FREE INQUIRY IN CREATIVE SOCIOLOGY

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JUVENILE DRUG TRAFFICKERS:
CHARACTERIZATION AND SUBSTANCE USE PATTERNS

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ABSTRACT

Drug trafficking has become one of the dominant issues facing the criminal justice system. Juveniles involved in drug trafficking have been reported to be far more likely to be seriously immersed in substance abuse and delinquent behavior than nonsellers. The primary aim of the present study was to examine the substance use patterns of juveniles incarcerated for drug trafficking offenses in the Commonwealth of Virginia (N = 240). A second goal of the study was to characterize juvenile drug traffickers based upon additional information pertaining to their delinquent, social, psychological, educational and medical histories. For this purpose, a demographic comparison group was generated (N = 433). The results indicated that the most frequently sold substance was cocaine (93%), either powdered or crack, while alcohol and marijuana were the drugs most often used by the juvenile drug traffickers. The juvenile drug traffickers were associated with lower levels of aggressivity, violence and delinquency when compared to other incarcerated juveniles from their community. In addition, the juvenile drug traffickers were characterized by higher ratings in several areas which included social and psychological functioning. Areas that did not correlate well with drug trafficking were physical health, intellectual functioning and academic achievement. The results of this study indicated that juvenile drug traffickers tend not to use the drugs that they sell, and generally present as higher functioning and better adjusted in almost every area evaluated, when compared to their incarcerated delinquent peers.

INTRODUCTION

Over the past 8-10 years, drug trafficking has become one of the foremost issues facing the criminal justice system. Drug selling poses a serious threat to society, both in terms of the distribution of illegal drugs, as well as the ancillary criminal activity and violence associated with the illegal drug market (Goldstein 1985). Juveniles involved in drug trafficking have been reported to be far more likely to be seriously immersed in substance abuse and delinquent behavior than nonsellers (Chaiken, Johnson 1988; Dembo, Williams, Wothke, Schmeid-ler, Getreu, Berry, Wish, Christensen 1990; Inciardi, Pottieger 1991; Johnson, Nata-rajan, Dunlap, Elmoghazy 1994; Li, Feigel-man 1994; Stanton, Galbraith 1994; van Kammen, Loeber 1994), while the relationship between violence and the "crack business" has received particular notoriety (Goldstein 1985; Goldstein, Brownstein, Ryan, Bellucci 1989; Hamid 1991). In their characterization of drug-involved adolescent offenders, Chaiken and Johnson (1988) portray adolescents who frequently sell drugs as moderate to heavy, or even daily substance users; using multiple drugs, including cocaine. They further demonstrated that these juveniles are involved in a variety of associated criminal activities including assaults and property crimes. An additional report indicated that juvenile detainees involved in the trafficking of cocaine were more likely to report having assaulted someone with the intent of serious injury or murder than those juveniles who were not involved in cocaine distribution (Dembo et al 1990).

The national trends outlined above are reflected in Virginia's juvenile offender population. During fiscal years 1993 and 1994, 268 juveniles were committed to the Virginia Department of Juvenile Justice juvenile correctional centers for drug trafficking offenses; representing 9 percent of the total commitments during this time period. Information permitting the characterization of juveniles involved in the sale and distribution of illegal drugs would significantly facilitate the development of meaningful and effective treatment programs. Therefore, the primary aim of the present study was to examine the substance use patterns of juveniles incarcerated for drug trafficking offenses in the Commonwealth of Virginia, particularly as they relate to the substances sold. A second goal of the study was to characterize these juvenile offenders based upon information gathered pertaining to their delinquent, social, psychological, educational and medical histories. For this purpose, an incarcerated, demographic comparison group was generated. Finally, a composite variable rating the level of violence present in their offense histories was generated. This permitted an analysis of the relationship between drug trafficking and violence.

METHODS
Subjects

Juveniles adjudicated for drug trafficking offenses in the Commonwealth of Virginia during fiscal years 1993 and 1994 (1 July 1992 - 30 June 1994) comprised the juvenile drug traffickers group. The drug trafficking offenses included "possession [of controlled substances] with intent to sell or distribute;" and offenses pertaining to the sale, distribution, or manufacture of controlled substances. (The specific offense codes used to construct the drug trafficker group are available upon request.) The so-called "simple possession [of controlled substances]" offenses were not included, as those offenses are presumed to be related to possession for personal use, from a legal standpoint. A demographic comparison group matched for gender, race, age and geographic location was generated.

Instruments and procedures

A retrospective chart review was conducted. Briefly, the official records for juvenile offenders committed to the Commonwealth of Virginia juvenile correctional centers during two fiscal years (1 July 1992 - 30 June 1994) were reviewed (n=2916). The records included information regarding current, prior and pending criminal offenses; a psychological assessment; social and medical histories; a complete physical examination; and measures of intellectual functioning and academic achievement. The psychological evaluation was performed by a masters- or doctoral-level psychologist and included a standardized test of intellectual functioning (Wechsler 1991, 1974), a mental status interview and projective testing, as determined by the clinical judgment of the evaluator and the individual needs of the juvenile. The social history was obtained by a case manager. The medical history and physical were completed by a trained nurse and physician, respectively. Educational information was obtained by an educational specialist. All evaluators received extensive and continued training with regard to issues of juvenile delinquency.

Following completion of the intake evaluation, all of the evaluators involved in the assessment process were convened. At this time, the assessment team developed consensus ratings concerning the juvenile across a broad spectrum of functional areas including affective, cognitive, behavioral, familial and social functioning. These appraisals were frequently based on a composite rating which included multiple converging data sources such as the results of the objective data, test results and clinical impressions compiled during the assessment process. It is important to note, however, that at every level of assessment the evaluators were familiar with the juvenile's offense history. On one hand, the data were interpreted cautiously, especially with information that was based upon a relatively subjective decision process. On the other hand, many of these "subjective" decisions were made at the staffing meeting by the entire assessment team. Therefore, it was hoped that this diverse input and consensus ratings may have diminished any potential individual bias.

Data pertaining to the specific drugs sold were collected from the specific committing offense(s) information detailed in the court documents. Specific substance use data were compiled from several sources including self-report information collected during the social, psychological and medical histories; and the physical examination. In addition, documented urinalysis results obtained from the courts and detention centers also were employed in an effort to determine specific substance use. However, the urinalysis results were not available for every subject and the data pertaining to specific substance use included reports of single use and/or "experimentation" during the juvenile's lifetime. Consequently, these data are not meant to imply abuse or addiction, rather they were employed as a qualitative measure of the substances used by these offenders.

Finally, a composite "violence" variable (high, moderate, low) was created based upon the juvenile's offense history. Briefly, to be included in the "high-violent" offender group, a juvenile must have been adjudicated for at least one "high-violent" offense (e.g., murder, arson of an occupied dwelling), or multiple felonious assaults. These decision rules (available upon request) were deliberately conservative, and are based on the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) working definition of violent juvenile offenders (OJJDP 1993). Preliminary analysis with our sample indicated that the "high-violent" rating correlates highly with several other indices of violence contained within the juvenile's history (unpublished results), as well as the existing literature on violent delinquents (Huizinga, Loeber, Thronberry 1994; Mathias, DeMuro,

Figure I

Frequency distribution of drugs sold. Imitation substances were sold as "cocaine" or "marijuana." Total drug sales are greater than 100% due to the sale of multiple substances (N=240).
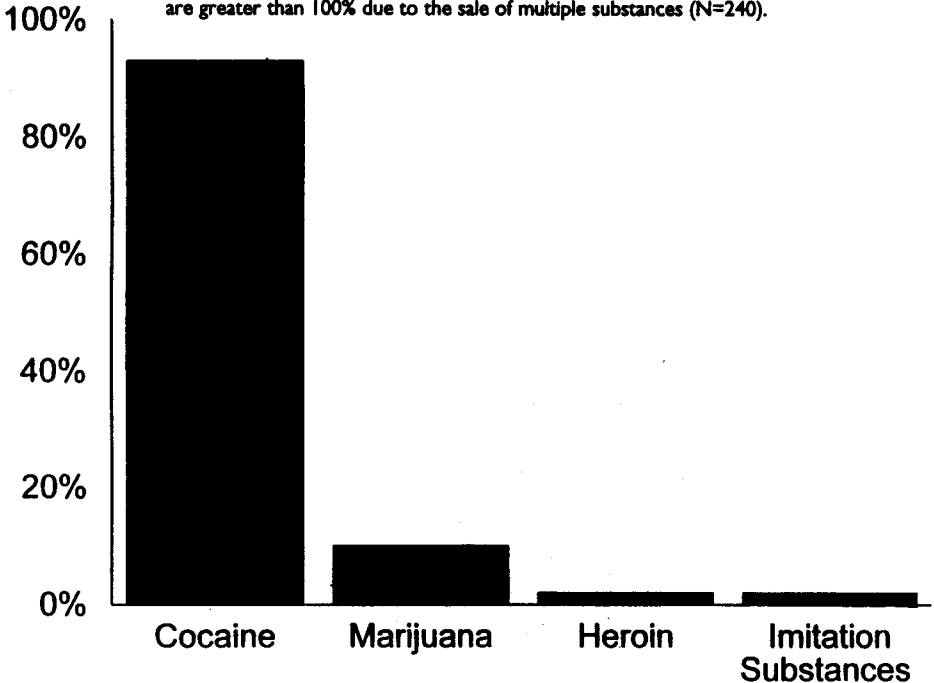
Statistics

The statistical approach was conservative as this study consisted of a retrospective chart review with substantial subjective and self-report data. The hypotheses being tested in the present study, therefore, pertained to the relationships and relative level of association between the variables and a designation of "juvenile drug trafficker." Correlational analyses were deemed most appropriate for the present study as there were no explicit experimental manipulations. In addition, the subjects were not randomly assigned to the various groups, thereby violating the assumption of independence of observations (Howell 1992). The incarcerated delinquent comparison group was compared directly to the drug traffickers on the different measures by serving as the "non-drug trafficker group" in each correlation.

RESULTS

A total of 268 juveniles were adjudicated for drug trafficking offenses during fiscal years 1993-1994. This represented 9 percent of the total commitments to the Commonwealth of Virginia's juvenile correctional centers for that period. The drug trafficker group was 96 percent African American and 98 percent male. Preliminary analysis of the entire data set for all offenders during fiscal years 1993 and 1994 (n=2916), with respect to the variables of interest (e.g., substance use, violence, aggressivity), indicated that females, non-African Americans and sex offenders were sufficiently different as to prohibit their inclusion in the drug traffickers group. Additional comparisons with these subjects were not possible because the sample sizes of these subgroups were also prohibitively small and frequently overlapped. Therefore, to increase the homogeneity of the sample, females, non-African Americans and sex offenders were excluded from the final analyses. Therefore, of the 268 juvenile offenders incarcerated for drug trafficking offenses during fiscal years 1993 and 1994, the records of 240 of these were included in the final analysis (90%).

There were 433 incarcerated juvenile offenders in the demographic comparison group. The comparison group was somewhat larger than the sample of juvenile drug traffickers as it included a larger range of offending,

Figure 2

Frequency distribution of lifetime drug use. These data include self-report information and urinalysis results. They also include reports of single use and are not intended to imply abuse or dependence. The total percentage is greater than 100% due to polydrug use; "other" includes PCP, inhalents and Valium (N=240).
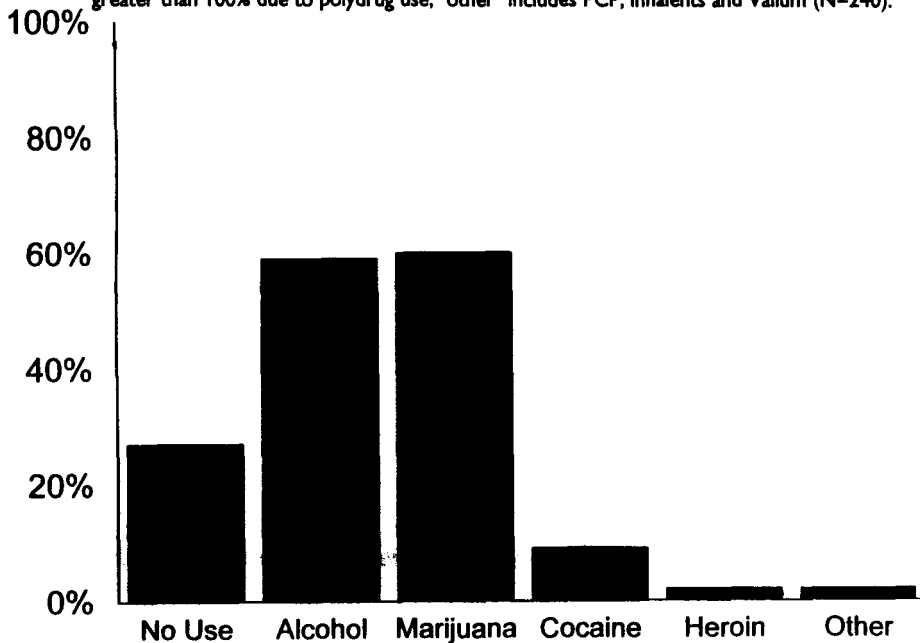
while drug selling offenses represent only 9 percent of the total commitments (n = 268 and 2916 for drug trafficking and total commitments, respectively).

Demographics

All of the subjects in the present study were African American males. The results indicated that the average age of the juvenile drug traffickers was 16 years (range = 12-18 years), and that 74 percent were in the 16-17 year-old cohort.

Substance Use

The drugs sold by the juvenile drug traffickers are illustrated in Figure 1. As can be observed, the overwhelming majority were committed for drug trafficking offenses involving the distribution of cocaine, both "crack" and powdered. It should be noted that 7 percent of the juvenile drug traffickers were convicted for the sale of more than one substance, hence the total percentage exceeds 100 percent.

Figure 2 depicts the reported substance use in the juvenile drug trafficker group. As can be seen, alcohol and marijuana were the most frequently-cited drugs, although there was evidence (self-report data and/or positive drug screen results) that several of the juveniles were using additional substances. It was interesting to note that commentary in the files pertaining to positive cocaine drug screen results frequently indicated that the juvenile denied use of the drug, falsely claiming that the test merely reflected the fact that the he had been handling cocaine recently.

Delinquency Assessment

Thirty-seven of the drug traffickers had been previously committed for drug trafficking offenses. Analysis of the "violence" composite variable suggested that the juvenile drug traffickers tended to have less violent offense histories than the demographic comparison group (r = .2364, p<.01). Only 7 percent of the drug traffickers were rated as "high-violent" while 21 percent of the demographic comparison group had "high-violent" offense histories. Additional information pertaining to violence, aggressivity and delinquency are presented in Table 1. The age of first adjudication was negatively correlated with the juvenile drug traffickers, suggesting that they were older at

Table 1: Nonparametric Correlations Between the Juvenile Drug Traffickers and the Demographic Comparison Group for Violence, Aggressivity, and Delinquency Measures*

Measure	Drug Traffickers: Demographic Comparison Group
Total Number of Offenses	-.2351
Age at First Adjudication	.1087
History of Possessing or Brandishing a Weapon	-.1317
History of Assault on Peers	-.1662
History of Assault on Authority Figures	-.1205
History of Unprovoked Assault on Others	-.1412
History of Assault Resulting in Injury	-.0982
History of Assault Using a Weapon or Object	-.1068
Poor Anger Control	-.1629
History of Verbal Aggression (in school)	-.1998
History of Physical Aggression (in school)	-.1565

N= 242 for the juvenile drug trafficker; N=433 for the demographic comparison group, respectively. Spearman's rho (p<.01, unless otherwise indicated).

*Not all measures are included.

Table 2: Nonparametric Correlations Between the Juvenile Drug Traffickers, and the Demographic and High-Violent Comparison Groups for Psychological Functioning Measures*

Measure	Drug Traffickers: Demographic Comparison Group
Affective Functioning	
Easily angered	-.1210
Poor impulse control	-.1501
Significantly depressed or anxious	-.1274
Effective affective control	.1519
Overall emotional/cognitive functioning	.2010
Documented and Self-Reported Self-Destructive Behavior	
History of self-destructive behavior	-.1736
Documented history of suicidal ideation	-.1629
Youth's report of suicidal gestures	-.1124
Documented history of suicidal gestures	-.1050

N=242 for the juvenile drug traffickers; N=433 for the demographic comparison groups. Spearman's rho (p<.01, unless otherwise indicated).

*Not all measures are included.

the time of their first adjudication. The total number of offenses also tended to be lower for the drug traffickers than for the comparison group. The drug traffickers presented with an average of 5.5 (SEM = 0.2) offenses, while the demographic comparison group presented with an average of 7.5 (SEM = 0.2) offenses. Analysis of the other measures of violence, or aggressive behavior (Table 1) suggested that the juvenile drug traffickers tended to be less violent and aggressive than the juvenile offenders in the comparison group.

·Psychological Assessment

Table 2 contains the correlations of note which pertain to the juvenile's rated level of psychological functioning. Examination of these measures indicated that the drug trafficker group tended to be less impulsive, had better self control and was less prone to aggressivity than the comparison group. It was also interesting to note that inclusion in the drug traffickers groups was also reliably correlated with a lower level of suicidal thoughts and behaviors; again suggestive of better psychological health.

In sum, the juvenile drug traffickers were correlated with a higher level of overall emotional and cognitive functioning; a composite assessment which also included indices reflecting generalized aggressivity and/or anger management. Specifically, 12 percent of the drug traffickers were rated as functioning at an adequate or minimally dysfunctional

Table 3: Nonparametric Correlations Between the Juvenile Drug Traffickers and the Demographic Comparison Group for Social Functioning Measures*

Measure	Drug Traffickers: Demographic Comparison Group
General	
Exploits others	-.1384
No empathy	NS
Social/interpersonal functioning	.1156
School adjustment	.1755
Social Functioning With Peers	
Provokes others	-.1188
Excitable	-.1540
Aggressive	-.1821
Conflict with classmates	-.1916
Mistrustful/guarded	-.1305
Socially appropriate	NS
Social Functioning With Adults	
Provokes Others	NS
Excitable	-.1427
Aggressive	-.1265
Conflict with school authorities	-.1094
Mistrustful/guarded	NS
Socially appropriate	NS
Family Relationships	
Current family	NS
Family of origin	.1258

N=242 for the juvenile drug traffickers; N=433 for the demographic comparison group. Spearman's rho (p<.01, unless otherwise indicated). NS, nonsignificant correlation.

*Not all measures are included.

emotional and cognitive level, while only 5 percent of the demographic group was judged as adequate or minimally dysfunctional. It should be noted, however, that a large percentage of the juvenile drug traffickers (22%) were rated as severely dysfunctional in this domain. Again, though, 40 percent of the comparison group was rated as severely dysfunctional by the staffing team.

Social History

Social functioning for the juvenile drug traffickers was generally rated higher (Table 3). For example, the drug traffickers were rated as being less likely to exploit others, and possessing better interpersonal skills than the comparison group. The family relationships and environment also tended to be slightly more positive for the drug traffickers (Table 3). The family relationships tended to be dysfunctional for both groups, however, with the current family being rated as somewhat better than the family of origin. The percentage of current families rated as severely dysfunctional for both groups were 22 and 28 percent for the drug traffickers and comparison group, respectively. The ratings of severe dysfunction for the family of origin were 43 and 56 percent for the drug traffickers and comparison group, respectively. Inclusion in the juvenile drug traffickers group was correlated with a higher level of functioning in the family of origin. The juvenile drug traffickers were less likely to have been physically victimized when compared to the demographic comparison group (r=-.1153, p<.05).

No measures of intellectual functioning or academic achievement were correlated with inclusion in the drug traffickers group, and nothing in the medical record correlated with inclusion in the drug traffickers group.

DISCUSSION

The goal of the present study was to describe and characterize incarcerated juvenile drug traffickers with regard to their substance use patterns, as well as several other measures pertaining to their social, psychological and intellectual functioning, academic achievement, level of delinquency and violence, and physical health. In general, where significant correlations existed, the juvenile drug traffickers were consistently rated as functioning at a higher level than the comparison group.

A large number of the drug traffickers in the present study (73%) indicated that they had used alcohol or other drugs at least once in their lifetime, however the data from the present study indicated that incarcerated juvenile drug traffickers tend not to use the substances that they are selling. Most of the juvenile drug traffickers reported using alcohol and marijuana, substance use characteristic of adolescents (Johnston, O'Malley, Bachman 1993). Though some juveniles admitted to the use of additional drugs, commentary in the file often indicated that use of drugs other than alcohol or marijuana reflected experimentation rather than regular or problematic use. This finding is consistent with the suggestion that successful drug traffickers tend to avoid substance abuse and dependence as it

interferes with ability to "conduct business" and diminishes their profit margin (Chaiken, Johnson 1988; Goldstein et al 1989).

Although it is possible that some of the juvenile offenders in the present study may have been selling drugs in an effort to supplement their personal use, economic incentives (Whitehead, Peterson, Kaljee 1994) or the status associated with drug dealing in some communities (Dembo et al 1990; Whitehead et al 1994) may have been the motivating influences for their involvement in drug selling. This may be especially true for inner-city African American males, similar to the present sample, who have limited access to economic and vocational resources (Whitehead et al 1994). The allure of the money, power and prestige associated with the drug-selling lifestyle may represent a significant impetus for this group to engage in drug-selling. This is not to preclude the possibility that these juveniles may not be at higher risk for future substance abuse and dependence. In fact it has been reported that as juvenile drug traffickers become more enmeshed in the drug selling lifestyle, their use concomitantly increases (Inciardi, Pottieger 1991). Although the data in the present study do not address the level of involvement in the drug and trafficking cultures, adolescents are generally involved in the lower levels of the drug distribution network; the so-called entry-level positions (Alt-schuler, Brounstein 1991).

Earlier reports in the literature indicate that adolescent drug selling is associated with violence (Chaiken, Johnson 1988; Inciardi, Pottieger 1991). We have found that the incarcerated juvenile drug traffickers in the present study, however, were correlated with a lower incidence of aggressivity, violence and delinquency when compared to other age-, race- and gender-matched incarcerated juvenile offenders from their community. These results are consistent with a recent study which indicates that violence is not significantly associated with drug selling (Lockwood, Inciardi 1993). It is important to note, however, that the juvenile drug traffickers with violent offense histories may have been selectively transferred for prosecution as adults rather than juveniles (Butts 1994; Poulos, Orchowsky 1994); the present data set would not address this potential confound. Moreover, because the committing offense does not necessarily reflect the total pattern of delinquency and offenders are not always arrested or prosecuted for all of the crimes that they commit, nonadjudicated drug trafficking and/or violent offenses perpetrated by the juvenile offenders in the present study would not have been included in the analysis. This could potentially result in two additional samples embedded within the groups: the so-called "hidden" drug traffickers and violent offenders. Alternatively, it has been suggested that in many cases drug-related violence is actually perpetrated by a paid "enforcer" or "shooter" (Goldstein et al 1989). Again, the available data do not address this possibility. Finally, it is also important to note that the drug traffickers were not without violence; 7 percent were classified as "high-violent" offenders, and many more of the juvenile drug sellers had histories of some violent offending in their record.

We had postulated that drug trafficking involved skills in the area of finance, cost/benefit analyses, and possibly even rudimentary pharmacology as the drugs are frequently cut in an effort to increase the profit margin while retaining or even maximizing potency. Educational data were analyzed to assess how juvenile drug traffickers performed in an academic setting, however the results indicated no significant correlation between the measure of intellectual functioning (WISC-III) and involvement in drug selling. It is important to note, though, that the subjects in the present study were adjudicated juvenile offenders committed to the Commonwealth of Virginia's juvenile correctional centers. Consequently, the sample may be comprised of the "unsuccessful" juvenile drug traffickers insofar as they had been caught. In addition, reports in the literature suggest that standardized tests of intellectual functioning and academic performance may be culturally-biased (Hartlage, Lucas, Godwin 1976; Mackler, Holman 1976; Smith, Hays, Solway 1977), possibly rendering this instrument invalid for use with ethnic minority populations. This would be an especially critical point as our sample was exclusively African American. Furthermore, many of the juveniles in the present study came from economically disadvantaged localities; another variable which has been linked to poor performance on standardized tests (Mackler, Holman 1976). Finally, no correlative relationships emerged from the medical history or data pertaining to juveniles' physical health. There was, however, a high prevalence of sexually transmitted diseases, and fathering of children for both groups; positive evidence of

unprotected sexual activity. In addition, an extremely high prevalence of firearm injuries (13%) was noted in both groups (McLaughlin, Reiner, Smith, Waite, Reams, Joost, Gervin 1996). These findings may be reflective of a generalized pattern of high risk behavior or thrill seeking often attributed to delinquent populations (Farrow 1991).

In summary, the incarcerated juvenile drug traffickers were found to differ from the incarcerated delinquent comparison group in several areas. They tended to be rated as higher functioning by the assessment team, and basically presented as being better adjusted in almost every area evaluated. The broader implications of the present study suggest that drug trafficking may differ fundamentally from the other types of criminal offending which characterized the comparison group. In communities with staggering unemployment rates and youth poverty, drug trafficking may be perceived as a viable "vocational" choice; the money, power and prestige associated with the drug trafficking lifestyle presenting significant incentives to juveniles with limited economic opportunities. The results from the present study also have implications for interventions within the correctional setting as offenders seeking to earn money may bring additional motivation and abilities to rehabilitation. It also suggests that these offenders have career expectations that exceed the menial skills frequently offered in the correctional setting, and, unfortunately, may have significant incentive to return to drug selling upon release from incarceration.

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CHRONICLE OF A GANG STD OUTBREAK FORETOLD

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ABSTRACT

An intense outbreak of sexually transmissible diseases occurred during 1990-1991 in the socio-sexual networks of street gangs associated with the crack cocaine trade in Colorado Springs, Colorado. Described are the social science tools - street ethnography and social network analysis - applied to understand and control epidemic spread.

"He who desires but acts not, breeds pestilence."—Blake

INTRODUCTION

The year started with a bang. Two connected cases of PPNG (penicillin-resistant gonorrhea) were diagnosed in our clinic on the first working day of 1990 - an event that proved pregnant with fate. For the ensuing fifteen months, we of the STD (sexually transmissible diseases) section of the health department in Colorado Springs (1990 SMA population: 397,104) were involved in recognizing and taming an intense outbreak of STD affecting groups new to us: street gangs.

Penicillinase-Producing Neisseria Gonorrhoeae (PPNG) were discovered in 1976. Until 1990, local PPNG cases (0.5% of all gonorrhea cases) were typically acquired elsewhere, with subsequent local transmission a rare event. By April 1990 evidence was accumulating that endogenous transmission of PPNG was occurring, along with other STD, in the socio-sexual networks of gangs associated with the crack-cocaine trade. What follows chronicles our efforts to control this outbreak. We first summarize our current understanding of the community form of STD and then describe the social science tools - street ethnography and social network analysis - we used to understand and control transmission in local street gangs. We conclude that the forging of a public health partnership between health workers and persons affiliated with street gangs is attainable; in this instance, joint collaboration contributed not only to outbreak control but also to prevention of long-term recurrence.

We are field ("shoe-leather") epidemiologists. Our section's traditional forte has been outreach to populations empirically assessed as being at high STD risk, such as street prostitutes (Potterat, Woodhouse, Muth, Muth 1990), men who have sex with men (Potterat, Woodhouse, Rothenberg, Muth,

Darrow, Muth, Reynolds 1993), servicemen (Woodhouse, Potterat, Muth, Pratts, Rothenberg, Fogle 1985) and injecting drug users (Woodhouse, Rothenberg, Potterat, Darrow, Muth, Klovdahl et al 1994). Such populations are monitored not to point public health fingers at them, but to shake hands with them. The efficient allocation of meager STD control resources depends on interrupting chains of transmission in groups associated with intense transmission. These groups are components of specific socio-sexual networks; it is these that account for the perpetuation of STD in society. Indeed, because networks, rather than individuals, are the true ecological niche for STD, we begin with an explanation of STD ecology. This relatively new paradigm reveals the silent assumptions that guide our STD intervention approaches.

THE COMMUNITY FORM OF STD

During the last two decades, a coherent theory of STD transmission has emerged (Potterat 1992). In brief, STD survive in society by finding networks of people whose sexual and health behaviors are such that microbes find sufficient opportunity for sustained transmission. Originally termed "core groups" (Yorke, Hethcote, Nold 1978), these ecological niches are probably more accurately described as "core networks" (Potterat, Muth 1996). Core networks, though small, can be shown to account for community STD perpetuation; they are also the ultimate fountainhead of society's non-core cases. The corollary is that if core transmitters could be kept from infection, STD could not be maintained in the community.

Core network members usually report early sexual debut, high-risk and high volume sexual practices, and partner homophily (like chooses like). They frequently fail to recognize symptoms, delay seeking medical attention, fail to notify partners, fail to comply with treatment recommendations and fail to use

barrier methods to minimize STD risk. Many lack an internal locus of control. These attributes are facilitating factors for STD perpetuation.

Core networks tend to occupy discreet social and spatial boundaries. This is because people who share common values tend to socialize and live together. This preference (homophily) leads to restricted sexual and drug partner selection, and to focal patterns of residence and sites of association, usually based on age, sexual behaviors, patterns of drug use and social class. Hence, when STD are introduced, they propagate within socially and spatially focused networks ('socio-geographic space', or 'risk space' for short). Restricted partner selection is what "bends" risk space into discrete social structures.

Whether an STD survives or not in a specific social network depends on its reproductive rate (May, Anderson 1987). A microbe has to infect at least one new host (in case the original host loses the microbe or dies) simply to maintain its genetic presence. Thus the STD equilibrium point is a mean replacement rate of 1. This view predicts that a rate less than unity threatens ecologic survival, while anything greater fuels epidemic spread. Mathematically, this idea is expressed as

$$R = B \times C \times D$$

where R is the Reproductive Rate, B (Beta, or weight) is the microbe's transmission efficiency, C is the rate of partner change (Contact), and D (Duration) is the period of host infectiousness. Core networks are structures that maintain STD reproductive rates > 1. Field epidemiologists strive to induce reproductive rates below unity by reducing parameter values. Encouraging safer sex and implementing case-finding (ascertaining and treating infected cases and their exposed partners) are two major methods.

THE SOCIAL NETWORK PARADIGM

The STD contact tracing (see below) and social network paradigms can be viewed as fraternal twins: both depend on connections to make sense. Although these twin disciplines were born at the same time (early 1930s) they were raised apart, the former in the field and the latter in academia. Conceptually, they developed in parallel but used different methods and jargon (Rothenberg, Narramore 1996).

Only since the mid-1980s have these twins been reunited (Klovdahl 1985).

A network consists of a set of 'nodes' (individuals or groups) that are connected by 'edges' (relationships). A personal network consists of a node with its connected edges and nodes, while the social network is an aggregate of personal networks. Connected network regions are 'components'. Network conformation and its properties, such as density, reachability, and prominence, can be defined mathematically (Wasserman, Faust 1994); personal-computer programs are available to assist with analyses (Borgatti, Everett, Freeman 1992). While useful, social network information is only one map. Qualitative information obtained from ethnographic observations refines the map detail, thereby providing a better view of the territory. As Rothenberg and Narramore point out:

The result is that these approaches - network ascertainment and ethnography - are complementary; together they have the potential to describe a social process, such as the transmission of disease, and to contribute to disease control and program evaluation. (1996)

In sum, we view social networks as the 'architecture' of infectious disease risk space. Just as physical space has structure, with gravity its chief architect, and just as its content (matter-energy) obeys the formula $E=mc^2$, so does risk space's structure (network conformation) influence disease propagation by obeying the formula $R= B \times C \times D$.

