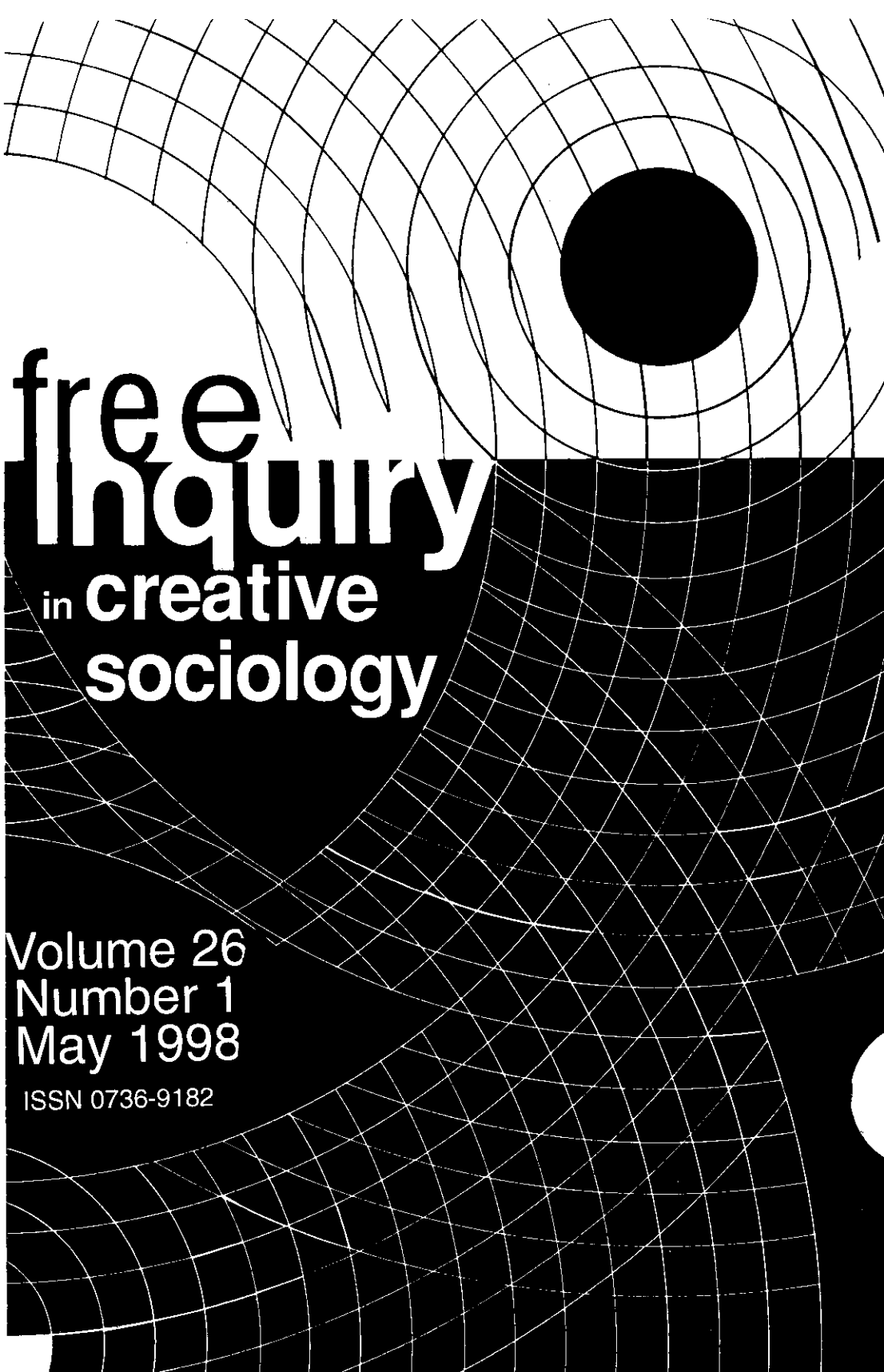


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# "MACHISMO," DRUGS AND STREET SURVIVAL IN A US-MEXICO BORDER COMMUNITY

