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INHALANT USE, SOCIAL SUPPORT AND HELP-SEEKING AMONG RURAL SOUTH TEXAS COMMUNITY YOUTH

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ABSTRACT

Little to no attention has been focused on inhalant using youths' social support and helpseeking networks however. Since the 1950s, the use of inhalants by inner city Mexican American (M/A) youths has prompted serious attention both within and without larger M/A communities. This self-report study describes the responses of 614 sixth to twelfth grade South Texas students. The results disclose that M/As report lower levels of social support and helpseeking than do Anglos. Both inhalant using and non-using youth report high levels of parental support, and both indicate considerable difficulties in talking about their problems to others. Finally, both groups indicate a reluctance, unwillingness or inability to turn to any of eight help sources listed for problems in general, and an even greater reluctance concerning problems with drugs or alcohol. Yet users were more likely than non-users to report greater difficulty discussing their problems and were more likely than non-users to do nothing about their problems, or to turn to none for help.

INTRODUCTION

For nearly three and a half decades, inhalant use has received sporadic attention from social scientists (Breecher 1972; Brehm, Sharp 1977; Cohen 1973; Nicholi 1983; Press, Done 1967; Wyse 1973). In the early 1960's, human service professionals began to recognize inhalant use as a social problem and to develop initial, although limited, understandings of its nature, dynamics and consequences (Brozovsky, Winkler 1965; Corliss 1965; Glasser, Massengale 1962; Grabski 1963; Lawton, Malmquist 1961). Based on this emerging but incomplete knowledge, practitioners and media popularized (Burnett 1982; Merki 1970) public images of inhalant use (Breecher 1972). In some communities, this early image became firmly entrenched, serving both to guide (Jackson, Thornhill, Gonzalez 1967; Malcolm 1968; Tolan, Lingl 1964) and limit subsequent intervention efforts. These images continue to be promoted but have not kept pace with newly emerging scientific findings (Brehm, Sharp 1977; Korman 1977; Mason 1979; Mathews, Korman 1981; Padilla, Padilla, Morales, Olmedo, Ramirez 1979; Stybel, Allen, Lewis 1976; Wyse 1973). Some of the more enduring yet questionable beliefs about inhalant use are:

1. it "spreads and grows" epidemically;
2. users are socially marginal, i.e., "hard to reach" - low income inner city minority youth;
3. users are resistant to intervention and are probably "lost cases."

Some of these long held assumptions are called into question by more current research findings (Brehm, Sharp 1977; Cohen

1979; Mason 1979), particularly in pharmacological (Garriott, Petty 1980), epidemiological (Epstien, Wieland 1978; Gosset, Lewis, Phillips 1971) and psychosocial studies (Lowenstien 1982). Little attention, however, has been given to social support and helpseeking behaviors of inhalant abusers (Press, Done 1967; Press, Sterling 1968).

In a few communities, serious attention is again being focused on policies and programs that will assist them in their efforts to stem inhalant use (Korman 1977; Montiel 1982; Shanhotz 1968; Tolone, Dermott 1975). Although prevention receives a far greater share of interest and resources than has treatment, both are inadequately acknowledged or funded.

Policy-makers, researchers and practitioners (Harrel, Liss 1981; Richards 1981) generally draw attention to the lack of knowledge about inhalants using youth (Cohen 1979). Any effort to expand either treatment or prevention services targeting inhalant using youth (Szapocnik, Daruna, Scopetta, Aranda 1977), needs to have some knowledge of youth use of volatile substances (Padilla et al 1979), but also their help-seeking and social support networks (Hamburg, Varenhurst 1972). Though some attention has been given, rural and small communities have generally not drawn same attention that urban and suburban communities have. Any effort to assist these communities develop programs and services to effectively meet the challenge of inhalant use among rural South Texas youth needs to address rural youth helpseeking and personal social support networks. A major gap then concerns social scientists' lack of attention and understanding of youths' personal

social networks and their decisions to seek help for problems of daily life and problems requiring special attention and assistance.

The lack of studies concerning inhalant user's social support networks and helpseeking behaviors has been especially notable when applied to ethnic minorities (Andrews 1984; Barker, Adams 1973; Mata 1978) and to rural youth (Heigilman 1973; NIDA 1977; Rootman 1972; Tolone, Dermott 1975). This article presents the preliminary findings of a study on rural youths' use of drugs, and their social support and helpseeking efforts. The sample is consist predominately of Mexican American with a comparison group of Anglos. The study is exploratory and the findings are limited to the sample reported herein. The questions that the study explores are these: do inhalant users and non-users differ in their various measures of social support? Do users and non-users differ in measures of helpseeking? Do Mexican Americans and Anglos differ in these measures?

These findings should serve first to promote, stimulate and encourage interest in rural youths' use of inhalants, and their social support and helpseeking efforts; second, to provide baseline data about these variables; and third, to posit issues and questions that policy makers, practitioners and other social scientists may need to consider.

METHODOLOGY

The project used a collaborative research methodology following guidelines suggested by J Moore, R Garcia, C Garcia, and L Cerda (1968), and J Moore and AG Mata (1982). The research director worked closely with a small grassroots community group representing a variety of interests and positions in the community. During a series of participatory meetings, the community group collaborated in establishing the study's goals and procedures, thereby enhancing the study's validity, reliability, and local usefulness. The dissemination, instruction and data collection for the study were conducted by a University Research Team.

Procedures

Data collected was derived from a study of rural South Texas youths that involved 614 sixth to twelfth grade subjects. All students' participation was voluntary. Student participation was qualified by having both the students and parents sign informed consent letters.

Student participants were released from classroom activities and were administered a questionnaire in a two and one half hour session.

In order to secure and facilitate their participation and trust, students were reminded that their participation was voluntary, and each questionnaire would not have any personal identifiers. They were also told that they could choose to omit the answers to any items they wanted to, but were asked to answer each item as truthfully and completely as possible. Students were also assured of the full confidentiality and anonymity of their responses. Also they told that this data would only be reported in aggregate form (i.e. no one would be able to identify any particular student's responses).

Instrument

A 236-item questionnaire was developed from items utilized in other community and school surveys (Moore, Mata 1982; Nehemkis, Macari, Letteri 1982). The adaptation was based on pretests and Frio County Alcohol and Drug Study Task Force recommendations. Two major sources of data were collected: psycho-social factors and social epidemiological factors. Measures of inhalant use were derived from students' self reports of their past use. Social support measures consisted of three Likert scales: parental support, parent-peer understanding of the respondent, and the respondents' ease in talking to others about their problems.

Dichotomous variables measured helpseeking in three distinct contexts: for problems in general, for problems with drugs, and for information about drugs. Parental support was measured by student responses to the statement: "Right or wrong, my parents are there when I need them." Choices were: "always," "most of the time," "some of the time," or "hardly ever."

A second measure asked students to indicate who they felt understood them better, their parents or their friends. Choices were: "parents better," "parents a little better," "parents and friends about equal," "friends a little better," and "friends better." This measures the relative social support felt by the respondent and has elsewhere been referred to as the "push-pull" struggle between the influences of family and peers (Adler, Kandel 1981; Kandel 1975, 1976).

As a final measure of social support, students were asked to indicate their levels of

difficulty in talking to others about their problems. Choices were "not difficult," "somewhat difficult," "very difficult," or "extremely difficult."

Three measures concerning helpseeking were devised. The first asked to whom respondents would turn for help with problems in general; the second for problems with drugs; and the third question asked who respondents would turn to for information or to influence their decisions on whether or not to use drugs.

Students were asked to indicate whether they would or would not turn to each of the following for help with problems in general: themselves (their own resources, experiences, judgments, etc.); parents; teachers; ministers/priests/pastors; friends; siblings; medical doctors; neighbors; or no one (i.e., they would do nothing or turn to no one). The second helpseeking measure asked respondents who they would turn to for help with drug problems. Students were again asked whether they would or would not turn to each of the sources listed in the previous measure.

Sample

The sample (n=614) included each student who completed both parts of the questionnaire, although some items were left unanswered. The sample coverage represents about one-third of all eligible students. Except for the sixth grade levels, sample coverage in grades ranged from 35 percent to 48 percent.

The sample consisted of 290 males and 324 females, including 480 Mexican Americans and 121 Anglos. The county as a whole is made up of 86 percent Mexican American, 13 percent Anglo, and less than 1 percent Black, Asian and other. Frio County shares many of the same problems, in varying degrees, facing other small South Texas communities.

FINDINGS

Inhalant use levels were measured from the respondents' indicating that they have used an inhalant (gas, paint, glue, etc.) at least once. Of the total sample of 601, 11 percent (65) said that they had used at least one inhalant in the past; 89 percent (536) said that they had never used any inhalants. Eleven percent of the Mexican American students surveyed had used inhalants. Among Anglos, the number of those who had ever used any inhalants was slightly less at 9 percent. This difference, however, is not statistically

significant. As a self-report study premised on voluntary participation, this study likely undercounts more chronic usage and users. As a preliminary and exploratory effort, this limitation is acceptable; nonetheless, chronic drug usage and users demand further attention and research.

Social Support

Because social support systems serve important mediating or buffering roles users' perceptions of their social support systems are important (Caplan, Killilea 1976; Hamburg, Varenhurst 1972; Rosenblatt, Mayer 1972). Planning and programming efforts intended to reach and treat inhalant users need to consider the influence of these systems both upon drug use itself and upon helpseeking once drug use patterns are established.

Parents are a key source of guidance and nurturance and therefore are also a key source of mediation. High levels of family disorganization and absence of father figures have been noted among inhalant users. Therefore, parental support is expected to be less than it would be among non-inhalant using youth (Corliss 1965; Glasser, Massengale 1962; Mason 1979; Nicholi 1983; Padilla et al 1979; Szapocnik et al 1977). Three general measures of social support were used in this study: measures of parental support, of parental understanding, and of ease in discussing problems.

Parental Support

The majority of students in all categories reported that their parents were there when they needed them "most" of the time (Table 1A). Significant differences exist, however, in terms of both ethnicity and inhalant use. Only 67 percent of all Mexican Americans indicated their parents were there "most" of the time, compared to 80 percent of all Anglos (Tau C = -.08844; sig < .01). Similarly, only 61 percent of all inhalant users indicated that their parents were there "most" of the time, compared to 70 percent of those who had never used inhalants (Tau C = .04049; sig < .05). The highest proportion of students reporting their parents were there "most" of the time was found among Anglos who had never used inhalants (81%); the lowest proportion was among Mexican Americans who had used inhalants (60%).

Parental Understanding

Students as a group generally felt better

Table 1: Measures of Social Support

A. "Right or wrong, my parents are there when I need them." How often?

	Most of the Time		Some of the Time		Not Very Often		Hardly Ever		Never	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Mex-Am Used	60	32	24	13	8	4	8	4	0	0
Mex-Am Never Used**	67	290	23	97	5	11	3	11	3	11
Anglo Used	73	8	18	2	0	0	9	1	0	0
Anglo Never Used**	81	89	14	15	3	3	2	2	1	1
All Used*	62	40	23	15	6	4	8	5	0	0
All Never Used*	70	379	21	112	4	24	3	13	2	12
All Mex-Am**	67	322	23	110	5	25	3	15	2	11
All Anglo**	80	97	14	17	2	3	2	3	2	1
Total	69	419	21	127	5	28	3	18	2	12

Significance between groups: *p<.05; **p<.01

Table 1: Measures of Social Support

B. Who understands you better, your parents or your friends?

	Parents Better		Parents a Little Better		About Equal		Friends a Little Better		Friends Better	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Mex-Am Used	44	23	8	4	12	6	12	6	25	13
Mex-Am Never Used*	42	179	14	60	14	61	12	50	17	71
Anglo Used	36	4	9	1	18	2	18	2	18	2
Anglo Never Used*	34	38	16	18	14	15	9	10	26	29
All Used	43	27	7	5	14	8	11	8	24	15
All Never Used	41	217	15	78	14	76	11	60	19	100
All Mex-Am**	43	202	14	64	14	67	12	56	18	84
All Anglo**	35	42	16	19	14	17	10	12	26	31
Total	41	244	14	83	14	84	11	68	19	115

Significance between groups: *p<.05

Table 1: Measures of Social Support

C. How hard is it for you to talk about your problems?

	Not At All		Somewhat Difficult		Very Difficult		Extremely Difficult	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Mex-Am Used	12	4	39	13	27	9	21	7
Mex-Am Never Used	18	57	49	155	22	69	10	33
Anglo Used	22	2	44	4	0	0	33	3
Anglo Never Used	17	16	56	52	15	14	11	10
All Used	14	6	40	17	21	9	24	10
All Never Used	18	73	51	207	20	83	11	43
All Mex-Am	18	61	48	168	22	78	12	40
All Anglo	18	18	55	56	14	14	13	13
Total	18	79	50	244	21	92	12	53

Significance between groups: *p<.05

understood by their parents (Table 1B). About 55 percent indicated their parents understood them better or a little better; 30 percent indicated their friends understood them better or a little better. Again, an ethnic difference was noted: Mexican Americans were significantly more likely to report better understanding from their parents over their friends than are Anglos (Tau C - .07036; sig <.05). No difference was found on this measure in terms of inhalant use.

Ease in Discussing Problems

Concerning respondents' willingness to talk to others, indicating their perceptions of overall social support (Table 1C). A third of all students reported that talking about their difficulties to others was "very difficult" or "extremely difficult." Fifty percent indicated it was "somewhat difficult," and only 18 percent reported it was "not difficult." On this measure, there were no significant ethnic differences. A significant difference did come to light, however, between inhalant users and non-users (Tau C = .04930; sig <.05). Those who had used inhalants were more than twice as likely to report "extreme difficulty" in talking about their problems, with 23 percent giving this response compared to 11 percent for those who had never used.

HELPSEEKING AND INFORMATION

Prevention and intervention can be more effectively planned with an understanding of the helpseeking tendencies of targeted youths. This section examines students' helpseeking efforts. The data should provide some sense of key elements in youths' natural support networks.

General Helpseeking

Among the general sample, the greatest proportion of students were willing to seek help from their ministers (97%) (Table 2). The only other source from which a majority of the respondents would seek help was friends (59%). Moderate levels of willingness to seek help were indicated for siblings (40%), themselves (36%), and parents (32%); low levels of helpseeking were indicated for teachers (18%), doctors (9%), and neighbors (9%). Thirteen percent said they would turn to no one.

There were several significant differences in terms of ethnicity, with Mexican Americans more willing than Anglos to seek help from their teachers ($x^2 = 6.306$ DF=1; sig <.02), from medical doctors ($x^2 = 9.185$ DF=1; sig

<.01), and from their neighbors ($x^2 = 9.185$ DF=1; sig <.01). Willingness to seek help from the other sources was comparable for Mexican Americans and Anglos. Also, there were no significant differences on this measure between those who had used and those who had not used inhalants.

Helpseeking for Drug Problems

The results indicate distinctly lower levels of willingness to seek help for drug problems than for problems in general (Table 3). There was also no help source cited from which a majority would seek help. Help from friends rated highest, with 44 percent willing to seek help from them. Students next specified the help of siblings (33%), themselves (28%), and parents (26%). Medical doctors were the only help sources to whom more would turn for drug problems than for problems in general: 17 percent indicated such willingness. Ministers, rated highly for problems in general, would be turned to for drug problems by only 14 percent. Teachers would be consulted by 16 percent, neighbors by 8 percent and 12 percent of the respondents would turn to no one.

There are few significant ethnic differences in helpseeking patterns for drug problems. Mexican Americans, however, were twice as likely as Anglos to report seeking help from no one ($x^2 = 4.110$ DF=1; sig <.05). Also, among those who used inhalants, Anglos were much more likely to turn to their siblings for help with drug problems ($x^2 = 7.221$ DF=1; sig <.01).

Greater differences in helpseeking for drug problems surfaced between those who had used inhalants and those who had not. Inhalant users were significantly more likely to seek help from friends ($x^2 = 8.1509$; sig <.01) and from doctors ($x^2 = 3.880$ DF=1; sig <.05). Unfortunately, inhalant users were also significantly more likely to do nothing or to seek help from anyone ($x^2 = 5.380$ DF = 1; sig <.05).

Source(s) of Information

Any efforts to inform, treat, or curb youths' use of drugs and alcohol can also be facilitated by exploring to whom the respondents would turn for information. This measure asked students to indicate what sources they would turn to for information when they were considering using or not using drugs (Table 4). The information sources listed were schools, parents, the media, medical doctors, peers, teachers,

Table 2: Percent of Youth Who Would Seek Help for Problems in General From: (N=614)

	Self		Parents		Teachers		Ministers		Friends		Siblings		Doctors		Neighbors		No One	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Mex-Am Used	34	19	22	12	22	12	93	51	54	30	42	23	18	10	9	5	18	10
Mex-Am Never Used	34	150	32	141	20*	87	97	424	58	253	41	179	10	44	11**	49	14	60
Anglo Used	36	4	46	5	18	2	100	11	73	8	64	7	0	0	0	0	9	1
Anglo Never Used	41	46	35	39	9*	10	98	109	66	73	32	35	2**	2	2**	2	8	9
All Used	35	23	26	17	21	14	94	62	58	38	46	30	15	10	8	5	17	11
All Never Used	36	196	33	180	18	97	97	533	60	326	39	214	8	46	9	51	13	69
All Mex-Am	34	169	31	153	20*	99	96	475	58	283	41	202	11**	54	11**	54	14	70
All Anglo	41	50	36	44	10*	12	98	120	66	81	34	42	2**	2	2**	2	8	10
Total	36	219	32	197	18	111	97	595	59	364	40	244	9	56	9	56	13	80

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

Table 3: Percent of Youth Who Would Seek Help for A Drug Problems From: (N=614)

	Self		Parents		Teachers		Ministers		Friends		Siblings		Doctors		Neighbors		No One	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Mex-Am Used	33	18	18	10	16	9	13	7	56*	31	33**	8	27	15	9	5	18	10
Mex-Amer Never Used	26	116	26	113	16	71	14	61	41	179	31	137	16	72	8	35	13*	58
Anglo Used	36	4	27	3	18	2	18	2	73	8	82**	9	27	3	9	1	18	2
Anglo Never Used	31	34	32	36	12	13	14	16	48	53	33	37	12	14	5	6	5	6
All Used	33	22	20	13	17	11	14	9	59**	39	41	27	27*	18	9	6	22*	14
All Never Used	27	150	27	149	15	84	14	77	42**	232	32	174	16*	86	8	41	12*	64
All Mex-Am	27	134	25	123	16	80	14	68	43	210	32	155	18	87	8	40	14*	68
All Anglo	31	38	32	39	12	15	15	18	50	61	38	46	14	17	6	7	7*	8
Total	28	172	26	162	16	95	14	86	44	271	33	201	17	104	8	47	12	76

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

Table 4: Percent of Youth Who Would Get Information About Drugs From: (N=614)

	School		Parents		Media		Doctors		Peers		Teachers		Ministers		Family	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Mex-Am Used	51	28	47	26	56*	31	31	17	40	22	31	17	26	14	33	18
Mex-Amer Never Used	47	205	51	222	38*	167	24	107	31	136	21	90	17	73	30	130
Anglo Used	27	3	46	5	54	6	27	3	64	7	27	3	18	2	46	5
Anglo Never Used	49	54	60	66	50	55	26	29	38	42	16	18	14	15	31	34
All Used	47	31	47	31	56*	37	30	20	44*	29	30	20	24	16	35	23
All Never Used	47	259	53	288	40*	222	25	136	32*	178	20	108	16	88	30	164
All Mex-Am	47	233	50	248	40	198	25	124	32	158	22	107	18	87	30	148
All Anglo	47	57	58	71	50	61	50	61	40	49	17	21	14	17	32	39
Total	47	290	52	319	42	259	42	259	34	207	21	128	17	104	30	187

*p<.05

ministers, and family members. The three most frequently reported sources were: parents (52%), schools (47%), and the media (42%). A second tier of information sources were peers (34%), family members (30%), doctors (25%), teachers (21%), and ministers (17%).

The only significant ethnic differences in the information sources consulted concerned the influence of the media. Among those who had never used inhalants, Mexican Americans were significantly less likely to be influenced by the media than were Anglos ($\chi^2 = 4.260$ DF=1; sig <.05). This relationship is marginally significant for the entire sample ($\chi^2 = 3.426$ DF=1; sig = .0642). A difference in media influence was also found to exist between users and non-users, with users relatively more influenced by the media ($\chi^2 = 4.981$ DF=1; sig <.05). A final difference was found in the influence of peers: those who had used inhalants were more influenced by their peers than those who had not ($\chi^2 = 4.861$ DF=1; sig <.05).

DISCUSSION

The findings indicated a different pattern of social support and helpseeking for Mexican Americans and Anglos. Mexican Americans seem generally to be less protected by the buffers which are usually considered to mediate vulnerability to substance abuse (Andrews 1984; Mata 1978; Montiel 1982).

