economic institution, mental illness to institutionally created problems in living, and other problems to their sociocultural referents. This is just the kind of activity that is central to the sociological perspective, but peripheral to psychology, social work, and psychiatry.

There are several reasons why the more micro oriented disciplines have dominated clinical work. American culture tends to be individualist. The individual is seen as responsible for his/her own fate. Thus, the individual must be both the cause and the solution to the problem. The person is expected to overcome any sociocultural obstacle. The micro perspectives often fit neatly into the individualist frame of reference. A more macro level of analysis has a greater potential for social change, as opposed to individualist adjustment to the social system.

The other disciplines have a rich tradition of applied research and practice. This tradition is coupled with licensing and certification procedures, and this legitimizes these fields and enhances social acceptance of clientele for these professions. Sociology, in contrast, never has had much regard for applied practice or even applied research. By this token, licensing and certification efforts have been resisted. Finally, a code of ethics has evolved only after years of study.

If sociology is serious about developing a clinical practice based on its theories and assumptions, it must become acceptable to a wide variety of clients. Such acceptance usually comes after selling the discipline to service agencies and to other professions. We must show that sociology can add something distinctive to solving human problems in society. Sociology should not become an understudy for another profession, such as medicine. Rather, our perspective should add a unique dimension to clinical work.

This dimension will evolve naturally from a direct application of sociological theory to the crisis model and to other clinical models. This application will differ substantially from the micro perspectives, just as sociological theory

differs from psychological and psychiatric theory. Professions such as business administration, management, public administration, and the behavioral sciences have used sociology to enrich their practice. Some of these professions have performed admirably well given their sophistication level vis-a-vis sociological theory. We need to merge our theory with a rigorous clinical training. Only then will we add something new to the existing clinical practices.

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DRIFT IN, CONVERT OUT: CLINICAL SOCIOLOGY TO TREAT COLLEGE ALCOHOLICS

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INTRODUCTION

The clinical sociologist is a change agent who uses a sociological perspective as a base for intervention (Fritz 1979). The clinical sociologist, as change agent rather than researcher or evaluator, has a therapeutic aim which includes not merely the study of the case, but the formulation of a program of adjustment and treatment (Wirth 1931).

> Clinical sociology is the kind of applied sociology or sociological practice which involves intimate, sharply realistic investigations linked with efforts to diagnose problems and to suggest strategies for coping with these problems (Lee 1979).

As clinicians counseling in a *university residence in life program*, we try to foster change in student attitudes and behaviors through intervention. Our task is to help students cope with their situation and guide them to self determinism, human value and human dignity (Strauss 1979). Intervention should end with the self-initiated action of the client. Helping the individual or group, the clinician using a sociological perspective must have positive regard for people and a belief that the client can change, and be the director of that change (Freedman 1982). The authors have developed and are applying a sociological model of the stages involved in *getting into* and *getting out of* alcoholism.

THE ALCOHOL PROBLEM

University officers are increasingly concerned about alcohol abuse among students (Roberts 1983). From 76 to 92 percent of all college students drink alcohol. Like other Americans, they make alcohol the drug of their choice. Today, alcohol is more heavily used than aspirin. Nearly a third of all college students will experience some difficulty resulting from drinking alcohol during the academic year (Jessor, Jessor 1975).

> One out of three students will fail an exam, destroy a friendship, commit some infraction of college policy, or violate the law as a direct result of drinking behavior. More serious criminal acts take the form of assault, damage to ... property, driving while intoxicated, or attempted suicide. (Blimling, Miltenberger 1981 136)

Some universities contend that up to 60 percent of cases of academic failure may be related to student drinking problems, and 70 percent of colleges now offer some form of alcohol education program (Roberts 1981)

Alcohol Problems in Residence Halls. Increased use of alcohol in university residence halls all over the country is well documented (Thomas et al 1977). The increase is magnified in states with a young drinking age and a culture putting alcohol in a central position. Alcohol is the drug of choice at most social gatherings of college students. Because social mores support alcohol use, students give little heed to any type of alcohol education. These interacting factors result in a drastic increase in alcohol related problems in residence halls at our University. Lack of knowledge concerning the effects of alcohol can cause irresponsible use of the drug, and the result can be destructive to the student and to the university environment.

Social processes involved in alcohol and other chemical dependencies must be recognized as important contributing factors in both the development and the treatment of addiction. The attitude of social groups and persons closest to the pre-alcoholic can hasten or retard the downward spiral to addiction. The role of the community and others in the life of the person developing alcoholism is subtle and unconsciously self-defeating (Bacon, Straus 1953; Jellinek 1952). The role that others play can be further broken down into stages in the drift into and conversion out of alcoholism.