THE CONTACT TRACING PROCESS

Contact tracing is the practice of seeking persons exposed to serious STD; its objectives are to interrupt chains of transmission, to prevent disease complications, and to encourage safer practices (Potterat, Meheus, Gallwey 1991). It consists of the extraordinary act of asking infected persons the most intimate secrets of their lives: with whom they have sex, in what ways, and how often, and of confidentially notifying exposed partners. Health workers don't reveal the identity of informants.

If a special STD is spreading rapidly in a population, infected clients are usually asked to reveal the identity not only of their partners (contacts) but also of their partners' other partners (clusters). So-called 'cluster interviewing' not only permits more immediate access to second generation partners but, like

purposive snowball sampling, provides cues about the larger milieu (i.e., social network) in which STD is currently spreading.

OUTBREAK FORETOLD AND ACTUALIZED

Although public health authorities had issued warnings about crack cocaine use and its potential to fuel STD outbreaks - because crack appeared to "stimulate pathological levels of sexual activity"(Kerr 1989) - we were unaware that a crack subculture or its distribution system (street gangs) existed locally. By April of 1990, as a result of information obtained during STD cluster interviewing, both the presence of local gangs and of rapid STD transmission within their social networks, became evident. By the end of the outbreak in the spring of 1991, our health workers had identified more than 400 gang-associated persons, of whom 300 were medically assessed, yielding 390 STD diagnoses (for an astonishing rate of 130,000 STD cases per 100,000 population, probably the highest attack-rate ever reported)(Bethea, Muth, Potterat, Woodhouse, Muth, Spencer et al 1993).

It was one of us (RPB) who initially recognized the outbreak. Cluster interviewing and ethnographic information revealed that not only were local PPNG cases connected but that, importantly, many other STD cases (principally non-resistant gonorrhea and chlamydia) seemed to be simultaneously occurring in the same social circles. Because identifying information on contacts and clusters was often marginal, consisting of nicknames and gang hangouts, street ethnography became a central feature of our control efforts. Street ethnography consists of two parts: 'See and Be Seen'. The 'See' part occasions observations that lead to asking the right questions; the 'Be Seen' part builds trust. Although four of us performed the STD interviews and contact tracing, RPB was the principal street presence. His prior public health experience (1989, in Denver) with street gangs gave him the confidence, the vocabulary and, above all, the interest to work with our local gangs.

During the late 1980s, local gangs had staked out several places for social aggregation - specific movie theaters, hamburger stands, shopping malls, bars, public parks and apartments (for sex and to deal drugs). Because RPB, a 30-year old long-haired white male, looked like an undercover policeman, safe entry into these socio-geographic spaces

had to be mediated by gang-associated STD clients. Although gang-associated men facilitated entry, it was their women who initially supplied the most important information to identify the five different gangs and their sets; their members and respective hierarchical standing; and their sexual and business dealings. It is RPB's view that STD infection in gang-affiliated women amplified pre-existing anger these women felt vis-à-vis their male partners. Talking with RPB was one way to get back at their men for infecting them. (STD patient psychology is predictable: patients seldom think of people they might have infected; they usually angrily focus on those whom they perceive to have infected them.)

IN THE CLINIC: 'Name Dropping'

Initially armed with a partial script (gang structure and activities) and with identifying information on some actors, RPB was able to probe new STD clinic clients about gang association. Querying those who had characteristics suggestive of gang association - such as age, ethnicity, mode of dress, or presence of electronic beeper - was important in ascertaining network membership. Willingness to reveal such association was greatly facilitated by the interviewer's non-pejorative mention of gang names, gang leaders, or gang activities at opportune moments during the interview. Few gang-associated clients were voluble; although they commonly responded to our invasive questions, few volunteered information without prompting. Especially important were the moments after formal interview (when the interviewer's paper and pencil were put away) and the conversation turned casual (e.g., "Oh, by the way, what's happening with Ratso?").

Gang clients were seldom intimidated by the possibility of acquiring HIV infection by their sexual adventurism. Not until six months after the outbreak's end did HIV susceptibility become more real (because of Magic Johnson's revelation in the late Fall of 1991). In their minds, HIV risk was connected to homosexuals and injecting drug users - two groups for whom most gang kids had undisguised contempt. It was only RPB's relentless pressure that led many to acceptance of HIV counseling and testing. What they feared was PPNG. The idea of a monstrous strain of gonorrhea sufficed to scare many into periodic examination at our clinic.

In the STD Clinic, gang associates were

treated as VIP, personally attended by RPB, and afforded speedier service than non-gang clients. They were especially targeted for free condom demonstration and distribution. The clinic's receptive atmosphere promoted much goodwill in gang networks. Word of mouth referral in gang circles was a common event.

IN THE FIELD: 'Watch Your Norms'

STD workers are trained to take notes unobtrusively in the field. Even someone perceived as non-threatening, such as a health department STD worker, may be viewed with suspicion if notes are taken publicly. Notes were generally recorded immediately after completion of the field visit and away from gang spaces. Occasionally, gang-associated cars would tail RPB's car, presumably to assess RPB's destination as friendly or hostile. Once, during the initial period of street ethnography, a gang leader purposely invited RPB into an apartment loaded with dangerous material ("a mountain of cocaine, an arsenal of weapons, and explosives") presumably to test his avowed neutrality.

Since socio-sexual networks are the fundamental structures sustaining STD transmission we view them, rather than individuals, as fundamental units of intervention. And because network norms are predictive of behavior, we focused on influencing control and prevention outcomes by influencing norms. Assuming that gang leaders and opinion leaders were synonyms, RPB made special efforts to enlist the aid of top gang leaders (of whom there were about a dozen). Because such leaders can track down virtually any network member and, importantly, because they had the time, they proved invaluable in helping us locate clients with fluid domiciles.

The norms we were most interested in influencing were those that could induce the network's STD reproductive rate to levels below unity. We hypothesized that either a quantum reduction in the rate of sexual partner acquisition (Dan 1986) or even a modest level of condom use (Klovdahl, Potterat, Woodhouse, Muth, Muth, Darrow 1992; Potterat 1993) could help metamorphosize STD transmission from sustained to sporadic. Although it appeared to RPB that the intensity of sexual activity diminished during the course of the outbreak, surrogate markers (numbers of contacts named over time) do not support this impression. And although anecdotal information obtained from men during the outbreak

suggested increased condom use over time, these reports were not often confirmed by the women. Because control of both focal and community-wide STD outbreaks have been associated with vigorous contact tracing (Potterat et al 1991), we suspect that such efforts account for much of the outbreak's abatement. Both the duration of infectiousness (D) and contact rate (C) parameters are strongly influenced by successful contact tracing (Rothenberg, Potterat 1987).

SOCIAL NETWORK ANALYSIS

We used the tools of social network analysis to retrospectively detect unapparent sexual connections, to examine network regions ('components') of intense transmission, and to identify central actors. All Program STD contact interview records (not simply those perceived to be outbreak connected) for the outbreak period were manually reviewed for evidence of gang association in the client or their named contacts or clusters. Eligibles were uniquely identified to prevent multiple counting; their sexual connections were examined using GRADAP and SAS routines.

The final data set comprised 410 (218 men, 192 women) sexually connected persons. Mean age for men was 21.5; seven-eighths were black; and 35.6 percent had known gang affiliations. The women were ethnically diverse (53% black, 31% white, 14% Hispanic) with a mean age of 19.7, and 40.6 percent had known gang affiliations (Potterat, Bethea, Muth, Woodhouse, Muth 1992). Of the 248 who ever received an STD diagnosis, 200 were interviewed, naming 558 contacts and 571 clusters (X= 5.6 names per client). This core network of 410 persons, representing 0.1 percent of our SMA's 18-44 year olds, accounted for a disproportionate 22 percent of all reported gonorrhea cases locally during the period of observation. As predicted (Rothenberg 1983), community STD case distribution was strongly focal geographically and exhibited a fractal pattern (Potterat 1992; Zenilman, Bonner, Sharp, Rabb, Alexander 1988). Nearly half (43%) of the 300 persons examined consented to HIV testing; one, a 31 year old white injecting drug user, was HIV-infected (Potterat et al 1992).

Analysis of the structure of sexual connections (Stepwise Graph Reduction) revealed that 107 persons were located within network regions forming a dense (cyclic) scaffold and that 303 persons were in linear (non-cyclic or

branched) regions. The 107 were much more likely than the 303 to be gang-affiliated (72.6% vs. 26%; p<0.001); to be very young (X=19.4 years vs. 21.1; p=0.002); to be STD infected (X= 90% vs. 80%; p=0.03); and to name more sexual partners (X=3.9 vs 1.9; p<0.001) (Potterat et al 1992. (The latter datum served as empirical support for the hypothesis that a strong motivation for young males to join gangs is enhanced sexual access to females [Palmer, Tilley 1995]).

Social network analyses confirmed our impression that the outbreak was driven by gang members; they provided strong support for the STD core networks paradigm (Yorke et al 1978); and they served to validate ethnographic impressions. For example, RPB was shown a list of the 107 cyclically connected persons and asked to select the 10 he would consider as most important to reach; there was 70 percent concordance between RPB's and the computer's picks (based on Freeman's 'Betweenness' measure of network prominence [Wasserman, Faust 1994]).

AFTERMATH AND SUMMARY

The gang-associated outbreak was principally concentrated during the 16 months separating December 1989 and March 1991. After a two month hiatus, a short-lived and much less intense resurgence occurred, lasting from July through October 1991. Knowledge gleaned from field experience and social network analysis helped us intervene quickly and put out the renascent fire. Mini-outbreaks have episodically occurred since and have been quickly addressed to prevent STD entrenchment in these core networks. Eternal vigilance comes with our territory.

Of all the epidemiologically important groups with which we've dealt during the last quarter century, none seemed as potentially dangerous as the crack cocaine-associated street gangs we describe. Although RPB recalls only one scary instance during field work (a 14 year-old 'wannabe' pulled a gun on him; RPB defused the situation by admiring the gun!), we wish to urge caution. As this anecdote suggests, sang froid may be the crucial attribute of a street-gang ethnographer; gangsters easily sense and exploit fear. It is also our impression that women ethnographers would be at special risk owing to their gender.

And yet our experience was overwhelmingly positive. As Centers For Disease Control and Prevention sociologist WW Darrow memorably remarked: "Gang members may be alienated, but they're not aliens". The remarkable degree of trust and cooperation we enjoyed is emphasized by the extraordinarily high number of contacts and clusters they identified and helped refer to medical attention. It would be foolish to underestimate such clients' willingness, if properly approached, to collaborate in STD control endeavors.

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READINESS FOR TREATMENT:
PREDICTORS OF DRUG ABUSE HELP-SEEKING IN MEXICAN AMERICAN, AFRICAN AMERICAN AND WHITE SAN ANTONIO ARRESTEES

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ABSTRACT

This research explores the relationship between sociodemographic characteristics, drug use, drug related activities, high risk behavior and feelings of substance dependency with readiness for treatment among Mexican American, African American and white arrestees. The sample (N=688) was drawn from the Drug Use Forecasting (DUF) arrestees in San Antonio, Texas who tested positive for heroin or cocaine and admitted using these drugs sometime in their life.

Analysis based on a series of step-wise forward regressions identified the most significant predictors and odds ratios for wanting treatment for each ethnic group. The results indicate that each ethnic group presented a distinct pattern predicting help-seeking behavior ranging from a highly complicated one for Mexican Americans to a less complicated model for African Americans. The strongest predictors for Mexican Americans are feelings dependent on heroin and on marijuana (more than doubling the odds). Being divorced, injecting cocaine and feeling dependent on alcohol and having illegal income and spending $200 or more on drugs a week also increased the odds of seeking treatment. For African Americans using heroin everyday tripled the odds, while money spent on drugs and not having full-time employment were also strong predictors of readiness for treatment. For whites feeling dependent on alcohol tripled the odds of help seeking, while using heroin every day, injecting cocaine and money spent on drugs doubled the odds of readiness for treatment. The implications are that a more creative attention to the specific complexes of sociological and social psychological variables associated with ethnic groups would lead to progress both in scientific theory construction and the planning of prevention interventions in these groups.

INTRODUCTION

In the field of drug abuse treatment, the determinants for seeking help are far less clear than in other areas of medical sociology. The defining of symptoms related to drug abuse is also less clear (Padgett, Struening, Andrews 1990). Illness behavior occurs when a person defines a problem needing medical attention and seeks care for that problem (Mechanic 1978). It is generally recognized in medical sociology theory that there are multiple determinants for illness behavior ranging from perception and recognition of symptoms (Mechanic 1980; Zola 1973), the extent of disruption in family and work life (Kessler, Price, Wortman 1985; Pearlin 1983), to the availability of treatment resources (McKinlay 1974). While a few studies exist about drug use and help-seeking, these studies explore youth who use drugs and who they would talk to and seek help from (Mata, Castillo 1986). These studies generally address student's communication channels and sources for help-seeking (Mata, Andrew, Rouse 1993; Mata, Magana 1995; Windle, Miller-Tutzauer, Barnes, Welte 1991). While they explore patterns of drug-use among youth, they do not focus on youths' acutal drug abuse help-seeking efforts.

Hartnoll (1992) in his review of help-seeking behavior in the field of drug abuse maintains that help-seeking is both cognitive and behavioral. Some of the behavioral factors distinguishing non-help seekers from help-seekers indicates that non-help seekers spent a lower proportion of their income on drugs, tended to work, either legally or through drug dealing (compared to Social Security Insurance or petty theft) and experienced less dissonance with peers or partners (Hartnoll, Power 1989). This study, conducted in London, concludes that it was not the extent of drug use itself that determined who sought treatment, but rather the consequences of the drug use. In other words, those reporting similar drug use, but not seeking treatment were able to better "control" the negative consequences.

In the London study, drug users seeking treatment also report difficulties in other areas of their lives including financial and legal problems (Hartnoll, Power 1989). These findings have been supported and extended by research in the United States. Rounsaville and Kleber's (1985) psychiatric study of the differences between treated and untreated opiate addicts concludes that addicts not seeking treatment are no less severely drug dependent then their matched treatment seekers. They do, however, have a more adequate level of social functioning and fewer drug-related social problems. Studies of injecting drug users

have shown across a variety of sites that IDUs not in treatment, compared to those in treatment, are younger, have less education and are more likely to be unemployed (Alcabes, Vlahov, Anthony 1992; Chitwood, McCoy 1990; McCusker, Koblin, Lewis, Sullivan 1990). To the contrary, O'Donnell, Voss, Clayton, Slatin and Room (1976) found that those not being treated for heroin showed less impairment.

Most studies comparing drug abusers who seek treatment with those who do not tend to be restricted to largely objective 'factors (Timms, Timms 1977). They involve research designs that retrospectively look at persons already in treatment and compare them to a matched sample of out-of-treatment persons (McLellan, Luborsky, Woody, O'Brian, Druley 1983). Previous research tends to ignore the prospective, dynamic process that constitutes treatment-seeking behavior.

Prochaska, DiClementi and Norcross (1992) have developed a theory of stages of behavioral change for health problems. If follows a person who moves from a phase of denial of a problem, to taking a decision to change, to actually taking action to change, that is, to seek treatment. Their research emphasizes that help-seeking is not simply a response to an objective situation, but rather involves mediating, cognitive, decision-making and denial factors.

In terms of treatment seeking and tenure (length in treatment), DeLeon and Jainchill (1986) argue that the essential differences to be studied are not *who* the clients in treatment are, but *how* they perceive themselves, their circumstances and their life options at the time of treatment involvement." They distinguish four factors that define how the person will perceive treatment options: 1) circumstances (extrinsic pressures), 2) motivation (intrinsic pressures), 3) readiness and 4) suitability. Much attention has been given to the role of pressure in treatment seeking with research, for example, on compulsory treatment. There is also a growing literature on suitability; the issue of matching a client to the appropriate service available. Far less attention has been placed on the factor of readiness for treatment. DeLeon and Jainchill (1986) define "treatment readiness" as "the individual's perceived need for any treatment to assist in personal change, compared with alternative options."

In this paper, the readiness for treatment problem is addressed by attempting to identify the predictors that are related to the perceived need for treatment in a sample of arrestees. The guiding hypothesis for this study is that the subjective factor will be influenced by differences in the social position and culture represented by ethnic group membership. This hypothesis has received support from studies of the Drug Use Forecasting (DUF) program in Los Angeles where controlling for gender, age and heroin use, Hispanics were significantly less likely than whites to perceive a need for treatment (Longshore, Hsieh, Anglin 1993). The study concludes that the success of treatment strategies probably depend on how issues of denial versus competence are handled. This hypothesis is also congruent with Hartnoll's (1992) reference that in future research new priorities focus on ethnic minority drug abusers' help-seeking behaviors. He specifically saw a need to explore differences among these ethnic minority groups "in terms of their different needs...and the prevalence of drug use and risk behaviors among those groups" (Hartnoll 1992). The study reported in this paper directly contributes to this research priority.

METHODOLOGY

Data for the analysis were obtained from the Drug Use Forecasting (DUF) program, a national monitoring system developed by the Department of Justice. The DUF program administers urine tests and interviews of adult arrestees in local jails on a quarterly basis in twenty-three large and small U.S. cities. The purpose of the DUF program is to provide each city with estimates of drug use among arrestees and information for detecting changes in drug use trends. The DUF interview focuses on drug use and criminal history, demographic background, and other variables (U.S. Department of Justice 1990; Wish, Gropper 1990). The validity of drug test data of arrestees has been demonstrated in numerous studies (Balenko, Fagan, Chin 1991; Goldkamp, Gottfredson, Weiland 1990; Smith, Ploesnber 1992). The limitations of the DUF methodology have also been recognized and include problems of nonrepresentative of the criminal population and data adequacy and completeness (Goldstein, Henry, Brownstein, Patrick 1992).

Procedures

Enrollment in the DUF sample occurs during booking when arrestees are approached about participating in the study. Data are collected in central booking stations in the 23

Table 1: Characteristics of Drug Related Variables for Mexican Americans, African Americans and Whites

Drug Related Variable	Category	African Americans (n=94)	Mexican Americans (n=432)	Whites (n=162)	P
Drug Related Activities					
illegal income	yes	23	23	27	.520
	no	77	77	73	
charged with felony	yes	36	35	35	.960
	no	64	65	65	
charged theft/larceny	yes	52	35	40	.010
	no	48	65	60	
money spent on drugs	more than $200	27	33	39	.120
	$200 or less	73	67	61	
High Risk Behavior					
method of cocaine use	prefer inject	20	48	54	.000
	prefer other methods	80	52	46	
share needles	yes	7	22	19	.004
	no/do not use	93	78	81	
number drugs tested positive	one drug	51	65	72	.003
	two or more	49	35	28	
sex partners last year	3 or less	80	80	76	.600
	4 or more	20	20	24	
Drug Use Last Month					
use of tobacoo	every day	75	63	83	.000
	less than every day	25	37	37	
use of alcohol	10 times or more	43	34	39	.200
	9 times or less	57	66	61	
use of marijuana	10 or more times	22	20	20	.840
	9 times or less	78	80	80	
use of cocaine	10 or more times	14	26	28	.030
	9 or less times	86	74	72	
use of heroin	every day	15	32	23	.000
	less than every day	85	68	77	

cities for approximately 7 days each quarter. Local staff obtain voluntary and anonymous urine specimens and interviews from the arrestees. In each site approximately 225 males and 100 females are sampled. DUF samples are also controlled so as to limit the number of persons charged with petty offenses or other drug offenses. Persons charged with traffic offenses or vagrancy are excluded. Where there is a choice of arrestees, persons are selected by arrest charge in the following order: nondrug felony, nondrug misdemeanor, drug felony, and drug misdemeanor. Because of their small numbers in most jurisdictions, all female arrestees are approached, regardless of charge. In practice, most persons in the DUF samples are charged with nondrug felony offenses.

The response rate in DUF samples is high with over 90 percent of those arrestees approached agreeing to be interviewed and over 80 percent of these providing urine samples. Urine specimens are analyzed for 10 drugs: cocaine, opiates, marijuana, PCP, methadone, benzodiazepines (Valium), methaqualone, propoxyphene (Darvon), barbiturates and amphetamines. The urine test can detect use of most drugs up to 3 days before testing, and marijuana and PCP use can be detected up to several weeks before testing.

Sample

This study sample consists of those DUF arrestees in San Antonio, Texas during 1992, 1993 and 1994 who tested positive for cocaine or heroin and admitted to having used

these drugs sometime in their life.' Of these 715 arrestees, 688 had complete data. Sixty-four percent of them are Mexican American, 20 percent white, and 14 percent African American. The sample is relatively young and uneducated with the average age of 30 years old and median educational level of 10 years. Only 40 percent were employed full-time, with a median income of $400 a month, while 45 percent were single. A little over half of the sample (53%) stated that they wanted treatment.

The demographic profiles of the population varied by ethnic group. The white population has the highest income (60% above the median), the highest percentage of full-time employment (40%), the highest percentage divorced (47%) with about an average education level (58% above 10 years) and a slightly higher percentage of persons over 30 years of age (59%). The African American sample had the highest educational attainment (83% percent over 10 years of education), compounded by the lowest full-time employment (25%), the lowest legal income (45% below the median), the highest percent single (43%) and the highest percent above age 30 (68%). The Mexican American sample was more similar to the African Americans in the percent employed full-time (29%), but had the highest percent married (31%), were the youngest (58% percent below age 30), and the lowest education (61% below the group median of 10 years).

A higher percentage of African Americans (52%) were charged with theft or larceny than whites (40%) or Mexican Americans (35%) (Table 1). There were significant differences in the high risk behavior by ethnic group. African Americans reported a much lower percentage preferring injecting cocaine (20%) than Mexican Americans (48%) or whites (54%). A lower percentage of African Americans also reported sharing needles (7%) than the other two ethnic groups (around 20%). However African American had a higher percentage testing positive for two or more drugs (49%) compared to Mexican Americans (35%) and whites (28%).

The patterns of drug use in the past 30 days for Mexican Americans, African Americans and whites varied significantly for tobacco, cocaine and heroin. Mexican Americans had the lowest percentage using tobacco every day (63%) compared to African Americans (75%) and whites (83%), but had the highest percentage using heroin everyday (32%) compared to whites (23%) and African Americans (15%). Cocaine use also varied by

ethnic group with the higher percentages reported by whites (28%) and Mexican Americans (26%) compared to African Americans (14%). The ethnic variations on drug dependence followed drug use patterns. A lower percentage of Mexican Americans felt dependent on tobacco (42%) compared to African Americans (55%) or whites (67%). However, a higher percentage of Mexican Americans felt dependent on heroin (36%) compared to whites (28%) or African Americans (18%). A very low percentage of African Americans (3%) reported feeling dependent on cocaine, while between 17-20 percent of Mexican Americans and whites reported feeling dependent on this drug.

Measures

The predictor variables in this study are grouped into five broad classes: demographic variables, drug related activities, high risk behavior, use of drug in last month and dependence on drugs. The continuous demographic variables were collapsed into two categories based on the sample median. The median age was 30 years of age, the education median was at 10 years of schooling, while the median income was $400 a month. "Employment" was collapsed into 'employed full-time' and 'not employed full-time,' while marital status was grouped into 'single,' 'married' and 'divorced or separated.'

The drug related behaviors include "illegal income," "charged with a felony," "charged with theft or larceny" and "amount of money spent of drugs." The illegal income variable was recoded into either 'reported illegal income' or 'no reported illegal income,' while the money spent on drugs was split along the median (of those reporting spending money on drugs) of $200 per week.

"Use of drugs in last 30 days" was based on arrestees' responses to "how many days they had used a particular substance in the last 30 days." The responses for each of the five substances (tobacco, alcohol, marijuana, cocaine and heroin) were separated based on the median of those having used the substance within the last 30 days. For cocaine the median was using six times in the last month, while for alcohol and cocaine the median was using ten days out of the last 30 days. The use of tobacco and heroin was much higher and therefore these variables were grouped by daily use and less that daily use.

The items considered related to high risk

Table 2: Logistic Regresion Adjusted Odds Ratios (AOR) for Readiness for Treatment by Selected Demographic, Drug-Related Activities, High Risk Behavior, Drug Use, Drug Dependency Categories by Ethnic Group

Predictor	Predictor Category	Adjusted Odds Ratio		
		African American (n=87)	Mexican American (n=403)	White (n=162)
Demographic				
employment	not full-time	1.86*	ns	--
marital status	divorced	--	1.84**	--
Drug Related Activities				
illegal income	yes	ns	1.59*	2.01*
money spent on drugs	$200 or more a week	2.02*	1.42*	--
High Risk Behavior				
injecting cocaine	yes	--	1.71***	2.23***
Drug Use				
use of heroin	everyday	3.04*	--	2.23*
Drug Dependency				
on alcohol	yes	--	1.66*	3.13**
on marijuana	yes	--	2.16**	--
on heroin	yes	--	2.29***	ns

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001; ns - non-significant; -- - not included in final analyses

behavior include "preferred method of cocaine use" either 'injecting' or 'other preferred methods,' "number of sexual partners in last 12 months" dichotomized into either '3 or less partners' and '4 or more partners,' "the number of drugs tested positive" 'one' or 'two or more,' and "sharing of needles," 'shared needles' or 'did not share needles.'

If the arrestees admitted to using a particular substance, they were asked if they felt dependent on the substance. For tobacco, alcohol, marijuana, cocaine, or heroin the variables were coded as either 'felt dependent' or 'did not feel dependent or did not use the substance.'

The "readiness of treatment" variable was based on arrestees' response to the question: "*Do you feel that you could use treatment for drug or alcohol use?*" The responses on the questionnaire were coded as "1=no," "2=yes, drug only," "3=yes, alcohol only," "4=yes, drug and alcohol." Categories 2 and 4 were combined to indicate readiness for treatment. Those that responded "yes, alcohol only" were not included in the analysis (n=29). The resulting variable represents a dichotomous response of either: "1=want treatment" or "0=does not want treatment."

Statistical Analysis

The dependent variable in the analysis was the readiness for treatment. A forward step-wise logistic regression analysis was first conducted to screen the relationships between the readiness for treatment and each set of the five classes of treatment seeking variables separately across three ethnic groups (SPSS 1986). Those variables that were significantly related to readiness for treatment from the screening analysis were then entered into a final forward step-wise logistic regression to determine the adjusted odds ratios (AOR) for wanting treatment for each ethnic group. Listwise deletion of cases was applied to the missing data.

RESULTS

Table 2 presents the results of the logistic regressions on readiness for treatment for Mexican Americans, African Americans and whites. The predictors for readiness for Mexican Americans showed the most complex pattern. The strongest predictors for this group are "feeling dependent on heroin" (AOR=2.29, p<.001) and "feeling dependent on marijuana" (AOR=2.16, p<.01), increasing the odds by more than two times. "Being divorced" (AOR=1.83, p<.01), "injecting cocaine" (AOR=1.71, p<.001), "feeling dependent on alcohol" (AOR=1.66, p<.05), "reporting illegal income" (AOR=1.59, p<.05) and "spending $200 or more a week on drugs" (AOR=1.42, p<.05) also increased the odds of readiness of treatment for this ethnic group.

For whites the strongest predictor for readiness was "feeling dependent on alcohol" (AOR=3.13, p<.01). Interestingly, the AOR of 3.13 was the highest found in this study and was not related to drug abuse per se, but to alcohol dependency. Feeling dependent on alcohol by whites increases the odds by more then three times of treatment readiness. "Injecting cocaine" (AOR=2.23, p<.001), "daily use of heroin" (AOR=2.23, p<.05) and "reporting illegal income" (AOR=2.01, p<.05) were also significant predictors that more than doubled the odds for treatment readiness.

The strongest predictor for wanting treatment for African Americans was using heroin every day (AOR=3.04, p<.05). The AOR of 3.04 was the second highest for all groups. Spending more than $200 a week on drugs (AOR=2.02, p<.05) and not having full-time employment (AOR=1.86, p<.05) also increased the odds for being ready for treatment for this group.

Discussion

The results of the logistic regression analysis indicate that there is a great heterogeneity in the patterns of predictor variables for readiness for treatment defined by ethnic group. There was no single predictor variable in our model that was robust across all ethnic groups. Each ethnic group presented a distinct pattern predicting help-seeking behavior ranging from a relatively simple model for African Americans to a highly complex one for Mexican Americans. While this sort of finding is generally known in the medical sociology literature on illness behavior, it is largely absent from studies on help-seeking in the drug abuse field (National Center for Health Statistics 1984). While most of the published studies have collected these data, they have not adopted a specific analytic strategy that would reveal these sorts of difference. The tendency is to search for primarily psychological or medical predictors and therefore not sufficiently control for ethnic variations. Often, the samples did not allow for cross ethnic comparison as was possible in this analysis. Furthermore, many studies compare treatment samples with community samples collected with different strategies. These methodological differences in comparability of samples may especially bias the statistical results concerning ethnicity. Ethnic groups in general and the Mexican American group in particular have been recognized of being "hidden

populations" from treatment services. The use of the DUF data (notwithstanding its own methodological limitations) provides a fresh and new source of data that avoids some of the sampling problems associated with clinical and community survey samples.

The specific complexity of the pattern of predictors for readiness for treatment for the Mexican American arrestees may help reinforce other research noting Mexican American low rates of help-seeking (Anderson, Lewis, Giachello, Aday, Chiu 1981; Roberts, Lee 1980). Yet it is not clear whether this research represents a special case related to drug abuse or a variant of mental health or physical help-seeking behavior (Barrera, Reese 1993).

For a Mexican American drug abuser to be ready for treatment a number of factors must all come together. Logically, the more factors that it takes, the greater the likelihood that the population will not seek help. The specific impact of divorce on treatment readiness for Mexican Americans and not the other ethnic groups may be reflective of the high importance that the family plays for Mexican Americans. Overall, the results of this study indicate that the Mexican American who seeks treatment will more likely be divorced, would be involved with illegal income, be spending more than $200 a week on drugs, inject cocaine and be dependent on heroin, marijuana and alcohol.

In contrast, the African Americans present a less complicated pattern; they are more likely to be using heroin everyday, spending $200 or more per week on drugs and not be employed full-time. This pattern fits the classic study results of Rounsaville and Kleber (1985) who found that a substantial barrier for seeking treatment was good current social functioning. This finding held for both whites and nonwhites (almost entirely African American).

For the African Americans in San Antonio, using heroin everyday and spending a lot of money on drugs for a week and not being employed full-time are evidence of disruptions of their social functioning. The social context of African Americans also helps in explaining this pattern. Demographically, the African Americans in the sample have relatively higher education, while at the same time having higher rates of unemployment and being older. This specific complex of variables, rare in comparison to other U.S. cities, helps to explain why being unemployed can have such a strong influence on wanting treatment for African

Americans, in comparison to the Mexican Americans and whites.

The white arrestees showed an intermediary pattern compared to the African and Mexican Americans. Compared to the other two groups, employment and social adjustment did not seem to play a role in treatment seeking behavior. By far the strongest predictor for treatment seeking was feelings of dependence on alcohol. This together with using heroin everyday, injecting cocaine and highly involved in illegal income (two times greater odds) predicted readiness for treatment in this group. Treatment-seeking for this group seems strongly associated to a high risk criminal lifestyle that is built upon heroin and upon alcohol. In an earlier published study using the DUF data in San Antonio, Valdez, Kaplan, Curtis, and Yin (1995) identified a strong asso-ciation of alcohol use with aggressive crime. The authors partially explained this finding in terms of a specific alcohol subculture they referred to as "belligerent drinking." This subculture supports drinking as a normative response to stress in life. It includes a fondness for country and western music and a proclivity for aggressive (both suicidal and homicidal) behavior (Chalfant, Beckley 1977; Stack, Gundlach 1992). San Antonio provides a context where this subculture is widely present for whites while at the same time presenting a large privately financed treatment system that is utilized primarily by white population which represents less then half of the city's population. This specific context would also help to explain why alcohol associated with high risk drug behavior and daily drug use can come together to form a pattern of "social suicide" that would prepare a member of this group for seeking services that are rather easily available to those individuals that can afford a fee-for-service arrangement.