Specifically, Mexican Americans report lower levels of parental support. This does not imply poor parental relationships, however, since Mexican Americans simultaneously report higher levels of parental understanding. Rather, parental support implies the willingness and ability to offer various kinds of tangible assistance which Mexican American parents may be less adequately positioned to provide. A lesser ability to "be there when needed" may be attributable to fewer resources and to greater competing demands on available resources. Thus, lower income, low social status, less political power, and larger families may all contribute to minority parents' lower ability to provide the specific support needed to their sons or daughters in times of trouble (Mata 1978; Moore, Castro, Castro, Cerda 1978).

This inability to rely solely on parents for needed support may lead to a greater tendency by Mexican American youths to view their neighborhood or community as their

social support network. This possibility is reflected in their helpseeking patterns for problems in general: while reporting comparable helpseeking levels from family and peers, Mexican Americans are more likely than Anglos to seek help from their neighbors, teachers, and medical doctors.

A further indication of the greater importance of the Mexican American communities as opposed to those of Anglos may lie in the lesser importance the media plays in the lives of Mexican American youths. This finding may also reflect a greater tendency by Mexican American youths to spend their leisure time outside of the home and away from exposure to media sources.

This typical helpseeking pattern varies, however, for Mexican American youths with drug problems. Both Mexican Americans and Anglos report less willingness to seek help for drug problems than for problems in general, but this decrease is more severe among Mexican Americans. For drug problems, there are no help source to which Mexican Americans would be more likely to turn to than Anglos. Moreover, Mexican American youths are twice as likely to indicate that they would turn to no one for help or information.

In considering the differences between those who use inhalants and those who do not, inhalant users seem more closely tied to their peers and less supported by their parents. Compared to non-users, inhalant users are more likely to be influenced by their peers and also are more likely to go to their friends for help with drug problems. They also report receiving less support from their parents but surprisingly, this combination does not lead them to feel better understood by their friends than they are by their parents. Again, this may be a case where lack of parental support does not indicate poor parental relationships, or it may indicate low levels of understanding from both parents and friends. If this is the case, it implies that inhalant-using youth participate in a peer network which is accessible and influential but not emotionally satisfying. This conclusion offers hope for intervention as unfulfilling patterns are more easily altered than those which are satisfying.

Obstacles to intervention with inhalant users, though, are readily apparent in their helpseeking patterns. Users report greater difficulty discussing their problems and are more likely than non-users to do nothing or turn to no one for help with drug problems.

Intervention must emphasize innovative and creative outreach efforts in order to overcome these barriers.

CONCLUSIONS

Inhalants are just one type of drug used by youths in this rural area (Mata et al 1984). Inhalants are also some of the earliest illicit drugs experimented with, and there is some evidence that suggests their use may be increasing. However, inhalants are not the primary drugs of choice for either junior or senior high school students. In fact, the frequency of their inhalant use is less than that of alcohol, tobacco, marijuana or amphetamines (Forslund 1977; Rootman 1972; Tolone, Dermott 1975).

The limitations of this study include the dichotomous division of respondents into groups who have "ever used" or "never used" inhalants. This measure fails to distinguish between experimental, regular, and chronic users. Given the small number of inhalant users in the sample, closer examination of the diverse types of use (chronic versus experimental usage) was not possible. Future studies need to examine the differences in social support and helpseeking in terms of different inhalant use patterns.

Also, this study was meant to be both exploratory and preliminary. The differences observed here in social support and helpseeking measures may lead to differences in inhalant use or vice versa. Alternately, both may be precipitated by a third, unexamined factor or group of factors, although such conclusions regarding causation are beyond the scope of this data. The findings do suggest a need for a more controlled and systematic examination of the relationship between these variables.

There is a definite need for ongoing research on youths' use of gateway drugs like alcohol and drugs. While use of inhalants is comparably lower than it is for alcohol, marijuana and amphetamines, new cohorts continue to "discover" inhalants (Shanhotz 1968; Sharp, Korman 1980.) There is also, then, a need to examine who gets attracted to inhalants and why. What inhalants are being used? What is the link between experimentation and continuing use of inhalants? And, finally, what is the link between the use of inhalants and that of other soft drugs? Moreover, why is there an even larger number of students which are not attracted to and have never experimented with

inhalants? While this study is a beginning, there is clearly a need for a closer examination of youths' social support and helpseeking efforts (Rosenblatt, Mayer 1972) in order to find the answers to some of these questions.

While there are some similarities between rural and urban youths' use of alcohol and drugs, there are also a number of differences (Forslund 1977; Globetti 1978; Harrel, Lisn 1981; Rootman 1972). These discrepancies need to be explored further in order to facilitate the implementation of program efforts which would be more suitable to the tasks facing both urban and rural communities (Corliss 1965; Crites, Schuckit 1979; Daubert, MacAdam 1980).

In relation to services, policy makers and practitioners should reconsider many of their assumptions and understandings concerning inhalant users (Preble, Laury 1967), particularly concerning their status vis-a-vis family, peers and caretakers, and the ways in which these relationships affect social support and helpseeking efforts. Since the data suggests that youths' support networks are less satisfying, further emphasis should be given to specifying the nature and dynamics of inhalant users' social support networks (Caplan, Killilea 1976).

Attention also needs to be given to youths' information and helpseeking behaviors. Only when there is adequate knowledge of both these factors may more adequate and meaningful intervention and treatment efforts be developed and maintained. Finally, attention will need to be given to youth knowledge about inhalant's abuse more serious effects—both short and long term ones (Poklis 1975; Taylor, Harris 1970); and how these are and are not being internalized and acted. Efforts to reach rural youth will also need to attend to fact that many of current operating "helping systems" are urban oriented and knowledge of rural youth especially minority youth is missing, ignored or incomplete. Whether future efforts be preventive or treatment oriented, a good measure of their success will depend upon providing a more adequate knowledge and understanding of youths' social worlds and their personal social network and relationship to youths' drug use experiences.

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RACE AND PISTOL ACCESS: VARIATIONS AMONG POOR MALES**J. Sherwood Williams, John H. McGrath, and Ann Creighton-Zollar**
Virginia Commonwealth University**ABSTRACT**

We examine factors related to pistol access among urban, low income, males. Because of the high usage of pistols in homicides, robbery and assaults within the African American population, one might suspect that this population has greater access to pistols than their white counterpart. By highlighting differences between poor urban African American and white male pistol owners, we hope to better understand racial variation in lethal violence. The data for this study were gathered by the National Opinion Research Center as part of their General Social Surveys. Several surveys conducted between 1973 and 1987 were combined for this analysis. From these surveys 410 low income urban males who had access to a pistol were isolated for analysis. It is from the population this sample represents that the highest percentage of gun related violent crime is concentrated. Our findings show that low income, urban, African American males were more likely to have easier access to pistols than their white counterparts. This relationship persisted in all of the variables examined. African American males who used alcohol were twice as likely as whites to own pistols. Among those who frequently socialized in places where alcohol was served, African American pistol access, in their households, was eight times higher than it was for whites.

INTRODUCTION

Although African Americans represent a disproportionate proportion of "actors" in gun related crime statistics, both as victims and offenders, little published research on household firearms access exists about this population. Calls for a more intensive examination of African American gun owners have not drawn much response (Clark 1984; Kleck 1984; Watts, Watts 1981). The most comprehensive examination of this topic concludes that race is not a useful predictor of gun ownership (Wright, Rossi, Daly 1983). There is no denying, however, that firearms contribute to the problems of low income urban African Americans. The most visible firearms related problems are homicide, robbery and assault and how these events affect the economic, social and psychological attributes of victims, offenders, their families and communities (Cook 1983; Seitz 1972; Wright et al 1983).

In this study, we examine life style and attitudinal factors as they relate to low income urban pistol owners. We focus on variations between African American and white males. This segment of the population was selected for study because it accounts for the vast majority of firearms misuse in the United States (U.S. Department of Justice 1990; Wright et al 1983). Although firearms are frequently misused by Mexican Americans and Puerto Rican Americans, they were not included in this study because their representation in the data set used was limited. In other words, there were not enough cases to seriously examine these ethnic groups.

Survey data suggests that firearms are present in only about a third of African American households. By contrast, there are

firearms in nearly half the white households. When ownership is narrowed to only pistols, however, little difference is found between African Americans and whites (Williams, McGrath 1978; Wright, Marston 1975). In 1989, the U. S. Census reported there were 8.6 million African American households in the United States; thus, 2.7 million households have at least one firearm, and 1.7 million households have at least a pistol (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1990). The problem is even greater in the view of Wright et al (1983), who estimated there were from 100 to 140 million privately owned guns in the United States, 30 percent of which were pistols. If these firearms were spread, proportionately, among the races, African American households would possess about 14 million guns, of which some four million would be pistols. The theoretical issue underlying these figures is, of course, the accessibility of firearms. Most of those who have examined the accessibility issue underline the fact that moments of high emotional volatility can go in an unplanned direction if a weapon is within reach. Consider, for instance, the association of murder with knives, which appears to be directly related to family arguments that take place in the kitchen (Berkowitz 1968; Berkowitz, Lepage 1967; Cook 1983; Wright et al 1983).

Although African Americans constitute only 13 percent of the population, they account for approximately 47 percent of the 1988 arrests for violent crimes (Maguire, Pastore, Flanagan 1993). More than 150,000 African Americans were arrested in 1988 for crimes involving firearms. African Americans also are more likely than whites to be victims of violent crimes. In 1988 it was estimated that more

than 250,000 victims of firearms related crimes were African American (McGuire, Flanagan 1991; U.S. Department of Justice 1990). During the 1980's, the homicide rates for African American males between 15 and 24 years of age rose 66 percent. Nearly all (95%) of these homicides were a result of gunshots. The Centers for Disease Control project that about 5 percent of African American males is likely to die as a result of being shot (Dumas 1991; Ingram, Feldman, Fingerhut 1992).

Considering the National Safety Council's data (1979), we estimate that annually an additional 19,000 African Americans suffer directly as a result of firearm-related suicides, accidental deaths and injuries (Sloan, Rivera, Reay, Ferris 1990). The effects of firearms misuse is even greater when we add the crime data involving firearms. Data from 1988 suggest the direct effects of gun violence extend to more than 350,000 African Americans. Since parents, spouses, children, and other relatives are directly affected, it is not unrealistic to estimate that at least two million other African Americans are annually effected by the improper use of firearms (close to 7 percent of the African American population).

We would expect to find a high level of consciousness to the dangers of guns and their misuse in this population. Survey data confirm this expectation. Indeed, African Americans are more fearful of firearm related violence and favor stricter gun laws than do whites (Braungart, Braugart, Hoyer 1980; Maguire et al 1993; Research and Forecasts 1980). Fear of crime affects behavior in a variety of ways. For instance, people avoid areas known for high crime rates. Fearful persons are less likely to go out at night and when they do go out they are more likely to take precautions, such as taking dogs, knives, sprays, whistles and/or guns with them (Gallup 1981).

In contrast to whites, African Americans have been found to be more prone toward personally defending their own person and property and less likely to depend on the police for such protection (Feagin 1970; Greenwood, Wadycki 1973; Wintersmith 1974). Several studies have found that African Americans often have strained relations with the legal system, are more sensitive than whites to being taken advantage of and have a greater tendency to possess guns, which they perceive will help them to cope with such situations (Nappier 1979; Schultz 1962; Seitz

1972; Wolfgang, Ferracutti 1967). This does not appear to be due to being more violent but, rather, to a heightened sense of individualism or lack of trust in the system (a sense that one must "do" for one's self). Fear of victimization and/or a cultivated distrustful view of the public may have two results. First would be a desire to limit the access of firearms. Secondly, in contrast, individuals may want to possess a firearm to protect and control their own environment.

Seitz (1972) suggests that firearms are an integral part of the African American culture. If this is true, it is a relatively recent phenomenon, for before the Civil War, African Americans were prohibited from owning or possessing firearms in the South for fear of slave revolts. Shortly after the civil war it became fashionable for southern African American males, like their white counterparts, to openly carry guns. Guns, it seems, became symbols of power and control (Kennett, Anderson 1975). This activity, however, stopped when states enacted new "Black Codes," prohibiting African Americans from possessing firearms (Kennett, Anderson 1975; Kessler 1984; Trelease 1971). Today, however, guns are the preferred weapons of choice within the African American population (Mann 1990).

Research on firearms ownership suggests a variety of factors may explain variations in African American gun access. Structural variables found positively associated with household gun ownership include, age, gender, region of residence and population size in the community of residence (Newton, Zimring 1969; Wright et al 1983). Two social psychological variables found positively related to firearm ownership are "tolerance of the use of force" and distrust of "others," (Lizotte, Bordua 1980; Williams, McGrath 1976, 1978; Wright et al 1983).

Among the life experience factors found related to gun ownership are arrest and victimization status (Schultz 1962; Williams, Marolla, McGrath 1981; Wright et al 1983). Although the use of alcohol has not been shown to be directly related to gun ownership, alcohol is a known facilitator of violence (Collins 1988; Pittman 1974; U.S. Department of Justice 1988).

In this study, we examine the relationship between pistol accessibility and race among urban dwelling low income males, controlling for variables previously found related to gun ownership. Given the disproportionate

Table 1: Percentage of Poor Males in High Risk Violence Categories by Race

High Risk Groups	Whites	African Americans	% Diff	P <
Use Alcohol	74	61	13	.001
Frequently Socialize in Bars or Taverns	28	25	3	.004
High Approval of Force	54	41	12	.001
Distrust of "Others"	51	82	-31	.001
Lowest Third of Family Incomes	20	32	-12	.001
Victimized	8	14	- 6	.001
Arrested	11	15	- 5	.001

representation of African Americans males in gun related crimes, we might conclude that African Americans have greater access to pistols than their white counterparts. By highlighting differences between poor urban African American and white male pistol owners, we hope better to understand any racial variation in gun related violence.

METHODS

The data for this study were gathered by the National Opinion Research Center as part of their General Social Surveys. The number of pertinent variables we can examine is, of course, limited to what these surveys covered. Response to a question about the presence of pistols in the respondents' home was available from nine surveys done between 1973 and 1987. By combining these surveys, we could identify a subsample of 410 urban males whose annual total family income was in the lowest third of the sample (less than \$20,000 in 1991 dollars). It is documented that the highest percentage of violent crimes is concentrated in this population (Curtis 1975; Luckenbill, Doyle 1989).

Sample and Data Collection

The sampling designs in the surveys varied over the years. In 1972 and 1974, probability sampling was used to the block level, and then quota sampling was used. In 1976, half the sample was selected as done in the previous surveys and half was selected using a full probability procedure. Surveys done after 1976 have used full probability sampling procedures. For more details on the sampling procedures, including information on sampling error, the reader should see Appendix A of the Cumulative Codebook (Davis, Smith 1988). In all years, the data were collected via face-to-face interviews by trained interviewers, administering a structured questionnaire.

Although the combined sample is large,

many questions examined were not asked of the entire sample. This led to low frequencies and, thus, it was necessary to dichotomize our predictor variables to guarantee enough cases for analysis. Even with this procedure, the frequencies in several categories of our predictor variables are small.

Operationalization

Access to Pistol: The dependent variable was measured by asking respondents if there was a firearm in their home. If they responded "yes," they were asked if they had a pistol in their home. Household ownership of pistols is clearly an indicator of access to that type of weapon. Missing values, "don't know" and "refused" answers, for all.

Each of the following variables has been found to be related, both directly and indirectly, to violence in the United States. Persons being in the "high risk" category of these variables have been found to have experienced greater violence than have their counterparts. For example, the consumption of alcohol or frequenting places where alcohol is served has been found to be related to violence experience (Collins 1988). Using Collin's (1995) conceptualization, these variables may be considered "violence facilitators." That is, the greater the probability that these factors are present, the higher the probability of violence variables in this study, are not used in the analyses.

Alcohol Use: Respondents were asked "Do you ever have occasion to use any alcoholic beverage such as liquor, wine, or beer, or are you a total abstainer?" Although whites were more likely than African Americans to indicate use of alcohol, the difference was significant at the .001 level (see Table 1).

Socialize in Bars: To the question of how often they "Go to a bar or tavern," seven response categories were offered ranging from almost every day to never. For this analysis, we dichotomized the distribution of responses

Table 2: Zero-order and Conditional Relationships Between Race and Pistol Ownership

	Whites		African Americans		Gamma	P<
	%	N	%	N		
Zero-Order	10	268	19	142	.354	.006
Conditions						
Alcohol Use						
No	4	45	7	28	.246	.312
Yes	7	140	20	77	.518	.004
Socialize in Bar						
Low	4	79	12	34	.543	.054
High	3	68	24	21	.823	.001
Force						
Low	9	89	14	66	.230	.181
High	15	28	21	28	.228	.202
Arrested						
No	16	83	16	31	.017	.476
Yes	15	39	33	21	.467	.055
Victimized						
No	15	171	22	98	.257	.052
Yes	8	25	26	19	.608	.052
Distrust "Others"						
Low	13	77	15	13	.098	.408
High	11	109	17	93	.254	.103

on this item at the median (i.e., once a month or more "more frequent," and others "less frequent"). This was done to ensure enough cases for analysis in each grouping. Again, whites engaged in this activity more often than did African Americans and the difference was significant at the .004 level.

Trust in "Others": This dimension was measured by asking, "Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?" African Americans were significantly more likely than whites to respond the "you can't be too careful" ($p < .001$).

Support of Force: Summated responses to five-questions measure this variable. The questions ask for degree of approval of an adult male striking a male stranger in five separate situations, ranging in degree of provocation. "High" and "low" approval is based on whether the summated responses are above or below the index median. Whites were significantly higher ($p < .001$) on this dimension than were African Americans.

Arrest Status: Respondents were asked if they had ever been "picked up, or charged, by the police for any reason (other than a traffic violation) whether or not you were guilty?" The responses were either "yes" or "no." Race was a significant predictor of arrest status ($p <$

.001).

Victim Status: This index grouped persons into victim or non-victim status based upon their experience of being robbed or burglarized. Response groupings were simply "yes" or "no." The "victim" category includes respondents experiencing either type of victimization. African Americans were significantly more likely to indicate victimization than were whites ($p < .001$).

Analysis

We use contingency analysis to assess the relationship between race and household pistol ownership. To assess the strength of associations we use Goodman and Kruskal's gamma coefficient. For each association examined, we report the probability of its occurrence by chance (based on t-test values). Our predictor variable is race, African American vs. white. The remaining variables examined, found by others to be related to firearms experience, serve as controls.

FINDINGS

The difference between poor white and African American males, for each "violence facilitator," is displayed in Table 1. The difference was significant for each of the variables examined. Whites, as compared to African

Americans, were over represented in the alcohol related violence facilitator categories. That is, whites were more likely to indicate that they used alcohol and more frequently socialization in bars or taverns. Similarly, the African American population was less likely to be rated as high on attitudes toward the use of force than were whites. It should be noted, perhaps, that 25 percent or more of the African American population was found to be in these violence facilitator categories. This is at least twice what might be expected given that African Americans account for only about 13 percent of the total U.S. population.

It is clear, in Table 1, that poor African American males are significantly more likely than their white counterparts to have been arrested, victims of crime, be distrustful of "others," and to be in the lowest third of the distribution of family income.

Given the relatively small numbers (142 African Americans and 268 whites) available for analysis, we suggest that the findings in Table 2 be cautiously interpreted. Table 2 is based on the observed variations in household pistol access between African Americans and whites. Both racial groupings are characterized as low income males, residing in cities with populations of at least 50,000.

Table 2 indicates that the zero-order relationship between race and household pistol access was statistically significant ($p < .006$). The gamma coefficient indicates that we can reduce our error in predicting pistol access by over 35 percent when we shift from random prediction to prediction based on race. That is, when comparing African Americans and whites, our best prediction is that African Americans will be more likely to have access to pistols in their households.

Similar findings appear when we consider conditional relationships within high risk violence facilitator categories. Compared to whites, African Americans who consume alcohol ($\text{Gamma} > .51$; $p < .004$) and/or frequently socialize in bars or taverns ($\text{Gamma} > .82$; $p < .001$) are more likely to have access to pistols. Although the difference in pistol access between African Americans and whites, who were high on the force index, was not significant ($\text{Gamma} > .22$; $p < .202$), African Americans were nearly seven percent more likely to have household access to pistols than were whites.

Among those persons who had been arrested, African Americans were twice as

likely to indicate there was a pistol in their household ($\text{Gamma} > .46$; $p < .055$). African American victims, compared with white victims, were three times more likely to have household access to pistols ($\text{Gamma} > .60$; $p < .052$).

The relationship between race and pistol ownership was not statistically significant among persons who were distrustful of "others" ($p < .103$). The direction of the relationship, however, was consistent with those just mentioned, i.e., African Americans were more likely to have household access to pistols ($\text{Gamma} > .25$). That is, "mistrustful" African Americans were over six percent more likely to have access to pistols than were their white counterparts.