An identity change does not occur in a "social lacuna." Stable personal identities are concomitant with stable social structures. Conversely, rapid social change and poorly integrated social systems are characterized by higher incidence of poorly integrated identities (Durkheim 1951; Sorokin 1941). Some social structural conditions become associated with serious symbolic disturbances in self-identities resulting from some members constructing alternative identities and commitments which are radical departures from their previous identity (Parsons 1951 520; Thronton 1981) But not all members are "... equally potential for this identity change, even if exposed to

similar influences. The self is not mechanical." (Bankston et al 1981 280)

The college years mark the end of a period of rapid change in terms of intellectual growth of the individual and in terms of society's expectations. The major task in this period of human development is that of establishing a personal identity (Erikson 1963). Students are defining who they are, where they are going, and how they are going to get there. Conflicts and stress develop as the student confronts this task. Today's students are facing increasing competition and are facing a world of work with fewer options (Roberts 1983). The many conflicts imposed on adolescents in our culture can also enhance the apparent value of drinking, since action of alcohol on the body provides temporary relief from anxiety, and helps ease inhibitions (Bacon, Straus 1953).

For professional counselors in college residence halls, the most crucial element in meeting the needs of students is to recognize their development, since the counselor contributes to this development in a 24-hour environment. College presents a unique set of demands during a period in which the student is struggling with the transition to adulthood. Alcohol has a central position in this transition. Because of the problems with increased irresponsible use of alcohol, college administrators must rely more on the residence hall staff members who have direct contact with students. These staff members can see the problem as it develops and can help students realize that their use of alcohol is a problem (Sautter 1981). Some incidents have made the problem so acute that residence life staffs have begun hiring full-time alcohol counselors to assist students to understand the effects of alcohol so they will be able to make responsible decisions concerning it. Because the student's environment has an effect on development, and the residence hall staff has such direct influence on that environment, any *symbolic disturbance* in a student's development becomes the responsibility of the staff. Alcohol abuse is a potential disturbance.

THE MODEL

Older models of the social processes of alcohol addiction treat the *road to* alcoholism and the *recovery process* merely as mutual inverses (Jellinek 1952). Our model recognizes these as two distinct processes: 1) drift, and 2) radical conversion. This model is based on research done on radical conversion from which a "conceptual typology for forms of identity change" was developed (Bankston et al 1981).

Drift and radical conversion may be differentiated on the basis of one dimension: time. The degree of the change in self identity is the same in both cases. Each involves a dramatic change in master status and a reorganization of the self about a new core identity trait (Hughes 1945). Conversion, though precipitated by biograpical history, involves a relatively sudden identity change. Drift involves the same extensive identity change, but is acquired gradually rather than suddenly. Socialization into a college subculture with drinking as one of its focal points involves drift into its characteristic behavior (Matza 1964).

Historically, conversion is less likely than drift. Our approach is to understand these processes as a sequence of stages. In the case of drift, each step decreases the potential for a return, but in conversion, each stage increases the potential for a sudden and extensive change in identity.

Drift: Getting into Alcoholism. There are four stages in drifing into alcoholism:

1) **Occasional user.** Infrequent use starts with friends during free time. Client may be defying authority figures, or wanting to feel adult. The prospective alcoholic soon experiences rewarding relief in the drinking situation, but attributes it to the situation rather than to drinking. Others notice a change in the client's personality and this is usually perceived as unpleasant and irritating. Others gradually start to associate this behavior with the client's drinking. Gradually, others begin to avoid the client when s/he drinks.

2) **Regular user.** Use spreads from drinking during free time to creating free time in order to drink, unknown to others. Classes are skipped, and grades fall. Client may take pride in amount of consumption. Plans for activity center around getting drunk. Parents may react with penalties at this point. Client may lie to get money for alcohol. In this stage, friends begin to change. Becoming a drinker, the client is labeled *drunkard*. Significant others do not want the client in their groups now.

3) **Problem drinker.** Alcohol is seen as the answer to the client's problems, as no alternatives are recognized. Being high becomes normal. Use of alcohol becomes part of every activity. The client stays convinced that s/he can quit at any time by keeping a well devised alibi system. Trouble starts at school, and with other authorities. The client, all of whose friends are now drinkers, eventually begins to drink alone. When the client does try to quit, significant others, such as parents, are very skeptical, and have little confidence in the client's ability. A self-fulfilling prophecy emerges as the client perceives a low level of ability. The client can no longer control the amount of alcohol intake, nor when nor where drinking resumes.