The ethnic groups included in this study reflect different social positions in the society with whites being the most privileged (income, employment), African American being the most excluded (blocked opportunity, higher education, lower income and employment) and Mexican Americans having the most hindered social capital (lowered education, lower income, but average employment). Future research on treatment-seeking should not only focus upon psychological variables, but upon the interactions between the social demographics that indicate the social position of drug abusers as citizens within society. This research should also include how cultural variations in illness behavior and treatment seeking vary by different ethnic groups.

In this study the social demographics played a significant role for the Mexican Americans and African Americans. Unemployment for African Americans and the situation of divorce for the Mexican American drug abusers in the city seem to have a strong effect on loosening the balance of social adjustment for those heroin users. This is not the case for whites. These findings suggest that planning and programming efforts need to attend to these influences as they design and implement substance abuse treatment and social services. As one moves to outreach, education and related intervention efforts, these targeted efforts must take into account factors that reinforce a client's readiness for treatment. Specific interventions targeting Mexican Americans need to consider the importance and significance of marital status and/or sexual partner. For whites, intervention planning and programming must take into account their self-awareness of alcohol dependency, high risk and autoaggressive behaviors. Certainly there is a need for more investigation to test the saliency of these influences across these ethnic groups and within ethnic groups. Furthermore, there needs to be more research concerning regional and national differences. In all cases, a more creative attention to complexes of sociological and social psychological variables would lead to progress both in scientific theory construction and the planning of prevention and interventions with this population.

END NOTES

[1] Of those testing positive for cocaine or heroin, 36 percent of 398 out of the 1,113 did not admit to using these drugs. As a result, they were not asked questions concerning their drug use patterns and thus could not be included in this analyses. Most of the these (348) stated they did not feel that they need treatment. Future research needs to focus on this subpopulation of drug users that deny use of drugs and do not feel the need for drug treatment.

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THE SEARCH FOR FAMILY: ADOLESCENT MALES' MOTIVES FOR JOINING GANGS

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ABSTRACT

The majority of research on adolescent gangs has focused on delineating the correlates of gang membership. This research provides important insight into who joins gangs; however, it tells us little about why adolescents join gangs. The present endeavor utilized a free response survey to investigate the motives or reasons that adolescent males have for initially entering a gang. Participants were recruited from a residential treatment facility for adolescent male wards of the state of Michigan. The reasons most cited for joining a gang included 1) gain a second or surrogate family, 2) power, 3) acceptance, and 4) excitement/fun. Contrary to expectations, few participants stated that peer pressure or influence played a role in their decision to join a gang; rather, a desire for a close, familial relationship and for acceptance from others (specifically, other gang members) seemed to be the primary reasons these young men entered gangs.

INTRODUCTION

Increasing numbers of adolescents are joining gangs and engaging in gang-related activities, at the same time that the average age of gang members is decreasing (Scheidlinger 1994). Consequently, the media and psychological community have devoted more and more attention to this topic. The majority of research in this area has focused on delineating the correlates of gang membership, including such individual difference variables as learning disabilities and alcohol abuse (Zagar, Arbit, Sylvies, Busch, Hughes 1990), such demographic variables as socioeconomic status and ethnicity (Calhoun, Jurgens, Chen 1993; Lyon, Henggeler, Hall 1992), and such family environmental variables as single-parent families, domestic violence, and inadequate parenting (Adler, Ovando, Hocevar 1984; Belitz, Valdez 1994). This research provides important insight into who joins gangs; however, it tells us little about why individuals join gangs.

The present endeavor utilized a free response survey to investigate the motives or reasons that adolescent males have for initially entering a gang. Adolescence has been described as a developmental stage in which youngsters crave peer acceptance (Esman 1985; Rose, Edleson 1988) and seek out peers as they explore and solidify their identities (for discussion, see Moss 1992), and previous research indicates that peer pressure is associated with adolescents' sexual decision making and use of drugs and alcohol (Cullari, Mikus 1990; Kozicki 1986). Consequently, we expected that our participants would cite peer influence or pressure as an important reason for gang membership. In addition, some researchers have noted that the street gang may function as a replacement or surrogate family

for many youths. For example, Morales (1992) writes that "the [male] gang member receives affection, understanding recognition, loyalty, and emotional and physical protection" from his gang. We therefore expected that our participants would cite their desire to find a surrogate family as an important reason for joining a gang.

METHOD AND RESULTS

Ten adolescent males (average age = 16.2 years, 40% Caucasian, 40% African American, 20% Hispanic) enrolled at Starr Commonwealth School (a residential treatment facility for adolescent male wards of the state of Michigan) volunteered to participate in this study. All were gang members prior to their entrance into Starr Commonwealth. Participants were surveyed individually, assured of confidentiality and anonymity, and asked to write down all of the reasons they joined their respective gangs when they were out in the community.

Two undergraduate raters who were blind to hypotheses examined participants' free responses and created a list of motives/reasons. Two additional raters, also blind to hypotheses, then examined each free response for the presence/absence of the aforementioned motives. The reasons cited by participants for joining a gang were: 1) To gain a second or surrogate family (70%), 2) need for power (60%), 3) to feel acceptance (40%), 4) to experience excitement/fun (40%), 5) to gain the opportunity to commit criminal, violent, and/or antisocial acts (e.g., drug use, robbery, illegal weapons, murder) (40%), 6) because other family members belonged to that particular gang (30%), 7) for protection and security (30%), 8) because of environmental factors (e.g., moved into a gang-controlled

neighborhood) (20%), 9) for monetary reasons (20%), 10) because of peer pressure and peer involvement in gangs (20%), and 11) for revenge (20%).

None of the participants gave only one reason for his gang membership. For example, one 17 year-old male wrote the following rather poignant response to our question:

There are a lot of reasons I joined the gang. I did it partly for acceptance, protection, all my friends was in it. I think the biggest reason was cuz it goes with the territory. When you grow up in the hood its really messed up. I've seen two of my friends get killed right in front of me and I can name at least ten more that have gotten killed (not in front of me). Its like they'er there one minute the next they're gone. I never even thought I would live to be 17 but I did and thank the lord everyday. Its like when you grow up with nothin you feel you are nothin. One of my friends that got killed in front of me was killed by a gang member so I joined the rival gang to get revenge. Another reason is I grow up without any roll modle so I turned to the streets to look up to. Thats about it. You may not understand why we join gangs cuz alot of people tell me they don't and I try to exsplan but can't. You never will understand unles you grow up in the hood.

Contrary to expectations, few participants stated that peer pressure or influence played a major role in their decision to join a gang; rather, a desire for a close, familial relationship and for acceptance from others (specifically, other gang members) seemed to be the overwhelming reasons these young men entered gangs. For example:

I joined a gang because I wanted to have another family. And because they were all cool with each other. And another reason why because I wanted to be accepted. And they always looked out for me when I needed them. [male, 15]

I believed they could be my 2nd family and that they would always be with me threw thick and thin. And for acceptance. My mom was always gone and my dad was in prison, and the gangmembers practically raised me. [male, 15]

Reasons why I joined a gang was because I moved into a neighborhood where there were gangs. I was new. I didn't know anybody. I wanted to be known by somebody around my block. So I talked to some people and they wanted me to join there gang. I had to get beat in by gang members. I got a nickname. When I was in a gang people told me I was stupid and some people said I was crazy but I wanted to be accepted and have friends. Another reason I joined a gang because my family never was there my mom worked all day. My stepdad would be at a bar. So I joined a gang because I wanted to be accepted by someone and have people know me. [male, 16]

I joined my gang when I was 11 years old and my dad was in it and I was suppose to carry out our gang name... I was safe and no one can mess with me. I had everything I wanted - girls money guns. And I had power and when my own family wouldn't help me the gang could and it was like another family to me and I had a lot of trouble with people and my family gang help me. [male, 16]

There were many reasons why I joined the [gang name]. One of the most important reasons is that I lived alone with my father and our relationship had deteriorated to the point where I needed a "surrogate family." In the gang I had that family. I had sisters, brothers, even people who told me what to do. I also loved the feeling of power and importance. My last reason was because of the reputation I got. I was feared in my school because of me being in a gang. Even though I wasn't tough, I could demand respect because of carrying a gun and having the backup of over a hundred people. [male, 17]

CONCLUSION

In recent years, gang activity and community violence have presented an increasing threat to the physical and emotional well-being of many adolescents and young adults (Rogers 1993). Little agreement exists about the types of intervention strategies that should be used to reduce gang violence (Vigil 1980). Knowledge about how gang members' needs are met by gang participation may aid in the design and implementation of successful intervention programs and may result in more effective treatment by mental health professionals and law enforcement officials who have contact with gang members.

This study examined the reasons that male adolescents have for initially joining a gang. Despite our small sample size, the results suggest that interpersonal factors (e.g., need for acceptance by others, to form close family relationships) play an important role in

influencing adolescents' decisions to join gangs. A desire for power, excitement, and fun also seems important, as does the opportunity to engage in antisocial, violent, and/or criminal acts. However, contrary to the image of the antisocial gang culture that is commonly endorsed by the media, gang membership is social rather than antisocial — that is, the initial decision to enter a gang appears to stem from a wish to form relationships and to gain a sense of belonging.

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FATHERS' CHANGING PERFORMANCE OF HOUSEWORK:
A BIGGER SLICE OF A SMALLER PIE

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ABSTRACT

The amount of time devoted to housework was measured for both fathers and mothers residing in a southwestern community within the United States during 1989 and 1994. A scientific random sample was used and respondents were interviewed by telephone. The findings were compared to measures and results from studies dating back to the 1920s. The contention that today's fathers are taking on more family duties than their predecessors and that wives' employment is a primary causal factor were assessed. Compared to earlier studies, the findings show that today's couples devote less time to housework. Within this declining trend a contradictory pattern emerged for fathers. While their proportional contributions to housework consistently increased, simultaneously the amount of time fathers spent has varied very little. This pattern suggests a trend toward parity with mothers. The exception was Southwestern fathers whose wives were employed. They spent less time doing housework than fathers who were the sole earners in the family. The most important factor contributing to parents doing an equal amount of housework was the reduction in time spend by mothers.

INTRODUCTION

Changes in the lives of both women and men and their families since the turn of the century have led to many reassessments of family roles. As education and employment levels have risen for women, discontent has increased with the family's traditional gender-based division of labor (Furstenberg 1988). The traditional view, that husbands should be aloof and take the role of a distant authority figure whose major family responsibility is working outside the home, has been increasingly challenged (Demos 1986). A common result has been demands for husbands to spend more time with their families especially after children arrive.

Such demands have been expressed in surveys of both men and women who report that family roles should be less gender specific and family responsibilities shared (Furstenberg 1988). However, there is a lack of scientific research verifying a comparable shift in parents' behavior away from traditional patterns. The 1960s marked the beginning of an intense scientific focus on fathers' family participation and possible explanations for it (LeMasters, DeFrain 1989).

Theoretical explanations for the family's division of labor have focused upon differences between husbands and wives' resources, ideologies, and available time. Resource explanations emphasize differences in income and education between spouses (Ross 1987), ideology emphasizes beliefs about gender role expectations (Kamo 1988), and available time emphasizes time apart from hours spent in employment (Pleck 1985; Walker, Woods 1976). Research support for these explanatory factors has been weak and contradictory (Coltrane, Ishii-Kuntz 1992). Further most studies have not considered connections between these factors (Pyke, Coltrane 1996).

This study examines fathers' contributions to housework, the effect of mothers' employment upon these contributions, other contributors to housework, and the findings' implications for the married couples' resources, ideology, and available time. Further these contributions are considered in a historical frame. Most previous studies have ignored the history of housework which is essential to understanding change. Information gathered in 1989 and 1994 on housework patterns for married parents, especially fathers, are compared to related research completed since the 1920s. No longitudinal studies compare parents' performance throughout this period but a few studies provide related results on housework. Thus, two questions are addressed: Are today's fathers doing more housework than their predecessors? and, To what extent are they sharing housework with mothers?

METHODOLOGY
Measurement Issues in Previous Studies

Studies of housework typically emphasize the same type of tasks including cooking, cleaning, repairs, yard work, and handling finances. Unfortunately, specific definitions vary a good deal (Gershuny, Robinson 1988; Ishii-Kuntz, Coltrane 1992). Child care and shopping have occasionally been included as housework but not consistently. Since most studies count child care and shopping time as separate from housework time, unless

otherwise noted, all housework amounts presented exclude these activities.

Typically, family care studies have either used a reconstruction technique or diaries to gather data on housework. Reconstruction asks respondents to estimate how much time they spent on housework all together for a specified time period such as a week. When few, if any, specific housework task examples are identified for the respondents, they are more likely to under report time. Similar studies using reconstruction, like the 1989 and 1994 surveys, include the 1924 and 1978 Middletown surveys (Caplow, Bahr, Chadwick, Hill, Williamson 1982) and the 1977 Quality of Employment Survey (Pleck 1985). Additional data are drawn from the Study of Time Use diary based surveys (Juster 1985; Pleck 1985; Robinson 1985). In these surveys unlike reconstruction, respondents record in diaries each activity when it is performed, along with the starting and ending time, for different days of the week. The list of household tasks is usually lengthy and specific.

The more detailed measurement techniques result in larger reported time amounts devoted to housework. The highest amount reported comes from the most inclusive Quality of Employment Survey. The respondents estimated time spent separately on workdays and non-workdays for a very encompassing, detailed list of "home chores" which included all the items listed above and shopping (Pleck 1985). From the more recent Study of Time Use surveys, the smallest amounts come from the only available panel study completed in 1975 and 1981. These housework amounts excluded both shopping (including related travel) and obtaining services. Adding these to husbands reported "total" housework figures results in amounts for the panel fathers closer to the other national studies (Juster 1985). As these details suggest comparisons across studies are problematic and must be made with caution.

The Data

In both 1989 and 1994, relying upon reconstruction, time estimates were gathered from parents via a random sample telephone survey in a mid-sized southwestern city within the United States, referred to as Southwestern City. The concept measured in the survey instrument and treated as the dependent variable was time spent on housework. The concepts measured in the survey instrument and

treated as independent variables were gender and employment status. Related concepts measured were children's contributions to housework, use of paid help, and fathers' time devoted to child care. The time questions used were similar to those in the Housewives' Survey (#11) of the Middletown III Project:

How much time do you guess you spend doing work in and around your home? _____ hours per week

How much time do you guess your (husband/wife) spends doing work in and around your home? _____ hours per week

How much time (does/do) your child(ren) spend doing work in and around your home? _____ hours per week.

(Caplow et al 1982)

Both average amounts of time family members spent on housework and their proportional contributions were calculated. To provide similar data from some earlier studies a recalculation of reported data had to be performed. For example, several studies, using a broader housework definition, broke down their total times by task types. Hence the time spent on tasks not included in our definition (child care) could be dropped and more comparable total amounts could be calculated. Also for quite a few studies the fathers' proportional contribution had to be either calculated because it was not reported or recalculated because a different formula was used. The Southwestern City fathers' percentages are based upon how much they contributed to housework out of the total time spent by both mother and father added together. Many studies based the fathers' percentage upon their housework contribution as a proportion of the mothers' contribution. The former percentages are preferred because they allow an immediate reading to how close fathers are to the goal of parity or a 50/50 split with mothers. Even when recalculations are not possible, proportions of contribution rather than amounts of time are the most comparable across studies using different operational definitions. Details on each survey's procedures and definitions are available in either reviews by Robinson (1985) and Pleck (1985) or the original sources.

Southwestern City Samples

Both the 1989 and 1994 random telephone surveys gathered information from parents who had at least one child under the age

of 19 living in their home. Each survey's procedure was identical except for the selection of telephone numbers. In 1989 a total of 2008 telephone numbers were systematically selected from randomly selected pages from the city's current directory. Whether to request an interview with a father or mother was predetermined by alternately assigning telephone numbers as they were randomly selected. Telephone numbers were called up to four times over several weeks. Among the 314 households contacted containing an eligible parent, 57 percent or 180 persons agreed to participate (121 were mothers and 59 were fathers). In 1994, 2,474 randomly generated telephone numbers (random digit dialing) were called to reach 217 appropriate households. From these 134 interviews (90 mothers, 42 fathers, and 2 parenting partners) were completed for a 62 percent completion rate. (Further details on both surveys are available from the authors.)

Sample Characteristics.

Unlike most other studies, this economical and efficient sampling procedure resulted in respondents representing all segments of the population. Still, while minority (African Americans) and smaller groups (poor families) were included, they were under represented. In both samples the parents typically were white (91% in 1989 and 82% in 1994), mothers (67% in both samples), in their first marriage (63% and 68%), around 37 years old, employed (74% and 81%), college graduates (43% and 54%), middle class (80% and 85%), reported a family income over $40,000, and city residents for over 11 years. Available census data for Southwestern City in 1990 provide a barometer of how representative the samples were. Eighty percent of the city's families with children under 18 were white; 36 percent of those over age 25 had graduated from college; and the median income reported for 1989 by all families was $35,840 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1992a, 1992b). Thus the samples contained a somewhat higher proportion of whites, the college educated, and families with higher incomes. Consistent with previous studies on the division of family housework only data for married parents where the father is employed were analyzed (N=139 in 1989 and 109 in 1994).

PREVIOUS RESEARCH AND SOUTHWESTERN CITY FINDINGS

Several sources suggest that today's married parents devote less time to housework than parents in the past. Middletown housewives with a husband and at least one child at home in 1924 reported doing much more housework than comparable housewives surveyed in 1978. Nothing is known about the 1924 fathers' housework because Robert and Helen Lynd (1956), like most early researchers, neither interviewed husbands on family matters nor asked the housewives about their husbands' housework. But the trend is clear for mothers. In 1924 very few Middletown housewives (11%) spent less than 4 hours a day on routine housework. By 1978 the majority of housewives (56%) reported doing less than 4 hours of housework daily (Caplow et al 1982). In 1989, 66 percent of Southwestern City mothers reported doing less than 4 hours of housework daily. The 1994 Southwestern City mothers' represent another major increase in this proportion with 81 percent reporting that they did less than an average of 4 hours of housework daily.

Early time-use-studies further document this time demise (Robinson 1985). For example, in the 1960s much less time was spent on routine aspects of housework (cleaning) than in the 1930s. Reports from 1975 time diaries compared to those from 1965 suggest the continuation of this trend. Women in 1975 devoted substantially less time to housework, regardless of their employment (or even marital status). Much of the reduction can be attributed to spending less time on routine housework activities, such as cleaning and upkeep (Robinson 1985). Only managerial aspects of housework, including shopping and child rearing, increased during this period.

Trends for fathers' contributions to housework can be gleaned indirectly from some early time-use-studies. They report figures for family care which included housework along with child care. Studies from the 1930s, 1950s, and 1960s reported fathers performed approximately 4 to 6 hours per week of family care. Out of the time spent by fathers and mothers, this represented a proportional contribution of less than one-fifth of total family care effort (Robinson 1985). More recent, national probability samples indicate married fathers have increased both the amount and proportion of family care provided. Fathers surveyed in the 1960s, 1970s and early 1980s

	Juster's Data*		Southwestern City Surveys**	
Year data gathered	1975	1981	1989	1994
Percent of housework	26	28	32	29
Mean hours a week	7.6	8.3	8.0	8.9
Sample size	119	119	180	134
Sample frame	National (panel)		City	

Table 1: Married Employed Fathers' Proportion of Total Time Both Parents Devoted to Housework and Mean Hours Fathers Spent Per Week, 1975 to 1994

*Juster 1985

**Southwestern City probability samples, in 1989 based upon 139 couples and in 1994 upon 109 couples.

reported devoting averages ranging from 11 to 15 hours per week to family care with proportions consistently increasing from 20 percent to almost 30 percent (Juster 1985). Comparable figures for the Southwestern City fathers' contributions in 1989 and 1994 suggest the continuation of this upward trend with means of 18 and 25 hours spent on family care or housework combined with child care. These represent, in both cases, 35 percent of the combined amount of time spent by the married couples on family care. Of course this does not necessarily mean that fathers' amounts and proportional contribution to housework have increased over time.

Less data are available for fathers' performance of housework and the trends are not consistent with those for family care. Early data on fathers' housework, excluding other family care, come from a panel study (Table 1). In 1975 the fathers reported doing a mean of 7.6 hours of housework per week and when resurveyed in 1981 they reported doing a bit more with a mean of 8.3 hours or 43 minutes of additional housework (Juster 1985). Two national studies conducted in the 1970s reported larger amounts for husbands' housework, however, the measures used were much more inclusive (Pleck 1985). The Southwestern City fathers in 1989 and 1994 reported doing an average of 8 and 8.5 hours of housework per week. While the actual amounts of time spent doing housework are similar to earlier studies, an examination of proportional contributions shows Southwestern City fathers' did a greater proportion of housework. More specifically fathers' proportional contributions (32% and 29%) were higher than those

reported for all earlier studies. Further these findings from the Southwestern City survey are similar to those found in at least one other recent study (Pyke, Coltrane 1996). Fathers' proportional contributions to housework, like those to family care, has consistently risen over time. An explanation for much of the fathers' higher proportions can be found when learning that mothers spent less time on housework than in the past. Mothers' doing less housework reduced the total amount of family time spent on housework, so that fathers' actual time spent on housework became a larger percentage of the total family time.

The times for both Southwestern City parents are presented in Table 2. Combining these means provides a comparable total time that parents devoted to housework. Although the 1994 amount is slightly larger than the 1989 figure, both total times are less than the amounts reported for the 1970s and support the trend of a continued decline in amount of time devoted to housework.

It is reasonable to suspect that paid outsiders have taken over some housework, especially for jointly employed parents. *Paid help* would reduce the pressure both on overloaded employed mothers and on employed fathers to do housework. However, the data do not support this. Parents reliance upon substitute paid help has apparently declined since the turn of the century. As the interviewed Middletown housewives reported in 1924, it was their parents who were the most likely to use hired help. Especially among the business class, housewives reported that for their mothers in 1890, those without full-time paid help with housework (34%) were the exception (Caplow et al 1982). In stark contrast the majority (74%) of the 1924 housewives' families had no paid help at all with housework. In 1978 even more Middletown housewives (87%) reported using no paid help. An identical proportion of the Southwestern City mothers in 1989 reported using no paid help. The 1994 Southwestern City mothers broke the downward trend in hired help but the vast majority (73%) reported getting no outside help. Paid help has become and remains the exception.

Those hiring help only used it sparingly. For the 13 percent of the Southwestern City mothers in 1989 who reported paid help with housework, it was used for no more than 5 hours per week with the average amount of use being for 2.6 hours. Although more than twice as many Southwestern City mothers (27%) in

Table 2: Hours Married Mothers and Fathers Spent Per Week on Housework, Broken Down by Employment Status of Mothers When Husband Employed, and Fathers' Percentage of Parents' Total Time Spent for 1989 and 1994

Housework	Mothers' Means	Fathers' Means	Fathers' %	Employment Status of Couples with Husband Employed					
				Mothers		Fathers		Fathers' %	
				Husband Only	Both	Husband Only	Both	Husband Only	Both
Hours per Week									
1989	17.3*	8.0*	32	22.8*	14.1*	9.0	7.5	28	35
1994	20.1*	8.9*	29	25.7*	17.4	9.5	8.5	27	33
Number of Cases									
1989	85	55		31	54	17	37		
1994	70	39		20	48	13	24		

*F ratio significant for mean differences at .05 or less.
Source: Southwestern City probability samples, 1989 & 1994.

1994 used paid help, it again was used sparingly (the average amount used was 5.3 hours per week and only two mothers reported more than 6 hours of use). Hence paid help was not a factor in the housework efforts for almost all Southwestern City families.

Another reasonable alternative housework might be *children*. Unlike paid help, almost all Southwestern City mothers (93%) in 1989 reported that children did at least some housework. However the time amounts reported were rather small. Over 60 percent of the mothers reported that their children did no more than 3 hours of housework per week with the average amount contributed per week being 3.6 hours. Again in 1994, almost all Southwestern City mothers (90%) reported children doing some housework but the amounts were somewhat higher. Less than half (44%) of the mothers reported that their children did not more than 3 hours of housework per week and the average amount contributed was 5.3 hours. Hence although more widespread, the children's average amounts do not exceed the average amounts for paid help when used. Help with housework by children was minimal in most Southwestern City families.

Even though Southwestern City parents are doing less housework overall than their predecessors, mothers still do the lion's share of housework (Table 2) with 17.3 hours per week spent on housework in 1989 and 20.1 hours in 1994. This is over twice as much time as that spent by the fathers (8 and 8.9 hours respectively). Despite fathers' growing proportional contributions, the time amounts make clear that parity is a long way off.

The Middletown housewives' data allow for one additional means of examining the issue of *parity* between parents by using responses from a question on how housework was distributed between the couples. Citing women's employment trends and pressure from the women's liberation movement, Caplow et al (1982) expected to find evidence from the 1978 survey of a shift toward a more equal distribution of housework between spouses. Surprisingly almost half of the surveyed Middletown wives (45%) reported doing all the housework and another 40 percent said they did most of the housework. Less than one tenth of the families reported an arrangement with housekeeping shared equally. Southwestern City mothers reported somewhat more parity. In 1989 15 percent reported that they and their husbands devoted the same amount of time to housework and for 1994 it was up to 22 percent. The proportion among employed mothers in 1994 was even higher at 29 percent. While still the exception, the increasing rate suggests a shift toward more parity. On the other hand, in 1989 almost as many Southwestern City husbands (12%) were reported to be making no housework contributions at all. Even among husbands reported as doing some housework, the majority (53%) did only 5 hours or less a week. While far fewer husbands (3%) in 1994 were cited as doing no housework, as in 1989 the majority (50%) performed only 5 hours or less.

The impact of *mothers' employment* upon fathers' housework efforts has been studied at least since the 1950s. Early research on fathers' response to employed wives relied heavily upon either Blood and Wolfe's (1960) task

Table 3: Married Employed Fathers' Proportion of Total Time Both Parents Devoted to Housework by Wives' Employment Status and Mean of Hours Fathers Spent Per Week, 1975 to 1994

	1975-76*		1989**		1994**	
	Husband Only Earner	Both Spouses Earners	Husband Only Earner	Both Spouses Earners	Husband Only Earner	Both Spouses Earners
Housework %	22	32	28	35	27	33
Mean hours per week	11.1	11.4	9.0	7.5	9.5	8.5
Sample Size	2406		180		134	
Sample Frame	National		City		City	

*Figures based upon data cited in Pleck (1985).
**Southwestern City probability sample, 1989 and 1994.

distribution approach (husband or wife always, one spouse more than the other, or spouses do exactly the same) or very unsophisticated measures (Pleck 1985). Although reported "proportions" from this earlier research are not comparable to those presented here, their assessments indicated that fathers with employed wives performed more housework than sole employed fathers.

Early studies gathering time amounts usually did not report housework separately but instead included it as part of family care. Estimates for fathers' proportional participation in family care from a 1950s study were 15 percent when only they were employed versus 25 percent when both they and their wives were employed (Blood, Hamblin 1958). Similar proportions were reported in three major time-use-studies using data gathered between 1964 and 1972 (Meissner, Humphries, Meis, Scheu 1975; Robinson 1977; Walker, Woods 1976). Despite the consistently higher proportions reported for fathers with employed wives in these studies, these fathers were not necessarily doing more family care. In fact these fathers' higher proportions were often due to employed mothers spending much less time doing family care than their unemployed counterparts (Pleck 1985). When both parents were employed, the total time devoted to family care was less and consequently the fathers' actual time became a larger proportion of the total. In the 1970s a different pattern emerged. Several large samples, including the Panel Study of Income Dynamics, documented significant increments in hours fathers' spent in family care when wives were employed. Studies from the 1980s found further increases in fathers' proportional contribution and in some cases even in the amount of time they spent when they were in dual

earner families (Pleck 1985). Of course these patterns do not necessarily mean that fathers' housework practices followed the same trend.

Although not as much comparable data are available on housework, the trends appear to be similar. Fathers' proportional contributions to housework were consistently higher when wives were employed (Table 3). Fathers whose wives were employed do proportionally 6 percent to 10 percent more of the housework than those who were sole-earners. But the amounts often show an inconsistent and different pattern. Unlike the 1975-76 national study and many early studies, the Southwestern City fathers in dual earner families reported spending less time on housework than fathers who were sole earners. This was true for both the 1989 and 1994 samples. The greatest difference occurred in 1989 where fathers with employed wives reported spending on average about 16 percent fewer hours on housework than fathers whose wives were not employed.

Ironically, the smallest mean reported for fathers (7.5 hours for 1989) is the basis for the highest proportional contributions to housework by fathers (35%) found in the research. For this to happen, two things must occur. First, dual employed parents must do substantially less housework than that performed by parents where only the fathers are employed. As the figures in Table 2 confirm, the Southwestern City dual employed couples in 1989 spent on average about two-thirds (or 68%) as many hours on housework than the couples where only fathers were employed. Second, the proportion of housework performed by employed mothers' when compared to the amount of time spent by women not employed must be even smaller, which it was at 62 percent, than the comparable one for couples.

The same pattern occurred for 1994 but was not quite as dramatic.

If fathers with employed wives are failing to do more housework maybe their *children's participation* is greater. When employed mothers, by necessity, reduce the time devoted to housework, some of the tasks may get shifted to the children. But children's reported contributions to housework broken down by employment status of mothers resulted in unexpected patterns. First, the average amounts of time reported were very small varying from 3 to 5 hours or around one half or less of the time spent by fathers. Second, the differences between children of employed versus unemployed mothers were very small (less than one hour). Finally, in 1989 the time children spend doing housework was greater when mothers were not employed. Although unexpected, these findings are in line with Benin and Edwards' (1990) analysis of Juster's 1975-1981 panel study data which found children's contributions minimal and found that children did more chores in families where the mothers did not work. Again the impact of children's contributions appears to have been minimal even when their mothers are employed.

If most fathers and children in families where the mother is not employed do less housework than those in dual earner families, maybe the former families are turning to paid help. But again, an examination of the data shows that paid help played only a minor role regardless of the wives' employment status. Among the minority of Southwestern City families hiring help, the proportion of housework performed by paid help was only slightly higher in dual earner families than in sole earner families (around 2% greater for both 1989 and 1994). These findings further support the contention that paid help has little impact on the total amount of housework performed and that overall less housework is being done in today's homes.

Recent studies, analyzing the kinds of housework parents do, document another aspect of inequity or lack of parity. Even when parents devote the same amount of time to housework, the kinds of tasks are far from equally distributed. Despite the emphasis upon gender equality, Middletown's couples surveyed in 1977 on family role tasks reported dramatic gender differences in line with traditional stereotypes for both expectations and behavior. The behavior or who actually performed tasks was even less equally distributed

than expectations. For example, home repairs were still almost exclusively carried out by husbands, while "keeping house" was the almost exclusive domain of wives (Caplow et al 1982). A detailed analysis of the 1987-88 National Survey of Families and Households found gender-segregated patterns even among those couples in which husbands contributed many hours to housework (Blair, Lichter 1991). Southwestern City mothers' reports in 1994 on how often they cooked for their families suggest the continuation of gender-segregation by task. The majority, regardless of employment status, reported cooking daily. Most fathers reported only cooking occasionally. On the other hand, another contemporary study by Shelton (1990) found that employed wives reduced the amount of traditional female type tasks they performed when compared to wives not working outside the home. However, wives' employment had virtually no impact upon their husbands' performance of specific housework tasks. To further deal with the issue of parity between parents, attention must be paid not only to specific task allocations but to qualitative aspects as well, such as the meanings attached to task performances (Coleman 1988; Pyke, Coltrane 1996).