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

On the basis of this analysis, we can see that low income, urban, African American males tend to be more likely to have easy access to pistols than their white counterparts. This relationship (Gamma) persists, though weak and not significant for "Force" and "Distrust," in all of the high risk violence categories identified. African American males who used alcohol were twice as likely as whites to own pistols. Among those who frequently socialize in places where alcohol was served, African American household pistol access was eight times higher than white access. Although we have no way of knowing whether or not the owners carried their pistols, such a conclusion is consistent with past research findings (Schultz 1962). Perhaps the dominant theory used today to explain the differences between African American and white crime rates centers on "subcultural" differences between these two groups. Certainly the evidence presented in this study suggest there are differences between the two races in terms of pistol access. This observation alone might help explain the differences in firearms homicides and assaults between the races if one also takes into account the "accessibility" thesis previously mentioned. That is, it is thought that persons who are emotionally out of control tend to reach for the nearest weapon.

Considering the statistics related to African Americans and gun incidents, it is important to note, that the only other significant predictor of the difference between African American and White male household pistol access was victim status, with African American victims being four times more likely

to have access. This may affect ones feeling about self protection and the dangers of his daily existence.

As noted earlier, we must cautiously interpret our findings. The estimates are likely to be unstable given that the number of cases available was quite limited. Perhaps the best solution to this problem would be to conduct a study that is specifically designed to assess the carrying of pistols or other firearms among persons who find themselves in high risk violence situations. In addition to the factors considered here, others should be considered. Among the factors we would like to see studied are variance in community crime rates and community racial integration and/or strife. For example, an increasing community crime rate might prompt people to own guns for self-protection, particularly if the situation is exacerbated by the fear of crime.

Clearly, more study of private arming in urban American is needed. Previous studies have been unable to explain more than 15 percent of the variance in gun ownership. Given the volatility of urban life among the poor, we need to increase our explanatory powers so that realistic public planning and educational projects can be effected.

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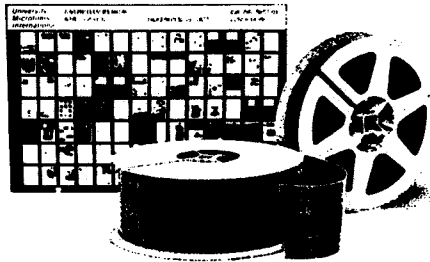
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AN ALTERNATIVE TO INCARCERATION: JUVENILE HOME DETENTION AND ELECTRONIC MONITORING

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INTRODUCTION: THE HISTORY OF CORRECTIONS

House arrest or home detention is not new. The term "home confinement" or "home detention" will be used interchangeably instead of "house arrest". The term "house arrest" tends to connote police action and an absence of due process in the courts. Nevertheless, home detention has probably always existed in some form. The Apostle St. Paul, the last czar of Russia in 1917, and Winnie Madella in the late 60's and early 70's have experienced similar conditions of this concept.

When we review the history of corrections in the West, we see it has progressively become more humane in the treatment of offenders. According to Ball, Huff, and Lilly (1988) the history of corrections has progressed through three phases and we are now in a fourth phase. In Preliterate times the doctrine of *lex talionis*, or "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth" provided the basis for justice. It formed the rule by which vengeance could be gained. According to this principle, the injured party or a representative inflicted the original injury upon the malefactor. In many cases his own methods were used against him. The punishment fit the crime, and those who lived by the sword suffered under it (Schmallegger 1986).

In the early Middle Ages, criminals were punished by payment of fines, undergoing voluntary penance or suffering physical punishment. Crime was not a big problem; except for the nobility and the clergy, most people were in similar circumstances. Wealth was pretty much evenly distributed. According to Lilly and Ball (1987) there was no need for a peasant to steal from a neighbor what he could produce himself and there was little thought of excluding or isolating offenders from the community.

Also in the early Middle Ages, Henry II in 1166, established early jails (then called goals) which held prisoners awaiting either trial or the imposition of their sentence. The practice of serving time as punishment for a criminal offense did not exist until the late 1700s (Schmallegger 1986). In the United States the

Quakers experimented with this idea, of jails used for punishment, at the Walnut Street Jail.

However, things changed by the late Middle Ages, and the punishment of offenders entered a second phase. Social problems abound at this time: unemployment, crowded living conditions, low wages, crime waves and other problems. Religious authority was superseded by civil authorities and fines were of little use because the poor had no money and few possessions with which to pay. Corporal punishment became popular: public whippings, branding, mutilations, tortures of the body, along with execution, became the universal means of punishment (Lilly, Ball 1987).

Near the end of the Middle Ages, there were early signs of the third phase in the history of punishment of criminals. This was found in the house of corrections that appeared in Calvinist Amsterdam in 1596. The city fathers wanted to introduce labor and religious instruction as a means of correcting offenders. Although corporal punishment continued as the most popular means of dealing with offenders, there was a new humanitarian philosophy on the scene and this philosophy, joined with the Protestant work ethic, influenced the practice of corrections (Lilly, Ball 1987).

In England, this humanitarianism and work ethic was manifested in the bridewells where the urban poor, vagrants, beggars, and runaways were exploited while making of them willing workers. During this period, the demand and development of new markets overseas, along with the exploitation of raw materials and the need for the establishment and defense of permanent settlements, lead to policies of free transportation and indentured servants. With the rise in crime and vagrancy, penal transportation and banishment to the Colonies and Australia became a means of dealing with the crime problem in England.

In the United States, it was the Quakers of Pennsylvania who advanced humanitarianism in correctional punishments. The Quaker Code of 1682 had included only one capital offense, pre-meditated murder. The Quakers argued that corporal punishment,

flogging and mutilations should be replaced with the practice of imprisonment in a house of correction and hard labor (Lilly, Ball 1987).

In 1934, England started its first open prison with minimum security as a satellite of the large prison at Wakefield. Prisoners from Wakefield were selected to serve the last stage of their imprisonment in the open prison. They worked in the open air on a farm where they could maintain some contact with the free world and enjoy a less formal relationship, and in some cases a closer association with the staff (Sandhu 1974). The open prison experiment proved to be successful and spread in England. The open prison made its appearance in the United States in the form of honor farms and other prison work release programs.

It is the contention of Lilly and Ball (1987) that home confinement is a representation of the fourth phase in the development of European-North American correctional policy. This fourth phase reflects the use of technology, electronics and computerized means to monitor and supervise offenders. It is the home detention of juveniles with intensive supervision and electronic monitoring with which this paper is concerned. This paper specifically investigated the home detention of juveniles using electronic monitoring and supervision.

THE BEGINNING OF HOME DETENTION AND ELECTRONIC MONITORING

Imprisonment in walled institutions was becoming more and more expensive in the 1970s and we were also incarcerating more people. It seemed necessary to provide alternatives to incarceration. While still relying heavily on incarceration, the United States entered the fourth phase of punitive policy. This phase lays heavy stress upon the inclusion of the offender in what is termed "community-based corrections" (Lilly, Ball 1987).

In the United States, home detention has been in operation in St. Louis since 1971. The early programs were developed to deal with youthful offenders in their home with their families. It was believed that increasing numbers of juveniles were being unnecessarily, and unjustly, detained in detention facilities prior to adjudication (Lilly, Ball 1987). It seems that home detention for juveniles can be used as an alternative for bail proceedings. However, in all jurisdictions, juveniles are not allowed bail. Now with home detention,

juveniles who need to be intensively supervised and monitored, but are not violent, aggressive or assaultive, can remain at home until adjudication.

The first home detention programs were similar to intensive supervision programs for juveniles. It was believed that youth could stay out of trouble by assigning teachers or para-professionals to them who would personally contact the juvenile once a day and also maintain daily contact with the parents and the school (Lilly, Ball 1987).

Dr. Ralph K. Schwitzel could be considered the father of electronic monitoring. He first discussed the idea of using electronic monitoring devices to track the locations of probationers and parolees in the community in the 1960s (Schmidt, Curtis 1987).

A New Mexico district court judge was inspired by a comic strip where "Spiderman" was being tracked by a transmitter on his wrist. The judge approached an engineer with his idea. The outcome was an electronic bracelet approximately the size of a pack of cigarettes that emitted an electronic signal that was picked up by a receiver placed in a home telephone (Lilly, Ball 1987).

There are many advantages of home detention and electronic monitoring:

1. It eliminates the school of crime influence of the walled institution.
2. Warehousing is eliminated.
3. Eliminates inmate violence toward each other.
4. It costs less.
5. It can be combined with restitution and community service.
6. Home detention has perceived relevance to the organizational goals of the juvenile justice system. (i.e., avoidance of stigmatization, being able to continue in school and low cost to operate.)

The early devices, however, were primitive and many individuals extricated themselves from the devices. There are some disadvantages of electronic monitoring. Some negative aspects would be:

1. The equipment can be taken off.
2. Electronic phone lines going out of order.
Giving false negative readings, due to phone line disorders.
3. Using monitoring equipment with the use of other electrical equipment can interfere with transmitted signals.

4. If all monitoring is done by computers, if the computer goes down there can be no monitoring.
5. The outlook of the community that we are letting people off lightly by not incarcerating them. Some people feel it is no punishment being home on electronic monitoring.

ELECTRONIC MONITORING

Electronic home detention is the wave of the future in the corrections field. The potential for electronic home confinement is unending if used correctly. Equipment used in electronic home detention has progressed in both technology and reliability over the last few years and has become a main stay in many probation situations. The use of electronic monitoring with class 2, 3, and 4 offenders, coupled with random physical spot checks and appropriate supervision strategies has proven effective at helping inmates re-establish, and maintain family and community ties, and at reducing recidivism (*Juvenile Justice Report* 1991). A little known fact is that the U.S. imprisons more residents per capita (455 per 100,000), than any other nation in the world today. Most of our prisons and jails are operating significantly above their highest capacities. Such overcrowded conditions are believed to be primary factors in increased violence among inmates and ineffective operation of corrections institutions throughout the country (*Crime & Punishment Report* 1990).

If the objective of corrections is to punish, incapacitate and rehabilitate offenders, then the current statistics on overcrowding and recidivism rates speak clearly to the ineffectiveness of the U.S. corrections system as it is currently structured. There will always be a need for prisons to house dangerous criminals who would otherwise pose a threat to society. However, the throw-away-the-key sentencing guidelines of the 1980s have jammed our prisons and jails with many non-violent offenders. From the Department of Justice in Washington, D.C. to local citizen groups comes the call for alternatives: more effective and less expensive sanctions for nonviolent offenders.

Alternatives to incarceration are classified within a major category of the U.S. corrections system known as community corrections. At the heart of community corrections is the opportunity to maintain supervision of offenders and rehabilitate them through alternatives. With 4.51 million adults and a

record number of juveniles under correctional supervision in the U.S. today, electronic home detention as an alternative deserves serious consideration (*Bi-Electronics Report* 1993).

The use of electronic home detention has not met its potential in any of the areas looked at using this type of system. The system used in Los Angeles is based on the ability of the person placed on the program to pay the cost of the system to be used. For electronic home detention to be considered, the person must be employed, have a telephone, and be established in the community. This rules out most juvenile offenders. In Denver, Colorado and New Mexico, as well as many other places in the U.S., the same applies. The courts in these areas are not willing to accept the responsibility for paying costs for phones to be installed in the homes of the potential candidates for this system, nor paying the entire cost of monitoring the individual.

The equipment for electronic home confinement has become very sophisticated over the last few years. Today, it is possible to have equipment which will transmit a picture of the client, do an alcohol screening, or has a voice identifier to make sure the person is at home when checked. With these assurances built into the equipment, more reliability of proper identification of the individual answering the call is possible. There are still problems with electronic home detention but these come from expecting the equipment to perform miracles instead of being used in conjunction with other methods of home confinement (*Bi-Electronic Report* 1993).

The use of electronic home detention is seen by many probation and parole officers as a method of enabling them to have less personal contact with some clients on their caseload. It is also reported that the printouts of the contacts made, makes it easier to go to court in order to prove probation or parole violations on individuals. The use of electronic home detention is being used to make possible early release of persons from prison. This lets the person complete the court imposed prison time at home, when overcrowding of the prison system is causing major problems, or potential legal problems exist for the prison system. Research studies indicate that to date, less than one in four electronic home detention participants have failed to complete their programs successfully (*Crime & Punishment Report* 1990). Additionally, escape and recidivism rates for electronic home detention

participants are quite low as compared to the overall sanctioned population (*Juvenile Justice Report 1991*).

The use of electronic home confinement for early release of prison inmates is causing some concerns in the community. Some people feel the person is not being punished for the crime committed. Yet, this person being home is now taking care of his/her family because they are employed. The family generally is not on welfare, the children have both parents to provide guidance for them, and the marriage has a much better chance to survive instead of winding up in divorce court. The use of early release of prison inmates also saves the state penal system thousands of dollars by not keeping the person in prison. With the use of the home detention system, the inmate is paying for his or her own food, housing, clothing and transportation, the expense of keeping his/her family, and for the home arrest system used to monitor him/her. For first offenders or various misdemeanor crimes, this approach is optimal (Personal Interview, Juvenile Probation, Adult Probation Supervisor, 1994).

The electronic home arrest system used for juveniles is the same as that used for adults. Today, the emphasis is on punishment rather than rehabilitation throughout the criminal justice system, which is not working with juveniles. With juveniles getting into more and more violent and various types of criminal activities, electronic home confinement is just another holding type detention system. This does not seem to be working well with the adolescents because they see it as part of the punishment they receive. Most juveniles see the probation officer as a person who has nothing but punishment for them in mind and people are not to be trusted. They do not tell the probation officers anything more than they have to in order to respond to questions. Many times the probation officer does not ask the right questions because they have not received any reports concerning the individuals behaviors and compliance to home detention. The electronic home detention system can be modified as follows when applied to juvenile offenders.

The system will still be used as it currently is, with the addition of having a person, not a probation officer, make contact with the adolescent on a daily basis. If the crime the juvenile has committed is of a violent nature, the contact should be more than once a day. The person checking the individual will talk

with the juvenile on a one to one basis and form a relationship with the individual in order to help the individual handle problems which arise on a daily basis.

The people recommended for making these contacts are teachers working on a part-time basis-two to three hours per day. By using teachers, the training time to make them effective is reduced. Teachers are already fairly well-trained to recognize signals of behavioral problems before they occur. The teachers would report to the probation office and follow the program outlined in the probation treatment plan, which is mandated by law in most states today. With the person doing the checks not being connected directly with the probation office, the juveniles will relate more openly and discuss problems in more detail. The electronic monitoring company could be the hiring agency for these people, instead of the probation office. This will give the juvenile an open communication link with a person and this person will have more time to discuss what is going on at any one time with the juvenile. Most probation officers do not have that amount of time to spend with each juvenile on their case load.

In addition to the electronic home detention report, given the probation officer, the individuals doing home checks would also give the probation officer a weekly report. Decisions can be made based not only on reports given on the electronic home detention contacts by telephone, but also on the personal contact reports made on the person listing the observation made on each visit. Between the random contacts made by telephone and random contacts made in person by an individual, the juvenile will be better supervised and monitored throughout the period of being on home detention. Contacts should be randomly made to insure compliance. Treatment plans will become more meaningful and more in tune with individuals. The plans can be updated as the individual's needs change in a more timely fashion. The juvenile will be able to get the help needed to turn their life around, and become good citizens. This system will be better to prevent problems from occurring, rather than deal with the problems after they occur. The advantages of the new system are:

1. More one to one contact with the individual.
2. Less time allowed out of the home and off monitoring.

3. Better management of the individual while on home detention by the probation department.
4. Recognition of problems before they occur with the individual.
5. Treatment plans become more individualized and meaningful.
6. Gives more time to the probation officer to spend with individuals in the office.
7. Gives the probation officer frequent reports on the individual by an individual contact person knowing both the treatment plan and the needs of the person on home detention.
8. Gives the home confined person someone with which to discuss problems.

The disadvantages are:

1. It increases the cost of monitoring a juvenile.
2. It does give the individual on home detention less freedom to be out of the monitoring situation.
3. Training time for the individual monitors must be given on a continuing basis.
4. Probation decisions becomes a team decision including the non-probation connected monitor.
5. Many individuals will simply watch television rather than engage in any productive rehabilitative activities.

Electronic home detention with juveniles is less frequently used than with adults. Juvenile delinquency, in our opinion, is an offense where electronic home confinement is badly needed. The cost of the system and the home monitoring by an individual is justified

when you consider the likelihood the juvenile is more likely to not get into trouble again if managed correctly. The electronic home detention with individual treatment given the juvenile by the home monitor, also allows the individual to be given treatment quicker and helps stop repeat offenses from occurring. Last but not least, this procedure rebuilds the self-esteem of the juvenile in the program.

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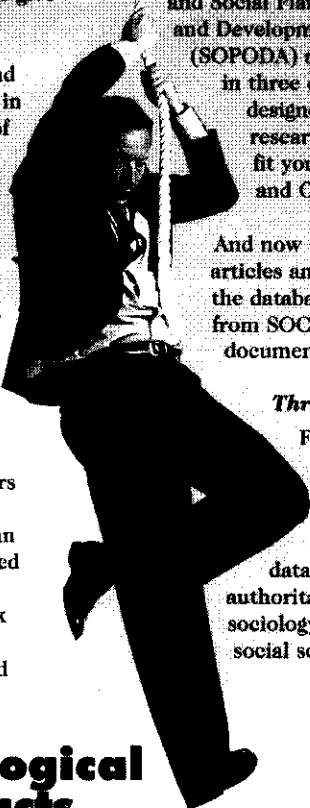


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FAMILY INTACTNESS AND TEENAGE ALCOHOL CONSUMPTION: SOME COMPARISONS OF STUDENTS FROM MILITARY AND CIVILIAN COUNTIES IN THE SOUTHEAST

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INTRODUCTION

With the introduction of large permanent armies in western nation states, there appeared military families. The close relatives of armed forces personnel required housing and social services close to military bases. Historically, armed forces were mustered upon need, served a fixed term and went home. There was a small cadre of professional military men and the needs of a family infrastructure support by the military were not as yet present. After World War II in the United States and despite the post-war shut down, many veterans chose to remain in the service (Litoff, Smith 1990). Off-post housing led to expensive housing allotments, thus creating housing for the military on bases (Goldman 1976). At present, we are witnessing a renewed effort to close military installations.

Only recently have social scientists focused on the military family, particularly after the Vietnamese War in the mid-1970s. For the better part of a decade, researchers concentrated upon the adjustment theme for the military family (Bowen 1987, 1989; Hertz, Charlton 1989). Concurrent with this research was the theme of military wives adaptation and satisfaction (Jans 1989; Klein 1989; Rosen, Ickovics, Moghadam 1990; Rosen, Moghadam 1989). Problems that occurred within the military family could loosely be attributed to the constant threat of forced migration and the inherent danger of budget cuts from the service (Marsh 1976). In brief, the military family was viewed as functional with few problems that could not be explained in the context of migration. Some sought to explain the benefits of military life in terms of wives' camaraderie, low cost goods and housing.

Other research thrusts emerged slowly. Fitch (1985) noted that since the United States was in a constant garrison state, the civilians were apt to ascribe lower status to career military families. Hence, the military family may feel the status deprivation and react with deviance or violence. Both Hertz and Charlton (1989) and Grifton and Morgan (1988) have noted stress emerge in one type of military family because of the shift work and juggled child care. Hunter (1978) had noted the abuse

of alcohol among military wives, three times the civilian rate. Career aspirations for youth from military families back into the military were common; but for black youth this became more a career track and a permanent risk-filled career which tended to capture their children in a cycle of military self-containment (Mare, Winship, Kubitschek 1984; Mare, Winship 1984). Once one became military and trapped by the system, alcoholism developed rapidly as well as other consequences (Burt 1982). Finally, Shupe, Stacey and Hardwood (1987) noted the domestic violence within the military family as well as the military community.

In the 1990s the themes of fear and dysfunction have again been applied to military families, picking up on the implications of the garrison state. Wertsch (1991) was raised inside the "military fortress," with a father who was career army. She interviewed 80 "military brats" who were raised within the strict discipline of the military family and community within the fortress. She noted that children were on constant display, held accountable for their actions by the entire community. Any flaws, even public flaws, must be hidden from the official military. Wife abuse rates were high yet the abuse was contained within the family. The potential for spouse abuse and child abuse was greater as compared to nonmilitary families (Miner, Gold 1986), but the family remained silent. Faced with the authoritarian father figure, a powerless mother, and the amorphous peer group, Wertsch suggests that youth from military families turned to alcohol and drugs, to acts of deviance outside the military community.

We were curious about racial differences within the military. Stevenson (1990) noted that definitions of deviance by the military increased during times when the chain of command was being shaken. During the mid-1970s, the source of military recruitment shifted from the college educated to the underclass. After Vietnam, many members of the underclass desired a military career, seeking the exchange of the next 15 to 20 years of their lives for the security of the service. But as minority group members, they were likely to be pushed to the margins of organizational

status. We would suspect family disorganization among minority families in the services. But older research on southern black families suggested another scenario. McAdoo (1981) suggested family adaptability and altruism among southern blacks. Both McCubbin and McCubbin (1988) and Hampton (1987) have noted that black families were more cohesive.