4) **Alcohol dependency.** The client is constantly high, starts to look like a drunk; physical condition worsens; loss of memory; loses track of time. School work is dropped entirely. Others label the client *sick*, and one to be avoided. Significant others give up on the client, whose condition gradually worsens. There is loss of alcohol tolerance, indefinable fears, and tremors. Drinking becomes obsessive. Intervention at this point may require protective institutionalization away from the college residence hall.

When significant others have dismissed the alcoholic from emotional or mental consideration and turn the case over to an institution, the alcoholic becomes truly concerned about the problem and may go through brief periods without drinking. After trying to quit, and failing several times, the alcoholic's self perception becomes congruent with that of society — a hopeless, crazy, *unperson*.

At this stage, the alcoholic hopefully starts to deal with alcoholism and begins the difficult path to recovery. S/he no longer rejects the world, but confronts it by finding new associates and by taking on new hopes, ideals, and aspirations (Jellinek 1952). The return from alcoholism is the reverse of the drift into it, and the client must change the labels acquired on the downward track. In effect, the client creates a favorable self-label, and then convinces others that the label is indeed deserved. The *converting process* involves acquiring a support system of significant others who will enable the client to attain a new identity.

Radical Conversion of Self. The model for conversion is adapted from a critical review of Lofland's *Doomsday Cult* (1966). While Lofland's model was religion-specific, the revised model was generalized to all radical conversions, regardless of specific content. There are six stages (Bankson et al 1981):

1) **Tension** is a necessary element in the conversion experience, and is axiomatic in any conscious identity change.

2) **Failure of current action to establish an acceptable self-identity.** The alcoholic looks to alternatives to the problem solving orientation, and is dissatisfied with the current lifestyle. There is a tension between the current status of *sick person* and what the client would like to be. The discrepancy causes deep anxiety. The client may feel that s/he can no longer be an alcoholic, but significant others have not changed their definition of the client.

3) **Seekership.** The client does not want this identity, and seeks a new one in a non-alcoholic environment. The client feels that taking this new role will facilitate redefinition of self-identity. Redefining self becomes the individual's chief problem-solving experience. The seekership may take several alternatives, such as religious rebirth, or psychiatric treatment. Straus (1976 254) calls this *a process of creative bumbling* in which the individual searches for an orientation.

4) **Turning Point.** The client decides on a legitimate way to redefine self-identity, and must be given the opportunity to use this way. Others play a significant part here, as the individual must accept this new identity attempt as legitimate. The client begins to appreciate the characteristics of this new legitimate identity, seeing the fallacies and true status of the former lifestyle. The client gears a new lifestyle toward attainment of this new status. At this point there is no more use of alcohol.

5) **Low stakes in maintaining current identity.** The alcoholic now breaks all ties with the alcoholic social world. These ties are no longer functional. But the client is extremely vulnerable at this point because s/he feels no kinship with either world. If the client fails in the attempt to join the straight world, the stakes become higher to retain the former alcoholic identity. If the client can find new friends accepting this new identity, the stakes

favor continuation on the path to recovery (Becker 1960). This is a crucial stage.

The conventional world has great difficulty in sensibly understanding relapse. For conversion to occur the client must define the identity stakes in the old line of action as *low* in comparison to the benefits of self-reorganization. The client is on a fence, and can fall on either side. Significant others are most important here, as they will ultimately be the ones to increase the stakes for identity change. If the relative stakes in conversion are high, the potential convert will likely move to the stage of intensive interaction with this "new agent" for identity change (Lofland 1966 57).

6) **Intensive Interaction.** The client becomes intensely involved in this new lifestyle, interacting with others with whom identity is sought. The client has few, if any "old" friends.

Conversion. The client no longer considers her/himself a part of the alcoholic world. The possibility of sliding back is no longer part of the individual's thinking, nor more important, is it part of any problem-solving perspective. The client no longer feels anxious when discussing this former status. In fact, the client may find status in being an ex-alcoholic, a *charismatic deviant* (Warren 1980).

CASE STUDIES.

Case 1. The client first entered treatment the day after his dormitory sponsored an alcohol education program. The freshman talked with a counselor about his uncontrollable drinking. He appeared thin, pale, and lethargic. He said he was from a small rural town in northern Louisiana, had a good family relation, and had never tried alcohol. At college he soon became involved in a daily routine of social activities. His premise regarding the fact that he was dropped from the tennis team and that his grades had declined significantly was that his room mates pressured him into the drinking habit. He admitted that he admired the popularity of one room mate. As a new student at the large university, he soon discovered that attending parties and consuming beer was an essential response to the expectations of his peer group.