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Four conclusions can be drawn from the evidence presented. First, married, employed fathers perform a larger proportion of housework today than their predecessors. But the amount of time they actually spent doing the housework has only changed modestly and has not always been greater than what fathers did in the past. Second, fathers whose wives are employed do proportionally more housework but usually spend less actual time when compared to fathers who are the sole earners in families. Third, mothers and fathers appear to be moving slowly toward an equal split of time devoted to housework. But most of this convergence is the result of mothers' spending less time doing housework. Mothers do less housework today, primarily because they spend more time in jobs outside the home. Finally, married parents today devote less time to housework than their predecessors.

For those who hold parity as a goal, the Southwestern City fathers' housework patterns are discouraging. While they made some of the highest proportional contributions to housework ever recorded, the Southwestern City fathers devoted less actual time to

housework than many of their predecessors. Plus those fathers whose wives were employed exhibited the greatest discrepancy between higher proportional contributions and fewer hours devoted to housework. These patterns suggest the entrenchment of many traditional ideas and practices. Further very limited help came from alternative sources. Children performed little housework with the lowest amounts often reported in families where both parents were employed. Paid help was used by very few families, regardless of wives' employment status, and then only sparingly.

The most consistent trend is the diminishing amount of time devoted to housework by families. Mothers' contributions have dropped dramatically, fathers' contributions have dropped modestly, and parity between parents is far from being achieved. It is reasonable to suspect that housework's low status and reward value relative to the other daily activities, especially child care, means it gets lower priority and is less likely to get done when a time crunch occurs. This is buttressed by the often heard admonitions to employed couples to reduce their standard of household hygiene (Robinson 1988). Further new household appliances, such as microwave ovens, have actually reduced the amount of time needed for certain basic tasks (Gershuny, Robinson 1988). Most previous housework innovations (washing machines) primarily reduced the amount of physical effort needed.

The emphasis upon greater involvement by fathers since the 1960s has apparently won few converts to the practice of performing more housework. As mothers devote more of their work time to paid employment, fathers are pressured to pick up the resulting slack in family care. But the majority of fathers have failed to pick up the slack especially with regard to housework. Of course, dual employment demands coupled with time saving inventions, such as the dishwasher, make it unrealistic to expect that the substantial amount of time devoted to housework by previous generations will ever be reached again. Still, most Southwestern City fathers were not pioneers in a trek toward equal sharing of housework. Most did even less housework when their wives' were employed. But in other areas of family care, especially child care, fathers appear to be doing more.

In a break from the pattern found for housework, Southwestern City fathers devoted more time to child care than their predecessors (Seward, Yeatts, Seward, Stanley-Stevens 1993). This is in line with a practice Robinson (1985) found in early time-use-studies. Additional family care by a parent is more likely to be devoted to children rather than housework. Hence fathers' have apparently increased participation but it has been selective. The growing time crunch faced by parents has not brought about across the board changes. The demands of employment and heavier contributions to child care apparently reduced the time, energy, and resources available for housework. Given the choice perhaps parents felt that child care was a more important long term investment. Further the Southwestern City fathers greater involvement with children's activities has the potential of multiple effects upon other areas of the family (Lamb 1987). Fathers performing more child care may reduce mothers' family workload in other areas and potentially strengthen the marital relationship.

To account for the family's present division of labor, the housework evidence presented here provides the most support for the available time or "time crunch" explanation. The rise in employment and job related demands coincides with the overall decline in housework, with the greatest changes occurring for women and with the modest changes occurring for men. Multiple regression analyses on the Southwestern City data reported elsewhere (Seward, Yeatts, Seward 1994) and other current studies (Goldscheider, Waite 1991; Presser 1994; Pyke, Coltrane 1996) found employment times for husbands and especially wives were the best predictors of time spent on housework. Also the persistence of gender differences by tasks suggest, indirectly, that the couples' ideology plays an important explanatory role as well. The next steps are to continue clarifying the specific role these and other factors play and to understand and articulate how they are interrelated.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT AND STRUCTURES OF FAMILIAL AUTHORITY AMONG FAMILIES OF OFFSHORE OILWORKERS

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ABSTRACT

Research on the links between work and the family has suggested the two affect one another, though for many years the prevailing assumption was that they do not (Kanter 1977). One area of this research has addressed the effects of women's employment on the distribution of power in marriage. A recurrent theme has been that women's employment increases power in families relative to males. This research further explores the effects of women's employment on structures of decision-making authority in families. The findings lead us to conclude that employment of women may provide resources and higher levels of prestige which in turn affect the structure of power in the family.

INTRODUCTION

Research on the links between work and the family has suggested the two affect one another, though for many years the prevailing assumption was that they do not (Kanter 1977). One area of this research has addressed the effects of women's employment on the distribution of power in marriage. A recurrent theme has been that women's employment increases power in families relative to males. Our research further explores the effects of women's employment on structures of decision-making authority in families. The families of offshore oil workers present a rare opportunity to explore the responses of family members to nonstandard work scheduling, especially as those responses may be conditioned by the employment status of women.

Offshore oil work requires periodic absences of husbands from their homes typically for a period of 7, 14, 21, or 28 days. Extended absences such as these may serve to increase the decision-making authority of wives. However, the literature suggests that the most important source of male power in families is economic dependence of women on men. If this is so, then even extended male absences will not likely alter authority relations. Oil families are an ideal context, then, in which to examine the influence of women's employment on authority in the family.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The interface between work scheduling and family life has been a topic of substantial concern to scholars in recent years (Forsyth 1992; Gramling, Forsyth 1987; Hughes, Galinsky and Morris 1992; Kanter 1977; Ladewig, McGee 1986; Pleck, Staines, Lang 1980; Staines, Pleck 1983). Because the work force consists in large part of employees with high family demands, researchers have given

attention to the varied courses of work/family interface (Hughes et al 1992). Research findings indicate that workers are experiencing difficulties managing their dual roles in the work place and the family (Voydanoff 1988). In addition, there has been a precipitous rise in the number of persons engaged in non-traditional work scheduling (Staines, Pleck 1983). This cache of research has found agreement on at least one issue; nonconventional work scheduling is both demanding and problematic for families (Gramling, Forsyth 1987).

Although a great deal of literature has been devoted to the effects of non-traditional work scheduling on the family, only a small portion of the research is concerned with those families in which the father/husband is regularly (or irregularly) absent from the home for extended periods due to his employment.

Specific vocations seem more vulnerable than most to structurally provoked strife caused by work and family role interface (Jones, Butler 1980). Merchant seamen (Forsyth 1992; Forsyth, Gramling 1990), military personnel (Hunter 1984; Hunter, Nice 1978), fishermen (Margavio, Forsyth 1996; Orbach 1977), offshore oil workers (Forsyth, Gauthier 1991; Gauthier, Forsyth, Bankston 1993; Gramling 1989; Morrice, Taylor, Clark, McCann 1985; Storey, Lewis, Shrimpton, Clark 1986); and long-distance truck drivers and jet-setting business executives are examples of workers in what Forsyth and Gramling (1987) have termed a "feast or famine" schedule.

Research on merchant seamen has found that wives of seamen have traditional outlooks, but that being given all the responsibilities when husbands are away conflicts with these traditional views (Forsyth 1992; Forsyth, Gramling 1990). Morrice et al (1985) confirmed this conflictual pattern among offshore oil worker families. The literature on

occupationally induced father absence among military families and fishermen support these findings as well (Hunter 1984; Hunter, Nice 1978; Orbach 1977). In addition, Forsyth (1992) suggested that alienation is high among members of families with non-traditional work schedules. The occupational demands of some careers may be so encompassing that they severely curtail family interaction (Jones, Butler 1980). The present research focusses on only one of these "vulnerable" occupations, the offshore oil worker.

The current study extends previous research of offshore oil workers' families (Forsyth, Gauthier 1991; Gauthier et al 1993). That research identified four categories of familial structural responses to periodic husband/father absence (Gauthier et al 1993). Although the defining characteristics of each type are numerous, the question of in whose role decision-making authority is located is the primary defining feature. A brief synopsis of the characteristics of the four responses is necessary here.

Father-Centered responses are those in which the male role is more powerful (Gauthier et al 1993). Forsyth and Gauthier (1991) identified three types of families which correspond to this description: those which alternate authority between the spouses, those in which women's authority is contingent, and those in which men have been replaced during their absence. Alternating authority families are those in which the wife relaxes her authority when the oil worker is onshore so that he may act in the traditional role of decision-maker. Contingent authority families are those in which women assume authority only for minor or emergency decisions which occur during male absences. Otherwise, serious decisions are delayed until males return. Replacement father families are those in which male relatives "replace" oil workers during their absences as disciplinarian, handyman, etc. The traditional male role usually occupied by fathers does not go unoccupied. Each of the three responses is, then, Father-Centered.

Mother-Centered responses are those in which the female role is more powerful (Gauthier et al 1993). Forsyth and Gauthier (1991) identified one type of family which corresponds to this description: those in which women maintain both the traditional male and female role responsibilities during times when oil workers are both present and absent. Women make the decisions regarding the

family, with no real involvement of the part of husbands, who, when present, are treated more as guests than as active, participating members of the family.

Egalitarianism responses are those in which power is equitably divided between males and females (Gauthier et al 1993). Forsyth and Gauthier (1991) identified one type of family which corresponds to this description: the egalitarian family. The literature on merchant seamen, military personnel, and fishermen (Forsyth, Gramling 1987, 1990; Gerstel, Gross 1984; Gramling, Forsyth 1987; Hunter, Nice 1978; Kaslow, Ridenour 1984; Orbach 1977; Sherar 1973; Tunstall 1962) has suggested that egalitarian relationships occur only between couples in which both partners are professionals. In fact, egalitarian relationships were not found to be present in the families of men in these other occupations with non-standard scheduling. However, Forsyth and Gauthier (1991) found some offshore oil spouses sharing responsibility and authority equally. For example, males in these families assumed traditional female tasks while at home - such as the care of infants and children, cooking, cleaning, and shopping.

Gauthier et al (1993) also identified the Unresolved response. Unresolved responses are those in which marriages have either ended in divorce, or continue despite ongoing, unresolvable conflict [like Cuber and Harroff's (1965) conflict-habituated marriage]. In these families, the assignment of decision-making authority is disputed over, and therefore, unresolved.

Blood and Wolfe (1960) considered economic power to be the primary factor influencing the distribution of power in marriage. Power increases with income, thus male power has traditionally been higher relative to female power because men have worked and women traditionally have not. Theoretically, male power in families should decrease when females are employed.

In fact, dual earner families do seem to experience a marital shift in power which results in both higher rates of male participation in traditionally female tasks such as housework and child care and female participation in traditionally male activities such as family decision making (Davidson, Moore 1996; Rank 1982). Storey et al (1986) seem to concur by suggesting that working wives of offshore oilmen in Canada tend to be more independent of their husbands than non-working wives.

Other research has examined the nature of occupations held by women in offshore oil families (Gauthier et al 1993). Specifically, these findings suggested that women who are employed in professional and managerial occupations were significantly less likely to be involved in male-dominated marriages. In fact, they were much more likely to be located in an Unresolved authority structure characterized by conflict over family decision-making authority. However, one intriguing finding of this research was that professional/managerial wives were unlikely to establish either Mother-Centered or Egalitarian relationships.

In the present study, we assume that decision-making authority reflects the distribution of power within marriage. We examine the relative influence of women's employment on participation in decision-making. Because of periodic absences of husbands in offshore oil families, we might expect that women experience high levels of authority in these types of families. However, if economic dependency is the main determinant of women's power in marriage, males' power in families will be retained (even in their physical absence) if women are unemployed. We expect the response types of power relationships in the marriages of oil workers to be systematically related to women's employment in the following ways: when women are employed, the structure of power will likely take a form which is not male-dominated, i.e. that of Mother-Centered, Egalitarianism, or Unresolved; conversely, when women are not employed, the structure of power will be Father-Centered.

METHODOLOGY
The Sample

The primary data for this study were gathered in one hundred sixty one face-to face interviews with families of offshore oil workers. All interviews were conducted by the authors and were funded, in part, through a grant from Minerals Management Services, U.S. Department of the Interior. These interviews were obtained through an availability sample because, currently, no comprehensive list of offshore oil employees exists. Our initial respondents were students enrolled in a university program for offshore oil workers. The project was also announced to other classes and members of the community in order to attain more interview contacts. At the conclusion of each interview, referrals were obtained from the respondents. All respondents were living in the areas of Southwestern Louisiana and East Texas at the time of the initial interview. Interviews were conducted with both spouses, and sometimes with the children as well. In cases where the marriage had ended in divorce, we were able to interview only one of the spouses.

The initial interviews utilized open ended questions following an interview guide (rather than forced-choice responses) because of the exploratory nature of the research and the fact that little is known about the general character of families of offshore oil workers. The interviews were tape recorded and later transcribed for purposes of qualitative analysis. Interviews ranged from thirty minutes to two hours. The data for the present study were taken from the transcribed interviews using a systematic coding procedure.

In order to avoid missing data, callbacks were conducted. Forty-one household interviews were incomplete prior to the callbacks. For the data pertaining to this research, we were unable to contact only four of the households from whom we were missing information.

Techniques of Analysis

Because the data were obtained from an availability sample, analysis of the data requires a non-probability statistic that will somewhat correct for this problem. Chi-square is used to determine significance. Phi is the correlation coefficient used to provide a measure of the strength of the association between variables. Given the relatively small sample size (n=161) and especially given the fact that this is an exploratory study, we accept significance at the .10 level.

Operationalization of the Variables

The dependent variable is type of decision-making (authority) structure and is composed of the four categories discussed above: (1) Father-Centered; (2) Mother-Centered; (3) Egalitarianism; and (4) Unresolved. These are nominal variables which are treated dichotomously as either present or absent for each power relationship under consideration.

The independent variable is employment of the wife and is defined as devotion of time and energy to an activity inside or outside of the home for the purposes of receiving a salary. This nominal variable is also treated dichotomously in that women are considered either unemployed or employed (regardless of

Table 1: Women's Employment By Unresolved Authority Structure

Women's Level of Employment	Familial Response			
	All Others		Unresolved	
	#	%	#	%
Unemployed	71	49	11	65
Employed	73	51	6	35
Total	144	100	17	100

N=161, DF=1, Chi-Square value=1.443, p=.230, Phi=-.095

Table 2: Women's Employment By Father-Centered Authority Structure

Women's Level of Employment	Familial Response			
	All Others		Father-Centered	
	#	%	#	%
Unemployed	32	47	50	54
Employed	36	53	43	46
Total	68	100	93	100

N=161, DF=1, Chi-Square value=.707, p=.401, Phi=-.066

Table 3: Women's Employment By Mother-Centered Authority Structure

Women's Level of Employment	Familial Response			
	All Others		Mother-Centered	
	#	%	#	%
Unemployed	63	48	19	66
Employed	69	52	10	35
Total	132	100	29	100

N=161, DF=1, Chi-Square value=3.011, p=.083, Phi=-.137

Table 4: Women's Employment By Egalitarianism Authority Structure

Women's Level of Employment	Familial Response			
	All Others		Egalitarianism	
	#	%	#	%
Unemployed	80	58	2	9
Employed	59	42	20	91
Total	139	100	22	100

N=161, DF=1, Chi-Square value=17.850, p=.000, Phi=.333

the number of hours involved).

RESULTS

Families in the sample are most often the Father-Centered type (58%), with Mother-Centered the second most common (18%), followed by Egalitarianism (14%) and Unresolved (11%) families. The median age of the offshore oilworkers in the study is 38, while the median age of their wives is 34. Most of the husbands have high-school diplomas (50%), though a substantial number have either some college or a college degree (33%). The women in the study also tended to be mostly high-school educated (47%), or have either some college or a college degree (29%). The respondents are overwhelmingly white and married (89% each). Only 6 percent are divorced prior to the time of the study. The majority (99%) of the families have children, usually two in number (45%). The relationships between women's employment and types of authority structures are presented in Tables 1 through 4. Interestingly, as shown in Tables 1 and 2, employed women are no more likely than unemployed women to establish Unresolved relationships in marriages to offshore oil workers (p=.230). Furthermore, unemployed women are not significantly more prone to establishing Father-Centered relationships (p=.401).

In addition, the association between women's employment and Mother-Centered

authority structure is significant (p=.083) but opposite the expected direction (phi=-.137). Employed wives are significantly less likely to be involved in female-dominated marriages than are unemployed wives.

Consequently, as we see in Table 4, only the Egalitarianism authority structure is significantly more likely to emerge (p.=.000) in the marriages of employed women. Although previous research on the effect of higher occupational status of women on power in the family was unable to identify the source of Egalitarianism (Gauthier et al 1993), the present findings seem to suggest that a simple paycheck may be enough.

However, this may be a function of the inclusion of part-time workers in the category of the employed. It may be argued (Luxton, Rosenberg 1986) that women who work part-time do not earn enough money (and therefore do not have sufficient power) to foster (especially) Egalitarian and Mother-Centered responses. For the sake of discussion, we performed an analysis in which part-time employment is combined with non-employment. The results indicate that even when only full-time employment is considered, women are still significantly more likely to be involved in Egalitarianism (p=.000). However, such is not the case for Mother-Centered relationships. Additional analysis showed that when part-time employment is excluded, women are no longer

significantly less likely to be in Mother-Centered relationships (p=.177).

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The results support the theory that money is power, and therefore that employed wives have more power in marriage than do unemployed wives. However, employment does not increase female power to a disproportionate level, as it seems unlikely that Mother-Centered authority structures will emerge. On the other hand, employment sufficiently empowers women so that Father-Centered authority structures are unlikely to occur either. Ultimately, the findings lead us to conclude that employment of women may provide resources and higher levels of prestige which in turn affect the structure of power in the family. The probability of women's participation in Egalitarian relationships is significantly altered. In conjunction with previous findings (Gauthier et al 1993), it seems evident that although egalitarianism in marriage is, at least in part, a function of women's employment status, wives' occupations must not be of a status that is disproportionate to that of oil workers. Unequal status in the workforce has been shown to lead to conflict in the family. However, our findings suggest that when women are employed in jobs of relatively equal status to husbands' jobs, egalitarianism seems likely to emerge.

Still, women's employment cannot be the only predictor of gender equality in marriage, as evidenced by the fact that so many women in our study were employed but were not located in an egalitarian relationship. In addition, though nearly all of those women who were in egalitarian marriages were employed, a handful of women who were not employed found the path to gender equality. Consequently, further research is required in order to more adequately specify the determinants of gender equality in marriage, particularly as it is shaped by non-standard work scheduling. Because the number of persons engaged in both unconventional work scheduling and multiple jobs continues to increase, we can predict that problems emerging from these schedules will also rise. Further research should therefore continue analyses of familial constructs as responses to unconventional work scheduling.

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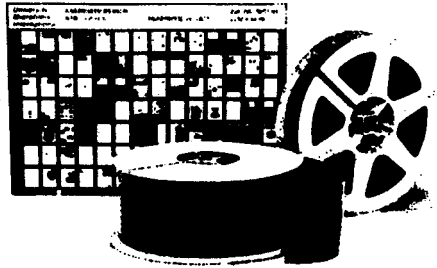
TRANSRACIAL ADOPTION REVISITED:
AFRICAN AMERICAN COLLEGE STUDENTS' PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT

African American children are victimized by poverty, discrimination, and even adoption policies which keep them in foster care and in institutions. Transracial adoption, one avenue to alleviate the problem, is burdened with controversy that need to be resolved. This article explores the opinions of African American college students on transracial adoption. It was found that transracial adoption was preferred to foster care or institutionalization, and that children need a permanent home regardless of the adoptive parent's race.

INTRODUCTION

It is estimated that in the United States more than 150,000 children are adopted each year. About 50,000 African American children are available for adoption, and 35,000 of them are boys. In addition, there are about 250,000 African American children in foster care nationwide (Bartholet 1991; Greene, Kulper 1995; Morisey 1990). White parents have adopted Asian and Native American children for the past four decades (Zastrow 1993).

Overall, the average waiting period for adoption is more than 2-1/2 years, and minority children, especially African Americans, wait up to five years (Owen 1994; Rodriquez, Meyer 1990).

About 8 percent of all adoptions are transracial or transethnic, with about 1 percent being adoptions of African American children by white parents (Flango, Flango 1993; Stolley 1993). Although a number of special adoption projects have been initiated to help encourage placement of African American children in same-race placements, African American children are far less likely to be adopted than other children of similar age and behavior (Barth, Courtney, Berry 1994; Barth, Courtney, Needell 1994; Bartholet 1993).

About three decades ago, some white couples began adopting African American children. Their desire to adopt African American children raised a controversy that is still unresolved and which adoption workers face today. In 1972 the National Association of Black Social Workers (NABSW), issued a statement that denounced transracial adoption in all cases, referring it to an act of "racial and cultural genocide." Rationales posited by NABSW included:

1) the need of young African American children to begin at birth to identify with all African American people in African American community;

2) the necessity of self-determination from birth to death, of all African American people; and,

3) the philosophy that African Americans need their own to build a strong nation. (Davis 1992; Hogan, Siu 1988)

Concern over the impact of transracial adoption on the long-term psychosocial and identity development of African American children has been expressed by African-American authors (Chestang 1972; Chimenzie 1975; Jones 1975). Other observers have questioned the legality and constitutionality of race-conscious policies in the adoption process. They contend that adoption policies have resulted in "melanin management", where white and African American applicants have shown a preference for lighter -skin over darker-skin children (Bartholet 1993). The victims of this adoption practice are the children who are left in foster homes and other institutions. This article extends the previous research on transracial adoption by reporting on the opinions of African American college students regarding transracial adoption.

RESEARCH ON TRANSRACIAL ADOPTION

Substantive research that has compared the psychosocial development of African American children adopted and raised by whites to those raised in same race environment is very scarce. Few studies emerged during the 1970s and 1980s which attempted to determine whether and to what extent the psychosocial development of African American children are detrimentally affected by transracial adoption. Virtually nothing has been written on those topics in the 1990s, but significant gaps in our knowledge about transracial adoption continue to exist. However, Zastrow (1976) compared the satisfactions derived and problems encountered between transracial adoptive

parents and in racial adoptive parents and found that 1) transracial adoptions were as satisfying as inracial adoptions; 2) transracially adopted children were accepted by relatives, friends, neighbors, and the general community; 3) parents of transracially adopted children reported minimal problems; 4) these parents treated transracially adopted children as their own.

In the 1980's, two research studies focused on the preadolescent and adolescent transracially adopted children. Simon & Altstein (1981) and Bartholet (1991) studied transracial adoptions and found that parents were satisfied with the experience. The stresses parents reported were related to having to spend more time in integrating lifestyle differences of the transracial children with their biological children. It was noted that both the children and the parents in transracial families may acquire special interpersonal talents and skills at bridging cultures.

In a study of self-esteem development in transracially adopted adolescents and inracially adopted adolescents, no differences were found in overall self-esteem (McRoy, Zurcher 1983). However, racial identity was found to be a problem for African American adolescents adopted by whites. The authors questioned the ability of such parents to integrate African American culture in their parenting practices. Some researchers have studied adjustment rates of transracially adopted children. Silverman & Feigelman (1981) found that the adjustment rate for both transracial and inracial adopted children were the same, when adjusted for age at adoption. In a follow-up study, it was indicated clearly that "there is a strong association between age at adoption and maladjustment" in both transracial and intraracial children (Silverman, Feigelman 1981).

In England, Bagley studied a group of Afro-Caribbean and mixed race children who were adopted by British whites beginning at age seven (Bagley 1993). A follow-up study was conducted twelve years later when the children were about 19 years of age. Results of a series of tests on the young people concluded that there were no significant adjustment differences between them and those adopted intraracially. The researcher concluded that it may be that children of color and their adoptive families learn different identities from their adoption experience and there is no evidence that the difference is harmful to the people involved. Several other studies on transracial

adoption have concluded that there is no evidence of significant harm to the adopted children, but that emphasis should be placed on culturally sensitive parenting skills (Bagley 1993; Johnson, Shireman, Watson 1987; Simon 1988; Vieni 1975; Vroegh 1992; Zuniga 1991).

A previous study was conducted by Howard, Royse, and Skerl (1977), who assessed the African American community's attitudes regarding transracial adoption almost twenty years ago. That study found that 81 percent of African Americans preferred transracial adoption over keeping a child in a foster home or institution. Another study conducted by Simon (1978) sought to discover the attitudes of "educated middle-class" African Americans toward transracial adoption. Simon found that their opinions were divided, with slightly under half (45%) approving adoption of African American children by white families.

Since a lot of changes have occurred in society since the Howard et al and Simon studies, this research examines the opinions of a younger generation. Values and beliefs regarding transracial adoption may differ from that of African Americans surveyed in the 1970s and 80s. Furthermore, case law is raising new concerns about the legality of placement decisions based primarily on race. In 1991, the US Office for Civil Rights found that criteria for adopting or methods of administration of adoption services that result in the exclusion, limitations, or segregation of ethnic children relative to adoptive placements violate their civil rights (Belloli 1991; Hollinger 1993). The passage of the Howard M. Metzenbaum Multiethnic Placement Act of 1994 prohibits any agency or entity that receives federal assistance

to categorically deny to any person the opportunity to become an adoptive or a foster parent, solely on the race, color, or national origin of the adoptive or foster parent, or the child involved; or delay or deny the placement of a child for adoption or into foster care, or otherwise discriminate in making a placement decision, solely on the race, color, or national origin of the adoptive parent, or the child involved (s.553(a) 1 (A&B). (Barth et al 1994)

This current study follows these recent developments and is a partial replication of Howard et al (1977).

Three items were chosen from the

Howard et al study because they gauge the respondents' attitudes and beliefs toward transracial adoptions. The items were as follows:

ITEM 1 It is better to place black children in foster homes than have them adopted by white families.

ITEM 2 Black children need a permanent home, regardless of the race of adopting parents.

ITEM 3 Parents of black children should make the decision on whether their children are adopted by white or black families.

Four items were chosen because they measured respondents' attitudes about white parents' ability to equip black children to live in an often racist society.

ITEM 4 White parents are not prepared to teach black children to cope with racism.

ITEM 5 Whites cannot understand the problems black children face in society.

ITEM 6 White parents cannot prepare black children for the problems associated with interracial dating.

ITEM 7 White parents can adequately prepare black children for the problems the children will face in school.

Five items were selected which measured respondents perception of how easy or difficult it would be for a black child raised by white adoptive parents to fare in both black and white cultures. The items were:

ITEM 8 Black children can never adjust in a white home.

ITEM 9 Black children adopted by whites are competent to function in black communities.

ITEM 10 Black children adopted by whites will not suffer culturally if provided integration with other blacks.

ITEM 11 Black children do not learn their cultural identity when raised by whites.

ITEM 12 Potential white parents need training in black history to adequately parent black children.

For the purpose of this study, the concept of transracial adoption is defined as the legal process of adopting African American children into white families. It is understood that there is only one human race, therefore the concept of "race" is used here for identification purposes. Also, although the term African American has recently become more popular than "black," black was used by the original authors in their instrument and for comparison this language was kept in the current study.

METHOD

The subjects in this study were African American university students enrolled at a major state university during the Fall Semester of 1994. The author obtained the list of students from the university's Office of Minority Affairs. The university is located in the southeastern region of the United States, and is predominantly white. A total of 1254 African American students out of approximately 24,000 students were enrolled at the time of the study.

As a first step in the data collection, the list was reviewed and only those students with complete information (name, address and telephone number) were selected. This resulted in a small group of 900 students. From this 900, a sample of 400 was selected by systematic sampling.

Four student volunteers coordinated contact of the participants through telephone calls, black student organizations, and the Martin Luther King Cultural Center at the university. Respondents were asked to give their opinion using a Likert-type Scale (Strongly Agree, Agree, Undecided, Disagree, Strongly Disagree), and a total of 368 (92%) completed and usable responses were obtained.

Of the 368 respondents, 215 (58%) were females, and 153 (42%) were males. All respondents were in the 18-39 year-old category. Most of the respondents had origins from the southeastern region of the United States (62%), while the other 38 percent originated from northeast, midwest, and the west. Seventy-four percent of respondents were undergraduate students, and twenty-six percent were graduate students. The self-administered questionnaire instructed participants to respond anonymously. The data were analyzed using descriptive statistics.

FINDINGS

African American college students in this survey overwhelmingly support transracial adoption of African American children by white parents over foster homes or other alternative institutions. For example, 76 percent of the respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed with the item statement that it is better to place

Table 1: Opinion Results of African American College Students on Transracial Adoption in Percentages and Numbers (N=368)

Item	Strongly Agree %	Strongly Agree N	Agree %	Agree N	Undecided %	Undecided N	Disagree %	Disagree N	Strongly Disagree %	Strongly Disagree N
1. Better to place black children in foster homes than adopted by whites.	--	--	5	18	19	70	31	114	45	116
2. Black children need a permanent home, regardless of race of adoptive parents.	68	250	14	52	8	29	4	15	6	22
3. Parents of black children should make the decision about adoption.	4	15	55	202	27	99	8	30	6	22
4. White parents are not prepared to teach black children to cope.	7	26	36	133	9	33	33	121	15	55
5. Whites cannot understand the problems of black children.	11	40	32	118	4	15	37	136	16	59
6. White parents cannot prepare black children for interracial dating.	14	15	30	110	12	44	32	118	12	44
7. White parents can adequately prepare black children for problems in school.	12	44	58	213	12	44	10	37	8	30
8. Black children can never adjust.	10	37	9	33	26	96	38	140	17	62
9. Black children adopted by whites are competent in black communities.	7	26	43	158	12	44	31	114	7	26
10. Black children adopted by whites will not suffer culturally.	26	96	49	180	16	59	6	22	3	11
11. Black children do not learn cultural identify.	34	125	25	92	7	26	30	110	4	15
12. White parents need training in black history.	46	169	38	140	4	15	10	37	2	7

black children in foster homes than have them adopted by white families. None strongly agreed, while 5 percent agreed, and 19 percent were undecided (Table 1).

Similarly, 82 percent concurred that black children need permanent homes, regardless of the race of adopting parents. Eight percent were undecided, and 10 percent disagreed.

However, 59 percent of the respondents preferred that black parents decide whether their children could be adopted by either black or white families. Twenty-seven percent were undecided, and 12 percent believed that it was not necessary to consult with the natural parent(s).

This survey also measured respondents perceptions of white adoptive parents sensitivity to the racial problems that black young people face. When asked if white parents are prepared to teach black children to cope with racism, respondents were almost evenly divided. Forty-eight percent expressed the opinion that white parents are not prepared to teach black children how to cope with racism, and 43 percent of the respondents felt that white parents are prepared to help black children cope with racism. Nine percent were undecided.

Another item related to white parent's understanding of problems that black children face in society. Fifty-three percent of respondents indicated that white adoptive parents of black children can understand the problems posed to these children by society. Forty-three percent disagreed and a very few (4%) were undecided.

Opinions were also evenly divided on the item related to interracial dating preparation of black children raised by white families. Forty-four percent of respondents felt that white families cannot prepare black children for interracial dating problems, while another 44 percent had the opinion that white families can indeed prepare their adopted black children. Twelve percent of the respondents were undecided.