In this paper, we wish to focus upon the impact of the military presence in a locale (counties in South Carolina). Studies of the military family focus on its coping techniques and inherent flexibilities. Our research, however, focuses on deviant behavior using as indicators levels of alcohol use as well as family violence. Shupe et al (1987) argued that the military presence in a community elevates the level of family violence and risk to domestic violence. We examine first the level of family intactness and then the implications for acts of teenage deviance. In one sense, this research is prompted by questions articulated by Shupe et al on the effects of type of community on levels of domestic violence. But, in another sense, we are seeking an impact for military presence on family structure and the deviance behavior of teenagers. The county of residence and school district are the only measures available. Hence the measures are rough and limited to generalizations. Our framing question is this: In counties that host a military presence, will there be ties between decreased family functions, increased peer group prominence and drinking, as well as other forms of deviance? Also, will black youth behave like military peers or racial peers in the South?

METHOD

A survey was completed in fall 1989 covering all public high schools in South Carolina. Private academies and youth in detention by the state were excluded; thus, about 11 percent of the high school students were missed. Missing persons were principally upper middle class white teenagers and lower class black and white youth who were incarcerated. The survey yielded some 235,000 completed forms. We received a one percent sample from the South Carolina Commission of Alcohol and Drug Abuse, the state agency that conducted the survey.

The original intent of the state agency was to use the survey to publicize the extent and depth of drug and alcohol abuse among teenagers. This was part of a national effort to assess the effectiveness of drug and alcohol

abatement programs. The results of the survey, principally frequency distributions, were used to justify existing programs. No in-depth analysis was attempted by state agencies.

The sample selected contained 1911 completed surveys from white and black students; about 200 surveys from these other minority groups were not regarded. Of these, 1231 (64%) were white teenagers and 680 (36%) were black teenagers. To assess the effect of military presence, the respondents were divided into two categories: schools in counties with military bases and schools in counties that did not have a military presence. There were eight counties with military bases. It was important to point out that the survey was completed almost one year *before* the Persian Gulf buildup, thus the stress of the buildup on the family was not a factor.

In the development of indicators, we were constrained by the fact that the survey had been developed for organizational purposes with a heavy reliance on bivariate data on reported behaviors. There were very few scaled, reliable attitudes and values scales. Family intactness was relatively simple to measure since the respondents were asked if they lived with a father, mother, or stepparent. Five combinations were available. In regard to assessing the influence of the families, we assembled five behaviors of family influence: 1) spending time with family, 2) letting parents know actions, 3) doing activities as a family, 4) feeling parents understand the teenager and 5) letting parents know friends. In regard to peer group influence, we defined five items: 1) friends help with solving problems, 2) friends think the teen takes risks, 3) friends like to do dangerous things, 4) teen likes to wear strange clothes and 5) teen goes along with what friends want to do. Finally, to determine deviance, we defined items that focused upon school truancy: alcohol intake, driving while intoxicated, suspension from school, and similar issues.

Prior research on this data set has provided some background (Smith, Williams 1992; Williams, Smith 1993). Rural schools showed a much lower alcohol frequency level than did schools in urbanizing counties and urbanized counties. The group that showed significantly higher levels of alcohol frequency of use and quantity was white males; this group was higher than black male, white female and black female high school students in the study. In each of the types of counties, the white male

Table 1: Family Types for Teenagers in Military and Nonmilitary Counties, 1989

Family Living Type	All		
	Military %	Nonmilitary %	
Both parents	64	58	65*
Single parent	25	29	24
Both stepparent & natural parent	11	14	11

*Statistically significant at 0.01 level.

Table 2: Report of Social Activities Done with Families by Teenagers, 1989

Activity	All	
	Military %	Nonmilitary %
Do things with family (% "often" as activity)	43	49*
Spend time with family (% yes)	41	53*
Parents know where teen is going (% yes)	82	85
Parents understand teen (% yes)	68	73
Parents know friends (% yes)	83	92*

*Statistically significant at 0.01 level.

students were significantly higher. We could explain the lower levels of black consumption along family lines. Despite the problem of many single parent households, McAdoo and McAdoo (1985) noted the kin support network among blacks and the diverse types of altruistic socialization that place an emphasis on the family. Similarly, we could partially explain the higher levels of alcohol intake among white male teenagers in terms of the consequences of migration. Since the mid-1980s, lower class white families have migrated from the Rust Belt into the Carolinas and were unable to integrate into society at the levels that they obtained in the Northeast or Midwest. Stress and family decay followed. This urban dislocation was experienced by groups in Europe as well. Military families were included in this European study.

Based on previous research, we focus on the following issues:

1. Military families are less likely to be intact than nonmilitary families.
2. Military families are less likely to have age integrated social activities than the nonmilitary families.
3. Youth from military households are more

Table 3: Differences Between Military and Nonmilitary Teens in Peer Activities, 1989

Activity	All	
	Military %	Nonmilitary %
Attend school related activities with friends (% "often")	28	33*
Drive around in car with friends (% "often")	33	36
Take risks with friends (% yes)	34	33
Wear strange clothes (% yes)	9	10
Friends help with problems (% yes)	80	83
Like to do dangerous things to impress friends (% yes)	21	21
Go along with what friends want to do	51	30*

*Statistically significant at 0.01 level.

inclined to risky peer group activities than youth from nonmilitary households.

4. Youth from military households are more likely to commit deviant acts than nonmilitary youth.
5. White military household youth would have higher alcohol intake than Black youth.

RESULTS

The first issue deals with intactness, the frequency with which children in the two categories of schools are located in intact or fragmented families. Table 1 shows the distribution for all teenagers and for those located in military and nonmilitary counties. Military county families are less likely to be intact, with more households with a single parent or blended parent status.

We next wanted to assess the difference between the two groups in terms of social connections to their families. In short, what types of social activities and ties did teenagers report about their families and what effects living in a military community may present. The results are shown in Table 2. Military families were significantly less likely to have shared activities with youth, have youth spend time with the family, and feel that parents know youths' friends. The two other activities (knowing where teen is going and parent understanding teen) show the expected difference, but not at significant levels.

Next, we were concerned with the influence of the peer group. During the teenage years, individuals drift away from the norms of

Table 4: Differences Between Military and Nonmilitary Teenage Groups for Reported Types of Deviance

Fields of Deviance	Military Nonmilitary	
	%	%
A. Automobile related (last 12 months)		
1. Had car accident	7	8
2. Received traffic ticket	5	7
3. Drove car after drinking	7	9
4. Drove car after using drugs	4	4
5. Rode in car with a drunk driver	37	37
B. School related (last 12 months)		
1. Suspended from school activities for bad grades	3	3
2. Suspended from school	15	12
3. Attended school while drunk	9	8
4. Skipped/cut class	25	20*
5. Been in trouble with police	13	9
C. Drinking behavior (during last 30 days)		
1. Abstinence (no drinks)	51	57*
2. Social drinker	35	30
3. Heavy drinker and drugs	15	13
D. Specific beverage (used in last 12 months)		
1. Beer	28	23
2. Wine	23	17*
3. Hard liquor	17	17
4. Other alcoholic beverage (i.e. wine cooler)	65	51*

*Statistically significant at 0.01 level.

the family and accept the influence of the peer group. If the military family were unstable, one might expect that the peer group would have greater influence than that of the family in defining social activities. Conversely, if the individual student was socially isolated from the peer group by military status or constant movement about the country, he/she would have little grounding in a peer group as well as little influence from a family. This latter problem of social isolation cannot be addressed by this data set. In Table 3, the results for the two groups on peer group influence measures are presented. Contrary to our initial expectation, both groups are surprisingly similar. Students from military counties were less likely to report attending school related activities with friends. Only on one item (go along with what friends want to do) were youth from military

Table 5: Analysis of Variance of Quantity & Frequency of Alcohol Intake Among South Carolina High School Students for Race & Type of Household

	Quantity and Frequency of Alcohol Intake			
	Military		Nonmilitary	
	X	SD	X	SD
Race				
Black	1.674	1.136	1.609	1.142
White	2.466	1.564	2.147	1.547*
Family Composition				
Intact	2.100	1.437	1.992	1.454
Other	2.027	1.445	2.065	1.460

*Statistically significant at 0.0001 level.

households more likely to join at a significant level. Youth from military counties seem more willing to follow friends into unspecified activities than into specified, school-based activities.

Next, we deal with the self-reports of deviance. There are three areas that need to be addressed: automobile behavior, school behavior, and reported alcohol intake (Table 4). Surprising in this regard is the similarity between the two groups. The only significant differences are skipping or cutting class, the choice of abstinence, and in consumption of wine and cheaper wine-based beverages.

The last issue addressed was the difference between youth from military and nonmilitary areas in alcohol intake among those who were not abstainers. A quantity-frequency scale of alcohol consumption was constructed, ranging from no drinks (0), to drinking less than once a month but at least once a year, to drinking more than four drinks per occasion more than three times per month (5). Table 5 presents the mean scores and standard deviations for race and family background for the teenagers from military and civilian high schools in terms of their rates and quantity of alcohol intake.

There was a statistically significant difference between black and white teenagers on alcohol intake. White students consumed more than black students in both military and nonmilitary contexts. But white students from military contexts have higher alcohol intake than the other three categories of teenagers. While race has an effect on alcohol intake, there are no difference for types of family composition. While alcohol consumption for intact family military area youth was

higher than the average for youth from civilian area intact family, the difference was not significant.

SUMMARY

The review of the literature in recent years on the military family suggested two lines of thinking. First, that military families, while stressed, were functional. Despite internal management problems and the constant threat of being uprooted, these families were able to socialize their children into the teenage years and provide a high quality environment for child development. A second, less evident body of research, however, addressed the dysfunctional aspects of the military family. This research noted higher rates of alcoholism and wife-battering in military families. Shupe et al (1987), as well as Wertsch (1991), suggested major problems with military families that were secluded in the "khaki ghetto" or the fortress. Our research sought the differences between families living in military and civilian areas based upon a statewide survey of high school youth done in South Carolina in 1989.

In terms of family intactness, there were differences between military and civilian areas. Almost two-third of the students from the nonmilitary civilian counties were from intact families. A greater proportion of teenagers from the military counties emanated from single parent households and from blending remarriage households. There were indications on three of five dimensions that children from military areas less frequently did things with their families. This pattern indicated lower levels of family socialization for military children. Next, we reasoned that if children from military areas and from nonintact families were less active and less well socialized by their families, there would be a greater reliance on peer groups for interaction and mutual support. Peer group influence was evident only in two areas: lack of attendance at school related activities and going along with what friends wanted to do. Youth from military counties lacked a rooting in the peer group. Thus, we surmised the military teens were in a void; with fewer ties to family and little peer group support to turn to, they would have higher rates of deviance. This we refer to as a socialization gap.

We examined three areas of deviance: misuse of automobiles, school related acts of deviance, and alcohol intake. Our thesis of the

socialization void or gap is not confirmed except in alcohol use. First, in regard to acts of deviance committed within cars, there were no significant differences although these acts were reported with less frequency by youth from military counties. This latter fact may reflect a lack of wealth and not social integration. In only one area of school deviance (cutting classes) was there a significant difference. Military county youth reported cutting more classes. On other indicators, this group was only slightly higher. But the differences failed to reach significance.

The greatest evident difference in deviant behavior showed in respect to drinking. As reported in Table 4, fewer youth from military counties were abstainers, more were social drinkers and about the same percentages for each group were heavy drinkers and users of drugs. Also, higher percentages of the military youth used wine and other alcoholic beverages (home brew, wine coolers) than youth from nonmilitary counties. Our initial impulse was to interpret this as lower class drinking since wine products are less expensive than beer and hard liquor. Two additional controls were analyzed. Family composition (intact, single parent, stepparent) showed no significant differences in alcohol intake; youth from military counties were higher for types of alcohol consumed and recorded lower rates of abstinence. But racial background was a major factor, white youth from military counties had significantly higher rates of alcohol intake. This result was consistent with prior research on the data that indicated white males had the highest alcohol intake and variety of intakes when compared to black males, white females and black females.

CONCLUSIONS

Further, more sophisticated analysis is difficult to complete. Data are grouped in counties and the bivariate variable, military/nonmilitary, is ecologic and lacks specificity. We based much of our study on Shupe et al (1987) and Wertsch (1991) who reported that military base areas have higher frequencies of battering and domestic violence, and hence low levels of family intactness. We surmised that military families reproduce the conditions of military dominance while sequestered from civilian society. But we cannot definitively show how nonintact, fragmented families in military communities fail to socialize the child, force the child to socialize in a peer group that

might change from base to base and especially how family intactness influences alcohol consumption. Neither our data nor previous research fully explores the linkages among these variables.

But we may examine the social dimension of coming of age on a military base in the Southeast. White male teenagers in military communities are more deviant in terms of alcohol intake. We suspect that migration has isolated them from their intact family and from a viable community-based peer group found off base. In material terms, they are poor, lacking transportation and spending money. The white youth, we suspect, are able to afford very cheap wines ("Mad Dog") and wine coolers, as well as beer. These wines are cheaper than beer, hence the beverage of choice among the poor. But white youth in the military community know the "system". While their rates of delinquency are higher than for civilian youth, they know that they can enlist and acquire a sense of security within the military, as their parents did.

Shupe et al (1987) constructed the "khaki ghetto". Other research indicated selective adaptations by wives and, we think, families themselves, to life in the danger zone. Children who move constantly, whose peer group status may be tied informally to parental rank, and whose linkages to schools are fleeting are the children with higher probabilities for deviance and alcoholism.

Data on military families are either difficult to acquire or are anecdotal or both (Wertsch 1991). A major problem with these data was the "ecological fallacy". However, to the extent that our data were biased, the bias should have been in the direction of minimizing differences between the group, so that the obtained results can be considered a conservative estimate. Also, there was likely a "compaction" effect. That is, public institutions like schools frequently service the children and grandchildren of retired military personnel who remain in the area of a base community to use the medical and health services. We are satisfied about the validity of our data, despite the problems inherent in using county-wide data as a basis for research.

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CHINESE RURAL WOMEN: PRODUCTION AND REPRODUCTION

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines how the Chinese government's policies since 1979 have affected the interplay between rural women's productive and reproductive roles, and how these changing roles have impacted rural women's social status. While the privatization of agricultural production has intensified women's productive roles, the one-child population policy has reduced women's reproductive roles. Women's extended productive roles may have enhanced their status within the family, but these roles have not resulted in a higher social status for women outside the family. Four factors are significant. *First*, privatization of production has eliminated rural women's collective power. Given the very limited female participation in the political structure or more powerful sectors of the economy, women's status has actually suffered a setback. *Second*, the absence or underrepresentation of women in the higher reaches on the economic and political spheres can be partially attributed to the continued existence of the domestic/public dichotomy in rural areas. Rural reforms have enhanced such gender division of labor. *Third*, traditions are still strong in rural areas. Farmers want to have more children, especially more sons. This contradicts the population policy and limits any benefits women may obtain from the reduced amount of child care. *Fourth*, however, changes in the family structure in rural China in recent years toward nuclear families have reduced extended kinship ties which tend to uphold traditions. The relationship between productive and reproductive roles is a complicated one. Furthermore, other forces may positively or negatively influence these roles and consequently affect women's social status.

INTRODUCTION

Since the end of the 1970s, the Chinese government has implemented a set of rural economic reform policies and the one-child family planning program. These policies have had profound impacts on both rural women's productive and reproductive roles during the last fifteen years. The changing productive and reproductive roles have affected rural women's social status. Other social forces also play an important role in determining rural women's social status, such as the organization of production, the gender division of labor, traditions, and the changing structure of the rural family. This paper is concerned with the extent to which the recent agricultural reform and birth planning policy affect the interplay between rural women's roles. How have changing productive and reproductive roles impacted rural women's social status?

Mao established his socialist regime in 1949. In the following decade, agricultural cooperatives were formed throughout Chinese rural areas. By May 1956, 91 percent of Chinese peasant households belonged to cooperatives. By 1957, the socialization of rural production had been completed (Shue 1975). In collecting agriculture, farm households were the membership units of the agricultural collectives which in turn was based on the patriarchal family unit. The farmer family was the basic accounting unit, and whatever income a family earned was paid to the family head. By centrally controlling supply and sale of agricultural products, the government severely restricted opportunities for private profit and

made farmer household security and prosperity contingent upon cooperation (Stacey 1983).

Post-Mao reforms have brought many major economic and social changes since the end of the 1970s. The pragmatic goal of these reforms is to achieve more autonomy for production units at the local level, a greater level of material reward, and a high level of personal consumption in both urban and rural areas.

In rural areas, the government has made systematic attempts to reconstruct China's rural economy and labor force. The pivot of rural reforms is the household responsibility system, which was introduced in 1979 to decentralize or privatize farming operations in order to boost productivity. The system allows production tasks, the land itself, and other farming equipment (e.g., machinery and animal) to be contracted out to individual farm families. By the end of 1985, almost all of China's rural production teams had adopted some form of the household responsibility system (Smith 1991). The system has resulted in record harvests in agriculture, animal husbandry and fishery. China's total agricultural output increased an average of 8 percent per year between 1979 and 1983, compared to the average increase of 3 percent between 1958 and 1978 (Wang 1985). In addition, farmers have greatly increased their incomes and improved their standard of living.

In order to achieve a more favorable ratio between production and population growth, China has to reduce its huge population. And the target was set to redirect

young couples to have fewer children. The specific target was to reduce the population growth to 1 percent per year by 1980 or 1981 (Chen 1975). The population policy was strengthened in the early 1980s. A minimal demographic target was aimed: the population was not to exceed 1.2 billion at the end of the century. As Tien, Zhang, Yu, Li, and Liang pointed out

This goal and the adoption of the now renowned one-child-per-couple policy would not only allow the country to realize the 2000 goal but eventually to shrink the total to conform to the country's assumed population carrying capacity. (Tien et al 1992: 8)

China, therefore, has implemented the one-child family planning program. The policy requires that a married couple have only one child. The government installed a full scale of measures:

... curbing fertility, embracing delayed marriage, sterilization, all known contraceptive methods, and abortion. Exhortations, campaigns, monetary and material incentives, and numerous other sanctions were applied to implement the policies. (Tien et al 1992)

For instance, for couples who sign an agreement to have only one child, rewards include salary bonuses and educational as well as housing priorities. For those who violate the policy, abortion is required in addition to losing other privileges (Ernststein 1982). For rural families, rewards are additional work points, increased grain rations, and special consideration in the allocation of private plots (Stacey 1983). Nee (1981) reported that one village offered direct inducements for agreeing to sterilization after the birth of one child—a sewing machine, ¥30, and 50 *jin* of rice. However, the implementation of the family planning policy has never been strict and complete in rural areas. In fact, according to informal interviews the author conducted with some government officials in the summer of 1994 in Beijing, China, the author was informed that farm families are allowed “unofficially” to have two children. Further births are more heavily restricted.

Even if farmers are allowed unofficially to have two children, the limitation on the number of children a couple can have makes the contradiction between the two sets of

government policies apparent: rural women are put in a cross fire between the government pressure to obey the family planning rules and individual farmer households' interest to produce more farmhands. This contradiction has been documented by several scholars (Croll 1985; Davin 1985; Smith 1991; Wolf 1985).

Theoretical Considerations and Empirical Findings

Boserup (1970) in her path-breaking book, *Women's Role in Economic Development*, linked the variation of gender roles in farming to different types of farming operations. In subsistence farming, women traditionally engaged in a variety of economic activities—farming, spinning fibers, weaving cloth, drawing water, tending gardens, and processing and preserving foods gathered. The erosion of women's traditional roles in subsistence agriculture occurred during the colonial time. Policies aimed at improving or modernizing the farming systems, particularly the introduction of private property and the encouragement of cash crops, favored men. Mead (1984) and Tinker (1984) both argued that the process of development tends to restrict the economic independence of women as their traditional jobs are challenged by new methods and technologies. Because Western stereotypes of appropriate roles and occupations for women tend to be exported together with Western aid, modernization continually increases the gap between women's and men's ability to cope with the modern world. The Committee on the Status of Women in India summarizes this process:

In agrarian societies the family is the unit of production. The place of work being close to the home, women and children all participate in the production process. As a society moves from the traditional agricultural and household industry to organized industry and services, from rural to urban areas, the traditional division of labor ceases to operate. ... Technological changes in the process of the production call for acquisition of new skills and specialization which are very different from the traditional division of labor. Women, handicapped by lack of opportunities for acquisition of these new skills, find their traditional productive skills unwanted by the new economy. (Ministry of Education and Social Welfare 1974: 149)

Writing more than a century ago, Marx and Engels (Engels 1942) recognized women as an oppressed and exploited group. They predicted that women would be liberated when they participate in the paid labor force and reduce the time spent on unremunerated household chores. Consequently, some socialist (or former socialist) countries, such as the former Soviet Union, various Eastern European nations, China, Cuba, and several African nations have promoted these goals. However, although women in these countries make up a significant proportion of the paid labor force, they tend to concentrate in the lower occupational rung. Women do not have much representation in decision-making processes and they earn less on average than men do. The gender division of labor in the home has been even more resistant to change than the gender division of labor in paid employment (Gray 1989; Holland 1985; Mamanova 1984). In most of these countries, the governments have done little to encourage men to participate in household work. Consequently, Croll observed that women

shoulder a "double burden" and experience evident tensions in combining the dual, and often conflicting, demands that productive and reproductive activities place on their time and energies. (Croll 1983:367)

This double work load has led some scholars to conclude that socialist women are not more liberated than their sisters in capitalist societies, just more tired (Gray 1989).