Initially, the client felt guilty about drinking alcohol, but soon found that drinking with his friends decreased his inhibitions and allowed him positive means of social integration. As the client attended more parties and consumed more alcohol, it seemed to reduce his anxiety associated with the conflict over drinking and non-drinking.

The client's comic behavior became a focal point at parties, and despite his increased alcohol tolerance, his drinking was not conspicuous either to his peers or to himself. Several warning signs began to appear which the client did not want to recognize. His academic and athletic performance in school declined sharply. He complained of fatigue and headaches, while his peers taunted him about his behavior of prevous nights. He began to worry when he could not recall events which his peers related. He felt that his peers were turning against him, and became defensive toward them. Although he continued to attend social events with peers, he began drinking alone in his room. He felt this drinking in the afternoons would help in preparation for the evening's social activities. He feared that if it were known that he drank more than others he would be misjudged. He rationalized that a mockery of his behavior by his peers could not occur. But his peers began to notice his aggressive behavior, and scorned such behavior, increasing his hostility toward his environment. He dropped many of his friends and his classes. He was now concerned about how activities might interfere with his drinking rather than how drinking might affect his activities.

The precipitant to the client's realization that alcohol may be the root of his problems occurred one night after his parents had withdrawn financial support for his college expenses. Feeling much resentment and self-pity, he needed alcohol "to steady his nerves." Having exhausted his own supply of alcohol, he stole a bottle of gin from a bar, was caught, and faced with criminal charges.

The client was seen twice a week during the semester, as he had much remorse for the behaviors exhibited under the influence of alcohol. There was anxiety that the client could regress to his previous alcoholic state. Though his initial contact for treatment was motivated by fear of legal action, he realized that he could not afford to gamble what he valued in life. He made the difficult choice to abstain from alcohol. He sought support of his

family and the peers he had first met in college. He focused his energy on strenuous games of tennis and long hours of studying. He continued to have some problems with low self-esteem, but the value he placed on humility was constant encouragement to a greater objectivity regarding himself.

The client in this case exemplifies the rare result of a student having insight into his problem,, and with support of friends, family, and staff, being able to turn to a new way of life. The client eventually felt comfortable discussing his experiences with alcohol to freshman students.

Case 2. This case identifies a more typical client, with whom a favorable learning milieu could not be established, and the counselor fell short of providing intervention conducive to recovery. The client was a young out-of-state freshman in her first semester. Family relations were strained; her parents were separated; and she had a previous problem with alcohol. She was referred to the residence hall counselor several times during the semester due to disruptive behavior in the dormitory. When she drank any type of alcohol, she did not necessarily consume much, but did become very aggressive and caused damage. Once, after consuming two beers, the client put her fist through a dormitory window, and was sent to the hospital.

This client experienced problems with alcohol complicated by her inability to cope with the freedom and responsibility of college life. She was very resistant to treatment, and although she admitted that things could be better with her college life, she was not open to any help. Her defensiveness blocked communication, allowing her control of her environment, but keeping the reality of her alcohol problems at a distance. She would not connect her dormitory vandalism and aggressive behavior to the alcohol she consumed. The client remained so aloof that little therapeutic progress was gained. She continued the use of alcohol for symptom relief with continued assaults on the environment. She claimed that she could abstain from alcohol any time, and since she was able to perform this task by day, she earned a night of drinking. The client blamed her bad temper on problems encountered under the influence of alcohol. She simply lacked insight in failing to understand how alcohol controlled her behavior.

It was difficult for residence hall staff to continue allowing this student to be so disruptive simply because she could not come to terms with her own alcohol management. The staff attempted intervention through education and discipline. However the client continued to disregard efforts to help, as she was not dissatisfied with her disruptive college life style, although she had no particular goals established. The client was found unconscious one evening in a campus park. The next day she could only recall the fact that she went out with a friend for a few drinks. Friends, relatives, and teachers revealed no remorse or concern on the client's behalf. The mother's only recourse was to commit her to the local chemical dependency unit and hope that she could set a course for herself in the right direction.

DISCUSSION

Our job as clinicians is that of a helping agent, to guide the clients through their alcohol related problems so that they may successfully reorganize their identity around a viable social role. Intervention can only be a positive, productive experience if the students are aware of how alcohol affects their lifestyle and are willing to work toward valuing alcohol in a responsible manner. Counselors should recognize that only the student can make the transition toward an alcohol-free environment. Educators should also realize that using alcohol on campus is a pervasive cultural phenomenon; a phenomenon involving society's support of using alcohol for recreation without accepting the consequences of its use.