Can white adoptive parents adequately prepare black children for the problems they may face in schools? Seventy percent of the respondents strongly agreed or agreed that white families who adopt black children indeed can adequately prepare their children for possible problems in school. Only 18 percent disagreed or strongly disagreed, and 12 percent were undecided.

Item eight asked respondents to indicate whether black children can or cannot adjust in white homes. Fifty-five percent of respondents said that black children can adjust in white families, while 19 percent felt that black children will never adjust in white families. About a quarter of all respondents (26%) were undecided.

Are black children raised by white families competent to function in black communities? Half of the college age respondents thought so. Thirty-eight percent indicated otherwise, while 12 percent were undecided.

Will black children adopted by white families suffer culturally? Seventy-five percent, the second largest proportion obtained with any of the items, believed that black children adopted by whites would not suffer culturally as long as their parents allow interaction with other blacks. Only 9 percent of the respondents thought that the children will still suffer culturally, while 16 percent were undecided.

About one-third (34%) of respondents believed that black children do not learn their cultural identity when raised by white families. However, 59 percent believed that they do learn their cultural identity when raised by white families. Seven percent were undecided.

Finally, there was strong consensus that potential white parents of black children need training in black history. Eighty-four percent of respondents strongly agreed or agreed with that statement. Only twelve percent did not concur with that statement, while 4 percent were undecided.

DISCUSSION

Transracial adoption, especially between white parents and African American children, has been dominated by concerns of legality, the child's psychosocial needs, and the problem of these children being denied exposure to their own cultural heritage. In light of the showing that children adopted transracially are as well adjusted as other adopted children, and the recent Howard M. Metzenbaum Multiethnic Placement Act of 1994 states, social workers, and those in the adoption practice ought to re-evaluate their policies preventing transracial adoption. But how do African Americans feel about the possibility increased transracial adoptions?

The findings from this study clearly indicate that the majority of African American college students do not oppose adoption of African American children by white families. A

significant majority appear to be favorable to transracial adoption under certain conditions. The preponderance of respondents believed that the need for a permanent home is more important to a black child's welfare than the race of the adoptive parents. This research found that while the respondents were aware of the child's possible low level of identification with the black community and culture, the needs of the individual child supersede that identification. At the same time, respondents strongly believed that adoptive white parents need a knowledge of black history to raise black children, and that efforts should be made to increase interaction between the child and other blacks.

This study also found that presently over half of the respondents felt that natural parents of black children should be allowed to have some say in the adoption of their children. This finding is interesting because it is consistent with open adoption practice—which is being adopted by many agencies.

There were five questions where 70 percent or more of the respondents agreed. Respondents recognized the value of transracial adoption over forcing black children to remain in foster homes, that black children need a permanent home regardless of race of adoptive parents, and that white parents can adequately prepare black children for problems in school. The need for white adoptive parents of black children to be trained in black culture and history was identified as a means of insuring that those children do not suffer culturally.

Furthermore, respondents divided evenly on issues about whether white parents understand the problems of black children and the ability of those children to competently function in black communities. While the respondents were concerned about the child's possible loss of identification with the black community, sensitivity to the needs of the individual child were overall more important. Implication from study findings is that African Americans are not in favor of the racial matching practice of the adoption process. Therefore, attention should be directed at improving opportunities for all toward the goal of a multicultural society.

Almost everyone would agree that a child's welfare should be the utmost concern in adoption. However, controversy continues to cloud the interest of children when it comes to whites adopting black children in the United States. Those who oppose transracial adoption feel that it is naive to think that whites can provide the coping mechanism needed for a black child to deal with a racially oppressive society. People who are black are encouraged to consider adopting children. The problem is that there are too many children to adopt. Recent direction in adoption practices advocate making it easier to adopt than in the past. It is important to clearly understand that the children are the ones victimized in the transracial adoption controversy. Issues of urgent consideration should address those factors of poverty and racism affecting African Americans in general. Those are the culprits, not any adoptive parent of any race.

LIMITATIONS AND STRENGTHS

One limitation of the study should be discussed which makes generalizations from this data somewhat problematic. The sample was drawn from a single southeastern state university. All the respondents had some college education and about a quarter of them were college graduates. Respondents are likely to be younger and somewhat more liberal in their views about transracial adoption than a cross-section of African American adults. Transracial adoption is an important topic that deserves further investigation with larger and more representative samples. Therefore, it is possible that the findings presented here concerning transracial adoption are unique to it. Perhaps, national samples may be considered for future research. However, one important strength of this research relate to the geographical diversity of respondents. Almost all regions of the country were identified as the geographical origin of respondents. Another strength of the data relate to the minority status of the respondents in a predominately white university. This is important because, that environment may have some influences on their perceptions concerning their families of origin and coping skills needed for individual survival in a predominately white social environment.

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VIETNAMESE AMERICAN HIGH SCHOOL DROPOUT RATES: ETHNICITY AS INSULATION

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ABSTRACT

This article addresses the question of why Vietnamese Americans show much lower high school dropout rates than the American population in general. It looks at two of the major explanations for failure to complete high school: family economic situation and family structure. It considers how the difference in dropout rates between Vietnamese Americans and the two large American racial groups (blacks and whites) may be related to differences in family income and family structure. The findings suggest that the low dropout rates among the Vietnamese do not result from economic or family structure characteristics of individual Vietnamese families. The findings suggest, instead, support for the position that an immigrant culture, understood as a distinctive pattern of social relations, can insulate young people from disadvantages in American society at large.

INTRODUCTION

The United States continues to show differences in educational attainment among its racial and ethnic groups. Minority students are less likely to complete high school than are members of the majority white group (Hacker 1992). However, one of the country's newest large minorities, Vietnamese Americans, shows surprisingly high levels of academic achievement (Caplan, Whitmore, Choy 1992; Rutledge 1992) and surprisingly low rates of failure to complete school (Bankston, Zhou 1994).

The 1990 U.S. Census shows that 49.3 percent of Vietnamese Americans between the ages of 18 and 24 were enrolled in college or another form of higher education beyond the high school level. By contrast, only 39.5 percent of white Americans and only 28.1 percent of black Americans in the same age group were in college. High school dropout rates among young Vietnamese Americans were also lower than those of other Americans. Only 6.5 percent of Vietnamese Americans from 16 to 19 were neither enrolled in high school nor high school graduates, compared to 9.8 percent of white American youth and 13.7 percent of black American youth (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1992b).

This article looks at two of the major explanations for failure to complete high school: family economic situation and family structure. It considers how the difference in dropout rates between Vietnamese Americans and the two large American racial groups (blacks and whites) may be related to differences in family income and family structure.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The socioeconomic background of families has consistently been found to influence the educational attainment of young people. In their classic study of the relation between family and education, Jencks and his co-authors (1972) found that family economic status was closely related to the number of years of schooling completed by children. The poorer the family, this study found, the lower the educational attainment of its young. Rumberger (1983, 1987) found that nearly a quarter of black male dropouts said that they had dropped out for economic reasons. More recently, Armor (1992) has attributed the narrowing of the gap between blacks and whites in educational attainment to the growth of the black middle class.

Family structure has also been cited as an influence on the dropout rates of individuals and as a source of racial and ethnic differences in school completion. A number of commentators have maintained that single-parent families are a source of social dislocation (Gilder 1981; Moynihan 1965; Murray 1984). A substantial body of research suggests that family structure can have a strong direct effect on school performance, independent of socioeconomic status (Mulkey, Crain, and Harrington, 1992) and on behavior and attitudes relevant to school performance (Hong Li, Wojtkiewicz 1992; Sandefur, McLanahan, and Wojtkiewicz 1992; Wojtkiewicz 1993). Others have argued that the lower levels of educational attainment on the part of children from one-parent families are actually the results of economic factors (Acock, Kiecolt 1989; Blechman 1982; Herzog, Sudia 1973; McLanahan 1985; Takeuchi, Williams, Adair 1991). Cherlin (1981) has maintained that the negative consequences of living in a female-headed household are not the results of the absence of a father as much as they are the results of living without a male income. Similarly, Milne, Meyers, Rosenthal & Ginsberg (1986) have maintained that living in a one-

Table 1: Selected Characteristics of U.S. White, Black, and Vietnamese Non-Householders Aged 16 Through 19

	Whites	Blacks	Vietnamese
Percent not in school, not high school graduates	9	11	6
Percent married or formerly married	2	1	1
Percent of females who have had at least one child	4	17	2
Percent in married couple families	80	46	73
Percent living in household in which a parent is head	88	83	88
Percent living in a household in which a step-parent is head	8	5	3
Percent living in a household in which a grandparents is head	3	10	2
Percent living in a household in which sibling is head	1	2	8
Percent living with a divorced parent	12	16	5
Percent living with a parent who has never married	0	12	1
Mean number of persons per family	4.2	4.7	5.7
Median family income	$43,000	$24,000	$31,101
Median income of household head	$25,000	$12,000	$15,367
Mean years of education of father	10.7	9.5	9.2
Mean years of education of mother	10.4	9.7	7.8
Mean age of father	45.2	43.6	48.3
Mean age of mother	43.0	42.2	45.0
Percent US born	95	95	4
Percent Post-1980 immigrants	2	3	37
Percent speak English very well	97	98	58
N	15011	3808	2216

Source: US Census of Population and Housing, 5 percent public use microdata sample, 1990

parent home affects family income, which, in turn, influences school outcomes.

Both the socioeconomic and family structure explanations of dropping out of school assume that the behavior of children is largely influenced by characteristics of their own families. However, Bankston (1995b) has suggested that we should see ethnicity as membership in a concrete pattern of social relations, rather than simply as a category in which membership is ascribed. This means the vulnerability of young people to influences on their educational attainment may depend on the extent to which an ethnic culture, understood as a pattern of relationships within an ethnic group, exposes them to these influences.

On this note, Portes and Zhou (1993) have suggested that it may be beneficial for the children of immigrants to avoid immediate assimilation into the larger American society. Being part of an immigrant group, according to this argument, insulates children from social problems, such as economic inequality or rapidly changing family structures, that affect the surrounding society. Thus, Gibson (1989) found that the outstanding performance of Punjabi children in a relatively poor rural area

of California was a result of parental pressure on children to adhere to the cultures of their own immigrant families and to avoid excessive Americanization. Matute-Bianchi (1986) found that Mexican American high school students who identified strongly with their Mexican heritage tended to do better much in school than those who assimilated into Mexican American youth culture.

With regard to Vietnamese young people, in particular, Bankston (1995a, 1996) has found that strong identification with a Vietnamese ethnic community helped adolescents in a low-income neighborhood avoid substance abuse and achieve high levels of school performance. Bankston and Zhou (forthcoming) found that the Vietnamese community promoted the adaptation of young people by steering them away from association with local minority youth.

From this perspective, we might see low Vietnamese dropout rates not as a result of individual characteristics of Vietnamese families, but as a result of the fact that Vietnamese ethnicity acts an alternative culture, an alternative set of social relations, that protects young people from disadvantages in the larger society. If this is true, then we should expect,

first, that the impact of Vietnamese ethnicity on high school dropout rates is not a result of individual family economic situation or of individual family structure. Second, we should expect that Vietnamese ethnicity lowers dropout rates the most where the disadvantages seem to be the greatest: in low income families and in single-parent families.

DATA AND METHODS

The data in this study are taken from the 5 percent Public Use Microdata Samples (PUMS) of the 1990 U.S. Census (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1992a). This is a random 5 percent sample of all persons and housing units in the United States. It offers more information than the full Census, and it provides individual level data, rather than the aggregate-level data offered by the full Census (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1992b).

The study seeks to consider why Vietnamese have lower high school dropout rates than either of the two major racial groups in the United States, whites and blacks. In order to do this, I first present characteristics of Vietnamese, white, and black youth aged 16 to 19, from the PUMS data. I suggest some of the possible reasons for differences in black, white, and Vietnamese dropout rates that are consistent with the empirical characteristics of the three groups.

Following the literature discussed above, I then focus on how family structure and household income, the two primary influences on dropping out of school identified by most researchers, are related to the probability of being a high school dropout for each of the three groups. Specifically, I address the following questions: Can low Vietnamese dropout rates be explained by family structure or household economic situation? If these dropout rates cannot be explained by family structure or household economic situation, is being Vietnamese most strongly associated with low dropout rates in the types of family structure and economic situation generally considered disadvantageous, that is, in single-parent and low-income families?

ANALYSIS

Table 1 presents selected characteristics of white, black, and Vietnamese American non-householders aged 16 through 19, taken from the 5 percent Public Use Microdata Samples (PUMS) of the 1990 U.S. Census (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1992a).

Since it is not possible to use Census data to examine parental or guardian characteristics of young people who have left home and set up their own households, I have selected only those not listed as householders or as spouses of householders. This has resulted in the proportions of high school dropouts, for all three groups, being slightly lower than those found in the full Census, but the trend remains the same: only 6 percent of Vietnamese aged 16-19 who are not householders are neither in school nor high school graduates, compared to 9 percent of white non-householders of the same age and 11 percent of black non-householders of the same age.

Table 1 indicates that all three groups show low rates of marriage at these ages. Statistics on fertility show drastic differences between black females in their late teens and females of the other two groups. Seventeen percent of black teenaged women still living at home have had at least one child, compared to 4 percent of white teenaged women and only 2 percent of Vietnamese teenaged women.

With regard to the parental composition of the household, Vietnamese teenagers resemble whites teenagers much more than they resemble black teenagers in the characteristics cited in this table. Eighty percent of the whites and 73 percent of the Vietnamese live in married couple households, compared to only 46 percent of black teenagers. Black teenagers are also slightly more likely than Vietnamese or whites to live in households in which someone other than a biological parent is head, although whites are the most likely to live in households in which a step-parent is head. Living in households in which a grandparent is head is much more common for black American teenagers (10%) than for either white teenagers (3%) or Vietnamese teenagers (2%). Vietnamese, however, are the most likely to live in households in which siblings are heads of household, probably as a result of the process of immigration for refugees, which often results in parents or other family members being left behind in Vietnam (Bankston 1995b; Kibria 1993; Zhou, Bankston 1994).

Even though the Vietnamese in this PUMS sample have slightly lower rates of living in two-parent families than do the whites, this does not appear to be due to divorce, since Vietnamese teenagers are the least likely of the three groups to be found living with a divorced parent, as shown in Table 1. This

Table 2: Crosstabulation of Black American and Vietnamese American Dropout Rates, Controlling for Family Structure

	Black		Vietnamese			
	%	N	%	N	X-squared	P
Dropouts in non-married couple families	12	1478	5	48	30.95	.01
Dropouts in married couple families	7	735	4	111	26.00	.01

Table 3: Crosstabulation of Black American and Vietnamese American Dropout Rates, Controlling for Household Income

	Black		Vietnamese			
Percent dropouts in families with incomes	%	N	%	N	X-squared	P
Under $25,000	12	1462	6	80	46.23	.01
$25,000 - $50,000	8	578	5	51	16.73	.01
$50,000 - $75,000	6	130	3	17	5.66	.05
Over $75,00	6	43	3	11	2.90	.09

could, of course, simply imply high rates of remarriage on the part of Vietnamese parents, but it seems more plausible to attribute the slightly lower rates of two-parent families among the Vietnamese to the hardships of the refugee process (Bankston 1995b; Kibria 1993; Rutledge 1992). Not only do black teenagers have the highest rate of living with divorced parents (16%), they also have the highest rate of living with parents who have never been married (11%, compared to 0% for white teenagers and 1% for Vietnamese teenagers, as shown in Table 1).

Given the general similarity between white American teenagers and Vietnamese American teenagers in parental composition of the household, it might be plausible to argue that both of these groups have lower dropout rates than do black Americans because neither have undergone the historical experiences that have affected black families. We might argue that the shattered families of the black American teenagers (reflected in the high rates of black one-parent families shown in Table 1) are the immediate cause of their somewhat higher dropout rates. This argument would be consistent with the literature that I have discussed above. This would still not explain why Vietnamese have lower dropout rates than whites, but it would at least suggest that family structure is one source of Vietnamese academic achievement.

The family incomes of the three groups also differ. White Americans between the ages of 16 and 19 live in families with the highest median income ($43,000) and black Americans in this age group live in families with the lowest median income ($24,000). The Vietnamese have a median income between these

two ($31,101). Part of the income difference between black American families and Vietnamese American might be attributed to the larger families, with greater numbers of workers, of Vietnamese in the U.S. However, even when we look only at individual incomes of heads of households we see a gap between Vietnamese heads of households, who have a median income of $15,367, and black heads of households, who have a median income of $12,000. These differences suggest another possible explanation for the dropout rates of the two groups: One might argue that the Vietnamese have lower dropout rates than black Americans because Vietnamese Americans enjoy a slightly more privileged economic situation. Again, however, this would not account for differences between Vietnamese and white Americans, since the Vietnamese are at a definite disadvantage to white Americans in income.

This table also tells us that Vietnamese American teenagers have less educated and older parents than either of the two primary American racial groups. Education of the fathers of Vietnamese teenagers were similar to those of black teenagers: 9.2 years and 9.5 years respectively, compared to 10.7 years for white teenagers. Vietnamese mothers of teenagers were less well-prepared educationally than Vietnamese fathers and they were less well-prepared than mothers of white or black teenagers, since Vietnamese mothers averaged only 7.8 years of schooling. On this note, it must be kept in mind, however, that years of education may be a somewhat misleading indicator of human capital for the Vietnamese, many of whom acquired their education in a foreign setting.

Table 4: Crosstabulation of White American and Vietnamese American Dropout Rates, Controlling for Family Structure

	White		Vietnamese			
Dropouts in	%	N	%	N	X-squared	P
Non-married couple families	10	1459	5	48	18.36	.01
Married couple families	6	3365	4	111	8.91	.01

Table 5: Crosstabulation of White American and Vietnamese American Dropout Rates, Controlling for Household Income

	White		Vietnamese			
Dropouts in Families with incomes	%	N	%	N	X-squared	P
Under $25,000	11	1749	6	80	32.66	.01
$25,000 - $50,000	7	1828	5	51	6.00	.05
$50,000 - $75,000	5	822	3	17	3.23	.07
Over $75,000	4	425	3	11	.50	.45

The fathers and the mothers of the Vietnamese are older than those of the other two groups: Vietnamese fathers, on the average, are about five years older than black fathers and about three years older than white fathers. Vietnamese mothers are about three years older than black mothers and about two years older than white mothers. Thus, it is possible to suggest that the greater maturity of Vietnamese parents could have some influence on lower the high school dropout rates of their children.

In one respect, the Vietnamese are clearly at an apparent disadvantage compared to the major racial groups in the United States: the former are much more recent arrivals and have much more limited skills in English. Only 4 percent of Vietnamese between the ages of 16 and 19 in 1990 were born in the United States, compared to over 95 percent of both black and white Americans. More than one-third of the Vietnamese in this age group arrived in the U.S. after 1980. Only about 58 percent of them could speak English very well, compared to almost all of the two primary American racial groups, as shown in this table.

When I say that Vietnamese students have low dropout rates I mean, of course, that their rates are low relative to those of the major groups in our society, which I take as reference points. A preliminary investigation of why Vietnamese students are less likely to drop out of school than the two major groups in American society can begin by focusing on two expected major influences on scholastic success: family structure and income.

Table 2 compares high school dropout rates for Vietnamese Americans aged 16 to 19

in the 1990 Public Use Microdata Sample with a 10 percent random subsample of Black Americans aged 16 to 19 in the 1990 Public Use Microdata Sample. Here I control for whether or not these teenagers live in married couple families. Looking at the first row, it can be seen that Vietnamese American teenagers in 1990 who were not living in married couple families had lower dropout rates than did Black American teenagers. When we look at the comparison of Vietnamese American and Black American teenagers *in* married couple families, we see that the Vietnamese still have lower dropout rates, but the difference between the two groups has lessened.

If more intact families were a chief reason that the Vietnamese have lower dropout rates than the major American minority group, we would expect to see the differences between the two groups disappear, or at least be greatly lessened, when we control for family structure. Instead, what we see is that differences between racial groups remain, but they are more pronounced among those who live in single-parent families. Among those that are most likely to leave school, those in single-parent families, being Vietnamese makes the greatest difference.

When we look at income categories, in Table 3, we see something very similar happening. The greatest difference in dropout rates between Black American and Vietnamese American teenagers is in the lowest category. As household income increases, the "benefits" of being Vietnamese appear to decrease.

When we look at differences between a 10 percent random subsample of White American teenagers aged 16 to 19 and Vietnamese American teenagers, in Table 4, we see very

much the same pattern.

The Vietnamese are less likely to be dropouts than Whites, whether or not they live in married couple families. But, again, the difference is more pronounced for the non-married couple families. Income shows much the same pattern. Once more, as household income increases, shown in Table 5, the differences between the Vietnamese and the majority group decrease. Neither family structure nor income explains why the Vietnamese have lower dropout rates than most Americans. On the contrary, being Vietnamese appears to be an advantage precisely when a young person is in a type of family associated with high dropout rates or in an income category associated with high dropout rates.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Economic inequalities in American society are clearly related to differences in school attainment. The higher the income of a young person's family, the less likely that young person is to leave school before graduating. Family structure, also, is related to school attainment. Young people in one-parent families are more likely to quit school than young people in two-parent families. Both of these statements are true for each of the three racial/ethnic groups examined in this study.

For Vietnamese Americans, however, economic inequality and family structure produce fewer differences than they do for white Americans and black Americans. Vietnamese Americans with low family incomes have dropout rates that are only slightly higher than those of Vietnamese Americans with high family incomes; low income white and black Americans show dropout rates that are much higher than high income whites and blacks. Vietnamese Americans who do not live with two parents show dropout rates only slightly higher than Vietnamese Americans who do live with two parents; white and black Americans who are not in two-parent families show much higher dropout rates than those who are.

The results indicate that the influence of Vietnamese ethnicity on school attainment should be seen as *preventive*, rather than strictly *causal*. In other words, Vietnamese ethnicity appears to *prevent* young people from dropping out of school because of disadvantages related to family economic situation or family structure, the two primary causes of dropping out of school identified by the research literature. Vietnamese ethnicity is most strongly related to lower dropout rates in precisely those categories that young people are most likely to drop out (single parent homes and economically disadvantaged families). This can provide us with a useful perspective on how an immigrant culture can affect possibilities for upward mobility. It is not that Vietnamese Americans possess a "superior" culture that gives them a great advantage over all other Americans. Rather, being a part of a distinctive ethnic culture, an "alternative" culture, appears to insulate them from suffering the ill effects of poverty and single parent families, even when they are themselves poor and in single parent families.

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SURGICAL SPECIALIZATION IN A LIMITED HEALTH CARE PROFESSION: COUNTERVAILING FORCES SHAPING HEALTH CARE DELIVERY

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ABSTRACT

This study investigated correlates of surgical specialization among a group of non-physician specialists—podiatrists. Placed in the context of a countervailing powers perspective, we investigate one research question not previously examined among a group of limited-health professionals: Is the current work environment of podiatrists (e.g., practice locations, work in a hospital, physician referrals), as compared to their prior education and sociodemographic characteristics, more likely to be associated with surgical specialization? Results show that respondents who practiced in more than one office location, who made referrals to endocrinologists, and who had full medical-staff privileges in a hospital had the greatest likelihood of claiming specialization in surgery. Implications of the findings are discussed in terms of how developments in podiatry are related to a reconfiguration of health care delivery by involving podiatrists increasingly with the traditional work and authority of physicians.

INTRODUCTION

Recent sociology of medicine research has reported on the importance of a new theoretical perspective, that of countervailing powers, in order to better understand professional dynamics that include the interrelationships among established medicine and limited-medical professions (e.g., podiatric medicine) (Abbott 1988; Hafferty, Light 1995; Halpem 1992). The countervailing powers perspective suggests that established medicine is shaped by

the particular configuration of countervailing institutional powers, and all within a framework of professional dynamics that includes professional ascension as well as professional maintenance and professional decline. (Hafferty, Light 1995)

Consideration of the countervailing powers perspective has been a redirection of both professional work in cross-profession arenas and jurisdictional control that determines how such cross-profession domains may be changing and delimiting the traditional authority of established medicine (Hafferty, Light 1995; Halpem 1992). From a variety of institutions and groups, countervailing pressures have eroded physicians' hegemony. These countervailing pressures include, but are not limited to, demographic changes and significant changes in reimbursements for services, managed care arrangements, and the increased role of other health care occupations in treatment networks with physicians (Chumbler, Grimm 1994, 1995; Hafferty, Light 1995). The term "managed care" is used generically to describe all types of integrated health care delivery systems, such as health

maintenance organizations (HMOs) and preferred provider organizations (PPOs), that provide cost-conscious motivations for how and why care is to be delivered (Wirth, Allcorn 1993). In the past, the health care industry operated on a fee-for-service model where patients solicited care on their own, using physicians they wanted. Once selected, the physician was completely autonomous in providing whatever care patients desired (Ferraro 1993; Wirth, Allcorn 1993). Now, HMOs extend

contractual responsibility for care to a voluntarily enrolled, defined population in exchange for a fixed annual or monthly fee independent of use of services. (Ferraro 1993)

Under various HMO plans, primary care physicians (physicians who specialize in either family practice, general internal medicine, or general pediatrics) have more power relative to physician specialists, by controlling and monitoring patient referrals to specialists (Wirth, Allcorn 1993; Xu, Veloski, Hojat, Fields 1995). Therefore, in the context of contemporary management of patient referrals, primary care physicians are often called "gatekeepers."

HMOs perform the dual function of being both the insurer and the provider of health care (Ferraro 1993; Wirth, Allcorn 1993). Over 15 percent of the U.S. population (36,482,090) were enrolled in HMOs by July 1991 (Ferraro 1993; MacLeod 1993). This fundamental change—from the traditional fee-for-service care model to the pre-paid group model—has given expanded roles to some health care occupations and also diminished the degree to which physicians dominate the jurisdictional control of health care (Ferraro 1993; Hafferty,

Light 1995).

Previous studies have presented historical evidence suggesting that physicians have lost some of their autonomous control over their anatomical areas of expertise (Abbott 1988; Halpern 1992). Results of such studies suggest that more power is lost when common work takes place in large, multi-field organizations such as hospitals (Abbott 1988; Wirth, Allcorn 1993). Conversely, less power is lost to limited medical professions if they have the exclusive control of work and if medicine has the exclusive source of supervisory control over challenging groups (Halpern 1992). Therefore, past research has focused on aspects of medicine in relation to worksites as key issues in determining the amount of jurisdictional authority lost to or shared with groups seeking increased jurisdictional control over work shared with physicians (Hafferty, Light 1995).

However, what continues to be missing from the literature is information on the

> changing nature of medical work as it is reconfigured across the various health occupations....Like medicine, other health occupations are becoming highly stratified. (Hafferty, Light 1995)

To fill an important void in the literature on stratification among health occupations, the present study shifts the focus from jurisdictional resolution of cross-profession work in health care settings (Hafferty, Light 1995) to an examination of a group of podiatrists, foot specialists who are not physicians, but have characteristics of practice similar to them (Skipper, Hughes 1983).

Countervailing Forces within Podiatry

Podiatrists are trained at colleges of podiatric medicine and from a curriculum that is very similar to those of medical schools (Helfand 1987). Podiatrists typically treat types of "foot problems for which physicians, in general, have not been particularly inclined to show special interest" (Skipper, Hughes 1983). For instance, podiatrists are likely to treat minor foot ailments (such as corns, calluses, and bunions) (Wylie-Rosett, Walker, Shamoon, Engel, Basch, Zybert 1995). Nevertheless, podiatrists have not obtained full autonomy over the foot. For instance, physicians rather than podiatrists have the authority to amputate the foot (Skipper, Hughes 1983). However, like primary care physicians, podiatrists perform a

vital role in the health care delivery system because many ailments of the feet are considered a significant health problem patients regularly seek initial treatment from podiatrists (Skipper, Hughes 1983; Wylie-Rosett et al 1995).

Podiatrists also can perform a gatekeeper role by detecting severe conditions, especially with diabetics, and by making referrals to physicians (Chumbler, Grimm 1995). The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention recommended that the feet of diabetic patients should be examined at every visit to a provider (Wylie-Rosett et al 1995). When treating the foot-related ailments of diabetics, especially those who are over age 65, podiatrists are common sources of referrals to endocrinologists, medical sub-specialists who diagnose and treat individuals with diabetes. In 1992, fourteen million Americans had diabetes, and 55,000 of them had lower-limb amputations. Research suggests that 50 percent of these amputations would have been preventable based upon early detection by means of examinations and treatments provided by podiatrists (Wylie-Rosett et al 1995).

In the context of managed health care provision, the present study does not imply that podiatrists have obtained full autonomy over their anatomical area of expertise, or that they have more authority to treat foot ailments than physicians. However, in this era of cost-conscious and managed provision of care, we are studying podiatry as an excellent example of a field which is becoming an alternative source of treatment that could be, but is not provided by physicians (Chumbler, Grimm 1995; Hafferty, Light 1995). More specifically, the present study is primarily focused on exploring the characteristics of podiatrists who claim specialization in surgery. Podiatric surgical activity, especially as it takes place more in hospitals, is considered to be a key countervailing force which has impacted and will continue to impact the traditional hegemony of physicians (Levrio 1987, 1992).

In the analysis presented below we shift the major sources of evidence of countervailing forces that reduce the hegemony of physicians from historical records of professional associations (Abbott 1988) and litigation records or other legal data (Halpern 1992) to self-reported characteristics of practitioners' educational/professional training, their sociodemographic backgrounds and their practice environments. Such data are a rich, yet under-utilized, source

of information on the rapidly increased role of providers other than physicians (Hafferty, Light 1995).

Surgical Specialization within Podiatry

The emergence of a formally recognized surgical specialization within podiatric medicine has been a slow, arduous process, resulting in multi-option training (Chumbler, Grimm 1995; Levrio 1992). The podiatrists who specialize in surgery either have hospital residency training and certification in podiatric medical surgery (Grimm, Chumbler 1995), or they have performed a preceptorship under the direction of a certified podiatric surgeon (Levrio 1987, 1992). Another difference between podiatrists who specialize in surgery and physicians who specialize in surgery, centers around practice structure. Being surgically specialized in podiatric medicine does not mean full-time specialization; it is not uncommon for podiatrists to actively participate in surgeries and also provide primary podiatric care for a variety of common foot ailments. Given that surgical specialization among podiatrists is difficult to establish through objective criteria related to preparation for actual practice activity, in this study we use a self-reported item representing podiatrists affirming the predominant role of surgery in their practices.

Trends within podiatry that also may be related to podiatrists' propensity to specialize in surgery are the advancement of educational and professional training within podiatry and podiatrists' expanded surgical activity gained through staff privileges in hospitals (Grimm, Chumbler 1995). By the 1980s, approximately 75 percent of podiatrists practicing in the Chicago Metropolitan Statistical Area—the location of the study sample—had gained some type of hospital medical staff privileges. Previous studies found certain sociodemographic traits of podiatrists such as their age and gender to be related to surgical specialization in podiatry. For instance, as compared to male podiatrists, females were less likely to report surgical activity in their private practices (Chumbler, Grimm 1993). Other research has found that relatively younger podiatrists (those 40 years of age or younger) were more likely to have completed surgical residency training and less likely to refer surgical cases to other podiatrists (Grimm, Chumbler 1995). Past research also demonstrated that in comparison to Caucasian podiatrists, African

Americans were less likely to have completed surgical residencies (Chumbler, Grimm 1994).