Various demographic theories have related both high and low fertility with changing social and economic environments. Boserup (1981) argued that in many developing countries, children are considered as social security and farmhands. Other scholars pointed out that Asian societies in general seem to have an even stronger desire for sons than do most Western societies. Coale (1973) noted the importance of the perception of advantages from reduced fertility. He predicted that economic development will likely motivate people to have fewer children. Economic and social development promote a higher standard of living and likely reduce mortality rates and prolong lives. However, there is usually a lag between the reduction in mortality rates and the reduction in fertility rates. When mortality rates were high, people tended to have more children in order to compensate for the

possible loss of any of their children.

The above arguments delineate the relationships between the types of farming system and women's productive roles, between women's productive activities and reproductive roles, and between productive and reproductive roles and women's social status. And how social and economic conditions may affect people's reproductive behaviors. However, applying these theories to the Chinese case, several other important issues are neglected. First, although the privatization of agriculture has intensified women's productive duties, it has also eliminated rural women's collective power. Women can no longer act as a group to protect their rights. Second, as many rural men have shifted to nonagricultural jobs, rural women are left behind to tend household production and housework. The gender division of labor reinforces the domestic/public dichotomy. Hence, rural reforms likely reduce rural women's social status. Third, the impact of traditions on women's reproductive roles is strong independent of changing social and economic environment, at least in the short run. Child bearing and rearing still embody traditional conceptions of gender roles. Sons are valued more than girls. Under the patrilineal family system, daughters are expected to marry into their husbands' families. Therefore, parents have little incentive to invest in their daughters' educations which makes it difficult for women to compete with men in the job market. Fourth, changes in the rural family structure toward smaller nuclear families may enhance rural women's status within the family. The farming system based on these nuclear families has enabled rural women to gain back their traditional central roles in subsistence farming. Women's increased productive roles have given them more leverage inside the household. Nuclear families have reduced kinship ties which tend to uphold traditional norms. However, these changing roles have not resulted in a higher status for women in the society.

RURAL WOMEN AS PRODUCERS The "Feminization of Agriculture"

In her visit to a Chinese commune in 1977 Croll (1985) noted that in communes where there were a large number of alternative occupations, women outnumbered men in agricultural production. Men in these rural localities left farming jobs for nonagricultural occupations because these jobs pay cash at a

higher rate. A similar observation was made by Judd (1990) during her visit to three villages in Shandong Province in 1986. Women's authority within the household was substantial and many men had long-term or short-term employment that kept them away from their homes for extended periods of time. In one village, one-tenth of the households were headed by women whose husbands not only worked away but also resided away from the village, thus leaving the farm work and domestic sidelines entirely in the hands of the women. The result was a large number of female-headed farm households.

Even when husbands are engaged in family farming, women are playing increasingly greater roles in production. Wu (1988) reported an example of this increasingly common experience of rural women's productive roles: When farmer Wu Chunwang and his wife contracted a piece of land from their village, his wife was designated as the head of the family production team. She allocated tasks to everyone in the family, bought farm tools, drew up a planting plan, and later took charge of all the income and expenditure of the family (Wu 1988).

Domestic Sidelines: Women's Jobs

Farmers throughout China have become specialized in various sideline enterprises, such as crop farming, livestock raising, food processing, transportation and communication. In 1985, such specialized households accounted for 15 percent of families in the countryside. Village-run factories and enterprises have also become an important part of the rural economy, employing about 52 million workers, some 14 percent of the total rural labor force. However, the development of family sidelines and private family plots falls heavily on rural women's shoulders. Wolf (1985) noted that sidelines are always classified as women's work. In some areas, about 75 percent of farm women engage in embroidery, lace making, weaving and other handicraft activities in addition to agricultural field work, raising domestic livestock and cultivating the private lot. Wang (1985) also reported that out of 690,000 rural households in Heilongjiang Province that started their own sidelines in 1984, 43 percent were managed by women. In some areas a skilled woman's annual income from sidelines far exceeds that of an able-bodied man.

The results of rural economic reforms on

women are mixed. On one hand, women value their newly-gained autonomy. The system allows women to divide their time between field, domestic sidelines and housework. Therefore, women have gained a large measure of control over the labor processes and a flexible timetable. When Wolf asked some rural women whether they would like to work in a factory, she was told that factory work is not flexible enough for them to care for their children. A farm woman said that during the harvest or planning season she might have to put in long hours, but she can catch up with the household chores in the slack season (Croll 1985).

There is clearly a gender division of labor: women engage in agricultural production, household sidelines and housework, while men work away from home to make cash income. In most cases, men tend to make more money in non-agricultural jobs such as construction jobs. More importantly, the privatization of agriculture has eliminated rural women's collective organization. Under the patriarchal and patrilineal family system, individual women are at mercy of their male family members', especially old male family members who are not working away from home. Women's duties within the household may have been intensified, they have not achieved a higher social status. In sum, the feminization of agriculture has not only provided rural women with increased productive roles, but also reinforced gender-based occupational hierarchy.

WOMEN AS REPRODUCERS

Two Children or More

According to All-China Women's Federation (1993a), most rural couples prefer to have two children—a son and a daughter. When rural women were asked about their desired number of children in the absence of any government regulation (All-China Women Federation (1993b), 6 percent of the women want to have more than four children. Sixteen percent of them indicated that they want to have four children, 22 percent want to have three children, 48 percent want to have two children, 5 percent want to have one child, and 0.2 percent do not want to have any. In addition, 3 percent of the women are indifferent about the number of children. According to the same survey (All-China Women Federation 1993b), about 20 percent of rural families have more than four children. Nineteen percent of them have three children, 31 percent have two children, 17 percent have only one child, and

only 3 percent have no children. (In addition to the above figures, the question did not pertain to about 11 percent of the families surveyed.) In other words, about half of all rural families have at least two children. For most rural people, sons are still more important than daughters because sons would be the one to carry on family names. Furthermore, since most women still marry into their husbands' families, parents expect their sons to take care of them in their old age.

"Two-Children" Population Policy

In effect, the unofficial population policy in rural areas is "two-children" policy. Although the sanctions and regulations have deterred some rural families from having two children, many families have managed to have more than one child. However, the third birth or beyond has been largely prevented.

One of the immediate impacts on rural families of the one-child population policy or the unofficial "two-children" policy is lack or perceived lack of farmhands for individual farm households as described by some demographers. A survey of women from 600 rural families by Shenxi Provincial Women's Federation (1986) revealed that lack of farmhands was one of the major factors that prevented some rural families from getting rich. For instance, in Baoji County, a mother and daughter family had to return to the village the four *mu* of land contracted to them because they lacked farmhands. Peng (1981) estimated that about 10 percent of the farm households were short of farmhands.

The Trend Toward Nuclear Families

According to Chen (1985), demographic processes have altered household structures in China in recent years. The one-child family policy has weakened the extended family network by reducing the number of children each couple could have.

The absence of siblings; the subsequent loss of in-laws, uncles, and aunts; and the thinning out of extended consanguineous relationships remove a large number of branches from the previously complex family tree. (Chen 1985 195)

According to All China Women's Federation (1993a), the percentage of nuclear families increased steadily between 1949 and 1986. In all periods, nuclear families made up more

than half, and extended families (i.e., consisting of two or more generations with each generation composed of one married couple or a divorced person, widow, or widower) comprised one third of the total.

Changes in the family structure seem to follow different stages in women's life. The All China Women's Federation (1993a) reported that between the time when they first got married and the birth of the first child, most rural women live with their parents-in-law, and the family structure is extended. However, within a short time before or after the birth of their first child, young couples move away to form their own nuclear families. Typically, women have little control in decision-making in the extended family. Only after young couples establish their own households does women's decision-making power increase. A similar observation was made by Chen (1985), who noted that reduced family size has brought changes in the power relationships among family members. As a consequence of the reduced burden for women in terms of child caring or caring for other family members, women could devote more time to other jobs. Women's increased contribution toward the family economic welfare enhances their status within the household. Chen (1985) predicted that, in the long run, the nuclear family promotes egalitarian relationships among family members. In addition, small nuclear families have reduced kinship ties which tend to uphold traditional norms, such as the preference for sons.

Rural women's increased control in their family decision-making processes has been documented frequently. According to Wang (1985), rural women have their say in many major family matters, such as house building, signing contracts and buying expensive commodities. The Jiamusi Women's Federation (1985) reported that among 574 rural households, the final word on major household decisions lies with the husband in 20 percent of the households, with the wife in 17 percent, with the husband's parents in 10 percent, and with both husband and wife in 53 percent. More recently, All-China Women's Federation (1993) reported that when rural women have either about the same or more income than their husbands, rural women and men have about equal say in family decision-making processes.

Casualties of the One-Child Population Policy

In rural areas, traditional ways of living are observed more than in large urban areas. Male preference is one such practice. Sons still are considered as the old age security for parents. Hence, while the birth of a son has always been a more important event than the arrival of a daughter, the current population policy has raised the stakes. For some families, if the child or children are not male, then

the choice is a stark one: Either kill or abandon the newborn female infant, reserving your one-child quota for the birth of a boy, or face a harrowing old age. (Mosher 1982 13)

A summary of articles in the official Chinese press from 1981 to 1982 (Chang 1982) confirmed that "drowning baby girls, once common in the Chinese countryside, is still widely practiced," and some mothers of unwanted girl babies were abused psychologically and sometimes physically beaten and tortured by their husbands and relatives. As Haupt (1983) stated, the one-child policy may have precipitated a spate of girl-baby infanticides and physical abuse of mothers who give birth to a girl. Others have sought additional ways to have either more children or sons. Traditional methods of influencing the sex of a fetus have been revived. Some couples use a "sex prediction table" that purports to indicate which sex the child would be. Still others rely on herbal medicines to guarantee a son.

The effects of the one-child population policy on women's reproductive behavior are mixed. On one hand, the reduced amount of child care has not meant more freedom for rural women. Women still retain the burden of the household production and child care. Rural men do not share domestic chores with their wives on anything approaching an equal basis. Such policy has also put some rural women, especially those who bore only daughters, in the cross fire. Abuses have been reported. On the other hand, the trend toward small nuclear family may ease some tension for women at home. Reduced patriarchal kinship ties may free women from the pressure of traditions. In addition, women's increasing roles in production and their increasing contribution to their families' economic welfare have enhanced rural women's power in household decision-making processes. However, rural women's reproductive roles are also a function

of traditions such as preference for sons and more children. Under the current patriarchal family system, women's reproductive roles are lowly viewed.

A BASIC DILEMMA?

Fifteen years of rural development in post-Mao China has brought many benefits to peasant women. The responsibility system has given a new impetus to rural women's productive roles and permitted women a greater degree of autonomy and flexibility in the organization of their labor. The diversification and privatization of agriculture and the development of sidelines have further broadened the scope of women's income-generating operations. Rural women have earned a much higher income, proved their competence in agricultural production as well as sidelines, and gained confidence and self-worth. With only one or two children per family, the rural family structure has undergone major changes. More nuclear families have been established. A nuclear family tends to provide women with more equal opportunities in terms of decision-making within the household.

People are more likely to delay marriage and limit births within marriage if economic opportunities make it advantageous for them to do so. Rural women's greater productive roles, their expanded income-generation abilities and operations, their higher income and contribution to family welfare, and their greater roles in decision-making processes inside the household, may eventually give rural women the leverage to look after their own productive as well as reproductive interests. And rural women's changing productive and reproductive roles may impact their social status.

However, several forces in current Chinese rural areas may pose problems to increasing rural women's social status. The privatization of agriculture has eliminated rural women's collective organization. Under the patriarchal and patrilineal family system, individual women are at mercy of their male family members'. Although women's duties within the household may have been intensified, they have not achieved a higher social status. The domestic/public dichotomy has been enhanced. Women may not be isolated in the domestic sphere and cut off from participation in the public sphere, but their intensified domestic burden prevent them from playing a more active role in the public sphere. In effect, women provide the necessary backup

services to allow their husbands to improve occupational status or participate in politics. In effect, the absence or underrepresentation of rural women in the more powerful sectors of economy and the higher reaches of politics can be attributed to the bifurcated gender division of labor.

Traditional norms are still alive and strong in rural areas. The population policy may have limited women's reproductive roles, but many women are still under the pressure of traditional patriarchal families to produce more children, especially more sons. Although the trend toward small nuclear families can positively affect rural women's status within the household in terms of decision-making processes, nuclear families do not guarantee a higher social status for rural women. The patriarchal family system continues to uphold traditional reproductive roles.

The relationship between productive and reproductive roles is a complicated one. And how these roles impact on rural women's social status depends on many other forces. Although the intent of reform policies and population policy is to increase women's productive roles and reduce their reproductive roles, these policies have had a profound impact on women's social status. In addition to effects of government's policies, this study has identified several other important social forces that may either promote or impede advances in women's social status. However, future research is necessary to further untangle the interwoven relationships among government policies, women's changing productive and reproductive roles, and other social forces, such as the organization of production, the gender division of labor, traditional norms, and the changing structure of rural households.

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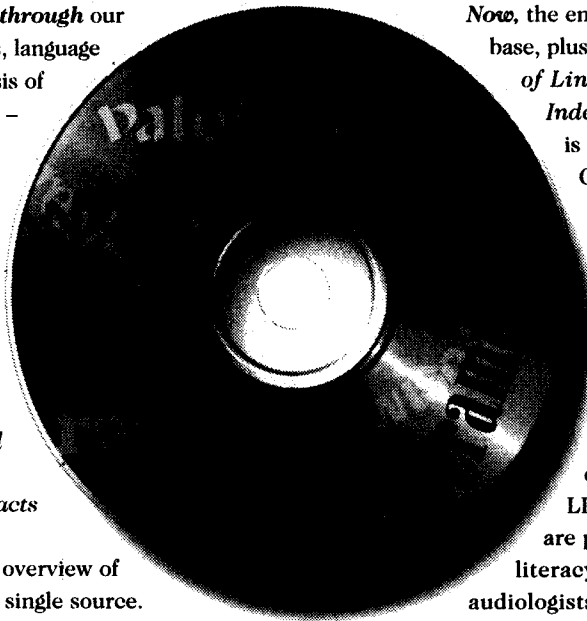
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CRIME ALONG RURAL INTERSTATE HIGHWAYS

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ABSTRACT

Crime occurs at a lower rate in rural areas than in urban areas (Weisheit, Falcone, and Wells 1994). However, crime rates may vary across rural areas. Rural areas with unique social or geographic characteristics may exhibit crime rates different from rural areas not possessing those characteristics. The present study builds upon research by Jarrel and Howsen (1990) that indicated interstate highway traffic in an area affects crime rates in that area. This thinking is applied to rural crime. Crime rates in rural areas are compared across levels of interstate highway presence. Findings indicate traffic along interstate highways may in fact have a noticeable influence on the occurrence of some types of crime, especially motor vehicle theft, robbery, and homicide.

INTRODUCTION

It is widely accepted that crime occurs at a higher rate in urban areas and that rural areas are safer than urban areas. Research supports this idea. A recent study by the U.S. department of justice utilizing data from the Federal Bureau of Investigation's uniform crime reports suggested that reported crimes per 100,000 members of the population were substantially higher for urban areas than for rural (Weisheit, Falcone, Wells 1994). These findings however may not tell the whole story and could lead to the incorrect assumption that all rural areas have lower crime rates for all types of crime.

Several past studies have suggested that rural areas with certain characteristics exhibit relatively high rates of crime. Rural communities undergoing rapid growth due to some economic event have experienced rates of crime that were greater than would be expected to occur by chance (Fruedenberg, Jones 1991).

It is possible that other rural areas having other unique characteristics may exhibit crime rates exceeding those found in rural areas without those characteristics. Jarrel and Howsen (1990) did not control for rurality but examined the effects of such characteristics as tourism opportunities, presence of a college student population, retail outlets, and traffic along interstate highways on crime rates. They found that conditions increasing the number of strangers (tourism, retail centers, interstate highways) in an area was positively related to crime rates in the area. According to their study, however, this was only true for property crimes and robbery. Violent crimes were not associated with the movement of strangers in an area.

The present study will apply Jarrel & Howsen's ideas to the phenomenon of crime in rural areas. According to their findings, rural areas that serve as retail centers offer many

tourism opportunities or are intersected by interstate highways should have crime rates exceeding rural counties not having these characteristics. Interstate highway influence is specifically examined in this research.

The potential for relatively high crime rates along rural interstates may be due in part to isolated businesses along interstates making attractive targets (property for the taking with a quick escape route) for criminal activity and the stream of transients, perhaps many with criminal records, traveling cross country via the system of interstate highways. Interstate highways also present other sites conducive to criminal activity, not found in other rural counties. Included among these sites are rest areas and roadside parks along interstate highways. These facilities bring strangers into close proximity and travelers carrying large amounts of money or in possession of other forms of property may become victims of others who prey on travelers. These same conditions are not likely to exist in noninterstate rural counties and it makes sense that where they do exist the crime rate would be higher. Another point that must be considered is that rural interstate counties may have a larger effective population than reflected in official census reports of the resident population. People traveling through the county are not considered residents and are not considered as part of the base population when rates are calculated but the numbers of people along the interstate does in essence increase the population of the county. This may account for part of any crime rate variation that appears between rural interstate counties and rural noninterstate counties.

This research specifically examined the effect of interstate highways on rural crime. Crime rate comparisons were made between rural counties intersected by interstate highways, rural counties not intersected by interstate highways but bordering rural counties

with interstate highways, and rural counties without interstate highways and not bordering counties having interstate highway traffic. It was expected that rural interstate counties would have crime rates exceeding other rural counties.

METHODOLOGY

To test this hypothesis uniform crime report data for counties in Oklahoma exhibiting the aforementioned characteristics were examined. Mean crime rates for seven index crimes and three crime indexes were compared across levels of interstate traffic.

Unit of Analysis and Data Sources

The unit of analysis for this study was the county or county equivalent. Fifty-one Oklahoma counties met the rural county criteria used in this study and comprised the total sample examined. Data were obtained for these counties for the sixteen year period 1975-1990 from the Oklahoma State Bureau of Investigation. In addition to crime data, population data for each county, for each year, were obtained from the Census Bureau and interstate highway information was obtained by consulting the Rand McNally road atlas.

Variables

Dependent variables for this study were the 16 year mean rates for total crime, property crime, violent crime, homicide, rape, assault, robbery, burglary, motor vehicle theft, and larceny. Total crime rate was a composite index of the seven index crimes, property crime was an index of burglary, motor vehicle theft and larceny, and the violent crime index was constructed from homicide, rape, assault and robbery data.

Rates for a sixteen year period for each dependent variable were used to control any "outlier years" when crime rates could have deviated greatly from the general pattern for a particular county. If a single year or several separate analyses for different years were conducted it would be possible that these analyses may not provide reliable estimates of crime conditions for the counties. For example, during a single year it would be possible that a change in sheriff's department staff and reporting procedures could result in a single year having a lower or higher than "normal" reported crime rate. It is also possible that crime rates for a single year may be "naturally" lower or higher than normal in a

given year and if that year were selected for study it could yield misleading results. The sixteen year rates for each county were obtained by first calculating yearly crime rates per 1000 members of the population. The yearly rates were then summed and divided by 16.

Interstate/rural was the single independent variable utilized. Three levels of this variable were generated by examining its two dimensions: presence of interstate highways and rurality. The first step in operationalization involved the classification of counties as rural. Attempts found in other studies to classify rural areas were not adequate for this study. For example, Wiesheit et al (1994) identify rural counties as those that lie "outside metropolitan statistical areas (MSA) and cover areas not under the jurisdiction of urban police departments." The dimension, "urban police department" is ambiguous and not useful for arriving at a definition for this study. If only the MSA criterion is used a number of counties having a subjectively "urban character (counties with communities having a population of 40,000)" would be included as rural.

For this study, an attempt was made to identify counties as rural by virtue of their population and their proximity to urban areas. It was felt that considerations of population should be limited sufficiently in order to isolate counties having a "rural quality" instead of just counties that were rurally located. Ultimately, a county was classified as rural if it was located outside a Metropolitan Statistical Area and had no community with a population greater than 10,000. It is maintained that this definition will adequately differentiate rural counties from urban counties or those having an "urban quality."

Interstate traffic was determined simply by the presence of an interstate highway within the rural county throughout the period 1975-1990. The three levels of interstate/rural were (1) interstate county (n=19)—rural county with an interstate highway, (2) interstate bordering county (n=20)—rural county bordering county with an interstate highway and (3) noninterstate county (n=12)—rural county without an interstate highway and not bordering an interstate county.