A comprehensive approach is needed by today's society to unravel the hypocrisy which surrounds alcohol use. Education is needed at all levels to relate alcohol facts to the public. Effective rehabilitation is needed, and enforceable legal action should be taken regarding those who endanger the lives of others due to alcohol intake. It is also time for society to re-examine its own attitudes regarding alcohol consumption.

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CLINICAL SOCIOLOGY AND THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE PROFESSIONS

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INTRODUCTION

1) Attention is focused on the nature of clinical sociology and its possible use in the criminal justice profession. 2) Specific examples will illustrate the work of clinical sociologists in the area of criminal justice. 3) Specific consideration is given to the current state of the criminal justice professions with respect to manpower and training, to determine whether there is a genuine function for clinical sociologists in these professions.

CLINICAL SOCIOLOGY DEFINED

Wirth (1931), one of the first to use the concept of clinical sociology, defined it as application of sociological knowledge and methodology to understanding and treating personality problems of those who come to the clinic. Wirth felt that the clinic provides sociologists an opportunity for carefully controlled observation. Although this use of the term *clinic* seems rather narrow and specific, he used it in a very broad sense to refer to the various settings in which sociologists could make observations. Wirth's use of the concept was much more inclusive than the medical concept of clinic. Argow (1941) also contended that the application of sociology to therapeutic practice in the clinical setting was a valid expectation. Firsthand observation of group response to therapeutic efforts is the clinical study of society (Lee 1955).

Sociological practice as applied and clinical sociology has been a significant component of sociological training and of the role of the professional sociologist from the inception of the discipline. In fact, sociology emerged in the United States as clinical sociology, but it was not until the 1970's that clinical sociology was systematically developed as the logical outcome of all sociology and an important source of its theory building. Since then, clinical sociology has emerged as a significant national and international force in the field of sociology.

The literature which has resulted from the renewed interest in clinical sociology makes it clear that the concept is not limited to the medical model. There is also some indication that the field includes both a broad and a narrow focus. Clinical sociology is concerned with both micro and macro sociological phenomena. In its narrower focus, the therapeutic and counseling process is primary. At the macro level, counseling is simply one method among many others which might be used in problem solving intervention in practical reality. The distinction is not sharp in clinical sociology. Counseling is done not only with individuals, but also with groups, families, organizations, and communities. The narrow focus of individual counseling is done to underscore the legitimate role of the sociologist as counselor or therapist. It has been contended that the clinical sociologist who specializes in counseling is unique in comparison with counselors and therapists in that they are committed and professionally trained in developing sociological theories of counseling, and to using sociological models in counseling (Black, Enos 1980).

Clinical sociology is the utilization of sociological knowledge for positive change (Glass 1982). It involves application of sociological perspectives, concepts and methods in problem solving intervention. The underlying assumption in the clinical and counseling process is that the more one understands the means by which cultures, societies, institutions, groups, roles, and statuses are constructed, the greater the probability the individual, group, or organization will be able to manipulate their behavior to their own ends. Sociology provides unique theories of intervention, models of intervention, and strategies of intervention. These include goals, objectives, and anticipated outcomes in macro and micro social settings.

EXAMPLES OF CLINICAL SOCIOLOGY IN THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE FIELD

Examples of clinical sociology in criminal justice professions are limited. The present examples are neither exhaustive nor representative of the work being done in the field. Rather, they suggest something of the diverse current expressions, and show some of the possibilities for clinical sociologists.

Special consideration should be given the role of the clinical sociologist as counselor or

therapist. Individual counseling is identified as one aspect of clinical sociology, and several specifically sociological models have been posited for use by sociologists in counseling (Glassner, Freedman 1979; Straus 1979; Lee 1979; Glass 1979; Hurvitz 1979; Black, Enos 1982). This possibility for sociologists in the criminal justice professions takes on added reality through efforts of the national Clinical Sociology Association to certify its own members, and clinical programs, and to provide training and internships. An equally important consideration is the licensure of several clinical sociologists by the State of Texas under the *Licensed Professional Counselor Act.*

One clinical sociologist has reported her work in the counselor role in the correctional field with a chronic slasher (Powers 1979), and a second clinical sociologist has reported on clinical work with prisoners (Black, Enos 1980, 1982). Other clinical socioligists are involved in such work in various ways, but none are practicing in a prison setting.