Certain aspects of podiatric medical practice also may be key components of the countervailing forces within podiatry that are confronting the traditional scope of physicians' traditional practice activity and power. Abbott (1988) argued that when different health care occupations perform similar work in common work settings (e.g., hospitals and large clinics) cross-field accommodations called "systems of professions" develop. Thus, structural aspects of podiatric medical practice that could be important elements of countervailing forces of surgical practice activity include: 1) number of office locations, including clinics, hospitals & group practices; 2) hospital staff privileges; and 3) the amount of hospital practice activity.

The present study also examines the referrals made by podiatrists to three types of physician specialists, pediatricians, orthopedists, and endocrinologists. These three specialists represent common destinations of patient referrals from podiatrists in specific configurations of treatment sequences. Foot problems related to infants and children are common. So common, that a sub-specialty, pedo-podiatry, has emerged to treat some foot ailments of infants, children and adolescents. However, pediatricians still treat most foot problems of children and therefore receive frequent referrals from podiatrists (Helfand 1987). Orthopedists receive many referrals from podiatrists, since they perform many foot surgeries, especially those dealing with severe bone fractures of the foot and ankle (Weiner, Steinwachs, Frank, Schwartz 1987). Likewise, endocrinologists receive many referrals from podiatrists because podiatrists are the first and often continue to be the most frequently seen provider of treatments for foot ailments related to diabetes (Helfand 1987).

To better understand the role of podiatry in the expanded and more complicated hierarchy of power and professional activity of health care providers suggested by the countervailing forces perspective, we provide the needed information recently called for by Hafferty and Light (1995). They call for the need for determining whether aspects of work settings or prior socialization (training and certification) are more important in determining the realignments of professional activity and professional allegiances. Additionally, previous research on physicians emphasized the influence of work settings rather than medical

training to explain professional activity and orientations (Abbott 1988; Freidson 1970a, 1970b; Wolinsky 1988). However, little remains known about the relative importance of these factors in alternative providers, particularly podiatrists.

Based on the literature discussed above, we investigate the following research question:

1) Does the current work environment of podiatrists (e.g., practice locations, work in a hospital, patient referrals to physicians) or the prior education/professional training and sociodemographic characteristics of podiatrists more likely to be correlated with surgical specialization?

METHOD
Sample

Questionnaires were mailed to a fifty percent sample (N=280) of all podiatrists practicing in the Chicago Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA), during March 1991. One hundred sixty-eight completed questionnaires were returned, yielding a response rate of 60.0 percent. The sampling frame contained a list of the names, addresses, and phone numbers of all podiatrists practicing in the Chicago MSA. The names of podiatrists that had the Chicago school of podiatric medicine as their primary practice location were deleted from the sampling frame. This was done to derive a sample of respondents practicing primarily in the non-academic community. The Illinois Podiatric Medical Association (IPMA) provided the authors with the sampling frame, only 10 days old at the time of receipt.

The study sample was compared to two other samples, a regional sample of Chicago MSA podiatrists conducted by the Illinois Podiatric Medical Association (IPMA 1987) and a national sample (Skipper, Pippert 1985), to determine its representativeness. Five distributions were compared across all three samples, using the Chi-square goodness-of-fit test (p<.05): 1) gender; 2) age; 3) proportion in group practices; 4) proportion on hospital medical staffs; and 5) the duration of residency training. The study sample had a larger proportion of female respondents. Otherwise, the differences between the study sample, the IPMA regional sample, and the national sample were not statistically significant (Chumbler, Grimm 1993).

Measurement
Surgical Specialization

We assessed podiatrists' surgical specialization with a binary variable that contrasts respondents who describe their practice as surgically specialized (scored 1) with those who do not describe it (scored 0). Approximately 58 percent of the respondents described their practice as being surgically specialized.

Sociodemographic and Educational/ Professional Training

We employed three sociodemographic variables: age (years); race (1=white); and gender (1=male). We used three educational/professional training indicators that reflect the training and credentials of respondents: residency training (1=yes); length of residency training for those with it (years); and national certification in surgery (1=yes). A majority of the study sample were male (83%), white (90%), and neither residency trained (51%), nor nationally certified in surgery (70%). Ages of respondents ranged from 25 to 78, with a mean of 42.2 years (median=39.00) and a standard deviation (SD) of 11.79 years. The length of residency training ranged from one to four years, with a mean of 1.5 years (median =1.00, SD=.81 years).

Professional Practice Characteristics

The professional practice settings of podiatrists were measured by four dichotomous variables: solo practice (1=yes); number of office locations (1=two or more); length at current office location (1=11 or more years); and location of practice within the Chicago MSA (1=suburbs and outlying communities or outside of city). Approximately three-fourths (74%) of respondents were in solo practices, slightly over one-half (52%) indicated two or more office locations, over one-third (37%) had practiced 11 or more years at the current location(s), and 64 percent practiced either in the suburbs and/or outlying communities.

Referrals to Physicians and Hospital Orientation

Respondents were queried about whether they made at least one patient referral within the past four weeks to the following physician specialists: pediatricians (1=yes), orthopedic surgeons (1=yes), and endocrinologists (1=yes). One-third of the respondents reported practicing referrals to pediatricians,

Table 1: Logistic Regression Results of Characteristics on the Likelihood of Podiatrists' Surgical Specialization

Independent Variables	Logistic Coefficient/ Standard Error	Odds Ratio
Sociodemographic		
Age	-.02/.03	.98
White	.40/.64	1.50
Male	.54/.49	1.72
Educational/Professional Training		
Residency	.43/.63	1.54
Length of Residency	.32/.29	1.37
Surgical Certification	.79/.48	2.20
Professional Practice		
Solo Practice	-.03/.45	.97
Number of Office Locations	1.17/.39**	3.21
Length at Current Location	.19/.19	1.20
Practice Outside City	-.03/.43	.98
Referrals to Physicians		
Pediatricians	.15/.43	.98
Orthopedic Surgeons	-.25/.49	.78
Endocrinologists	1.30/.45**	3.66
Hospital Orientation		
Number of Hrs/Wk Practiced in Hospitals	-.01/.03	.99
Full Medical Staff Privileges in a Hospital	1.02/.47*	2.76
Intercept	-2.57	
N	167	
Model x-squared/df	48.68/15	
Dep. var. mean	.58	
Pseudo R-squared	.226	

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

three-fourths made referrals to endocrinologists, and 79 percent reported referrals to orthopedic surgeons. Hospital practice activities of podiatrists were assessed by the number of hours practiced in hospitals (hours/week), and whether the respondent possessed full medical-staff privileges in a hospital (1=yes). Nearly two-thirds (64%) of respondents spent no hours per week in the hospital. Of those who did, the average number of hours per week was five (median = 3.00, SD = 7.54 hours). A majority (71%) of respondents reported full medical-staff privileges in hospitals.

Multivariate Analysis

Since the dependent variable—surgical specialization—is dichotomous, the appropriate multivariate analytic technique is logistic regression. In logistic regression the dependent variable is the natural log of the odds of a given response category (Hosmer, Lemeshow 1989). The log odds can be transformed into odds ratios, or exponentiated regression coefficients, allowing for an easier form of interpretation. The odds ratio (OR) represents the relative change in the odds of specializing in surgery given one-unit increase in the independent variable, adjusting for all other variables. To show how well the model fits the data, we report the model chi-square and the pseudo R^2, a descriptive measure that is a rough estimate of the variation in surgical specialization accounted for by the independent variables (Knoke, Bornstedt 1994). The independent variables were force selected into the logistic regression model. We used the listwise deletion procedure for missing data. Remarkably, only one case was deleted due to missing data. Therefore, the final sample size for the multivariate analysis was 167.

We performed several diagnostic tests in order to assess whether or not our results satisfied regression assumptions. For instance, we screened for multivariate outliers and found no meaningful violations that affected the descriptive statistics. Second, we found that the residuals met the assumptions of linearity, normality, and homoscedasticity. Third, we found weak collinearity, yielding confidence in the precision of the beta coefficients. Specifically, investigation of variance inflation factors (VIFs) for all the independent variables were less than 1.7, while most were around 1.0. VIFs greater than 10 are considered an indication of bias (Neter, Wasserman, Kutner 1990).

RESULTS

Table 1 presents the logistic regression model, with podiatric surgical specialization as the dependent variable. Results in Table 1 include the unstandardized logistic regression coefficients, followed by standard errors, odds ratios, and significant p-values indicated by means of asterisks.

Results indicate that, net of the estimated effects of the sociodemographic, educational/professional training, professional practice, referrals to physicians, and hospital orientation characteristics, the following three variables (with their respective odds ratio in parentheses) had significant associations with self-reported surgical specialization among the podiatrists we studied:

1) practicing in two or more office locations (odds ratio = 3.21, p<.01);

2) making at least one patient referral to an endocrinologist four weeks prior to the study (odds ratio = 3.66, p<.01); and

3) holding full medical-staff privileges in a hospital (odds ratio = 2.76, p<.05).

A fourth variable, national certification in surgery, approached statistical significance at p<.05. More specifically, respondents were surgically certified were two times more likely (p=.08) to be surgically specialized, as compared to those without such certification. Collectively, all 15 independent variables accounted for a significant, albeit a modest, proportion of variance explained in surgical specialization (pseudo R^2 = .226).

DISCUSSION

Surgery has played a key role in enhancing the roles of podiatrists in health care as well as expanding their training for contemporary practice activity (Grimm, Chumbler 1995; Levrio 1987, 1992). Understanding what aspects of podiatrists' training for and involvement in surgical specialization helps explain the important changes in podiatry which have impacted the traditional authority and practice activities of physicians (Hafferty, Light 1995).

Results of our multivariate analysis show that neither the sociodemographic background (age, gender, and race) or professional training (completion of a residency) were associated with respondents' surgical specialization. Present results fail to support previous research that indicated men were more likely than women to declare surgical specialization in podiatry.

The finding that surgical certification was correlated with surgical specialization runs contrary to notion that practice environments are more important than sociodemographic and educational/professional training characteristics. We should point out that this finding approached statistical significance and was not significant at the customary level of p<.05. In the years to come, surgical certification may emerge as a stronger correlate of surgical specialization because other research has shown that surgical specialization yields more patient referrals from other podiatrists (Grimm, Chumbler 1995). Certification in surgery may underlie patterns of patient referrals among podiatrists which result in the existence of a surgically-based specialty in

podiatry. Therefore, credentials appear to play a key role in the process by which specialties are recognized in fields other than those involving physicians.

The study results identified that the number of office locations rather than their structures (i.e., solo versus group practices) or geographical locations (i.e., within or outside the city of Chicago) as strong associations with surgical specialization. One possible interpretation of this outcome is that patient referral exchanges between podiatrists and physicians are significantly more likely if podiatrists' offices were located in hospitals and/or multi-group office complexes where physicians are located. Rather than geographical location and structural nature of podiatric medical practice, it may be that locations allowing reciprocal patient referrals are more likely to enhance the likelihood that podiatrists declare surgical specialization and engage in more surgeries.

The strong and positive relationship between referrals made to endocrinologists and surgical specialization is analogous to the findings and outcomes of patient exchanges between physicians and podiatrists (Chumbler, Grimm 1994, 1995). In a recent study of older diabetic patients in four New York (inner-city) family care clinics, Wylie-Rosett et al (1995) found that 35 percent of all patient charts provided evidence of foot care referrals from primary care physicians, mostly to podiatrists. Thus, what may be involved in the reconfiguration of treatment for older adults with diabetes is dual roles played by podiatrists. With 14 million Americans having diagnosed diabetes, it is imperative for managed care organizations to effectively and efficiently assess each patient with diabetes and acknowledge that podiatrists are one of several practitioners that should treat diabetics. Physicians who practice in medical groups should have surgical podiatrists as colleagues who they can discuss cases (Wirth, Allcorn 1993).

The results showed that full medical-staff privileges in a hospital rather than amount of hours per week working in a hospital was significantly associated with surgical specialization. Even though podiatrists still perform some surgeries in their offices rather than hospitals, our results suggest that it is the membership on hospital medical staffs which allows podiatrists to enhance their surgical prowess. Previous research on health care occupations has suggested that linkages with hospitals permits the professional

environment for role expansion (Abbott 1988; Hafferty, Light 1995). Results from the present investigation corroborate previous research suggesting that podiatrists with full-medical staff privileges in a hospital are likely to be involved in surgical activities and exchange patient referrals with physicians (Chumbler, Grimm 1995; Grimm, Chumbler 1995). Thus, our research showed that work settings are not necessarily the only or even the predominant force behind integrated relationships between physicians and other providers.

Interpretations of our findings are limited because of the data. First, our response rate was decent, but not to optimal. Even with the modest response rate, the sample was representative of the most recent samples of Chicago area and nationwide podiatrists. Another weakness of the study is that we were unable to collect any data on the respondents' perceptions of managed care organizations or their future role in such organizations.

CONCLUSION

Overall, our exploratory study provided some indications of why podiatry played an increased role in health care as compared to the traditional authority and practice activities of physicians. We found that neither the absence nor full autonomy nor full time surgical specialization prevented podiatrists from sharing more work with physicians. In fact, it is because many podiatrists are both specialists and primary-care providers that they have several viable ways to share work with physicians. Interestingly, we found that both work settings and credentials are a part of the process by which podiatrists' work helps reconfigure the activities of other providers.

Future research could use these findings as an impetus for examining the changing nature of medical work in other health care occupations, for example, clinical nurse specialists, nurse practitioners, and physician assistants. As Hafferty and Light (1995) pointed out, more information needs to be known about the internal activities of these occupational groups, and to be understood about how they are positioning themselves relative to other practitioners in U.S. health care delivery system.

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ROLE EXIT FROM HOME TO HOMELESS

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ABSTRACT

This paper addresses homelessness as an involuntary type of role exit, experienced by women residing in emergency shelters or a transitional housing program. Put forth is an analysis of Ebaugh's role exit process (which has traditionally been applied to voluntary types of transitions). A reordered model is presented which considers a unique sequential process. Specifically, these areas are examined: the events leading to homelessness, decision making in terms of procuring shelter and other resources, the development of the homeless identity, the experience of homelessness as a distinctive role, and plans for exiting this role.

INTRODUCTION

A growing area of study in the field of development is the process of transitions in adulthood (Allen, van de Vliert 1984; Conville 1988; Hogan 1980; Menaghan 1989). These transitions have been conceptualized as "role exits" in which the individual disengages from a role that is central to self-identity and reestablishes a new identity that is, in part, based on their ex-role (Ebaugh 1988). This approach involves a process model which identifies event sequences underlying all role exits, regardless of the specific role in question. While the process model has been used primarily to examine voluntary role exits, involuntary role exits are also a part of the adult experience (Blau 1973). Involuntary transitions include changes such as death of a spouse, expulsion by group (e.g. excommunication), divorce, and job loss.

The focus of role exit research to date has been the *voluntary* role exit process. Thus, the process has been examined for those who choose a role transition or change (whether it be occupational, religious, marital, or other). The current study applies role exit theory to *involuntary* exiters (those who did not pursue the change, but had it forced upon them by external circumstances). The goal is to determine how well general role exit theory explains the experience of involuntary exits.

This study extends the framework by applying it to the involuntary experience of homelessness for women and women with dependent children. Specifically, we explore how homeless women make involuntary transitions from one status (that of a housed citizen) to another (a displaced or homeless person). While a few may be seen as choosing this role, most have not. Regardless, the focus is on those who *define their* situation as an involuntary one. While previous work on exit types emphasizes aspects of autonomy, self-direction, and controllability of the situation, this research deals with powerlessness, helplessness, and uncontrollability.

Whether role exits are voluntary or not, they rarely happen as a result of one sudden decision. Rather, role exiting usually takes place over a period of time, frequently beginning before the individual is fully aware of what is happening or where events and decisions are leading. The current research examines the events leading to homelessness, decision making in terms of procuring shelter and other resources, development of a homeless identity, the experience of homelessness as a distinctive role, and plans for exiting the homeless role.

Theory of "Role Exit"

The concept of role exit was introduced in the literature to describe a process that occurs "whenever any stable pattern of interaction and shared activities between two or more persons ceases" (Blau 1973). Essentially, this describes the transition which leads to a role exit. It is a complex and recurring process since there are few statuses retained over the life course and these are generally ascribed.

Socialization, from a developmental perspective, is a life-long process in which new or changing conditions are constantly encountered. Thus, new demands are encountered by individuals in every stage of the life-cycle. Anticipatory socialization, central to this process, describes the acquisition of values and orientations found in statuses and groups one is not yet engaged in, but which one is likely to enter in the future (Merton 1957). The more an individual engages in anticipatory socialization, the sooner he or she will be comfortable with a new role (Ebaugh 1988; Merton 1957). Thus, it aids the individual's assimilation into a group, in terms of motivation and ease of entrance, and it eases his or her adjustment after becoming a member.

The problem is that, unlike childhood, adult life is filled with few major guidelines to assist anticipatory socialization. What develops instead are rather rigid notions about age-appropriate behavior. As Neugarten, Moore, and Lowe describe:

expectations regarding age-appropriate behavior form an elaborated and pervasive system of norms governing behavior and interaction, a network of expectations that is imbedded throughout the cultural fabric of adult life. There exists what might be called a prescriptive time-table for the ordering of major life events. (1965)

Thus, one of the major bases for the ascription of status and one of the underlying dimensions by which social interaction is regulated is age. This is more commonly known as "age-grading" influences. The other two regularly cited influences are history-graded and idiosyncratic life events. Inherently, each of these factors can be seen as being causal in form. All of these "influences" are the markers which serve to let an individual known if she or he is properly moving through the life-cycle. However, the journey is often vague and problematic for adults. For unlike early childhood, there is no prescribed route of role entrances and role exits. Also, there are few, if any, agencies to "program" acceptable behavior, unlike childhood when there are numerous sources (i.e. parents, schools). A lack of agencies makes socialization in adulthood difficult (Bengston 1973; Blau 1973).

Another concern is that an increasing number of adults are undergoing major changes central to their core self or being. What this warrants is a continuing revisioning and re-evaluation of one's "social clocks." As Schlossberg (1984) warns, "the prescriptive timetable for the ordering of major life events is in flux." Plainly, this means that physical maturity is no longer (or perhaps never was) the period of social age marked off by relatively clear cut, tranquil events in the life-cycle. Briefly stated, most adults make at least one major shift in an area of their lives that they consider central to their self identity.

The transition or "exiting" of a central role involves tension between an individual's past, present, and future in terms of the expectations for appropriate behavior. The concept of self-identity is largely determined by social roles. Not all roles in a person's role repertoire are equally important to self-identity, nor are they all operative at any one time. Role exits (and for that matter role entrances) are closely related to self-identity since the roles an individual plays in society become part of one's self-definition. Over time, personal identity is formed by the internalization of role expectations and the reactions of others to one's positions in the social structure.

Transitions from one role to another must be seen in their social context. Rapid social changes experienced by individuals in the course of their lives generate a new type of self-concept, which Zurcher (1977) calls the "mutable self." The mutable self represents a significant shift for the individual, from orientation toward the stability of self (self as object) to orientation toward change of self (self as process). The mutable self develops as a response to the centrality and frequency of role change in the course of an individual's lifetime.

Therefore our society (or social structure) allows, perhaps even causes, the personal changes taking place. One relevant example is the concept of the "marginal man," which originated in case studies of immigrants. It portrays the immigrant as an individual caught between two cultural worlds as she or he struggles to leave behind the old world and adapt to the new one. The uncertainty involved is connected with perhaps the greatest degree of stress and negative effect. As Schlossberg (1984) writes, "the individual who is betwixt and between roles often feels marginal."

Two additional concepts important to role exit theory are disengagement and cognitive dissonance. Disengagement is involved in the role exit process and occurs any time a person withdraws from a group or social role. While disengagement theories have been developed to explain the aging process primarily, the concept refers to any process of role loss and disidentification with a previous source of self-identity. Thus, disengagement is yet another aspect of the larger social process deemed "role exit."

Cognitive dissonance, a state of tension that occurs when a person holds two incompatible or contradictory perceptions at the same time, is a major cause of the role exit being undertaken. Cognitive consistency theories in social psychology have long emphasized the need people have to balance and harmonize perceptions of their world (their social reality). Often there is a "turning point" experience for the role exiter that becomes central

Figure 1: Ebaugh's Role Exit Process (Voluntary Form)
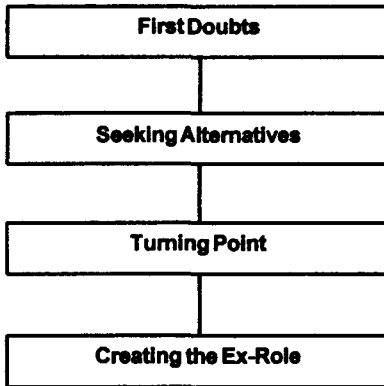
in demonstrating how one's current role is impossible or problematic. The individual realizes that somehow he or she must reduce the cognitive dissonance and justify his or her actions to put them in balance with attitudes and beliefs.

Role Exit Theory Applied to Homelessness

The preceding discussion has served to build up the theoretical base of "role exit" as a social psychological/sociological concept. There are a number of case studies on unique types of adult transitions, yet little scholarly attention has focused on "role exit" as a generic social process. Ebaugh (1988) contends that role exit is a generic social process that is as necessary in explaining social lives as socialization and role theory. Thus, Ebaugh describes a voluntary role-exit process which occurs in terms of decision making, seeking and weighing alternatives, anticipatory role playing, and alterations in significant reference groups (see Figure 1). Our present study examines role exit theory with data drawn from interviews with homeless women. The concern is with those homeless who define their situation as an *involuntary* one. Thus, in terms of role exit, the consideration would not be upon those persons who concede their homeless status is one they selected for themselves. This latter form of homelessness could in fact be applied to Ebaugh's theory as well. However, the emphasis in this study is on changes that were not intentionally sought by the individuals involved.

The current study examines issues that not only address experience of homelessness,

but also dovetail with the concerns raised by Ebaugh in her discussion of the role exit process. Specifically, the following will be addressed: the role or function served by the home; the role of work and unemployment; social networks and support; and homelessness as a distinctive subculture with its own unique socialization process. These points taken together not only provide a personal or individual level consideration of the homeless way of life, but also enable further analysis of homeless as another form of "role exit." Each stage of the process will be examined for applicability to the homeless experience.
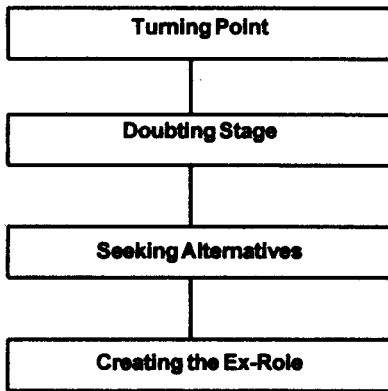
RESEARCH METHODS

The findings in this paper are based on a qualitative study of homeless women, and homeless women with dependent children, in a mid-sized, midwestern urban community. Data collection involved interviews up to three hours long with women residing in one of the four emergency shelters and the one transitional housing program for female-headed families in the area (N=102).

The interview guide was constructed to obtain an understanding of the events leading the women to the homeless shelter, the development of a homeless identity, a description of life as a homeless person, and the plans of homeless women to change their situation. Interviewing took place over nineteen months, from September 1988 through April 1990. The interviews were conducted by trained interviewers in the most private space available in the shelter, usually a room reserved for the residents use.

All interviews were tape-recorded, unless the respondent requested otherwise. Interviews were transcribed verbatim and coded and sorted using the IBM-PC database software program called ASKSAM. The text of the interviews was analyzed according to the process of grounded theory (Charmaz 1983), so that the responses were coded on the basis of emergent themes in the data. The selected quotes represent general themes identified throughout the majority of the interviews (Psathas 1995; Richardson 1988).

The sample is racially balanced (48% white; 52% African-American). The women range in age from 17 to 71, with a median age of 27. Almost half of the women have never married (46%) and 41 percent are either separated or divorced. One-fourth of the women have never had any children. The mothers

Figure 2: The Modified Role Exit Process (Involuntary Form)

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│         Turning Point           │
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                │
┌─────────────────────────────────┐
│         Doubting Stage          │
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                │
┌─────────────────────────────────┐
│       Seeking Alternatives      │
└─────────────────────────────────┘
                │
┌─────────────────────────────────┐
│       Creating the Ex-Role      │
└─────────────────────────────────┘
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have, on average, 2.5 children, with well over half (57%) having 1 or 2 children. The majority of the mothers had their first child as teenagers; 65 percent by the time they were 19 years old. The median years of education for this group is 12, with one-third not completing high school. The majority of the women (59%) are homeless for the first time, and a slightly higher percentage (62%) are in an emergency homeless shelter for the first time.

FINDINGS

It is necessary to realize that homelessness is a condition that is the culmination stage of a variety of problems affecting numerous groups, such as the mentally ill, the physically disabled and chronically ill, the elderly, single parents, runaway children, and entire families (Hoch 1987). A logical extension to this point is that there are just as many pathways leading to the homeless position. Regardless of the form, the end result is that these persons find themselves in a marginalized or alienated position in terms of the larger society (Ropers 1988).

Role or Function Served by the Home

Homelessness is interpreted here as being a form of "role exit" because the individuals lose a central or core component of their selves. Home plays a central part or "role" in defining who a person is (Feltey 1989; Watson 1986). Jahiel (1987) asserts that "because of [the] many functions of the home, the loss of one's home usually entails significant personal difficulties or hardship." It bares pointing out that homeless can also be from

environments with declining opportunities in the work force. This loss would also result in a profound sense of despair and inability to remain in control of one's life. This became evident when the respondents in our study were asked to define what home means to them. The homeless women identified eight dimensions comprising home: 1) physical shelter and a place to belong, 2) stability and permanence, 3) emotional well-being, 4) physical safety and security, 5) social relations, 6) freedom and privacy, 7) responsibility and control, and 8) self-identity. In one woman's words:

> Home is where you can raise your kids. You can have your own privacy. You have a sense of responsibility. [Home is] somewhere you can feel good about yourself. You don't have to answer to anyone. You don't have to go along with the program just because you are staying in someone's home, do what they say, eat what they say you have to eat, go to sleep when everyone else goes to sleep. You know you have more freedom in your own home.

It is being asserted here that the homeless experience a form of role exit. Thus, the loss of one's home could be interpreted as the activating event that brings with it extreme personal difficulties and hardship as a result of the void brought on by one no longer possessing a home.

As developed by Ebaugh, role exiting is a process comprising various stages. Due to the involuntary nature of becoming homeless, we are offering a re-ordered process (see Figure 2). The sequentiality of events is obviously different for an *involuntary* type of exit.

Turning Point Stage

The turning point is obviously the activating factor among the homeless women of this sample. As Table 1 indicates, there are evidently multiple events leading to the current episode of homelessness for the homeless women. Thirty-nine percent of the women report that they are currently homeless as a result of eviction by family relative or friends. One-fourth (25%) report that they chose to leave an intolerable situation (e.g. overcrowded conditions, drug or alcohol abuse by other in the home). Even though these respondents made this "choice", it could easily be asserted that due to the oppressive situation there was no alternative option. Close to one-fourth (23%)

Table 1: Events Leading to Current Episode of Homelessness*

	Cases	Responses
Eviction by family, relative, or landlord	62%	34%
Intolerable living conditions (such as overcrowding)	30%	18%
Drug or alcohol problems	22%	13%
Termination of a relationship with a man	19%	11%
Domestic violence	19%	11%
Loss of employment	17%	11%
		100%

*multiple reasons were provided by respondents

report that eviction by landlord led to their shelter stay. Twenty-two percent had drug or alcohol problems which contributed to their homelessness. Relationships with men directly contributed to homelessness: 19 percent are homeless because a relationship ended (e.g. divorce) and another 19 percent report that domestic violence resulted in their loss of home. Seventeen percent say loss of employment was a contributing factor. Finally, 5 percent were living in substandard housing which resulted in their turning to public shelter for accommodation. Many of the women report that a combination of factors led to their current homelessness, as the following accounts illustrate:

> (I ended up here because) MHA (public housing) put me on a list. They couldn't find a place for me so I waited and waited and I stayed with friends. Then my friends and family couldn't afford to have me anymore.

> When I was in the hospital (I just had a baby) my apartment was robbed and they took everything. They broke the windows and I was afraid to stay there. So I moved in with my sister. She has six kids and I have four. She didn't have enough room for me. Then I moved in with another sister. Section 8 called her and I had to leave so I ended up here.

> To make a long story short I was divorced and got back with my ex-husband. I broke a bone in my knee and I was unable to work. He deserted me and the children and I was unable to pay the rent and I got evicted. All of my clothes and belongings were set out.

> I stopped drinking for seven months and I started drinking again. I was staying with my mom and she threw me out. So that is how I came here.

Collectively, these various factors comprise examples of those "turning points" that led to these women and their children moving from housed individuals to marginal, displaced homeless persons. This "loss" brings with it changes involving the issues of privacy, freedom, and control. As Hoch sees it,

> when pushed into the ranks of the wandering poor, [homeless] people lose not only a physical place, but their social standing as well. (1987)

Truly, the women of this sample have experienced a significant type of social marginality. In her study, Feltey (1989) addressed these issues (privacy/freedom/control) and detailed how they come to be altered when a person takes on the "homeless" identity. Specifically, she notes that

> homeless women often speak with longing about the freedom and privacy they are denied in the shelter system. Home physically structures privacy, creating a barrier between the individual and the public world. (Feltey 1989)

In one's own home there is a sense of personal domain. With the homeless "lifestyle," one must forsake these "privileges" and accept the rules and regulations defined by others.

In terms of control, Feltey describes how

> adult responsibility and control over one's own life are important aspects of having a home. Homeless women often feel that they are treated like children in a shelter, and that they have no control over the events in their lives. (1989)

Rather involuntarily, these women lose a significant level of control over their daily lives. The following passages demonstrate this sense of loss:

> I don't know what happened, it was like I lost all

control over everything. [Service workers] took over... and I didn't have nothing to say.

You don't have any privacy... it just seems like I am going back to being a child.

Doubting Stage

Collectively, the feelings of powerlessness, loss of privacy, and lack of control over one's life appear to lead to severe doubts about one's chances for adaptation. As Ebaugh describes these doubts, they are often brought on by organizational change or disappointments and changes in relationships. It is only over a period of time that the individual is able to reinterpret reality and articulate how their current role is problematic.

This is obviously the case for homeless women as well, for over time they begin to doubt or question how they will cope in this rather problematic transitional situation. Again, Ebaugh's original model is relevant. She argues that support by others is critical throughout this process (and especially during this phase of doubting). A good deal of homeless literature echoes this assertion. It is only too obvious that the development of the homeless role would require the dismantling or reordering of some forms of social relations (Cohen, Sokolovsky 1989; Watson 1986; Wright, Weber 1987).

What appears to often occur is the shift from informal to more formal forms of social contact. Since many homeless have weak social networks of friends and family, they must often seek assistance from the formal system of human service agencies. In a work addressing the female homeless population, Watson notes that:

the data on friendship networks revealed that women who are more socially isolated have less access to the private sector and a greater reliance on the public sector and hostels than women who have more friends and social contact, a greater proportion of women whom had lived in the private rented sector or stayed with friends. (1986)

These various points do demonstrate that there is a *shift* taking place in terms of reference groups of the homeless. Determining the extent and the effects of this shift would serve as one of the central variables in applying the role exit process to the homeless phenomena, and this is evident based on the

seeking out of formal support when it becomes necessary.

An equally important variable is the issue of socialization into the distinctive homeless culture. As mentioned early on, socialization is a central theme in Ebaugh's theory of role exit. A major difference, however, is that much of Ebaugh's work deals with anticipatory socialization. The persons in her work undertaking the "role exit" are aspiring to one role and leaving one behind. Through this process they are sifting through options and weighing the pros and cons of role alternatives.