Data Analysis

Analysis of these data involved simple analysis of variance testing the statistical null hypothesis that crime rates were equal across

Table 1: Rural Crime Rates by Level of Interstate Highway Traffic
16 Year Mean Crime Rate

Crime	Interstate n=19	Interstate Border n=20	Noninterstate n=12	F	OSL
Total	26.854	22.066	20.393	2.66	0.08
Property	24.475	20.380	19.015	2.18	0.12
Violent	2.380	1.686	1.377	2.65	0.08
Homicide	0.073	0.068	0.046	3.09	0.05*
Rape	0.136	0.113	0.131	0.93	0.40
Assault	1.920	1.350	1.081	1.99	0.15
Robbery	0.251	0.155	0.120	5.26	0.01*
Burglary	8.717	7.651	6.788	2.56	0.09
Auto Theft	1.779	1.351	1.177	5.47	0.01
Larceny	13.979	11.378	11.050	1.47	0.24

NOTE: Rates are per 1000 population. Crime data are from the Oklahoma State Bureau of Investigation Uniform Crime Reports, 1976-1991.

NOTE: Interstate = rural counties intersected by interstate; Interstate Border = rural counties not intersected by interstate but bordering an interstate county; Noninterstate = rural counties not intersected by interstate and not bordering an interstate county.

* $p < .05$

levels of interstate/rural. To control for unequal cell sizes the SAS general linear models procedure for conducting analysis of variance was used (Glass, Stanley 1970). [Glass and Stanley claim that different computational procedures should be used when conducting One-Way ANOVAs with unequal samples (cells).] Separate ANOVAs were employed for each dependent variable. In addition Tukey's test of honestly significant difference was used to determine where significant differences existed in the event the null hypothesis was rejected.

FINDINGS

Null hypotheses were retained at the .05 level of significance for the analyses of total crime, property crime, violent crime, larceny, burglary, assault, and rape. Statistically significant crime rate differences were not identified across levels of interstate/rural for these crimes. Before discounting these findings based on statistical significance it should be considered that lack of statistical significance may be a function of the small sample size (N=51). The smaller sample size may result in a smaller standard error and less statistical precision. This condition may then result in noteworthy differences not being statistically significant (Hinkle, Wiersma, Jurs 1982).

Rejection ($p < .05$) of null hypotheses occurred for homicide, robbery, and motor vehicle theft. Significant differences were found

for these variables across levels of the independent variable. Tukey's test of honestly significant difference revealed that homicide, motor vehicle theft, and robbery rates in interstate rural counties was significantly different than the rates found in interstate bordering counties or noninterstate counties but differences between interstate bordering counties and noninterstate counties were not statistically significant.

Although the null hypothesis was rejected for only three of the 10 dependent variables, differences that were not statistically significant did appear in the anticipated direction for all dependent variables except reported rape. The sixteen year mean crime rates, for all variables were highest for counties intersected by interstate highways. For all dependent variables but one, rape, rates decreased as distance from interstate highway traffic increased. Counties that did not have interstate highway traffic but bordered counties having interstate traffic had lower rates of crime than counties intersected by an interstate. Also, counties not having interstate traffic and not bordering counties having interstate traffic had lower mean rates than counties bordering interstate counties.

CONCLUSIONS

Findings support the idea that crime rates in rural areas are not the same across all rural areas. Rural areas do not simply have a

generally low rate of crime. Crime rates may vary across rural areas. As suggested by studies of "boomtown" conditions in rural areas, characteristics unique to a particular rural area appear to be associated with crime rates. Interstate traffic is another condition that possibly contributes to variation in crime rates across rural areas.

Although the findings of the Jarrel and Howsen study were not perfectly replicated, there was support for the idea that interstate traffic has a noticeable influence on crime rates in a rural area.

The apparent relationship between interstate traffic and crime in rural areas may be due, as previously mentioned, to the presence of businesses along interstates and the easy access and quick getaway provided by exits along the interstate. The interstate may also provide a stream of transient criminals traveling cross country. Other population dynamics associated with interstate traffic (e.g., increased population, younger population) may also contribute to the higher crime rates found in rural, interstate counties.

The small sample size and exploratory nature of this research prohibits broad generalizations and definitive statements concerning the influence of traffic along interstate

highways on crime in rural areas. However, the evidence does suggest a need for further research. Both localized and national studies of this topic using a variety of research methodologies are necessary. Future studies might consider utilizing a multivariate approach similar to that used by Jarrel and Howsen. Such an approach would overcome the present study's failure to control potentially confounding variables.

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**COMMONWEALTH OF PUERTO RICO v. BRANSTAD:
THE CENTRALIZATION OF THE CRIMINAL EXTRADITION LAW**

Alfredo Montalvo, Emporia State University

ABSTRACT

This paper uses the Supreme Court's decision in *Puerto Rico v. Brandstad* (483 U.S. 219 [1986]) to challenge the bipolar model of judicial decision making. In this case, the Court, dominated by conservative justices, overturned the 1861 landmark ruling established in *Kentucky v. Dennison* (65 U.S. 66 [1861]) according to which a "federal court could not issue a writ of mandamus compelling a state governor to extradite a fugitive to a sister state under the Extradition Clause of the Constitution." Using a centralization approach, it is argued that at the center of the Court's decision in *Puerto Rico* was a distrust by the Supreme Court in the ability of state elected representatives to deliberate on a number of social issues and/or to create and enforce race and gender blind laws. From this perspective, the Court's decision represented a symbolic attempt by the Court to formally integrate the island within the existent traditional political process of extradition in light of the island's subordinate and minoritarian territorial status. The political implication of this decision for Puerto Rico is also explored.

INTRODUCTION

A recurrent theme in sociology of law is the extent to which Supreme Court decisions are shaped by the political and ideological identity of its members (Ball 1978, 1980; Bronner 1989; Gibson 1991; Kairys 1993; Lawrence 1990; Maltz 1994; Massaro 1990; Spann 1993). This debate has been dominated by a *bipolar view* of the judiciary according to which the ideological commitments of Supreme Court justices determine individual and collective decision making process in the Court. This paper is intended to shed some light on this issue by examining the Supreme Court decision in *Puerto Rico v. Branstad* (483 U.S. 219 [1986]). In this case a conservative Supreme Court overturned the 1861 *landmark ruling* established in *Kentucky v. Dennison* (65 U.S. 66 [1861]) according to which

a federal court could not issue a writ of mandamus compelling a state governor to extradite a fugitive to a sister state under the Extradition Clause of the Constitution.

The case of *Puerto Rico* provides an excellent opportunity to reexamine the bipolar argument of judicial decision making in the context of the territorial status of the island and to formulate an alternative approach.

Previous analyses of *Puerto Rico* emphasize the legal precedents and legal rationale behind the Court's decision to overturn *Dennison* (Davis 1988; Dinan 1988). According to these studies the Court's decision was based on the assumption that it would promote a more efficient criminal justice system, and that it would help maintain harmonious relations between the states. Despite the plausibility of this argument, it does not account for the

apparent contradiction between what bipolar legal theorists describe as the historical tendency of conservative justices to maintain legal precedents and the Court's decision to overturn *Dennison*.

The argument advanced in this paper is twofold. First, the Court's decision in *Puerto Rico* is a manifestation of the tendency by the Supreme Court to transfer "power from local to higher government units" (Claude 1970; Funston 1977; Hickok, McDowell 1993; Lawrence 1990). At the center of the Court's decision to centralize the extradition law was a distrust by the Supreme Court in the ability of elected representatives to deliberate on a number of social issues, and/or to create and enforce race and gender blind laws (Hickok, McDowell 1993; Spann 1993). Second, the Court's decision in *Puerto Rico* represented an attempt by the Court to formally integrate the island within the existent political process of extradition in light of the island's subordinate and minoritarian territorial status. However, I contend that, although the government of Puerto Rico was able to obtain the extradition of Calder, the Court decision in *Puerto Rico* represented a "symbolic" victory for the island. For the Court's ruling left intact the political culture that allows for the discrimination against Puerto Rico in extradition cases. The implication of this for Puerto Rico is twofold: (1) it increases the island's dependency on the Supreme Court for the resolution of "interstate" disputes, and (2) it reaffirms the political status quo of the island. In the end, *Puerto Rico* provided a political opportunity for the Court to proclaim its supreme authority over state officials.

This paper is divided as follows. The first part provides a critique of the bipolar model of

judicial decision making and describes a *political centralization* approach to judicial decision making. The second part provides a historical background of the centralization of the criminal extradition law. The third part describes the legal context in which *Puerto Rico* was debated and decided. In the last part of the paper I discuss *Puerto Rico* within the context of the political centralization approach.

JUDICIAL DECISION MAKING: A POLITICAL CENTRALIZATION APPROACH

The debate on the politics of modern judicial decision making has been dominated by a *bipolar model*. As mentioned above, this model tries to explain the extent to which the ideological formation of Supreme Court justices affect the legal outcome of the Court. On the one hand, conservative justices are said to follow a set of political values whose basic principle and goal is the preservation of the original constitutional interpretations provided by the Founding Fathers, and those provided by legal precedents. At a practical level, judicial conservatism is interpreted as a distaste for governmental regulation of business and a tendency to limit individual rights in order to protect majoritarian interests. On the other hand, liberal justices are defined as activists willing to use their constitutional and judicial authority to bring about social and economic reforms; specifically the expansion of individual and group rights even at the expense of having to overturn legal precedents (Gibson 1991; Maltz 1994; Spann 1993).

Recently, a group of legal scholars has challenged the bipolar view of judicial power (Kairys 1993; Maltz 1994) on theoretical and methodological ground. Theoretically, critics argue that the model treats the Court as an unconditional political instrument of conservative and/or liberal politicians to maintain and promote their social and political agendas. Although there is some evidence that during the last decades the justices have protected presidential authority against congressional intrusion (Adamany 1991), historically "the Court has become the object of bitter attacks from several and varied quarters" including the executive and legislative branches (Steiner 1971). Nonetheless, this does not make the Supreme Court a politically "neutral" institution (Tomasic 1985). Instead, it defines the Supreme Court as a competing institution in the political struggle to shape social and

economic policies. Methodologically, studies using the bipolar model have been criticized for providing a tautological or circular explanation of the ideological orientation of justices. This problem is manifested in the attempts by many legal scholars to explain justices' ideological orientations by looking at their manifestation in legal opinions and speeches (Tomasic 1985).

Recognizing the relevance of political ideology in judicial-decision making, Kairys (1993) suggests that despite their ideological differences liberal and conservative justices are united in their effort to perform and achieve its self-defined institutional role and goals. In other words, justices operate within a "collegial culture" aimed at advancing what they perceive as the main goals and interests of the Court (Ball 1980; Kairys 1993). According to Kairys:

judicial activism is not consistently liberal, and judicial restraint is not consistently conservative Neither conservatives nor liberals seem to be seriously bothered by judicial creativity or abandonment of established rules and precedents in furtherance of their higher goals. (1993: 5)

The question as to what these higher goals are is an empirical question which can only be answered by examining specific judicial decisions.

In this regard, recent analyses of Supreme Court's decisions suggest that modern judicial practices are dominated by a *self-defined role* of the judiciary as the moral guardian of the nation. Specifically, modern judicial decision making is characterized by a general distrust by the Supreme Court in the ability of elected representatives to deliberate on a number of social issues (Hickok, McDowell 1993), and/or to create and enforce race and gender blind laws (Spann 1993). This lack of confidence has contributed to an increasing *centralization* or nationalization of political problems and processes (Funston 1977); meaning a tendency by the Supreme Court to transfer "power from local to higher government units" (Claude 1970; Funston 1977; Hickok, McDowell 1993; Lawrence 1990). Historically, the Court has centralized problems in such areas as civil rights, the electoral process, and obscenity issues (Claude 1970; Funston 1977), legal services programs (Lawrence 1990), abortion (Hickok, McDowell 1993), and race relations (Spann 1993).

Ultimately, the *main goal* of the centralization process is the protection and preservation of what the Court perceives as the moral, political, and social fabric of the Nation (economic, civic and property rights). From this perspective, the centralization process is an additional institutional tool available to conservative and liberal justices to legitimate and maintain social stability and continuity. This implies that contrary to the rigid and deterministic ideological categories proposed by the bipolar model of judicial decision the Court majority will issue counter-majoritarian rulings if necessary in order to adapt the law to those situations where perceived facts and changing events do not fit not just the precedent mold but, more importantly, the political and moral interests and goals of the Court (Ball 1978).

THE DECENTRALIZATION OF THE CRIMINAL EXTRADITION LAW: A HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The issue of the (de)centralization of the criminal extradition law has a long tradition in American political and judicial history. The concern of the Founding Fathers for this issue is reflected in Article IV of the United States Constitution which specifies that

A person charged in any State with Treason, Felony, or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall on Demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime.

In order to enforce the above provision in 1793 Congress approved the Federal Rendition Act which delineates a general extradition procedure to be followed by the states in dealing with extradition cases. The Act specifies that

Whenever the executive authority of any State or Territory demands any person as a fugitive from justice. . . the executive authority of the State, District or Territory to which such person has fled shall cause him to be arrested and secured, and notify the executive authority making such demand, or the agent of such authority appointed to receive the fugitive, and shall cause the fugitive to be delivered to such agent when he shall appear. If no such agent appears within days from the time of arrest, the prisoner may be

discharged. (*Rutgers Law Review* 1970 555)

Historically, the Supreme Court has interpreted the Constitutional Extradition Clause and the Rendition Act as attempts by the framers of the Constitution and Congress to maintain interstate harmony. From this perspective, the goal of both documents has been the preservation of the Union through a set of consistent constitutional principles which would guide the relationships between and among federal and state governments in extradition cases.

However, at a deeper level the Court's interpretation of both legal documents has been based on a "decentralized" view of the law, and of state and federal relations. This view was fully exposed in the 1861 Supreme Court's decision in *Dennison*, according to which state and federal governments are *co-equal sovereigns*; therefore federal intrusion on state affairs must be kept to a minimum (Maltz 1994). In practical terms, *Dennison* reaffirmed the discretionary authority of state asylum governors to deliver any criminal fugitive to the demanding state. The *Dennison* Court concluded that, if implemented through a Supreme Court mandate, the Act,

would place every State under the control and dominion of the General Government, even in the administration of its internal concerns and reserved rights. (483 U.S. 226 [1986])

This legal interpretation of the Extradition Clause led to a system of extradition in which the decision on whether or not to extradite a criminal was the product of a negotiation process between state officials. Under this system, the demanding and asylum states will consider the nature of the offence, the defendant's behavior in the asylum state, and the reaction of the asylum community toward the fugitive as part of the decision to extradite a criminal (Dinan 1988).

However, the post-Civil War period was marked by an increasing pressure toward the "centralization" of the extradition law. The enactment of the Fourteen and Fifteenth Amendments and other federal statutes during this period redefined the role of the Supreme Court to the extent that it

ceased to be restrictive tribunals of fair dealing between citizens of different states and became the primary and powerful reliance for vindicating

every right given by the Constitution. (Claude 1970)

Also, the rising industrialization of the nation, and the emergence of a corporate capitalist structure with its concomitant increase in class inequality, precipitated the centralization of the law during the post-Civil War era; particularly in such areas as labor, industry and commerce (Hall 1992). Significant among the Court's decisions are *Wabash, St. Louis, and Pacific Railway v. Illinois* (118 U.S. 557 [1886]) and *Lochner v. New York* (198 U.S. 45 [1905]). In these and in many other cases, the Court ruled against state regulation of railroad rates, and working hours, respectively.

Federal attempts at centralizing economically-based problems was extended to the area of criminal extradition. One of the most significant steps in this direction took place in 1914 when the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws recommended the creation of a uniform national extradition law (Somkin 1984). The outcome of this effort was a committee proposal entitled "The Uniform Criminal Extradition Act of 1926" which emphasized the "exclusively ministerial nature of the governor's duties" (*Yale Law Journal* 1956). Support for such legislation came years before its enactment from a group of legal scholars. In 1910, Wilbur Larremore provided a comprehensive legal analysis of the conflicts involved in the decentralized interstate extradition practices in the United States. In his paper Larremore (1910) warned the federal government about the potential for state executives to abuse their discretionary authority by arbitrarily refusing to extradite criminals to the demanding state; particularly in "cases involving racial conflict or political controversy." Similarly, years later, Roscoe Pound illustrated the need for centralizing the extradition law as follows:

Before he [a fugitive] could be taken back to New York, there were four writs of habeas corpus, there was a conflict of jurisdiction between state and federal officials, there were four extradition warrants, one injunction, one appeal, and one contempt proceeding. Even then it was necessary for a masterful detective to take the bull by the horns and put the fugitive in the hands of justice by an extra-legal coup. . . . Nothing could illustrate better the extreme decentralization, the want of organization or cooperation, the overgrowth of checks and hindrances, and the

hypertrophy of procedure which embarrass the administration of criminal justice in the economically unified land of today. (as quoted in Somkin 1984 526-527)

During the late 1920s and early 1930s a number of interstate extradition disputes questioned the efficiency of the common practice of interstate extradition law (*Yale Law Journal* 1956). Although there is no conclusive evidence that extradition disputes had significantly undermined interstate harmony, by 1940 the great majority of the States had adopted the Uniform Criminal Extradition Act as a guideline in writing their own extradition laws. Despite the centralizing tendency embodied in the 1926 Extradition Act, the *Dennison* decision remained the law of the land for many years (Larremore 1910). For 125 years, the federal courts had been reluctant to issue writ of mandamus in extradition cases on the ground that "the principle of separation of power immunizes the executive from judicial control," or that the "governor's duty is discretionary" (*Yale Law Journal* 1956).

As an extension of the Due Process Revolution, during the 1970s the interstate extradition proceedings became the subject of legal scrutiny in the context of the protection of an extraditee's constitutional rights under the Fourth Amendment (Towns 1979). Finally, in 1986 *Puerto Rico* confirmed Larremore's (1910) suspicion regarding the potential for discrimination by asylum states against demanding states in interstate extradition cases.

THE CENTRALIZATION OF THE LAW: *PUERTO RICO V. BRANSTAD*

On January 25, 1981, Ronald Calder, a resident of Iowa working in Puerto Rico, killed Amy Villalba De Jesus and her unborn child with his car. A month later, the District Attorney filed information against Calder on charges of murder and attempted murder. While on bail, Calder did not appear at the scheduled preliminary hearings. In April, after the Superior Court of Puerto Rico had issued a warrant for his arrest, the authorities learned that Calder had fled to Iowa. The Puerto Rican police informed the authorities in Iowa, and Calder surrendered to state authorities, and soon after, he was released after posting a \$20,000 bond (483 U.S. 219 [1986]).

On May 15, 1981, the Governor of Puerto Rico, Carlos Romero Barcelo submitted a formal request to the Governor of Iowa, Robert

Ray, for the extradition of Calder. After conducting a hearing on the case, and after attempting to negotiate a plea bargain on behalf of Calder, Governor Ray rejected Governor Romero's request for extradition. In 1983, in *Puerto Rico v. Iowa* (452 U.S.L.W. 3509 [1984]) the U.S. Supreme Court rejected Puerto Rico's request to file a complaint against the Governor of Iowa. Puerto Rico then requested a writ of mandamus from the Federal District Court for the Southern District of Iowa to order the new Governor of Iowa, Terry E. Branstad to extradite Calder. However, the Federal District Court rejected the petition and, on appeal, the United States Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit affirmed the decision of the District Court. In both instances, the Court relied on *Kentucky v. Dennison* to deny Puerto Rico's request for a writ of mandamus to extradite Calder. Under *Dennison*,

a federal court could not issue a writ of mandamus compelling a state governor to extradite a fugitive to a sister state under the Extradition Clause of the Constitution. (65 U.S. 61 [1861])

However, in its written opinion the Appeal Court recognized that

the underpinnings of *Dennison* during the past 125 years have been so seriously undermined—especially in view of the mandatory provision of the extradition clause of the Constitution—as to suggest reconsideration by the only Court empowered to do so.

Based on this opinion, the government of Puerto Rico appealed the case to the Supreme Court asking for the reconsideration and overruling of the *Dennison* decision.

May It Please the Court?: State Sovereignty and Political Discrimination

In *Puerto Rico*, petitioners provided three main reasons to overturn *Dennison*. First, according to petitioners, *Dennison* undermines the purposes of the Extradition Clause by converting the mandatory duty imposed by the Constitution and federal statute into a wholly discretionary decision of the asylum state's governor. Second, for the petitioners, *Dennison* improperly [renders] state governors' discretion supreme over the federal Constitution and federal law. Third, petitioners claimed that *Dennison* undermines the alleged harmony and unity between states that justified the

creation of the Extradition Clause in the first place (Kurland, Gerhard 1988). Applying the above reasoning to *Puerto Rico*, petitioners argued that by refusing to extradite Calder, the governor of Iowa undermined the political relations between both communities, and the authority of Puerto Rico to enforce its criminal laws.