A variety of examples are available which are more indicative of the macro possibilities for clinical sociologists in the criminal justice field. All except one are outside the criminal justice system, but suggest the capabilities of the clinical sociologist as a part of that system. 1) One clinical sociologist in the criminal justice system is in the role of the Criminal Justice Coordinator for a Drug Abuse Prevention Division. 2) Another clinical sociologist works with the legal community on jury selection, client support, and rehabilitation plans. 3) A clinical sociologist develops workshops for convicted offenders, including parenting classes for incarcerated mothers. 4) Clinical sociology is used in continuing education programs for prison staff. 5) The clinical sociology perspective is used in understanding the role of the prison guard and developing training programs for guards. 6) The clinical sociology perspective is used in continuing education programs for police. 7) The clinical sociology perspective is applied in continuing education programs for probation and parole officers and workers with juvenile delinquents in wilderness camps, and detention centers. 8) One clinical sociologist taught in the formal education program for prisoners. 9) A clinical sociologist has served as consultant on corrections for a major religious denomination.

In all of the training or continuing education settings, the nature and importance of such sociological variables as race and social class are emphasized. The nature and implications of criminal justice components as complex organizations are considered. These are just a few of the issues which the clinical sociologist can raise in education settings, and with various professional and staff groups in the criminal justice field.

The examples which we have considered, and possible future applications can be dichotomized in two ways. 1) Clinical sociology can be used by professionally trained staff, or it can be used in training some other staff in the criminal justice professions. 2) It can be used as the basis for counseling individual offenders, or it can be used in organizational analysis. At whatever level the clinical sociologist operates, there are some basic guidelines for this work. For the most part, this work has been shaped by humanistic, holistic, and multidisciplinary approaches (Glass 1979; Black, Enos 1982).

With respect to the humanist orientation, Straus (1979 480) says that the clinical sociologist is "... committed to helping people cope with their sociocultural and historical situations and institutions ... The goal is to help them reconstruct and shape institutions and situations in the direction of self-determination, human values, and human dignity." These authorities underscore the significance of the holistic perspective in clinical sociology. There is an emphasis on the individual in relation to the larger social context such as values, ideals, norms, social structures, and social processes. Finally, clinical sociology, as it emphasizes the unique contributions of sociology in intervention strategies, is committed to multidisciplinary perspectives and practices.

FUTURE OF CLINICAL SOCIOLOGY

One of the recently cited manpower problems is a critical shortage of specialized professional personnel (Kratcoski 1981). Clinical sociology is one possible source for alleviating such manpower problems. Although the *NELS Bulletin* does not list openings for clinical sociologists, there are listings of positions available to persons with sociological training.

Clinical sociologists do have a more legitimate claim to such positions than the graduate with the traditional sociology degree. We should anticipate that as clinical sociologists demonstrate their capabilities in criminal justice internships and full-time career positions, the demand for them will expand.

In a discussion on correctional management, Kratcoski (1981 91) raises an issue which should receive serious attention in any discussion of clinical sociology in criminal justice professions. He notes that "... the history of correctional management is dotted with treatment fads and cults ..." In needs to be clarified that clinical sociology is not just another fad in the criminal justice field. Nor is it an attempt to suggest that sociology is *the single answer.* Rather, it is an attempt to bring sociological theory, methods, and techniques to bear in a new way in approaches to the individual and crime, and to social forces and crime. It is thought that both psychology and sociology have dominated the field of corrections at one time or another. It is the perspective of the clinical sociologist that sociology in fact has been the *missing discipline* in intervention strategies. It is the intent of the clinical sociologist to change that situation.

It should be stressed that clinical sociologists are committed to multidisciplinary approaches, and that they consider clinical sociology as one among several intervention strategies. As Kratcoski (1981 92) describes the multifaceded nature of the field:

> There are dehumanizing prisons, overcrowded jails, expensive and excessively staffed reception and diagnostic centers, halfway houses, youth industrial schools, experiemental community treatment programs, and field services such as probation and parole.

He contends that each of these settings requires several types of personnel and a variety of ways have been used to prepare staff. Training in clinical sociology is one of the legitimate ways to prepare staff, and clinical sociologists can be a valuable contribution to the various other types of personnel in the criminal justice field. Diversity of opinion as to the most appropriate method of training or preparation for a corrections career is noted by Kratcoski (1981 87):

> ... the 'professional program' which provides the student with a foundation in the social sciences as well as with training in the specific job-related procedures, is currently considered superior to either a pure 'training' program or a totally academic preparation with no close tie-in with the field.

In fact, the clinical sociology programs with an academic base in sociology and supervised internships in criminal justice professions provide this type of 'superior' training preparation. A degree in sociology is one of the common degrees held by treatment and administrative personnel working in corrections. It is also noted that those working in corrections have been educated in a 'helping' profession rather than being prepared directly for a career in corrections (Krakcoski 1981 88). Whether preparing for a helping profession in general or a criminal justice career in particular, clinical sociologists definitely consider themselves as one of the 'helping professions.' There should be a realistic prospect of clinical sociologists assuming an accepted role in the criminal justice professions.