Seeking Alternatives Stage

Once the person admits dissatisfaction in a current role, "alternative seeking" becomes a conscious step in the exiting process. Alternative seeking behavior is essentially a comparative process in which various roles are evaluated in comparison with the costs and rewards of the current role. From a social exchange perspective, comparison standards are developed over time as a consequence of the interpersonal relationships and situations an individual has experienced. Comparison levels are a measure of degree of satisfaction based on the subjective comparison of one's present situation with situations previously experienced (Ebaugh 1988).

The involuntary homeless do not have the luxury of "seeking alternatives." Instead, their lives do not afford this option. As Cohen and Sokolovsky (1989) found in their study of New York skid row persons, there is quite a unique way of life at work. They state that:

while life for most Americans has a linear quality- an orientation toward the future and a sense of progression toward something- life for skid rowers is largely cyclical. Their cyclical schedules are molded by the agencies and institutions on which they depend for daily meals, monthly checks, or daily room tickets. (Cohen, Sokolovsky 1989)

This appears to be the "quality" of life for the women of our study. In fact, it became a matter of realization for many of the respondents that the future could not be greatly enhanced unless there was a true restructuring in their lives. One woman spoke rather matter of factly about this point:

Housing without training, rehabilitating, is useless. Housing without child care and day care is

Table 2: Future Plans of the Respondents*

	Cases	Responses
Locate housing	78%	34%
Find a job	53%	23%
Continue education	33%	14%
Meeting needs of their children	22%	10%
Undergo counseling	13%	6%
Reunite their families	12%	5%
Assistance from agencies	9%	4%
Uncertain	5%	2%
Marriage/serious relationship	4%	2%
		100%

*multiple plans could be provided by respondents

useless. It is just a place to vegetate. Without child care and plans for rehabilitation, it is useless. You will be in that rut forever. That is why without the chance of reeducation I couldn't even think of keeping [my child].

For these homeless women, real options (or alternatives as Ebaugh described them) are extremely limited. These women appear to realize that they have only a minimal chance of reordering their lives. Once alternatives are narrowed (albeit for this population they are limited due to the cyclical nature of their existence) and the individual is close to making a definite choice, there is an increased focus on the most viable and desirable alternative role. Ebaugh found that

there is a pattern among people seriously considering a role change to begin identifying with values, norms, attitudes and expectations held by people who are already enacting the role being considered. (1988)

There is a shift in focus from the role expectations of the current role to those associated with the anticipated role. The role exiters begin the process of anticipatory socialization as they prepare for their new role.

Creating the Ex-Role Stage

Often there is a vacuum experience which leaves the individual feeling anxious. The process of adjustment and reestablishing a social identity is easier and occurs more rapidly for people who build "bridges" prior to exiting their previous role. In contrast, feelings of isolation, loneliness, and a lack of support are highly related to difficulty in making the exit.

Of course it could be asserted that for some homeless, this new way of life truly becomes a "lifestyle" (Redburn, Buss 1988). It is necessary to note that this is not the case for all homeless persons. As Snow and Anderson (1987) point out in their study of identity construction among homeless, some come to embrace this new "role" in their life, while others attempt to distance themselves from it.

Regardless of the approach taken by the individual homeless person, there is the development of an "ex-status." Snow and Anderson argue that:

the attempt to carve out and maintain a sense of meaning and self-worth seems especially critical for survival, perhaps because it is the thread that enables those situated on the margins or at the bottom to retain a sense of self and thus their humanity. (1987)

As Table 2 demonstrates, the women of this sample appear to echo this need, for their future plans revolve around re-entering the mainstream of the larger society. Not surprisingly, the most frequently mentioned plan of these homeless women is to locate housing: 78 percent of the women are looking for a house or apartment. A job is in the future plans for 53 percent of the women. However, housing is usually seen as a prerequisite for job hunting. As one respondent noted:

I need to get a place. Until you have a place and address you can forget about a job.

One-third of the women plan on continuing their education. For some this means finishing high school and for others it means pursuing an advanced degree or training. For all, it symbolizes their release from the poverty trap.

I (want to go) to school. Once I get a degree I can get off AFDC and live the way I want to live.

The needs of their children are an important part of the future plans of 22 percent of the women. These plans include meeting their physical and health needs and having a loving home environment.

(The kids will) have a lot more toys and clothes and support. Everything that they really need. I think we will be more together as a family than we have been. (I will) have an apartment and money (and) make sure they have a clean bed and clothes.

The women are concerned about adequate child care for their children. As in the general population of women, the lack of affordable child care can be a barrier to their education and employment opportunities.

Basically I would like to try to work if possible. I would like to go to college if I could. But who is going to watch my child?

Thirteen percent of the women plan on obtaining counseling for themselves and sometimes their children.

Twelve percent of the women want to reunite their families. This involves finding a home and bringing the children back together again.

I talk to my kids on the phone and they say 'mommy I'm ready to come home' and 'please hurry up and find a home'.

Nine percent of the women plan on seeking further assistance through social service agencies. Only five percent of the women had no idea what their future plans were. Finally, only four percent mention marriage or a serious relationship in their future plans. Most of the women expressed caution about relationships based on their life histories and their current circumstances.

Overall, the women are looking for steady employment that pays a living wage, adequate child care, housing that is safe, clean, and affordable, and a satisfying personal life filled with family and friends. As one woman said:

I would like to have money and not have to worry about where my next meal is coming from and where I am going to stay next. Just to be happy

and feel love and return love.

It is significant that only five women expressed a desire for anything beyond a life with basic necessities. Many of the women could not answer the question "If you could create any life you wanted for yourself, what would life be like?" or did not know what this question meant. Perhaps what is most lost for these women is their ability to dream of a better life. What's left is to hope that their basic life needs (and those of their children) will be met someday.

The final stage of the exit process is the creation of an ex-role once one has left. The process involves tension between past/present/future, making it a unique sociological phenomenon. The social reactions to the exiter are also unique. People begin to react to the individual differently than before the exit. Ebaugh identifies two main types of reactions:

In many instances,... ex-statuses are more salient to other people than current roles. For some ex-roles society has linguistic designations, such as divorcee, widow, alumnus. In other cases, however, the person is simply known as an "ex," (ex-physician, ex-nun, ex-alcoholic, ex-con). These ex-roles that are more common and are more widely experienced in society carry less stigma and are more institutionalized in terms of expected behavior. (1988)

Truly, the homeless "role-exiter" is stigmatized by the larger society. Also, there is a change that occurs among members of the homeless population in terms of their central identifying status. This change can be long-term or short-term; it may be welcomed or fought off. Regardless, these persons find themselves at a new cultural point of reference. Often, this new "home" status is used as a way of finalizing their role exit. Cohen and Sokolovsky (1989) echo this thought when they label skid row as being a "cultural refuge." For some, they note that this becomes a place

...where they can either hide from their prior life or 'rest' until restored psychological or economic resources permit an escape. The reluctance to reveal details of one's background or even a person's real name is reflective of the need to hide from one's own past. (Cohen, Sokolovsky 1989)

The urban and rural shelters which house this

homeless sample might also be thought of as "cultural refuge" for those who have developed an "ex-status" and are now displaced, homeless women. Other studies of the homeless echo the thesis presented here- that homelessness is a transitional process (Cohen, Sokolovsky 1989; Feltey 1989; Ropers 1988). Our work builds on this assertion and demonstrates a model that can be applied to the larger homeless population, and possibly to be utilized with other types of involuntary exiters.

DISCUSSION

This study has considered how well the general body of role exit theory explains the experience of involuntary role exits. Specifically, Ebaugh's role exit theory has been applied to homeless persons in order to examine their experiences from a process model and demonstrate the shifts in central identity from housed to homeless person.

By integrating a large body of standing homeless literature with data collected in a study on sheltered homeless women, we considered the following points: the specific events leading to homelessness, the decision making involved in procuring shelter and other resources, development of a homeless identity (yet not all women in this sample would accept this label), homelessness as a distinctive subculture, and the plans for exiting the homeless role. Collectively, these elements demonstrate that the transitional process of becoming homeless is applicable to the general model set forth by Ebaugh (1988). For persons experiencing such a role exit, the theory can help them to realize that their experiences are part of a greater phenomenon that is happening to many people today. Many in this population tend to express a surprise realization that there are many other people like themselves who have undergone similar life experiences. The role exit concept is one mechanism for helping with this realization process.

Obviously, the sequentiality of the process and the issue of time were reordered in this present study. As demonstrated, for these women the "stages" take on the following order: significant turning point; doubts about the situation; seeking alternatives; and a creation (for some) of the "ex-status." While the stages defined by Ebaugh are clearly present, the nature and duration for the respondents of our study were indeed different.

Regardless of the differences that exist, it can be asserted that Ebaugh's role exit process is generalizable to the women in this sample. Further study is necessary to better delineate and describe the various differences and similarities among other populations of homeless individuals. This would aid in studying the larger process model initially set forth by Ebaugh (1988), who calls for such study of the model.

The issue which was most salient in our study was the change or precipitating factor in the individual's life (such as loss of job or displacement by divorce) which caused a shift in their ability to maintain and eventually keep their home. Forced out of their home, a shift also occurred in their reference groups and new sources of support and social networks emerged. Indeed, a distinctive culture was awaiting these women, and they had to be socialized into it over time (like any other new role).

In conclusion, this sample holds true significance because it chronicles the experiences of marginal/homeless persons in contemporary society (as well as how this existence can be viewed within the framework of the role exit model). There is also theoretical relevance, for it builds on the fundamental model that is presently offered. Finally, this study serves as a companion piece to other recent works utilizing role exit theory to describe life transitions such as the return to school by adult women students (Breese, O'Toole 1994) and the experience of divorce (Wright 1991).

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PROBLEMS REAL AND IMPOSED IN THE DISCIPLINE OF SOCIOLOGY

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ABSTRACT

According to some, sociology is in deep trouble (Cole 1994; Coughlin 1992; Horowitz 1993; Kantrowitz 1992; Marsland 1988). While the discipline has undergone metamorphoses of form and substance in the past decade, many sociologists and nonsociologists are concerned that sociology is endangered as an academic discipline, or, at the very least, is declining in quality of scholarship, graduate recruitment and training, and impact on policy. At first glance, the current state of sociology seems a rather confusing mixture of good and bad news. Some measures indicate that the discipline is thriving while other accounts suggest that sociology has serious problems. The mixture of messages can be understood in light of sociologists' having been convinced by anti-sociologists that we are doing a poor job. Moreover, a false negative imagery comes from a comparison of sociology to other academic disciplines in which sociology is described as coming up short and in which sociologists are described as nonscientists. The authors contend that many of the criticisms of sociology are not valid and are not different from those that could be levied against any scientific discipline. Recommendations to abrogate criticisms of sociology are offered.

"Once again the season of the anti-
sociologists is upon us."
Robert K. Merton (1961)

"Both the character and survival of sociology
are dependent upon those recruited to carry
out its charges."
Willie Pearson, Jr. (1987)

INTRODUCTION

Much of what has been written about the faults of sociology, dating from 1939 to the present, is emotional and impressionistic. For example, Horowitz's (1993) book, *The Decomposition of Sociology*, provides a long list of horrors about the present state of sociology but is underwhelming in its absence of evidence showing that the discipline is truly in poor condition or decomposing. To prove his point, Horowitz (1993) writes that harsh criticisms leveled at the discipline by sociologists and by nonsociologists result in "little effort at factual refutation." There may be little effort at refutation because there is evidence to the contrary and because, as scientists, we understand the futility of arguing about subjectivity.

Less impressionistic, more empirical descriptions of the state of sociology offer optimistic and positive views (D'Antonio 1992). While there may be problems in sociology, as there are in all scientific disciplines, there is also evidence that the discipline is strong, growing in size and diversity of tasks, cumulative in scientific effort and accomplishments, and contributing to society through education and policy development.

The difference of opinion about the state of sociology might be a difference between perception and reality. Sociologists and nonsociologists alike are inundated with true and false messages about the positive and negative qualities of our science, its impact upon social problems, and its progress in understanding social phenomena. To untangle this confusing picture of the state of sociology, we begin with the history of criticisms against sociology, followed by a discussion of good news and bad news about sociology, fallacies about sociology as a nonscience, and recommendations for turning away invalid criticisms.

HISTORY OF CRITICISMS AGAINST SOCIOLOGY: CRITICIZING SOCIOLOGY IS NOT A NEW THING

The perceptions of sociologists and nonsociologists about sociology have changed over time.[1] One of the earliest and most scathing portrayals of sociology was written by Crane Brinton, a history professor, in 1939. He writes at length, with no substantiation and seemingly little knowledge of sociology, about how sociology is "the pariah subject" in the university "to which even the most uninspired student in the humanities ... could feel comfortably superior." Brinton (1939) refers to sociology as an impractical "would-be science," and calls sociologists "liberal intellectuals" (a criticism) and hypocrites.

Sociology's involvement in social change may provide the backdrop for poor opinions about sociology. The substance of sociology is social phenomena and, not unexpectedly, sociologists are often involved in social movements. As shown below, sociology has been affected by broad social changes, such as changes in the political and economic climate; and we have participated in collective movements, such as protests against war and social

inequality.

Sociology's involvement in political and social movements has influenced its more strictly scientific pursuits (Lipset 1994). In the 1940s until the mid-1960s, sociologists were politically active and radical while maintaining their emphasis on scientific objectivity. Conflicts within sociology in these times were not over ideology but emphasized theoretical and methodological issues. Then, in the 1960s and 1970s, politicization within the discipline undermined the field. After the Vietnam War, the severe political conflicts dissipated but, Lipset says, sociology never regained scientific consensus and intellectual unity. Halliday (1992) agrees that political factors affect the discipline but finds that the 1990s climate in sociology "allows issues to be debated in a less ideologically charged atmosphere" than, say, a decade ago. One might conclude, if Lipset and Halliday are correct, that the confusion and conflict experienced internally by sociology in decades past have given way to a greater focus on the subject matter of sociology.

Sociology's historical involvement in social policy has wavered. Horowitz (1993) states that once upon a time there was more openness, more permeability between the discipline and society, more of a chance for sociology to be policy-relevant. Currently, this openness is a bad sign, Horowitz believes, pointing out that issues of power, policy, and political agendas negatively influence the discipline and our positions in it. Moreover, he states that the promise of a merger between sociology and social policy has not come about. Indeed, he writes that presently "... the informal alliance between sociology and policy has turned sour." Halliday (1992) would seem to agree. At the same time that he describes sociology as having an attentive public, our public voice has grown dimmer.

Funding and scarcity of resources have played no small part in opinions about sociology. The last quarter of the nineteenth century up to the beginning of World War Two is considered the "seedtime of the modern academic landscape" although, during this time and coinciding with the expansion of higher education in the United States, there developed "fierce interdisciplinary struggles for the academy's finite ... rewards" (Camic 1989). This competition over resources has negatively affected sociology and all academic disciplines to some degree.

Finally, Cole (1994) offers a more general statement on a change in perception. After World War Two to the late 1960s, sociology was one of the most prestigious social sciences in the United States. The situation has reverted today, to the point that members of the profession, the public at large, and academic administrators, have a "generally low regard for sociology departments."

ANY TRUTH TO THE RUMORS?
GOOD NEWS AND BAD NEWS
Bad News

Under the heading of bad news, Horowitz (1993) offers at least 16 indicators of problems in the discipline. Among them are: departments shutting down, departmental attrition, declining numbers of students earning bachelors degrees, declining numbers of students earning graduate degrees, and few jobs in sociology. He opines that gaps between pure and applied research are bad for sociology as are the formation of special agendas (such as gay and lesbian caucuses), the conversion to practical work (criminology, social planning, and other applied areas), the "radical chic" perspective in sociology, and nonseparation from political concerns. Cited in Horowitz are others' views on decomposition, such as an absence of sociological work that "offers insight into the behavior of people in groups" (Kantrowitz 1992), a "sense of vulnerability" (Coughlin 1992; Marsland 1988), and incoherence in the discipline due to specialization (Collins 1990).

Gans (1989) points to other bad signs: Lay rejection of sociology, long-standing inequalities within the discipline (our mistreatment and exploitation of graduate students and of part-time instructors), and an overemphasis on publication causing overspecialization and a piecework mentality. Sociology is also said to be plagued with conflicts within sociology and across disciplines over scarce resources (Komarovsky 1987), a disconnection of our work from the real world, absence of cognitive consensus within the discipline (Cole 1994), and an overwhelming magnetism toward cutting edge novelty without an equal interest in ideas (Lipset 1994).

To expand on sociology's internal battle over methods and substance, several sociologists assume that we overemphasize methods and techniques at the expense of theory. "Our passion for methodology" has led to substantive validity taking a backseat to the favored

analytical technique of the moment (Gans 1989). Theory development seems to follow fads in methodology as opposed to a meaningful consideration of the findings (Berry 1991; Cole 1994;) and we have been "hiding out in techniques and methodologies" rather than examining ideology (Horowitz 1993). However, Faia (1993) states that the rift in sociology between theory and statistics, of great concern to some sociologists, has become smaller in recent decades.

There are also concerns about sociology's presumed lax gatekeeping. In the area of publication, we find censorship of debate and wrongful acceptance-rejection decisions by journal editors (Berry 1994a; Faia 1993; Hargens 1988). To make matters worse, sociology has many different and incompatible standards for what constitutes good scholarship and good work (Stinchcombe 1994).

Of the more empirical identifiers of sociology's declining status, we find reduced membership in the American Sociological Association and poor GRE scores. As to the former, the ASA has experienced a decreasing membership, from a high of more than 14,000 members in the mid-1970s to less than 12,000 in the early 1980s (D'Antonio 1992; Horowitz 1993).

Regarding the latter, GRE scores of sociology students are low and declining (Lipset 1994), and retention standards are lax (Berry 1994b). Overall, according to some sociologists, "the quality of sociology's graduate student recruits has dropped radically since the late 1960s" (Halliday 1992). A comparison of GRE scores among sociology, psychology, natural science, and physical science students does suggest a relatively poor showing among sociology students (Berry 1994a). This trend may not, however, be a sign that sociology as a discipline has gone downhill. Such a trend might indicate that students in recent times (since the 1970s) are less skilled, less prepared in examination procedures, or less well-educated prior to graduate training. The interpretation that there is nothing wrong with sociology (it's the students, not the discipline) begs the question of why sociology students would be over represented among students with fewer skills, etc. The answer might lie in the discipline's relatively less rigorous admissions standards compared to other (but not all other) disciplines. Even if it is true that sociology has lower admissions standards for graduate school, it does not necessarily follow that

sociology is on an intellectual downhill slide. Low admissions standards may speak to a need for tuition funds and it is not out of the question that, once accepted to the university, the students undergo a good educational program.

In short, bad news is not necessarily a criticism of sociology. Bad news may describe a bad trend, such as a loss of resources, which, even so, may not affect sociology's ability to do the best job possible. Sometimes the bad news, leveled as criticisms against sociology, is just plain false. For example, to say that departments are shutting down could be more accurately phrased: Two departments, those at Rochester University and Washington University in St. Louis, have shut down.[2]

The perception that something is wrong with sociology is not always born out by available indices. Equally disconcerting, the perception that something is wrong may be the reality but along different dimensions from traditional ones, and ones that may be very troubling for us to accept, such as infringements upon research. These same problems occur in varying degrees across disciplines (Smelser 1992).

Good News

The alarms ringing in the above discussion can be countered by some indicators of positive developments and positive constancy's in the discipline of sociology. For example, Gans (1989) writes that sociology has established a strong presence in practice and policy analysis, which has not escaped the attention of the news media. Barber (1987) cites the effectiveness of sociology in social science research. Sociology "produces a prodigious amount of scientifically respectable research," published work in sociology is of basic intellectual quality, and sociology journals do serve as quality controllers over our academic work (Davis 1994). Sociology is less discriminatory of women and minorities than other disciplines in hiring and retention of faculty and in graduate admissions policies (Davis 1994). D'Antonio (1992) cites increased undergraduate and graduate enrollments in sociology, including minority enrollments, as signs of revitalization.[3]

D'Antonio (1992) views the formation of academic subunits as a positive direction for sociology. Unlike Horowitz (1993), he believes that the additions of ASA sections on aging, gender, Marxist sociology, environmental

sociology, the study of populations, world systems, collective behavior and social movements, and racial and ethnic minorities represent growth and stimulation.

Simpson and Simpson (1994) find that membership in the American Sociological Association has experienced a slight upturn, albeit a soft one with the increase in student memberships. Moreover, all of our professional associations, including regional and specialized sociological organizations, can be described as "robust" (Halliday 1992). Although sociology has experienced problems with underemployment and unemployment, there is a trend toward more tenure track jobs opening and being filled in the early 1990s. Specifically, from 1978 to 1984 there was a 12 percent decline in full-time faculty positions but the number of tenure track positions have doubled between 1982 and 1991 (D'Antonio 1992).

Sociology, even in the lean and mean times, has experienced an increase in external funding as well as increases in development of sponsored research, growth of research labs and research centers. Throughout the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, funding from the federal government and private foundations grew. Funding has not always kept a steady pace but the economic situation is not bad on all counts; for instance, funding for basic research more than doubled between 1975 and 1989 (D'Antonio 1992).

Sociology is very much involved in all levels of government (ASA Footnotes 1994-95), and sociology continues to make substantial and meaningful contributions to social policy (D'Antonio 1992).[4] Specifically, sociological studies in demography, AIDS, medicine, poverty, race, homelessness, single mothers, teen pregnancy, population growth, the elderly, and third world countries has made significant contributions by pointing out the sources of social trends and offering constructive, unbiased solutions to social problems. Judging from the works of Jencks (1994), Wilson (1987), Piven and Cloward (1971), and countless others, sociologists continue to be involved in disseminating an accurate understanding of social structure, organizations, and problems.

In sum, sociology appears to be vital on many dimensions. Sociology seems to be living up to Parsons' (1959) image of sociology as a profession with distinct societal obligations to clarify society's "definition of the situation."

ARE WE A SCIENCE?
FALLACIES AND FALSE COMPARISONS

We are not a science because we are not objective, or so the criticism goes. One of the gravest concerns is that bias is inherent to our work, that our theories are distorted by our own values and therefore meaningless, that we see what we expect to see, and that we study that which is personally relevant (Faia 1993). Faia moreover describes an anti-science movement currently present in the United States which "wrongly asserts an ineluctable tension between science and interpretationism."

The antipositivist argument suggests that the study of humans is fraught with subtleties and subjectivity which are not concerns for "harder" sciences (Alexander 1988). The fact is, as Becker (1987) points out: Neither natural nor social scientists "work with total impersonality and objectivity." Faia (1993) concurs and writes that "the truism about large and inescapable biases" has been repeated so many times that even sociologists believe that our work is negatively affected by it. This acceptance of presumed bias has resulted in what Faia calls a "failure of nerve."

Scientific prostitution is a question considered more pertinent to social and behavioral sciences than to the life and physical sciences. However, the history of science has established that no scientific line of inquiry escapes co-optation. Physics, chemistry, and mathematics are pressured to ask "acceptable" research questions, apply innovative though inappropriate methodologies, and reach palatable conclusions in exchange for funding, publications, and other rewards (Smelser 1992).

Comparing sociology to biology and physics, sociology allegedly is lousy at hypothesis-building, can not agree on sociological matters whereas physicists agree on physical matters, and sociology, unlike all "true sciences," is not cumulative (Brinton 1939).

A superior attitude on the part of some scientists leads them to believe that they can do sociology's work. Due to interdisciplinary struggles within the university, biology has attempted to override sociology by claiming that biology unlocks the secrets of the social as well as the biological world. Biology can explain the individual and collective foundations of life; hence, there is no need for a social science separate from biology (Camic 1989).

Not all members of disciplines take

criticisms to heart. Economists, for example, are very unconcerned with their own failings and have been unruffled by challenges from other sciences. Anthropologists have responded to challenges to their scientific integrity by carving out a distinctive disciplinary niche (Camic 1989).

Discussions which rank sciences are probably pointless. Gans has suggested that one of the causes of supposed imperfection in sociology is

scientism, the modeling of sociological ... research methods on a highly idealized version of the methods of the [unspecified] natural sciences. (1989)

The key word here might be "idealized" because, as Glazer (1994) points out, the natural and physical sciences have some of the same methodological and interpretive difficulties as social and behavioral sciences. Interestingly, while no discipline is above reproach, there is much less debate about the faults of economics, political science, and other social sciences than there is about sociology (Meiksins 1995).

CRITICISMS OF SOCIOLOGY: OVERVIEW OF THE DEBATE

As has already been discussed, at least some of the bad news and some of the good news is impressionistic. We find little or no documentation for the rather strong statements used to describe decomposition. Horowitz (1993) admits to a reliance on "preconceptions and prejudices" and uses highly charged phraseology such as "tragic condition" to describe a "once-great" discipline that "has turned sour if not rancid." Cole also applies "senses" and "beliefs" in describing the state of sociology:

Today there is a sense among many American sociologists that all is not well with their discipline. Many of us believe that ... sociology is not making the kind of progress we would like. (1994)

Many positive statements are also without foundation; for example, to say that sociology is "fascinating subject matter" (Davis 1994) is a matter of opinion.

Thus far, we have seen that there are a number of indicators, supportable or not, of vitality and decomposition. To better understand the status of sociology, let us consider three issues relevant to the state of sociology's health: academic, economic, and socio-political issues.

Academic Issues

We have the least to say about academic concerns because we have concluded, based on recent literature, that sociology is as academically healthy as any science. Sociology, like all scientific disciplines, has internal disagreements over appropriate and worthwhile content (research questions, topics), methodology, theoretical applications, and other scholarly matters. It should not be otherwise that sciences carry on disagreements within and without their ranks. What makes us different from the other disciplines with respect to our disagreements is that our disagreements seem to provide ammunition to anti-sociologists (including scientists from other disciplines, students, and university administrators) who discredit us and our work.

Economic Issues

While we may have experienced some highly profession-relevant divisions, these divisions seem to be growing closer to resolution. Then why are some sociologists so worried about sociology's state of health? Because the criticisms, valid or not, persist.

Take the question of pay, for instance. Sociological work may be interpreted as worth less than the work of engineers, economists, and other scientists who are paid more. Poor salaries and poor working conditions (pressure to simultaneously publish, get outside funding, teach heavy loads and achieve high teaching evaluations, and engage in community service) may represent an anti-sociological opinion of our work as valueless.

Previously, in the good-news section, we mentioned that external funds are available for sociology. This is all very well, but it can be argued that it is unreasonable to expect university faculty who are teaching seven or eight classes a year to write grant proposals and to conduct an active research program. Nonetheless, when sociology or any discipline falls from grace, internal funding from universities may dry up. When internal funding dries up, academics are faced with the need to get outside funding. Indeed, it is an increasingly applied contingency of university employment that faculty must draw in external funds.

Outside funding sources may have their own agendas to "prove" something (for

example, that welfare does not work, that incarceration does work, etc.) and funding may be based on the willingness of academics, not just sociologists, to reach the desired though invalid conclusions (Halliday 1992; Smelser 1992). Sociologists who have observed lean and mean economic actions in their own universities' funding, hiring, and retention practices may become anxious to the point that they place their own professional integrity at stake by engaging in non-controversial teaching and research, in the hope that they might survive in academics.

Socio-Political Issues

The history of sociology is not obviously different from that of other disciplines, except that we are more involved in social movements than many other sciences, at times championing an unpopular cause or a disadvantaged segment of the population. This involvement in social causes has labeled us as do-gooders and liberals, a criticism in some circles.

Strong public reactions to sociological topics may influence or be influenced by political leaders. At the same time that the political arena would seem to be concerned about social problems (crime, unemployment, homelessness, poverty, etc.) and could be informed by sociology, there are "pockets of hostility" mostly located in the right wing of the government, that attack sociology's function (Smelser 1992). Research in behavioral and social sciences has been criticized from this quarter as "trivial, obvious, and unimportant," "wasteful of public funds," "basically unscientific," and yet "dangerous." As for being dangerous, Meiksins (1995) says that sociology has been, of all scientific disciplines, routinely singled out for the pillory "because sociology is just a bit more dangerous than people like to admit" (personal communication). Glazer (1994), more specifically, suggests that sociology poses a threat to the conservative side of the government which hopes to coerce sociologists into being defenders of the status quo.

Sociologists are also criticized for our ineffectiveness at solving intractable social problems, as though solving intractable social problems is within our power. In fact, we know how social problems come about and we are able to offer ideas on how to minimize problems that may never be solved. Unfortunately, even though Auguste Comte thought it

appropriate for us to be in charge of social engineering, we are not in positions of power that allow us to manipulate society on a grand scale. Sociologists are more adept at social engineering than those who are positioned to do so (Dye 1990; Lundberg 1947), but we are not permitted the access necessary to alleviate social problems.

At the same time that anti-sociologists may put us on the spot for our inability to solve problems, they do not give us the benefit of the doubt that they give other, harder scientists relative to esoteric expertise. Anti-sociologists tell us that sociology is common sense, implying that anti-sociologists know as much as sociologists do about sociological matters. Often, people without training in sociology tell us that they know how to fix crime, teenage pregnancy, and other social problems as though these very complex problems are "simple" to understand and control. Some nonsociologists and, more obviously, anti-sociologists do not want to be bothered with social science facts. Theories and research findings from sociology are dismissed, sometimes vociferously. See, for example, Kaminer (1994) on the public's and politicians' refusal to hear social facts about crime.

Sociology has a tradition of studying and, particularly in earlier days, attempting to remedy poverty, crime, and other problems associated with the disenfranchised.[5] Sociologists have had scientific and humanist interest in those who are disadvantaged, and as such, we are guilty by association with the socially disadvantaged people that we study.

It is not difficult to imagine that external forces have taken their toll on the discipline of sociology to the point that sociology may have internalized these negative perceptions. The impact of these negative evaluations should not be dismissed as having a minimal effect on sociology. Subjugation to criticisms from the anti-scientific community may lead to a feeling "give-it-up-itis" (Faia 1993).

RECOMMENDATIONS

We should fix the problems that we can fix, such as retention of inappropriate students and the pressure to publish outweighing the quality of research. This would be more likely if we, as sociologists, were more cohesive in our resistance to outside pressures. Beyond a self-recognition of the problems we do have, we need to make clear to those who evaluate us (university administrators, funding

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agencies, and so on) that our teaching and research practices are greatly affected by pressures to do the impossible and the undesirable.

As to denunciations of sociology as nonscientific, those who criticize sociology should be put to the task of supporting their criticisms with fact. We could force the recognition that the problems with sociology are not unique to sociology, notably the concerns with subjectivity and the emphasis on methodology overshadowing substance.

Relatedly, we can describe the weaknesses and strengths of *all* sciences. If confronted, for example, we can compare sociology to math, economics, biology, law, physics, or any academic discipline on the dimensions of theory, methodology, interpretation, and the formulation of research questions. Falsely criticizing any science can be alleviated with a recognition of mutual faults. It would also be helpful to garner mutual support across sciences and among scientists for intellectual pursuits.

We may not be able to convince our critics of the value of our work. Skeptics probably can not be convinced. We can, however, instruct our critics as to the importance of standards and to the worth of sociological work. We can do this by offering examples of how we have made and do make a difference in societal attitudes and social policies. If necessary, we can cite studies and research findings evidencing our worth.

On the other hand, there is also something to be said for not providing such evidence but rather forcing the anti-sociologists to defend their position on the valuelessness of our work. Let those who criticize sociology define and substantiate their criticisms. We should not be defensive for we have nothing to be defensive about.