While the bulk of the petitioners' arguments centered around the legal aspects of extradition, they also tried to convince the Court that the respondent's refusal to extradite Calder amounted to stereotypical and racially discriminatory actions. Hence, petitioners emphasized that during the hearings ordered by Governor Ray, Calder's four witnesses

expressed personal doubts about the quality of justice administered in Puerto Rico and the integrity of the Commonwealth's courts... [and] that as a white American man, [Calder] could not receive a fair trial in the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. (Kurland, Gerhard 1988:611)

Respondent's argumentative strategy revolved around a definition of Puerto Rico as an "outsider" seeking to disturb the tranquility of the common law interstate extradition (Kurland, Gerhard 1988). First, they reminded the Court that *Dennison* had been and should continue to be part of "our constitutional framework," and that it had made a significant contribution to the stability and tranquility of the nation's "body of constitutional jurisprudence" (Kurland, Gerhard 1988). Respondent claimed that the intervention of the federal judiciary in extradition cases was unnecessary because "the wheels of the interstate political process in extradition matters are greased by a pattern of cooperation." However, the respondent recognized that the major force behind the alleged "interstate cooperation" was the fear by the asylum state of retaliation by demanding states. That is, asylum states comply with extradition requests with the expectation of reciprocity by the demanding state in future extradition cases.

In the same way, respondent questioned the applicability of the Extradition Clause of the Constitution to Puerto Rico in light of the political status of Puerto Rico as a "not sovereign state." In their view, the language of the clause applies exclusively to extradition requests from states; therefore as a U.S. territory, Puerto Rico had no right to invoke its benefit (Kurland, Gerhard 1988).

As a second strategy, respondent invoked a theory of political neutrality and urged the Court to consider the potential political and administrative difficulties involved in expanding the role of the federal courts. In their view, this should be an important concern for the Court, particularly in dealing with sensitive interstate disputes, such as in criminal extradition cases, because "the federal judiciary is ill-suited to adopt an aggressive enforcement role." From a similar perspective, respondent advised the Court that it "should stand clear of the nasty political thicket presented in... sensitive extradition cases" (Kurland, Gerhard 1988).

As a result, respondent argued, state's executives have developed a *common law tradition* of interpreting the Extradition Clause. When asked for evidence to support his common law argument, respondent made reference to extradition precedents to support his common law argument that state officials have discretionary power in extradition cases. However, the thrust of the argument was intended to demonstrate that

there is no power to make a governor extradite ... under the constitutional scheme, because that was not anticipated [by the Founding Fathers]. (Kurland, Gerhard 1988:621)

Respondents' challenge to the authority of the Court elicited the following reaction from the justices:

You know what you're asking for? A heaven for any criminal from Iowa. Any criminal charged with a serious—all he has to do is run to Puerto Rico. Is that what you're advocating? (Kurland, Gerhard 1988:621)

At this point, respondent tried to justify the discretionary power of the Governor in extradition cases on the ground that it is a necessary legal device to protect criminal defendants from being tried under a "defective" criminal justice system such as Puerto Rico's in which Calder would be exposed to mob lynching. They also introduced the issue of the political status of Puerto Rico by arguing that "Puerto Rico is seeking for an opinion of this Court to declare that it's a state" (Kurland, Gerhard 1988). This line of argument, however, did not advanced too far and the discussion was again redefined in terms of the authority of the Court to enforce the Extradition Clause. In his conclusion, respondent again

recommended to the Court that extradition cases involving territories should be handled by other federal authorities (the Attorney General) under the Fugitive Felon Act, and by the discretion of state's officials.

The Supreme Court Decision: Centralizing the Extradition Law

The Court's decision, handed down on June 30, 1987, unanimously overturned the *Dennison* decision and reversed the decision of the Court of Appeals. The core of the Court's analysis of the case was based on the examination of two constitutional propositions: 1) that the Extradition Clause creates a mandatory duty to deliver up fugitives upon proper demand and, 2) that the federal courts have no authority under the Constitution to compel performance of this ministerial duty of delivery (*Puerto Rico v. Branstad* 1986).

In dealing with the first proposition the Court argued that the framers of the Constitution intended this clause to be a source of national unity. Based on this view, and contrary to the *Dennison* opinion, the Court read the language of the Extradition Clause as mandatory. Hence, the Court reasoned that in order for the clause to be an effective force of national unity, it cannot depend on the voluntary action of state's officials or courts of the asylum state, for it will become "a never-failing subject of dispute and ill-will" (*Puerto Rico v. Branstad* 1986). In terms of the second proposition, the Court rejected the fundamental premise under which *Dennison* was decided according to which state and federal governments are "coequal sovereigns" (*Puerto Rico v. Branstad* 1986). Instead, the Court's decision reflected a consensus among the Justices regarding the supremacy of the federal branch over state governments; particularly as a protector of minority interests. Accordingly, the Court held that the authority of the Supreme Court to impose "upon state officials a duty to obey the requirements of the Constitution, or [to compel] the performance of such duties" is firmly grounded on cases such as *Brown v. Board of Education* (347 U.S. 483 [1954]) and *Cooper v. Aaron* (358 U.S. 1 [1958]).

Finally, the Court considered the respondent's argument that Puerto Rico could not invoke the Extradition Clause of the Constitution because it is not a State of the Union. The Court's strategy regarding this issue was to narrow the question to the applicability of the

extradition act to Puerto Rico. This, of course, was a relatively easy way for the Court to handle the case partly because, unlike the constitutional clause, the extradition act specifies its applicability to states and territories. Hence, although the Court agreed with the respondent that the language of the Extradition Clause applies only to states, the Court relied on *Kopel v. Bingham* (211 U.S. 468 [1909]), which made the Extradition Clause applicable to Puerto Rico, and the language of the Extradition Act to argue that as a "territory of the United States, [Puerto Rico] could invoke the Act to reclaim fugitives from its jurisdiction" (*Puerto Rico v. Branstad* 1986).

CONCLUSION

The analysis in this paper challenges the bipolar model of judicial decision making. Based on this model it was logical to expect that the conservative dominated Supreme Court who decided *Puerto Rico* would have preserved the legal precedent established under *Dennison*; therefore avoiding increasing interference by the federal government on state matters (Burgos-Gandia 1986). Instead, this study suggests that at the root of the Court's decision to centralize the criminal extradition law was a general distrust by the Supreme Court in the political neutrality of state officials to deliberate on a number of social issues (Hickok, McDowell 1993), and/or to create and enforce race and gender blind laws (Spann 1993). Specifically, the Supreme Court justices saw in *Puerto Rico* the potential for asylum state officials to abuse their gubernatorial discretion in extradition cases by prejudicially discriminating against demanding states. The Court's reading of the transcripts of the extradition hearing ordered by the Governor of Iowa, in which some of the participants questioned the integrity of the Puerto Rican criminal justice system to process a "white American" made evident to the justices that the discretionary extradition authority of asylum states as it was defined under *Dennison*, was susceptible to the influence of prejudicial and discriminatory beliefs of extradition agents.

Iowa's extradition practices were part of a larger political process in which the decision to extradite a criminal was based on a bilateral evaluation of factors including the nature of the offence, the defendant's behavior in the asylum state, and the reaction of the asylum community toward the fugitive (Dinan 1988). In *Puerto Rico*, however, these factors seem to

have played an insignificant influence in governor Branstad's denial to extradite Calder. Instead, the governor's reluctance to extradite Calder, as reflected in the Court's briefs and arguments, was based on prejudicial and discriminatory factors as reflected in their persistent reference to the island as an "outsider," and to its criminal justice system as inferior; a colonial attitude traceable to the beginning of U.S.-Puerto Rico relations in 1898 (Delgado-Cintrón 1980).

In the view of the justices *Puerto Rico* became more than an ordinary case of administration of the criminal justice system. It was a case of political discrimination against a subordinate territory. As such, the justices framed the case in the legal context of "minoritarian interests" similar to the desegregation cases of *Brown v. Board of Education* and *Cooper v. Aaron*. Both cases provided the justices with the necessary legal framework to substantiate their skepticism regarding the capacity of state officials to impartially apply the law, and to voluntarily advance the interest of demanding states in extradition cases. From this perspective, the Court's decision in *Puerto Rico* represented an attempt by the Court to achieve the cultural goal of a politically and culturally neutral extradition law "without" getting itself involved in the political and legal entanglements prompted by the territorial status of the island.

Finally, we should consider the question of who benefited from the Court's decision to centralize the criminal extradition law. The analysis in this paper suggests that the Court's decision to overturn *Dennison* represented a "symbolic" victory for the island, and a "real" institutional victory for the Court. Although the Court's decision can be described as a legally rational attempt to accommodate the island legal structure and interests within the extradition tradition developed by the states, it did not eradicate the subordinate political and legal position of the island. In the end, it was in the interest of the Court to hear the case and overturn *Dennison* for two reasons. First, the case allowed the Court an opportunity to achieve an important judicial goal, namely, the official proclamation of the federal supremacy over local governmental officials. Second, the Court's decision fitted well its contemporary self-defined activist role as the moral "guardian of minority interests" (Spann 1993). Having the justices ruled against Puerto Rico would have jeopardized the political-

ideological legitimization of the United States-Puerto Rico relationships, particularly in the eyes of the Puerto Rican people. Paradoxically, as long as state officials perceive Puerto Rico as an "outsider" and its criminal justice system as inferior, the island would have to rely on the federal court system for the revindication of its legal interests.

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MOTIVES OF SOCIAL RAPISTS

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the self-reported accounts of 61 incarcerated criminals who admit to serial rape. Respondents were interviewed using a methodology employing other convicted felons as interviewers. Results show that lust and "righteous rape" were the most salient objectives of these experienced rapists. These findings reveal, too, that physical violence was selective and used sparingly. In light of these findings, additional research should be conducted addressing rape avoidance.

INTRODUCTION

Controversy continues about why men sexually assault strangers - often referred to as serial rape. Are all men potential rapists and is the primary motive of a predator sexual or a need for domination and control? While most jurisdictions view rape as a crime of sexual misconduct sometimes involving passion, rape is also typically reported and examined as a crime of violence. Largely predatory rape may include descriptions about vaginal and anal penetration, cunnilingus, ejaculation, and fellatio, thus sexual offenders exhibiting those actions are classified as sexually dangerous (Cohen, Garofalo, Boucher, Seghorn 1971). A number of theorists claim that predatory rape includes domination, force, and coercion indicating motivation factors such as violence and the need to gain control over a victim (Brownmiller 1975). Other researchers describe neurological disturbances as motivators or the arousal perspective (Quinsey, Chaplin, Upford 1984). My study examines the question of "primary" motivation for predatory rape as women are as often attacked by strangers as often as they are by individuals they know (U.S. Department of Justice 1994). For the purpose of this research, predatory or serial rape refers to sexual intimacy between strangers without the knowing consent of the victim. This definition is consistent with other definitions of stranger rape (Cohen et al 1971; Groth 1979).

COMPETING MODELS OF PREDATORY RAPE MOTIVES

Susan Brownmiller (1975) argues that since antiquity motivation leading to rape involves males wanting to keep women "in their place." This orientation suggests that the "real" motive of rape is to preserve sexual role inequality through violence. Consistent with this view, Bedard (1992) contends that rape is used to keep women from gaining independence and autonomy, i.e., rape demonstrates

that women are really the property of men. Sanday (1981) views the American rapist as part of a traditional perspective which focuses on interpersonal violence, male dominance, and sexual separation. In addition, Sanday views sexual violence as indicators of men's contempt for female qualities and suggests that rape is part of a culture of male violence. Supporting her view is data from preindustrial societies which suggest the existence of rape-free cultures (Sanday 1981). Julia Schwendinger and Herman Schwendinger (1982) suggest that rape is a form of exploitation of the politically weaker sex since men have and want to retain dominance. The Schwendingers say that since law determines rape's parameters, and men control the law, men control the sexuality of women.

Related to male domination and control motivators, Nicholas Groth (1979) examines the psychological and the emotional factors that predispose a person to react to situational and life events with sexual violence. Groth suggests that there may be three patterns of behavior represented by rapists: power rape, anger rape, and sadistic rape, one being dominant in every instance. Groth concludes that there are few rapes where sex is the chief motivator. That is, sex is largely instrumental to the service of nonsexual needs. Using this psychological model of motivation, a rapist is a person who has serious psychological difficulties that hinder his relationship with others. In sadistic rape too, where the offender relishes physical harm to the victim, control is the primary motivating force for the offender. This model proposes that a rapist discharges his feelings of rejection and anger through sexual acting-out. Also, sexual assaults are acts of retaliation, expressions of power, and assertions of manhood (Groth, Burgess 1980).

Another group of theorists argue that while attitudes of rapists may not be particularly unusual, rapists display specific attitudes and behavioral patterns of sexual arousal as

compared to non-sexual offenders (Quinsey et al 1984). This view suggests that coercion by violence is itself sexually arousing, therefore, the motivation for rape apparently has to do with personality flaws inherited at birth (Eysenck, Gudjonsson 1989). This view seems to be support Groth's (1979) predisposition perspective to rape and relates to personality disturbances.

A specific example of psychological motivation acquired in part through operant conditioning suggests that rapists are motivated by a sex drive for erotic experiences, and a drive to possess and control one or more sex partners (Ellis 1989). Many males cross a theoretical point called the forced copulation threshold due to neurological activities which are intimately linked with the effects of sex hormones upon brain functioning (Denno 1990; Ellis 1989; Eysenck, Gudjonsson 1989). Specifically, Ellis (1989) states, "The basic blue print is substantially influenced by DNA molecules." Also, lower status males move beyond the forced copulation threshold more than other males. Ellis argues in part that the actual technique in committing rape is learned through operant conditioning consistent with Bandura's (1973) social learning process.

Operant conditioning or social learning views rape as resulting from the joint influences of cultural and experiential factors mediated by attitudes, sex role scripts, and other thought processes that link physical aggression and sexuality in the minds of males (Ellis 1989). In this view, aggression is instrumental rather than an end in itself (Bandura 1973). Thus, some rapists can have a genuine appetite for sex with their victims despite the popular belief that rape is a power trip. However, since cultural tradition such as male dominance is linked with interpersonal aggression and sexuality, it is possible that there are elements of the social learning perspective employed in the feminist view (Ellis 1989).

Amir's (1971) review of police reports in Philadelphia led to the view that predatory rape is motivated by a subculture theory of violence, but 87 percent of the time, a rapist uses only verbal coercion to subdue his victim. Although Amir's study is dated and examines a crime between individuals who had been intimate prior to an attack, he argues that victims are as responsible as offenders - a highly suspect position. However, other writers who interviewed rapists argue that the rapists they interviewed use sexual violence as

a method of revenge and punishment while other rapists attack others to gain access to unwilling women (Scully, Marolla 1985, 1984). Rapists exhibit compulsive masculinity, a common characteristic of some subcultures, and hold stereotypical beliefs about rape. Thus, these advocates conclude that the motivators of predatory rape are predisposed factors. Also, other writers suggest that while sex could be the main motivation in date-rape, domination and control motivates most predatory rapes (Kanin 1984).

In summary, a variety of theories explain predatory rape motivation using a variety of theoretical concepts. A continuum exists with motivating factors ranging from cultural aspects of inequality and exploitation to social learning theories showing violence as instrumental as opposed to an objective. Others more biologically inclined, argue that violence and anger are behavioral objectives with DNA markers and neurohormonal factors as major motivators. Lastly, some writers postulate that a subculture perspective buttresses revenge, punishment, and compulsive masculinity leading to serial rape.

CURRENT STUDY: HYPOTHESIS

In an effort to fill the gap in the "rape motivational" literature with "expert" data about sexual assaults, my study examines the attitudes and personal beliefs of incarcerated offenders who admit to committing serial rape. It is predicted that predatory rape offenders will disclose attitudes that support both a sexual model of rape-motivation and a "righteous rape" model for predatory rape. Maintaining social role inequality seems inadequate an explanation for career criminals who are unlikely to follow laws much less cultural norms and ideals. Violence, too, seems less likely a primary motivator or for that matter an objective or predatory rapists as most predatory victims (both attempted and completed) are not physically injured during an assault (US Department of Justice 1994).

Furthermore, since many rapists report sexual dysfunctions during their assaults, it is hard to imagine that rapists are primarily driven by neurohormonal factors beyond control of an offender (Amir 1971; Groth 1979). It is also expected that predatory rapists are self-serving, demand instant gratification, care little about the needs of others, and as such exhibit little self-control. Recent researchers are suggesting further that sexual pleasure

can be a primary motive for predatory rapists (MacKinnon 1987; Scully 1990; Stevens 1994c). The attitudinal and behavioral patterns for career criminals spring from the studies of Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990), Hazelwood and Warren (1990), and Stevens (1995a, 1995b). Understanding offender motives for predatory rape could contribute to reduced victimization and improved offender rehabilitation.

METHODOLOGY

Taking Goldstein's (1990) advise that a greater understanding about crime can be produced by calling on the experts-by-experience, I trained 13 incarcerated violent offenders at a maximum custody prison enrolled in a Sociology of Crime course as student-interviewers. The students attended several lectures and participated in many course discussions on predators, researcher bias, and interviewing techniques using Gibbons (1992) and Becker and Geer (1957) as guides over a fifteen week period. Each student-interviewer recruited and interviewed 5 volunteers from their cell-block to discuss "hypothetically" predatory rape prior to incarceration. A typical interview lasted over an hour and was conducted in various cells throughout the prison. Neither the student-interviewers nor the participants received any monetary gain for their participation in this study. However, the student-interviewers received 3 university credit hours for completion of the course.

In addition, the author interviewed 12 volunteer participant inmates recruited through assistance provided by a correctional officer. To insure confidentiality, interviews were conducted in a private office in the prison's educational area. The data obtained by the author and the student-interviewers were similar. Thus, a total of 77 informants were interviewed in the spring of 1992. Of the 77 total interviews - only 61 interviews were considered to be reliable. One student-interviewer, for instance, allegedly interviewed 5 inmates, but his interviews were challenged by his peers, 3 other inmates were interviewed twice, 2 informants admitted to only male rape, 1 inmate raped only children, and 5 informants would not talk about their experiences after admitting to serial rape. The informants who served as participants in this study include individual male prisoners convicted or not convicted of sexual misconduct (rape), but who "hypothetically" admitted to predatory rape. In part, due to plea

bargaining and in part, due to the failures of the criminal justice system, serial rapists are rarely apprehended and when they are, they are rarely convicted of sexual misconduct (Holmes 1991; Reiman 1995). Thus, my sample consists of convicted felons who admit to committing the crime of serial rape regardless of their conviction.

Validity is a special methodological concern in prison because criminals often lie, often leading or forcing researchers to check their survey/interview data with prison files (Scully, Marolla 1984). But, this process violates the confidentiality of participants and hinders their candor (Stevens 1995b). Thus, it is not always clear that informants will tell researchers what they told police, classification workers, and case workers. Moreover, many researchers argue that most inmates including rapists present realistic perspectives about their crimes (Athens 1980; Petersilia 1977). Nonetheless, to enhance validity, participant descriptions (names used are fictitious) were discussed with other criminally violent offenders and professionals in other prisons. For example, accounts offered of serial rape by inmates at CCI in South Carolina were reviewed by other convicted felons and correctional officers at Attica Corrections in New York. These individuals indicate that the data appear to be realistic, and they were able to relate the findings of my study to their experiences.

Demographic characteristics of respondents were not collected due to the methodology used which maximized confidentiality of the respondents and the safety of the student-interviewers and me. A general description of the sample interviewed, however, shows that the typical respondent was black, reported raping more white females than black females, was educated below high school levels, was serving a minimum of seven years in prison, and averaged 32 years of age at the time of the interview. Also, many respondents report employment in menial type jobs and girl friends or spouses before incarceration. In addition, many participants reveal few family ties as adults and perceive themselves as loners during childhood. Only 2 of the subjects report that they were first-time offenders. The student-interviewers argue that most incarcerated rape offenders are perceived by the other prisoners as "weaklings and disgusting creatures."

As Table 1 shows, 3 percent (2) of the

Table 1: Admitting Predatory Rape (N=61)

Question: "Ain't sa'en you did nothing, but in your dreams about how many times might you of raped a girl you didn't know!"*

The respondents were given the following ranges.

Not Sure	Never/Denied	Never/Mistaken Identity	Once	Twice	10/more	25/more	50/more
3%	5%	5%	40%	26%	13%	5%	3%

*Question worded for safety of both respondents and researchers and in language understood by both.

Table 2: Topology of Motivational Perspectives (N=61)

Lust	Righteous	Peer	Control	Supremacy	Fantasy	Other
41%	15%	3%	8%	13%	16%	3%

Percents rounded.

subjects admit to at least 50 rapes each or 100, 5 percent (3) respondents admit to at least 25 rapes each or 75, 13 percent (8) respondents admit to 10 each or 80, 26 percent (16) admit to 2 or 32, and 40 percent (24) subjects admit 1 each or 24 rapes. The remaining 13 percent (8) subjects say that either they are not sure, deny it, or say it was mistaken identity, however, all eight respondents were convicted of sexual assault. Based on the responses of 61 respondents, the sample committed at least 319 serial rapes or an average of 5.4 rapes each. After a closer review of the data, it became clear that their rape-frequency indication is low. I would guess that these respondents were responsible for double the rape-frequency suggested.