One issue to be discussed in regard to the clinical sociology in the criminal justice professions is that of the level of academic degree to be attained. In the area of counseling in the criminal justice field, most work will almost certainly require either a masters degree or a doctoral degree, or their equivalent. It is apparent even now, however, that a sociology graduate who holds the baccalaureate degree may well be doing some counseling with an individual on probation or parole, or as an officer of the juvenile court. In clinical sociology in general, most tasks which ar done by a clinical sociologist with a doctoral degree can also be done by an appropriately supervised clinical sociologist with a baccalaureate or masters degree (Black, Enos 1982). These stipulations are probably applicable to the clinical sociologist in the specific practice area of criminal justice. These issues will be resolved in the course of time.

CONCLUSION

We have considered how realistic it would be for a clinical sociologist to anticipate a role in the criminal justice professions. Three comments are appropriate. 1) The clinical sociologist has a legitimate and valid role to play in criminal justice professions. 2) Concrete examples of clinical sociologists

practicing in criminal justice professions are currently very limited. 3) Analysis of manpower needs in the criminal justice professions, and the training for these professions indicate that it is indeed a very realistic possibility that clinical sociologists can expect to assume a legitimate role in the criminal justice field.

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SOCIOLOGICALLY ORIENTED THERAPY FOR THE HEART ATTACK VICTIM

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THERAPEUTIC INTERVENTION

This is an account of sociologically oriented therapeutic intervention with an individual who had suffered a heart attack, and with his family. It describes assessment, intervention, and outcome of the treatment process, and touches on the issue of the establishment of clinical sociology.

Coronary heart disease is the number one chronic illness in the United States. Myocardial infarction, or "heart attack" is a frequent outcome of coronary heart disease. For the accelerating number of patients who survive a heart attack, hospital care is usually quite adequate. However, the illness necessitates a long recovery period at home, as well. During this period professional assistance tends to be minimal.

During the convalescence period, social and emotional problems frequently arise for both the ex-patient and for other family members (Adsett, Bruhn 1968; Bilodeau, Hackett 1971) Although families usually deal with these problems without professional intervention, they can have serious implications. For example, a significant number of heart attack patients never return to full time employment, although they are judged by physicians to be physically capable of returning to work (Wishnie, Hackett, Cassem 1971).

INTERVENTION PROCESS

In this case the individual has suffered a heart attack in late March, and entered into sociological therapy in October of the same year. The initial session was with both husband and wife. Some later sessions also included three of their children who lived at home. Two children had matured, and were living independently.

ASSESSMENT

The presenting problems centered around the husband-patient. He was depressed, anxious, and concerned about the future. He had recently returned to his job as a high school teacher, and was trying to decide whether to continue, or to seek permanent disability. Further probing revealed his fear of involvement with significant others, lest he should become overstressed, leading to another heart attack. He desired to alter what were perceived as injurious patterns of interaction and anxiety, and to resolve doubt about how to make these changes. As the session progressed, the wife expressed feelings of being overextended, anxious, angry, and guilty. The three children, two daughters aged 12 and 15, and a son aged 19 attended later sessions, and also acknowledged feelings of anxiety, anger, and guilt.

INTERVENTION TARGETS

Intervention was targeted on three levels: 1) the individual; 2) dyad relations; and 3) the family. While major focus was on the heart attack victim. individual intervention was not exclusively limited to him. Similarly, the major dyad focus was on the marital pair, but not exclusively so. For heuristic purposes there three levels are presented here as if they were treated as discrete categories. In practice, the three were intermingled considerably.

INDIVIDUALS

The heart attack patient's behavior fit the classical *Type A* pattern (Friedman, Rosenman 1974). He tended to have a sense of time urgency about his activities, desiring to do more and more, in less and less time, and displayed frustration when not able to work at a suitably fast pace.

His strongest asset was judged to be a newly acquired, rather general understanding of the relation between his day-to day behavior and his heart attack, and his desire to change that behavior. This motivation was capitalized in three ways:

1) I tried to help him sharpen his insights into the linkages between specific behaviors and the heart attack. 2) A combined form of cognitive therapy and symbolic interaction was used to enable him to alter cognitive, and ultimately, affective states (Meddin 1982). 3) New coping strategies were devised with participation of his family, which enabled him to modify both family and work roles.

In the case of his wife, emphasis was placed on gaining insight and modifying cognition. Feelings of anxiety, anger, guilt, and

overextension were labeled as normal reactions. According to the literature, they are typical. Her specific situation was thereby placed in a larger context. Efforts wre made to help her explore the objective bases for her feelings, and to modify those that were judged dysfunctional.