Recruitment of high quality students is an important initial stage to improving the future products and image of the discipline. In addition to halting sociology's image as the "cake" program in the university, the program that students who fail in other programs fall back on as an alternative, we need to instill in our students a sense of optimism about sociology's ability to impact social problems. We need to not restrict our students' fantasies but to encourage them to think in ways that go beyond what we have been able to do. We can impart the knowledge to our students that will enable them to make a real difference in

society, much in the tradition of sociologists historically.

In conclusion, we recommend that sociologists discontinue accepting the blame for ineffectual social policy, research, and education. With greater solidarity and an activist stance, it would be within our capacity to deflect invalid, anti-sociological criticisms.

END NOTES

1. Nonsociologists are people who are not sociologists. They have no particular opinion about sociology or sociologists. Anti-sociologists are people who attribute negative qualities to sociology as a discipline and to sociologists as members of the discipline. Anti-sociologists' criticisms usually are about the presumed commonsensical nature of sociology, the triviality of what we study, the unscientific nature of our methodology, and the "bleeding-heart" liberal qualities that sociologists presumably possess.
2. Horowitz (1993) wrongly anticipated the closing of the Sociology Department at San Diego State University. The Department fought to stay open and succeeded.
3. For instance, undergraduate enrollments have increased 20 percent from 1985 to 1990 and M.A. graduates have increased 10 percent from 1988 to 1989, and at least half of the new Ph.D.s in the early 1990s are women.
4. See the *ASA Footnotes* 1994-95 on the greater involvement during President Clinton's administration. Scanning the headlines of the *ASA Footnotes*, we see that there is reason for optimism particularly in saying that sociology as a scientific discipline is very much involved in social and political agendas. The following are among the recent topics discussed in the *Footnotes*: "Social and Behavioral Sciences Gain New Presence at NIH" (Vol. 23, No. 5), "Sociologists Attend White House Affirmative Action Meeting," "[Presidential] Administration Appoints Sociologists," "ASA Sponsors Congressional Briefing on Social Security," "Sociologists Join White House Salute to Women Scientists" (Vol. 23, No. 4), "Sociologists Meet with Clinton, Gore" (Vol. 23, No. 2), "Clinton Names William J. Wilson to Committee on National Medal," "NIMH Renews MFP with Subtantial Growth" (Vol. 22, No. 8), "Clinton Appoints Social Scientists to Science Board," and "ASA Meets with HHS Secretary Shalala" (Vol. 22, No. 9).
5. Within sociology, there is greater and lesser guilt by association. Criminologists, sociologists who study crime and criminal behavior, are wrongly perceived as not contributing to the core of sociology as much as sociologists who study other social phenomena (Berry 1994c).

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FINDING OURSELVES IN EACH OTHER:
BARNEY AND THE OTHER-DIRECTED CHILD

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ABSTRACT

The currently popular children's television program, *Barney and Friends*, is utilized as a vehicle for illustrating what Riesman saw as a shift toward other-direction in American society. Barney programs and merchandise demonstrate that the emphasis on peer group socialization is occurring in the preschool market. Changes in parenting practices, education, and politics, demonstrate that *Barney and Friends* illustrates a larger social shift toward other-direction. It is argued that this shift leads to a packaging of friendships and emotions, and ultimately a loss of individuality and self awareness.

INTRODUCTION

The idea that men are created free and equal is both true and misleading; men are created different: They lose their social freedom and their individual autonomy in seeking to become like each other. (Riesman 1962)

David Riesman's book, *The Lonely Crowd* (1962), documents a shift in American society to what he terms, other-direction. Children in an other-directed society find their relationships with others and with the self increasingly mediated by the mass media. According to Riesman, other-directed children receive signals from many people, as the family becomes only one element of the social environment. Conformity is ensured through attention paid to the expectations of peers, picked up through a "radar system" developed in childhood. Riesman argued, in challenge to theorists such as Erikson and Kohlberg, that children do have social tendencies that are not necessarily based on high cognitive skills. These social tendencies, therefore, allow patterns of other-directedness to develop. Goleman (1995) also asserts that children are empathetic and emotionally aware of others in infancy. Despite the fact that a major portion of *The Lonely Crowd* focused on changing patterns of childhood socialization, Riesman's work has been virtually ignored in studies of children's literature and studies of childhood socialization in general.

This paper examines a currently popular television program, *Barney and Friends*, as it relates to specific characteristics of Riesman's other-directedness. Barney has been chosen because he illustrates so well the shift from inner-directed to other-directed story-telling as discussed by Riesman. Specifically, the program illustrates the segmentation of a childhood market, which reinforces the concept of children as groups of peers, rather than members of a family. The shift toward other-directedness can also be examined in terms of changes in parenting practices, education, politics, and the packaging of friends and emotions. *Barney and Friends* is used here as a vehicle for discussing concerns raised by Riesman.

BARNEY: A BRIEF BIOGRAPHY

Barney has been described as,

an overweight, intellectually challenged stuffed animal who expresses himself by jumping up and down, clapping his hands, and chortling 'Oh Boy, Oh Boy!' (Overbeck 1994)

Barney, the purple and green dinosaur with a smile that never quits, a voice that has been likened to Bullwinkle on Quaaludes (Weiss 1993) and a "philosophy of indiscriminate friendships..." (Swartz 1993) meets on weekly basis with an estimated 12 million two through five year olds.

Barney was "born" in the suburbs of Dallas, Texas. His creator, Sheryl Leach, describes the event: "I had a two year old and needed the chance to take a shower and cook dinner or just talk on the phone" (Griffith-Roberts, Ford 1993). The then current children's television programming and videos were not successful in holding her child's attention, so Leach, with a background in education and marketing, together with Kathy Parker, a friend with a similar background, and Paul DeShazer, an educational video producer, worked to create something that would. It was indeed helpful that Leach's father-in-law owned the educational publishing company where DeShazer worked and backed the effort with one million dollars (Swartz 1993).

The method was a simple one. Leach turned her kitchen into a test center and had neighborhood children watch different videos. Notes were made of activities that held the children's interest and a formula was created.

Barney was not originally developed to be a teaching tool, but rather, to be a baby-sitter for preschoolers. The emphasis toward teaching seemed to shift once the program was picked up by PBS. In addition, Barney was not created to model any adult behavior, because Leach and her associates found that when adults were present in videos, children lost interest. Leach describes Barney as, "a friend to kids. He's an adult, but a playful, childlike, nurturing adult. He celebrates the child" (cited in *Barney Press Packet* 1993). Riesman (1962) saw this trend occurring in the other-directed character type when he noted that "children are more heavily cultivated in their own terms than ever before."

Barney was originally conceived of as a bear by Leach, but when her child demonstrated an interest in dinosaurs, she altered her plans. According to Swartz (1993), Barney originally sounded more like Perry Como, and Sandy Duncan appeared on the videos as a singing mom. It was noted that children lost interest when Duncan sang, so she was dumped. Child actors were introduced instead, and have become a key component of Barney's (now *Barney and Friends*) success. Later, in an effort to mirror the characteristics of two year olds, Baby Bop, (a small, female dinosaur who is never without a blanket) was introduced. An older brother, B.J., was later added to reflect a rough-and-tumble older boy. These additions could have been intended to expand the age range of the viewing audience. Children who appear as regulars on the show seem to be an attempt to represent some multiculturalism; however, critics have noted that the racial diversity presented is not believable (Swartz 1993).

While the producers of Barney will not reveal their formula for success, after viewing the *Barney and Friends* program, it is not difficult to determine some of the major ingredients. Each show usually begins with a school room/yard or backyard setting. Children are present, as well as the small stuffed version of Barney (available of course at many local retail stores). Adults, especially parents, are noticeably absent. Barney appears magically and the children welcome him excitedly. The shows are thematic: manners, numbers, shapes, colors, the seasons, a visit to the dentist, etc. As each program progresses, activities are broken by songs and choreographed movements which appear to be spontaneous, but obviously are well-rehearsed. Music forms a

very essential part of the program, as does the accompanying choreography performed by the children actors.

Often, Baby Bop appears during the middle of the program, and represents how a two year old should be responding to the activities presented. The children cater to her needs and she usually exits prior to the end of the show. Each show has a "lesson" and the activities presented usually tie in to the lesson. Each segment within a program is very short (less than two minutes), catering to the perceived attention span of preschoolers.

THE ROLE OF NOSTALGIA —
TEACHING FOR A NON REAL WORLD

If Big Bird reflects the hip urban lives of Americans in the 70s, Barney epitomizes a retreat from that, an embracing of life that is predictable and bland. (Swartz 1993)

The three producers of *Barney and Friends*, Leach, Parker, and DeShazer, all report happy, stable middle class childhoods. Leach feels that even though Barney is a product of the 90s, he could have been a product of the 40s or the 50s (*Barney Press Packet* 1993). The show is an effort to combine current shows such as *Sesame Street* and *Mr. Rogers* with nostalgic remnants of *Romper Room* and *Captain Kangaroo* (Swartz 1993). Old children's songs are utilized, especially those with repetitious verses. *Yankee Doodle Dandy* becomes *Barney's Theme Song*, and *This Old Man* is turned into *I Love You*. Several advantages can be noted in utilizing such music. Parents can readily relearn these songs with new words. Much of the music is in the public domain; therefore, no permission for its use is required. Recycled music also takes little creative effort to develop. Moreover, familiar songs from childhood allow adults to take a trip through nostalgia land. Even though she is highly critical of many aspects of *Barney and Friends*, Swartz admits that

... he also makes me wishful of my own past; what is portrayed as fantasy for today's kid is simply my childhood — when I could talk to strangers and roam my neighborhood at will ... (1993)

Nostalgia, recycled songs and overwhelming sweetness present a world that is not real and lessons that are shallow and bland. For instance, as the producers met to

discuss a show on playground safety, the major concerns noted were going down the slide, running behind swings, and rock throwing. In the real world, playgrounds across the country are being fenced and locked, as children are victimized by shooting, drugs and gang activity. In some areas, inner-city children are too scared to even venture to their local playgrounds. A recent article in the *New York Times* describes the fear in which residents of the Cooper Housing projects in New Orleans, Louisiana, live. Children often sleep under their beds at night in order to avoid stray bullets (Bragg 1994). On November 7, 1994, another *New York Times* article reported the conviction of Eric Smith, a fourteen year old, accused of bludgeoning a four year old to death. The young boy was lured into the woods by Smith while walking to a park play program two blocks from his home (Nordheimer 1994). *Barney and Friends* attempts to reflect the values and reality of a middle class, suburban America that is as non-existent and unrealistic as the *Happy Days* and *Leave It To Beaver* reflections of the past.

Dorothy Singer (cited in Rudolph 1993) argues that children need sweetness and light when they are young so that they will eventually be able to cope with adversity when they are older. But Barney's world (which includes such sweetness and light) is not real. Barney is not a dinosaur. He is an eighty pound costume with a man inside and a voice that comes from yet another man, both of whom remain unnamed. He can't help but smile, because his mouth does not move, nor do his eyes see. The children who appear with him are actors, with long lists of credentials, who do not use their real names. They are characters filling roles.

While nostalgia is comforting and therefore comfortable, it allows us to rewrite and glorify the past, while neglecting present reality; a reality that even for toddlers may include sorrow, abuse and neglect. Reality and Barney hit each other head on when Leach learned of a bogus Barney who entertained at children's birthday parties. He was a convicted child molester (Lefton 1993). Rarely does Barney admit that learning can also come through conflict or sadness, which is amazing given the rampant moods of toddlers (Swartz 1993).

WAIT UNTIL YOUR PEERS GET HOME, OR THE CHANGING ROLE OF PARENTS

In order to understand why a program such as *Barney and Friends* can become so popular among the young and yet so hated by many adults, it is important to consider how the role of parents has changed with the shift toward other-direction. The way in which children are brought up by their parents is deeply affected by the social and economic system in which the parents live (Wilkinson 1992). Riesman (1962) notes that along with other-direction comes an increasing need for socialized behavior. Permissive child care increases with a relaxation of older patterns of discipline. The peer group relationship becomes a primary mode of socialization, since children form these relations at far younger ages (Riesman 1962). Parents become increasingly doubtful and anxious about raising their children and seek out others for advice. These "others" often include the mass media. Parental anxiety has its effect on children as well, since parents

> ... cannot help but show their children, by their own anxiety, how little they depend on themselves and how much on others. (Riesman 1962)

A study on changing toilet training practices will help to illustrate both the growing change toward other-directedness and the increasing dependency of parents on "others" advice and counsel. Lieberman (1972) has analyzed this shift through advice given on the subject of toilet training in *Parents Magazine*, which has been in print since 1926. During the late 1920s and early 1930s, there was an emphasis on strict regularity in infant and child care. Infants were fed on a schedule which helped to establish patterns of regularity. Mothers were to chart feeding and bowel movement patterns, and infants were held over a pan to promote early toilet training. The mother was presented as efficient, in charge, and fully capable of promoting self control in her young child. By the late 1930s a shift was occurring. Articles emphasized more patience and delay in training. In 1938, an article entitled, "Rules Can Be Broken," appeared which questioned a rigid conformity to routine and emphasized guides rather than rules (Lieberman 1972). This change may seem hard to understand unless we also consider that washing machines were becoming increasingly commonplace in more households, and there was, of course, that wonderful invention — the disposable diaper.

Delaying toilet training not only became

more convenient, but it increased consumership as well. By 1940, articles were discussing the possible emotional effects forced training might have on young children. One article asserted that "the most a parent could do was guide them [children] a little" (Lieberman 1972). Emphasis shifted even further, encouraging parents to wait until the child was willing to cooperate. The ability of middle class families to purchase washing machines, the production of disposable diapers and a mass media that catered to consumerism, created a powerful force in helping to change the direction of child rearing practices. Leiberman's study also indicates a shift from self controlled, parent enforced behavior to flexible practices that required as much or more parental adaptation as children's.

The trend toward developing parental dependency on "expert" opinion continues to run strong in current issues of *Parents Magazine*. In the November 1994 issue, Patricia McCormick (1994) offers advice for parents trying to teach their children manners. She proposes teaching manners by appealing to a child's self interest: telling them that other people will like them better. In addition, she notes that "today's parents are not confident teachers." The magazine also offers a "problem of the month" section in which parents write of their concerns. These concerns usually deal with issues of behavior and normalcy. And while the editors "solve" these worrisome issues for the parents, other articles seem aimed at instilling even more anxiety. For example, the November and December 1994 issues both had sections on child development, which discussed how and when teeth appeared, what children were able to do at specific stages of development, growth patterns, etc. In other words, parents were invited to compare their child with the "norm" and, of course, become anxious if he or she was not better than or equal to the standard.

Parents, encouraged to be permissive, and to socialize their children earlier and earlier, find parenting an ambiguous task. No longer is one to model adult behavior for children, but instead, to engage in the child's world of play. And the child, who once sought to be like mommy or daddy, now must learn to be like other children. *Barney and Friends* provides a way for little children to find themselves in each other. Barney is presented, in essence, as a teacher and leader of the 90s. Not only have parents learned to feel anxious

and inadequate, but now they are faced with a televised surrogate parent in the form of a dinosaur who pleases their children more than they do. Barney becomes an all encompassing "everything" to little children, as adults become secondary. And while Barney can teach little boys and girls to sing happy songs and hug each other, he cannot teach them how to be adults. He can only teach them how to be a childlike dinosaur.

EDUCATION FOR THE SOCIAL: BARNEY AS A TEACHER

As parental authority becomes increasingly relegated to the peer group of a child, the role of a teacher also makes a shift. The teacher's position in the inner-directed tradition is characterized by an emphasis on intellectual ability and social distance. "It affirms to the child that what matters is what he can accomplish, not how nice is his smile or how cooperative his attitude" (Riesman 1962). As other-direction predominates, however, teachers must concern themselves more with the social aspects of education.

This pattern is highly evident in the *Barney and Friends* videos. Barney has been called the "Pied Piper of children's television" (Lefton 1993). But where is the purple Pied Piper leading little children, and what are they learning along the way? Swartz (1993) comments that Barney is more than a kids show, it is a cause, and that children are consistently reminded to use their imaginations, rely on friends and give everyone a hug. While the videos do promote such cognitive skills as counting, learning colors, and learning shapes, it is evident that the social aspects of children's lives are of utmost importance. Spitzman notes that "Barney is synonymous with the simple values of life. He teaches kids to care about one another" (cited in *Barney Press Packet* 1993). These "social skills" are taught through songs, through the modeling of the characters, and through a strong focus on positive group relations.

Parents and teachers are responsible for getting children to *want* to do what they must do (Riesman 1962), and Barney's approach is to make everything a silly, happy game. "Please" and "Thank you" become magic words that provide even more friends as well as instant gratification. Baby Bop, for instance, wanted a certain color on the program, *Shapes and Numbers*. By saying, "please" and "thank you," she received what

she wanted. All lessons are taught by positive reinforcement. The answer is never "no," and negotiations are never required, since no one ever disagrees. So strong is this focus on the positive that Barney cannot tolerate any unhappiness. During the *Barney, Live From New York* video, the children are sad because it is raining. Barney leads them in song after song, ending with one that asks them to think of raindrops as candy, until the children brighten up. Once the children become "adjusted" to thinking positively, the rain disappears. There is no room in Barney's world for sadness or depression.

Overbeck (1994) comments that "if our kids learn loving ways as toddlers, imagine how they'll transform our mean streets as they grow up." It is this type of naiveté that characterizes *Barney and Friends*. It presupposes that children, by learning love and tolerance, will be able to transform the world. It is important to note that children on the streets today were raised with *Sesame Street* and *Mr. Rogers*, programs that also focus on self esteem and positive relationships (Coates, Pusser, Goodman 1976). To assign toddlers the task of transforming violence to love neglects the need for any formal societal change, and places that burden on the next generation of adults rather than on the present one. It also reinforces what Slater refers to as the toilet assumption—

the notion that all unwanted matter, unwanted difficulties, unwanted complexities and obstacles will disappear if they are removed from our immediate field of vision... (1993)

Children are taught to imagine away all sadness and sorrow.

Thus the other-directed child is taught at school (and on *Barney and Friends*) to take his place in a society where the concern of the group is less with what it produces than with its internal group relations, its morale. (Riesman 1962)

That morale is based on a shallow, feel-good always ideology which must, in turn, be totally intolerant of any negativity, individual thought, initiative or creativity which might oppose that order. Children following Barney are taking in more than cognitive lessons because those lessons are packaged in the *Barney and Friend's* ideology.

THE FOLLOWING LEADER: BARNEY AND POLITICS

Barney is more, much more than just a fun creature of kid's imaginations. He is a pro liberal, politically correct, teacher of current social values being promoted by a generation of one workers. (Chambers 1994)

It is hard to imagine how a simple, purple and green dinosaur could in any way be involved with politics. Yet Barney is considered to be the most politically correct star on television (Chambers 1994; Swartz 1993). He was even invited to play a part in Bill Clinton's inaugural parade. Two year old Elizabeth Weiss and her father were given the opportunity to ride on the "Barney Float." Elizabeth was overwhelmed by the dinosaur, who stands well over six feet tall. Though she spoke to him, Barney could only dance a response back to her, since of course he had left his voice at home. As the float made its way down the street, "the youngest spectators shouted Barney's theme song or stared at him in awe — *as if he were the purple embodiment of Bill Clinton*" (Weiss 1993). Even Peter Jennings commented on Barney's popularity: "Boy is he popular! Big Bird is an institution, but Barney is a rage" (cited in *Barney Press Packet* 1993).

The Barney float was a 24 foot red wagon with high walls to protect the famous dinosaur. There were about a dozen kids on the float, each provided with Barney tee shirts, cowboy hats, neckerchiefs, and American flags to "create the impression that we just happened along on a patriotic hay ride" (Weiss 1993).

While Clinton did not appear to notice the float, Weiss (1993) did not feel slighted. He comments that "when you're an 'FOB' — Friend of Barney — life is too sweet to care." And perhaps this is the political platform Barney could utilize, should he care to run — life is too sweet to care.

Barney emulates the perfect other-directed leader; one who is more concerned with popularity than issues, sincerity rather than truth. The following leader checks the polls and determines how to lead by following the ups and downs of public opinion. He is not a believer in laissez faire politics; he has no trust in his followers or coworkers. Rather, he manipulates through popularity and sincerity. Decisions are made far in advance; proper marketing strategies and media representations create the image that people are really

making choices. In one of the *Barney and Friends* shows, Baby Bop wants to play a game. It is decided to have a vote, and, of course, the children "vote" unanimously to play a game. What if someone had voted no? But of course that could not occur in Barney's world, for all answers and actions are scripted far in advance. Adorno notes that

the majority of television shows today aim at producing or at least reproducing the very totalitarian creeds even if the surface message of the show may be antitotalitarian. (1991)

Even as toddlers, Barney's followers are learning not only how to find themselves in each other but to accept the style, authority, and sincerity of the following leader.

Thus the children are supposed to learn democracy by underplaying the skills of intellect and overplaying the skills of gregariousness and amiability. (Riesman 1962)

LESSONS IN CONSUMERISM

Barney products have become highly marketable commodities. J. C. Penney's reported more than $50 million in Barney business in 1992. Executives at Macy's are planning to open Barney shops filled with ready to wear, accessories, toys, and novelties (Reda 1993), and Barry Slotnick, a lawyer for the Lyons Group (consisting of Leach, Parker, and DeShazer), has sued over one hundred imitators of Barney goods in a six month period (Lefton 1993). Barney is big business, so big that public appearances are limited because too many people show up. In addition, coordinating a voice and costume in public probably creates some unique problems, and the "myth" of Barney must remain intact. The high demand for Barney paraphernalia and the willingness of adults to purchase such items, aid in the establishment of consumership patterns among preschoolers. *Barney and Friends* targets an audience who is highly dependent on parental willingness to purchase their products. If we consider, however, that the other-directed type of parent is anxious and concerned that his or her child fit in with peers, then one can also understand why people such as Peggy Charren (former director of Action for Children's Television) who, although finding the program somewhat deceptive, still purchased a Barney doll for her three year old grandchild (Jordon 1993). Some parents were

even willing to pay scalpers' $200 for tickets to the *Barney Live Concert* at Radio City Music Hall (Overbeck 1994).

Commercials are seldom used and don't appear to be necessary. Perhaps a key reason is that the products target a group of children, rather than individuals. This collective has many separate parent billfolds and credit cards. To little children, these products represent what other children have. Parents, who worry that their children must have what others have to be successful, follow suit. In addition, Barney presents an image of cooperation, love and sharing, which many parents would love to see expressed by their child.

While little formal advertising is utilized, each Barney video does begin with a stuffed version of Barney, waiting for the children to imagine him to life. The Barney doll is not just any doll — Barney's ability to appear and to be your friend depends on this doll. No commercials are needed here. During the Christmas video, Barney provides the children with clothes in which to travel. Every shirt had a very visible insignia of Barney. While children's wear such as Osh Kosh B'Gosh symbolize a quality of fabric and style, Barney wear and products symbolize a set of values. Children wearing these products "belong" and so do their parents.

PACKAGED FRIENDSHIPS AND EMOTIONS

I love you, you love me, we're a happy family
With a great big hug and a Kiss from me to you
Won't you say you love me too.
I love you, you love me
We're best friends like friends should be
With a great big hug and a kiss from me to you
Won't you say you love me too.
(Words by Paul DeShazer)

In addition to Barney products such as clothing toys and novelties, the program itself also offers prepackaged friends and prepackaged emotions to children. These "friends" have been chosen for the viewers and represent a fairly even distribution of gender and ethnicity. Seven days a week, and often more than once a day, "Barney's Backyard Gang" is prepared to laugh, sing, dance, and play with the viewing audience. They always get along, and always remember to say, "please" and "thank you." If Barney represents a surrogate parent, his child friends can be considered

surrogate friends to the child audience. This becomes a matter of critical concern if we consider just how essential friends are for other-directed types:

> But his need for approval and direction from others — and contemporary others rather than ancestors — goes beyond the reasons that lead most people in any era to care very much what people think of them. While all people want and need to be liked by some of the people some of the time, it is only the modern other-directed types who make this their chief source of direction and chief area of sensitivity. (Riesman 1962)

Other-directed children are not just making friends; they are busy finding themselves in each other. If their relations with other children are mediated by mass media, then, perhaps, they are left with finding themselves in surface images and emotions. These emotions as well, are conveniently packaged for consumption. They are, however, only the emotions necessary for the morale of the Barney group. Lasch warns us not to overestimate the degree to which impulse can be socialized:

> the American cult of friendliness conceals but does not eradicate a murderous competition for goods and position; indeed this competition has grown more savage in an age of diminishing expectations. (1992)

Other-directed children are told to be good sports, good friends, good students, eat good foods, and even to get a good night's sleep. The littlest of children are reminded that Santa won't bring them presents if they have not been good. Being good becomes the all encompassing moral duty.

As legitimate outlets for aggression become increasingly limited within society, voyeurism may increase. Our society feasts daily on a vicarious diet of violence and aggression. Studies indicate that viewing violence on television desensitizes children to actual violence (Cashmore 1994). If this is true, then perhaps Barney and Friends, which allows children to become voyeurs of friendship, love, and emotion, also limits their ability to respond to and express themselves genuinely. As the Pied Piper leads his followers down the path of tolerance and mindless conformity, they begin to look, think, act and feel a bit more like each

other. Slowly, and perhaps imperceptibly, the mass child is being formed.

DETERMINISTIC IMAGINING: THE LOSS OF CREATIVITY

There is an air of excited anticipation. Radio City Music Hall is filled to capacity. The camera pans an audience filled with anxious youngsters and their parents. They are waiting. The lights dim, and the Barney Theme Song begins. Children from the "Backyard Gang" appear on stage. The excitement mounts as Barney's name is announced. And announced again. The spotlight searches for the hard to miss dinosaur. Children are asking mommy and daddy, "Where is he?" Parents are probably wondering how one explains a missing dinosaur, or whether they can get a refund. But then, the answer! Barney is a dinosaur from our imagination! The children are instructed to close their eyes and imagine Barney into existence. The camera once again pans the audience full of children and parents with tightly closed eyes. Barney enters, to the happy cheers of young children and relieved parents.

The use of imagination is an essential part of every Barney video. Children imagine him into existence, participate in pretend activities and are at times led on pretend journeys. This type of pretend, however has changed with the increase in other-directedness. Children viewing Barney and Friends are asked to participate in group imagining and pretending, and participation is not optional. In addition, what is to be imagined is predetermined and pre-created. Barney, of course, already "exists," as do all of the pretend environments and other creations that children are asked to imagine into existence. The imagination, which was once internal and personal, now becomes a group property involving no creativity on the part of the individual.

French and Pena (1991) have also noted another significant change in the use of imagination and pretend play. They conducted a study of pre and post television viewers to determine if hero and play themes differed. While other age groups remained relatively stable, they found that post television viewers had significantly more heroic play themes in early childhood. While they found that historically, preschool age children tended to pretend the roles of people who were close to them and which they desired to model, there has been a growing trend toward fantasy heroes with

limited qualities and limited emotional ranges. French and Pena expressed concern for this shift away from the preschoolers preferring to model family members and other real people:

> Today's young child may not be exploring and rehearsing to the fullest extent the subtleties of daily life. They may be missing the playing out of commonplace events and personal relationships which make up the life experience of most people. They may not be working on the full range of emotions — nurturing, guidance, negotiating, bossing, disciplining. (1991)

Deterministic imagining robs children of their creativity. Without creativity, they cannot pretend play the role of the adults they will someday be, and as the imagination becomes an external rather than internal force, it becomes oppressive rather than freeing.

WHEN HEART AND MIND NO LONGER COMMUNICATE:
THE LOSS OF INDIVIDUALITY

Once the ability to be creative is diminished and children are led to use their imaginations as a group and to benefit the group, they are left with little reason or ability to find and to utilize their own creative processes, and to access their own unique emotions. Children who find themselves in each other cannot afford to find any uniqueness within themselves.

All emotional identifications are limited by the code of the peer group (Riesman 1962). The adjusted other-directed child,

> has learned to look like those others with whom he has been brought up, with whom he has learned cooperation, tolerance, and restraint of temper. In this process he has learned to forget aspects of his character that are not 'social,' not other-directed. (Riesman 1962)

When the heart and mind no longer communicate because what was once internal is now introduced externally, one may only find the shallowest of emotions, the perfect breeding ground for narcissism.

Narcissus, if one remembers, was a handsome youth who spurned the love of beautiful maidens. The nymph, Echo, was madly in love with him but was also rejected. As a punishment, Nemesis caused Narcissus to fall hopelessly in love with his image as he saw it reflected in a pool of water. Narcissus gradually died, still gazing at his reflection. He fell in love with an image of himself; a shallow representation of self. Other-directed children find only shallow images of themselves in others. And, as with a pool of water, those images are fragile and changing, requiring that children utilize their radar to pick up and respond to those changes. "Thus true individuality goes together with pride, while want of individualism frequently appears in our culture as selfishness" (Riesman 1954). When the heart is disengaged from the mind the ability to act spontaneously and therefore out of "genuine human goodness" (Mestrovic 1993) is restrained.

Some may argue that *Barney and Friends* places great emphasis on what is termed self-esteem. Swartz (1993) finds the most commonly used word in the Barney programs is the word, "special." In addition, it is constantly reinforced in the *You Are Special* song:

> You are *special*, you're the only one
> You're the only one like you
> There isn't another in the whole wide world
> Who can do the things you do.
> Oh you're *special*, *special*, everyone is *special*
> Everyone in his or her own way
> You're important, oh you really are
> You're the only one of you
> The world is better, just because you're here
> You should know that we love you.
> (Words and music by Paul DeShazer)

Once again, one can detect a shallowness that is characteristic of *Barney and Friends*. Special does not mean autonomous. In one particular instance where the idea of being special was introduced, the children held their arms together to show the differing shades of their skin. Special applies to externals, and is reminiscent of the politically correct term, multicultural. "Special" becomes the politically correct preschool term. This type of "special" does not lead to autonomy, it leads to adjustment. This is defined by Riesman (1962) as an individual who is "...able to respond through their character structure to the demands of society." It is reminiscent of Marcuse's (1964), "happy consciousness," in that,

> ... the child's nice childhood, described by Riesman, prepared him or her for the happy

adulthood found in Marcuse's writings. The nice and happy consciousness ensures that one will obey without thinking, join without hesitation, and be part of a society without opposition. (Mestrovic forthcoming)

A FINAL LOOK AT BARNEY AND HIS FRIENDS

Barney is a dinosaur from our imagination
and when he's tall he's what we call
a dinosaur sensation
Barney's friends are big and small; They come
from lots of places
After school they meet to play and sing with
happy faces.
Barney shows us lots of things like how to play
pretend
ABC's and one two threes and how to be a
friend.
Barney comes to play with us
Barney can be your friend too if you just make
believe him.
(Words by Paul DeShazer)

If the only way autonomy can be achieved is through self awareness (Riesman 1962), we must seriously consider what is lost when we allow Barney to baby-sit our children. Yet, Barney is merely indicative of a society that is shifting further and further towards the hegemony of other-directedness. While perhaps this has led us to become more responsive to others, that responsiveness appears to be shallow and based on our own selfish needs.

In order to be autonomous, we must have what Riesman terms,

the nerve of failure [which is] the courage to face aloneness and the possibility of defeat in one's personal life or one's work without being morally destroyed: It is in a large sense the nerve to be oneself when society may disapprove. (1954)

Barney and Friends is a reflection of a society in which individual's are rapidly losing their social freedom and ability to act autonomously, in exchange for being more like each other (Riesman 1962). As little children innocently follow the Pied Piper, one must wonder if individuality is being locked away; repressed by the overwhelming necessity to find oneself in each other. Not only are our children losing themselves; perhaps we are also losing a generation of creativity, imagination, and compassion.

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