Data collection and analysis proceeded simultaneously in keeping with Glaser and Strauss (1967) perspectives of "grounded theory." Both the process and products of research were shaped from the data. For example, the respondents were asked to describe concrete situations and give examples about serial rape from a "hypothetical" perspective especially when they offered generalities. Follow-up questions were asked relative to their responses. Questions changed with each interview depending upon the response of the participant. That is, fresh theoretical interpretation was sought from the data. Groth's (1979) "Protocol for the Clinical Assessment of the Offender's Sexual Behavior" was used as a question-topic guide (see Appendix 1). Therefore, instead of forcing the data from a standardized set of questions within a questionnaire or through a series of hypotheses tests, theory emerged from the data. Also, responses were evaluated and

categorized into a "topology of motive" (see Table 2).

FINDINGS

When the statements of 61 apprehended criminals were examined for motive leading to predatory attacks, clear patterns emerged. As Table 2 shows, 41 percent (25) of the sexual offenders suggest that their primary mission for their criminal attacks was to have sexual contact with a female or what I will call lust. Fifteen percent (9) of the offenders reveal that serial rape was encouraged by the victims themselves or what the participants call "righteous rape," while 3 percent (2) of the offenders blame friends or peers as reasons for their attacks. Another 8 percent (5) of the offenders suggest control and anger as their motivating force bringing them to serial rape, while 13 percent (8) of the rapists describe a god-like supremacy over their victims as their goal. Sixteen percent (10) describe fantasy as the motivating force behind their attacks, and 3 percent (2) offenders' motives were unclear.

Lust

Specifically, 41 percent (25) of the descriptions of rape characterized lust as the self-reported primary motive for predatory rape. To determine lust as a primary goal, the statements of the participants were carefully examined for indicators of desire. For instance, some of the typical remarks leading to this finding include the following:

I watched her ass... and I watched her eyes... I got this chill running down my legs to the accelerator.

There was something about the way she looked. I wanted to see if she looked the same way when her ol'e man was humping her. It's simple, man, I love pussy.

Furthermore, typical descriptions offered by the participants suggesting lust as their primary mission follow:

I was watching this babe peddling her bike. She looks good, and I was hungry. She's real young. I wanted that cunt. I knew she couldn't stop me. I ran along and ask if she saw my little sis (offender was a stranger). She stops, and I smell her sweat. I want'a taste it. We walked together talk'en 'bout my sis till we pass a field. So I took that little cunt and made her chew my dick. She da'ten fight or not'en. But she made me so horny, I went home and screws my ol'e lade to death. Trumen.

This tight look'en girl was fumbling with her keys, tr'en to get into her fal'en down shed [in her yard]. I saw her from the street. She wore a nightie that I could almost see through. The way she moved made my rocks shake. I had to have her. So I pretended to look for my dog. Benny

Watching this cunt walk at the pool, stoked my insides. A itch the size of a horse licked my dick. I followed her when she left and waited my chance with her. I said hay, but she just looked like she smelled something bad and kept walk'en. I couldn't wait. The first chance I got - I took. She was so good that I jammed her ass [anal rape], too. Bowman

Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990), too, imply that predatory rapists are driven by their desire to have immediate sexual intimacy with helpless women.

"Righteous Rape"

Of the predatory rapes described, 15 percent (9) of them characterize "righteous rape" as a motive. These respondents claim that the victims produced "the circumstances and the conditions" for rape by striking a "silent deal" with the offenders. That is, informants blame victims furthering Amir's (1971) theory of victim precipitation. But Amir's theory is founded on rape between intimates, not strangers. Nonetheless, several examples of righteous rape motivation are illustrated by Wild Bill and Nixon.

I was mind'en my own friggen business, do'en some real good shit [drugs] near the swings, when this sweet white babe shots her parts my way and smiles. Ya' give me some blow [she asks for drugs], and I'll show ya' a good time, she says. She looks good, real nice. See, man, I wanted this babe, so I let her help herself. She did'em and walked, laughing—telling her friends she made me. I catch her later on a back street and lay the hole [girl] down [rape]. I knew she'd be sweet. How'd I know tha' hole was twelve! But I had the right to that snatch. She gets exactly what she asks for... Wild Bill

When I was in college, I placed ads in different campus newspapers for models. If they refused sex and I really wanted them, I'd get'em high and take'em. I'd take pictures [Polaroid] in different positions. Later, if they'd say anything, I'd show'em the pictures. I liked the pictures sometimes more than sex with them. Sometimes I'd look at'em when I was hump'en one. But I do believe that most of'em had it [rape] coming cause they were just asking for it. Hell, if they hadn't been there in the first place, I couldn't of had'em. I never really broke the law. Nixon

Many of the participants like Wild Bill and Nixon reveal that violence was rarely used during their assaults. In fact, aggravated force or violence was reported in less than 30 percent of all the admitted cases, confirming the U.S. Department of Justice (1985; 1994) data. Most respondents who used force or a weapon in serial rape report that these actions were used initially to shock their victims into submission. That is, violence or weapons served a fundamental purpose to promote the main objective - sexual intercourse. This finding is congruent with Hazelwood and Warren's (1990) indication that minimal, if any, force was used in majority of the stranger-to-stranger crimes such as serial rape.

Peer

Three percent of the cases (2) report that peer pressure or camaraderie was their principle motivator. In these cases, both respondents describe situations whereby their friend or "partner" lead them to crime. For example, the student-interviewers reports that

Bernard and his partner went camping. A woman was hiking along the trail. Bernard's friend told him that this was the opportunity he was waiting for. He grabbed the woman. He tore off her

clothes and told him to take his off. Then he forced her into oral sex with Bernard. When Bernard hesitated, he called him a chicken-shit. Bernard noticed that his partner was not hard, but had sex with her anyways. She was skinny and didn't turn Bernard on. He was shaking and afraid of getting caught. His partner whispered that we should kill her. Bernard said no. Having a partner is like being drunk, you feel braver and stronger. Note: they didn't kill the victim.

Explaining peer pressures as a rape motive is similar to the above discussion about righteous rape — peer pressure is an excuse. This thought is somewhat consistent with Felson, Baccaglioni, and Ribner (1985) who argue that offenders when they are arrested, attempt to excuse their behavior by not mentioning their own verbal actions suggesting their criminal intent and that offenders justify their behavior by claiming the victim physically attacked them. Additionally, a safe bet, is that sexual desire played a major role in their decisions to comply with the request of their friend. Perhaps, it was convenient that their friends "forced" them into sex with an unknown female. Would they have committed rape if their friends were absent?

Control and Anger

Eight percent (6) of the accounts characterize control and anger as a primary motive leading to serial rape. In these accounts, more violence is described by the respondents than necessary to accomplish rape. That is, violence was used even after the victim submitted and during the entire encounter, illustrating the use of violence for its own sake. The individuals who pursued violence report great degrees of anger, too. In these cases, the rapes are described as incidental activity secondary to the violence powered by their anger. For example

I was pissed with my wife.....looking for some action. But I didn't want a fuck, and I didn't want to hear screams. So, if I found some bitch who was dead or unconscious even, hypothetically that is, then she can't scream and sure as hell can't say no like my friggen wife. I saw this fine looking broad in the parking lot carrying a load of food with a little kid handing on to her dress. I pushed her into the car and grabbed the kid by the throat. I slid in on top of her and said to the bitch, if you ain't a good little girl, I'd kill your kid. She said something to me that I didn't

understand so I slammed her with my free hand. I told her, I want you to suck my cock. She started to but the kid won't shut up so I shook it. And she was crying really loud. I ran. Jake. Note: never arrested for this crime.

Control and anger seem to flow from each word Jake offers. But, Jake tends to use minimal force in comparison to Bones who offers a typical control and anger perspective.

I picked up this chick at some rat hol'e [bar]. We got in my car and started petting and petting. She stopped said she should'a been with her husband. Imagine, she's go'en down [oral sex] on me, and now I'm not good enough for her. Fuck her! I pulled her hair almost off her skull and shove my beer bottle in her pussy as far as it could go. You should'a seen her face, when I pulled her out of the car with her hair in one hand and the bottle in t'a other! She found out who was in charge, and it ain't her. I pulled the bottle out of her cunt and slammed her a homer [rape] while I held her by the hair. I think she was off the ground the whole time. She was sort of not with it, but I made her finish me off in her mouth. Bones

Control and anger seem to be related in these narratives. This interpretation is consistent with Groth's (1979) perspective that sexuality is only the means of expressing the aggressive needs and feelings that operate in the offender and underlie his assault.

Supremacy

Thirteen percent (8) of the participants describe their forcible rape attacks with an emphasize upon unnecessary violence before, during, and after their sexual assaults. I refer to these individuals as ultimate-supremacy rapists. Fact is, these respondents characterize anger in their chronicles wailing into a storm of rage to gain victim submission. Sadly, their rage continues long past victim subjugation and in some cases, long past a victim's demise. Rage blinds their violence and sex is their alibi to exercise it. They seem to have little interest in sex itself as evidenced by the extreme example of Barney.

She was carrying a lot of packages and shit and really looked like she had no idea what day it was. She dropped a package by my van. I got out pretending not to notice her and pick it up. This guy yells at me, that's hers. She hears it and

walks towards me. Mister, she yelling. I open my van. The guys gone now and bamm, I hand her the package, my gun's look'en at her tits. She gets in telling me I can have all her packages. She hands me her money. From my rape case, I take out handcuffs and told her to put them on. I took a cord from my case and tied her ankles pulling it up to her wrists. Stuffed her frigg'en mouth with rags and taped it shut. I had to check in at home so I left her in the van.

If Barney pursued sexual contact, the question begging inquiry is why had he waited to complete the act? Continuing his narration, Barney's true mission materializes.

In the middle of the night I left my warm bed and had anal sex with her. I choked her until she past out, and did it several more times. In the morning I had to take my daughters to school, so I used my wife's car. When I got back, I went for a ride in my van. Out at the city dump, I had intercourse with her and choked her again till she past out. I repeated that in between messing with her. I shaved her pussy clean and shoved my new hamper inside her. I got the handle into her rectum and moved it around a lot like a joy stick. It was nice enjoying an afternoon without hearing a bitch yell.

Barney shows that sexual contact was a significant part of the abduction of his victim, but what seems more important to him, is the punishment he inflicts on his victim. He demonstrates no regard for his victim as a human being. Like other violence fiends, he is able to transcend humanity — especially the humanity of his victims. His victim is a punching bag designed to absorb the rage and the urges of this offender. My finding is consistent with Groth and Burgess (1980) who argue that individuals who commit the crime of rape do so as an effort to deal with unresolved and conflictual aspects of their lives. Also, rape is an expression of power and assertion of their strength and manhood, these writers claim. My findings are also consistent with Les Sussman and Sally Bordwell (1981) who suggest that rapists are people who have taken woman-hating to its furthest possible point — the actual acting out of the body that other men do only in fantasy. However, my thoughts could reach a congruence with Hazelwood, Reboussin, and Warren (1989) who argue that when the victim resists with some rapists, their self-reported amount of pleasure is greater

and the duration of the rape is longer. Does that suggest that in a final analysis, lust is an ultimate goal, one might ask?

Fantasy

Sixteen percent (10) of the accounts suggest that the respondents were attempting to fulfill imaginary goals bordering unreality or invented scenarios. That is, these individuals were primarily trying to regain some imaginary goal that had been part of their past, or so they claim. Sexual contact is described as an event that helps fulfill those goals. Therefore, would it be prudent to suggest that sex may not be a goal and in many cases, unnecessary. For example, Martin says,

In my head I think about women in precarious positions. I devise shit like spreading her legs on a rack. I think about hurting'em and tak'en in their cries for help. But I don't do any of that shit. I tell'em once—okay, bitch you know what I want. This could go hard or easy on you. It's up to you. Most of the time, they put out that fast and usually say shit like, don't kill me. Please, don't kill me! Hell, I don't want'a kill'em, I just want'a screw'em."

Martin conveys that he is motivated by his ideas that he had created. However, other accounts describe more than visions and characterize behavior showing how the participant turns his thoughts into criminally violent behavior to fulfill his objectives. For instance, Henry, in the following account, explains his illusion:

When I was little, my uncle used to baby sit me. I used to spy on him and his girlfriend when they had sex. The way they went through the motions was perfect. I wanted to be just like them.

However, as Henry reveals more of his experiences, his thoughts led to behavior suggesting that he was attempting to bring those illusions to reality.

So when I was with girls I pretend I was him and they were her. I'd tell'em how I wanted them to lay or form their body. I'd masturbate on'em. When I was a punk, I'd break into homes and force old fuck'en folks there into various positions and masturbate.

Unfortunately, the behavior described by Henry takes violent turns and we are left

with the idea that Henry wants to pursue his goal no matter the cost as the benefits of his deed far outweigh the consequences of his crime. There is a congruency here with Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) who indicate that career criminals weigh the benefits of their crimes as opposed to the consequences of their behavior. Apparently, criminals like Henry have a finite plan. Moreover, this idea finds congruence in earlier research suggesting that criminals are rarely deterred by the threat of apprehension let alone by their own destruction (Stevens 1994a, 1992a, 1992b).

"Other" Rape

"Other" or unclear motives are suggested by 3 percent (2) of the participants, however, the example given seems to complement Groth's (1979) power perspective and/or Brownmiller's (1975) inequality view.

My guy says he sees a check in the parking lot that he knows will love his ass once they're together. Inside, he goes up to her and if she own a certain car and gives her the tag number. He says that there babes always sound like they're doing him a favor by talking to him, but he always has a upper hand because he's smarter. He describes something on the seat, and asks about the small animal locked inside that looks sick. She runs to the car. Inside looking for the cat, he goes, I own your ass, bitch. You can get hurt or it will be over soon. He seats on her chest and pulls his meat [masturbates] in her face. He wants to start quick and end quick. When he shots, it goes in her mouth. He splits.

Does a closer review of the data suggest that the description can characterize lustful intentions on the part of the rapist?

In summary, the data suggest that 62 percent (38) of the respondents (lust, righteous rape, peer, and other) who admit committing serial rape characterize lustful intentions as their primary goal leading to their sexual attacks. For some, their lust led them to believe that their victims promoted the circumstances and the conditions for rape. Less often than expected, offenders raped in order to gain control or fewer yet, raped for total domination over their victims. Perhaps, those participants who characterized fantasy rape were also fueled by lustful imaginations. Nonetheless, violence or weapons served a fundamental purpose to promote the main objective - sex. This finding supports Medea and

Thompson's (1974) study where 42 percent of the rapists were described by the victim as calm, 22 percent acted righteous, and 13 percent seemed frightened.

However, it is also clear that no single pattern of rape represents all serial rapists. Allison and Wrightsman (1993) also argue that when we think of rape, many people visualize a sex-starved madman waiting with a weapon for his prey. Despite the consistency in the stereotype, the writers say, characterizing stranger rape requires diversity. There is no one type of stranger rapist just as there is no one type of stranger rape victim.

CONCLUSION

The theory that most accurately predicts the greatest number of empirical observations is deemed a more elegant theory. This thought is consistent with Lee Ellis (1989) who also argues that the best empirical predictions are those centered on the greatest numbers of observations. Therefore, while lust is an unpopular indicator with most theorists, it is the best predictor of self-reported motives for predatory rape. My attitudinal research suggests that neither social roles, violence, nor DNA markers are as dominant a motivator in serial rape as previous researchers assume. Of course, maybe rapists rationalize or cover-up those motives with more socially normative reasons for their attacks, and maybe inmates like theorists have orientations that guide their rationalizations as Becker and Geer (1957) argue. However, to ignore what offenders say, could enhance the frequency of their mission as most popular perspectives on serial rape suggest that fighting back or careless resistance leads to an escalation of offender violence producing greater injury or even death to victims. For a greater understanding of this notion, see my earlier research on rape victim techniques (Stevens 1994c). Nonetheless, this absurd notion is not fully supported by my data, nor is it advised! Should someone attack me, I'd fight like hell and feel good about it even if I lost. I suggest that rape victims do the same. Pauline Bart (1981) supports my fighting back position indicating that it is both necessary to end an attack and one way for a victim to feel good about herself, regardless of the outcome of the attack.

Furthermore, reality suggests that predators do not value cultural norms such as social roles or social attitudes as most are loners, reject traditional ideals, and break the laws

and norms of society as often as it benefits them. Also, criminality is an attitude toward life resulting in a career of crime with origins in early childhood (Gottfredson, Hirschi 1990; Samenow 1984; Schmalleger 1979; Stevens 1994b). Clearly, if there were parity between the sexes, rape would not be eliminated. Also, learning favorable attitudes about rape does not automatically lend itself to a causal relationship as social learning experts imply. For some rapists, sexual intimacy is somehow offered as an unavoidable event in their lives that must be performed somewhere along their road of dreams. Other times, their dreams are bazaar and take shape from orientations that make some of us wonder why God's hand rests.

It is clear that most predatory rapists are selective with violence and use it sparingly. They spend more time on the selection process since it makes their assault easier. The younger or older the victim, the more helpless. The less alert, the more in harms way. Thus, serial rapists take the easy way in committing crime confirming the idea of other felons that rapists are weaklings and cowards. Furthermore, predatory rape is not spontaneous as serial rapists have decided prior to committing the act long before it happens and seek only an "easy" mark. Also, "in the heat of passion" arguments are not supported by this data.

One limitation of this study relates to its small sample while the "more successful" predatory rapist who has not been apprehended for any crime, is unavailable for an interview. Also, since only female stranger rape was evaluated, caution of the findings is suggested as many other factors may motive other varieties of rape. Yes, self-reports or subjective data has its limitations, but the need to add this paper to the literature is urgently required to further an understanding of this abominable violation against others. The differences in this study as compared to other studies on the subject of serial rape are that the findings come from the "experts-by-experience" or those who have been there as opposed to criminal files, police records, or other secondary sources. Moreover, this study is not clouded by the political orientations of some theorists who neglect both the merits and the professionalism of their task as my theories emerges from the data as opposed to being centered in a personal or political agenda.

If we accept the sanctioned notion that every man is a potential rapist, can we assume

that every woman is a potential whore? Clearly, there is something different, both attitudinally and behaviorally, about men who rape as compared to men don't despite learned and genetic influences. Turning predatory rape upside down, a basic question arises: why do some men learn appropriate ways to obtain sex and others don't? Many men want sex, but only certain men are rapists. One answer could be that following the appropriate cultural guidelines or norms of obtaining sex demonstrates various levels of individual self-control and more importantly, self-respect. These men would care about the needs of others, are willing to delay their own personal gratification and happiness, are less concerned with their own welfare than the welfare of others, and many believe that eventually they will meet their makers.

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APPENDIX 1 TYPE OF QUESTIONS

Some of the questions asked using Groth's (1979) "Protocol for the Clinical Assessment of the Offender's Sexual Behavior" as a guide used question prefixes like "If rape happened." Topics included were Premeditation: to what extent did you plan the offense? Did you set in search of a victim with a deliberate intent to commit sexual assault? Did the idea suddenly come to mind when an opportunity presented itself? In terms of importance before a rapist attacks a female he doesn't know, what should he do first? Rank order the following if 1 is the first thing and 6 the last or just say you don't know: be sure she's alone, old enough, going to like it, drunk/stoned, not a fighter, pretty. Victim selection: what were the descriptive characteristics (age, race, sex, situation, physical characteristics) of the victim, and what part did each play in the your selection?

Was there a relationship with the victim prior to the incident? What was it about the physical characteristics of the victim that made her the victim? Could you have had sex with anyone else at the time? Can you describe the victim? Do you recall what she looked like? Style of Attack: how did you gain control over your victim? Did you use description and entrapment, threat or intimidation, physical force or violence, or some combination of those techniques? How did you gain sexual access to your victim? Did you render your victim helpless through drugs or alcohol? Did you make promises to the victim that you couldn't keep? Accompanying Fantasies: What were you fantasizing during the attack? Was the victim in your fantasies identifiable? Did the attack go as you dreamt it? When did these fantasies first begin? Often did they repeat themselves? Role of Aggression: How seriously did you want to hurt your victim? Under what conditions would you resort to physical force during the rape? How exciting was the physical force that you used? Did it turn you on? Sexual Behavior: what was going on sexually during the rape (kissing, fondling, masturbating, breast sucking, digital penetration, vaginal intercourse, oral intercourse, oral-anal contact, etc.) Did you tie the victim? Did you ask the victim to act out any role or get into various sexual positions? Did you get off? Did she please you? Were you frustrated or disappointed after the rape? How long did it last? How did you think she felt during and after the offense? Contributing Factors: what triggered the rape? Responsibility: are you admitting to the rape? Recidivism: ain't sa'en you did nothing, but in your dreams about how many times might you of raped a girl you didn't know? Deterrence: what could the victim do to stop rape from happening Marital Relations: when you were a free man, how was your sex at home?

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