DYADS

On the dyad level, emphasis was placed on communication patterns, both in terms of content and frequency. Frequency of husband-wife interaction was increased, and style was altered. For example, the husband/father habitually imparted both information and anger in the form of put-downs in the same communication constellation. When made aware of his behavior, he modified it in relation to his wife and to his son.

The father-son dyad required particular attention. The father was angry at the son because he was still living at home, but was not attending school, and was not working. There was a history of conflict between the two, and the father was avoiding direct confrontation because of his health problems. However the atmosphere between the two was considerably strained. A "safe" area for them to discuss their differences was set up by using a therapy session just for that purpose. The father and son were then able to discuss their differences in a relatively productive manner.

THE FAMILY

Sessions that involved all five family members focused primarily on: 1) expression of feelings of each person; 2) improvement of communication patterns; and 3) articulation and redefinition of roles of family members. Of particular interest was the feeling expressed by the wife and the children of "walking on egg shells" around the husband/father. This sense of strain was discussed and dealt with. Other issues were also dealt with, such as the husband/father's tendency to withdraw from family interaction, and from problems involving sibling relations that had been overshadowed by the father's illness.

OUTCOME

The outcome was considered positive by the therapist and by the family members. Noticeable changes took place in regard to individuals and relations. The heart attack victim reported increased feeling of well-being, as reflected in diminished depression and anxiety, and in enhanced self-esteem. Cognitive and behavioral changes were noticeable as were corresponding role redefinitions. Of special importance was the commitment on the father's part to continue his daily work roles so as to remain at work, and not to seek medical disability.

His spouse also reported a rise in self-esteem and in reduction in feeling angry and overextended. Communication was improved both between the marital pair and between father and son. In fact, the father and son resumed joint recreational activities such as fishing together.

Family members reported less sense of strain in interaction with each other, especially in relation to the husband/father. Communication was more open, and feelings were more directly expressed. Roles with corresponding duties and rights were better articulated within the family. In general, the family stress level was reduced.

SOCIOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

Although infrequently applied historically, by sociologists, the use of sociological concepts by counselors and psychotherapists from non-sociological backgrounds has a long history. Most forms of family therapy place heavy emphasis on *social system*, communication, and role concepts (Minuchin 1974; Satir 1967). Group therapy draws heavily on group dynamics, and practitioners working with individual clients draw on sociological concepts (Yalom 1975; Lazarus 1977).

The applications of sociological thinking in this case study are manifold, and start at the beginning of the assessment process. The need to go beyond the initial presenting problem, and to probe beneath the surface is a prerequisite for all good assessment. The sociological perspective enables one to do just that, and to analyze *reality* on more than a single level (Merton 1957).

Work with both the family and dyads was heavily integrated with social system and other interactional models. Concepts such as *social system, subsystem, equilibrium, communication exchange, role expectation*, and

performance provided the framework with which to perceive, interpret, and where appropriate, help change behavior, and eventually, thought and feeling. In working with dyads, *exchange theory* also offered a useful application.

On the individual and intrapsychic level, sociological contributions are less apparent. However, even here, sociology has a contribution to make. Sociologists do have a well established theory of the origin and maintenance of the social self and the dynamics of inner dialogue. And the theory of symbolic interactionism is highly compatible with cognitive therapy. It also has the virtue of linking cognition with interactional phenomena (Meddin 1982). A treatment strategy derived from both cognitive therapy and symbolic interactionism was applied with success in helping the husband/father change his cognitions, behavior, and ultimately, his feelings.

SOCIOLOGY: A LEGITIMATE CLINICAL DISCIPLINE

Sociology provides a powerful conceptual base for clinical intervention. In many ways, the sociological perspective is far more comprehensive than the intrapsychic perspectives so ubiquitous in the clinical professions today. The obvious shortcoming of sociology as an intervention medium is that until relatively recently, sociologists themselves have paid little attention to the clinical applications of their discipline.

If sociology is to be successful as a clinical enterprise, it must expand considerably in three areas: 1) development of sociologically informed and clinically relevant models of intrapsychic processes; 2) provision of clinical training for aspirant sociologically oriented practitioners; 3) provision of qualified clinical supervision. Obviously, concepts are not enough. Proper clinical intervention demands practical experience and supervision.

The clinical branches of other professions have long established themselves in terms of applied training. If sociologists can also provide this applied training, then the discipline can make clinical use of its own primary concepts — concepts that non-sociologists borrow and apply. This case history shows that sociology can be clinically applied in a powerful, broad and systematic fashion.

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