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ABSTRACT

This article examines how many of the behavioral norms, values, and attitudes encapsulated in the cultural ideal of "machismo" are expressed through the interrelated activities of drug use and aggression among male Mexican heroin addicts ("tecatos") in a US-Mexico border community. Ideals of excess, risk, and outstripping others frame the onset and trajectory of drug use careers. The aggressive aspects of "machismo" provide the "tecato" with an effective means of adapting to a social life-world fraught with a variety of personal risks. Through enacting and re-creating the ideal of "machismo" in his day-to-day interactions the "tecato" gains social status as well as a means of self-defense and a strategy for drug use management. While recognizing the practical value of these attitudes many "tecatos" are also aware of their costs. In the context of life in the streets, aggression, along with excessive drug use, are emphasized to the exclusion of other more positive male attributes in Mexican society, including personal control and familial responsibility. On an ideal level such positive aspects of male gender expressions are recognized and culturally available but on a practical level they are rarely practiced. It is suggested that structural factors may mitigate against the expression of these more positive aspects of "machismo."

## INTRODUCTION

Using an ethnographic approach this paper examines the complex interrelations between "machismo," drug use, and aggression among intravenous drug users (IDUs) in a US-Mexico border community. Underscored is the directive force and social impact of "machismo" in the day-to-day life-worlds of Mexican male heroin addicts, or "tecatos." Our goal is not only to provide a broad outline of the cultural model of "machismo" elucidated by this group of men, but also to examine how this notion of masculinity is internalized and re-created through drug use and aggression in the context of street survival. To conclude, we emphasize some of the wider issues related to representations of Mexican men, masculinity, and drug use that this study brings to light.

Known locally as "El Trampolín," Nogales, Sonora is seen as a springboard for both drugs and immigrants into the United States and attracts individuals from the interior of Mexico lured by the money to be made in the streets of this border town. As one "tecato" from the state of Sinaloa summarized:

> When I got here to Nogales I was tired of drugs. But I got here and I realized that there were more drugs and it was easier to get money. It was easier for everything and so I started on the streets of Nogales.

These and other variables, including drug use, self-defense, street survival, and structural factors influence the expression of "machismo" in this border community.

## METHODS

The information presented here was collected as part of a larger study, "El Proyecto Por Nosotros," that focuses on the development of a culturally innovative HIV risk prevention program for IDUs in the border community of Ambos Nogales made up by the cities of Nogales, Arizona and Nogales, Sonora. Ethnographic research took place from February through October of 1995 and consisted of open-ended interviews with current and former IDUs and sexual partners of IDUs. These semi-structured interviews focused on several domains including: 1) drug use histories and drug management, 2) HIV/AIDS knowledge and attitudes; 3) risk perceptions and barriers to HIV prevention; 4) attitudes and barriers toward condom use; 5) religion and spirituality; 6) family and relationships; and 7) several key cultural constructs, including "respeto," "machismo," and "confianza." Our research team conducted a total of 89 interviews and seven focus groups. Respondents included 104 men and 25 women; 102 current and 18 former IDUs; and nine sex partners of IDUs. The age of respondents ranged from 18 to 54 years with a mean of 32 years of age.

## "MACHISMO" AS A CULTURAL MODEL: THEORETICAL NOTES

In the social science literature "machismo" typically refers to a constellation of traits exhibited and valued by Latino men that are the result of various historical processes and cultural transformations. There are two general trends in representations of "machismo." First, researchers such as Madsen (1964) and Lewis (1961) offer stylized and often monolithic representations of "machismo" that emphasize rigidly dichotomized attitudes, behaviors, and gender roles. In line with these representations

other researchers focus on the hypermasculine aspects of Mexican male orientations by emphasizing fearlessness, control, dominance, sexual prowess, and aggression (Casas, Wagenheim, Banchero, Mendoza-Romero 1994; Goldwert 1985; Ingoldsby 1991; Stevens 1973). A second more comprehensive representation of "machismo" moves away from these monolithic ideal types and psychological constructs linked to compensation and passive-aggressive syndromes by underscoring the variability of male roles, and the influence of various power relations in the construction of masculinities (Baca-Zinn 1982; Cromwell, Ruiz 1979; Gutmann 1996). This paper examines "machismo" in light of both of these traditions of representation.

Bem's (1981) "gender schema theory" provides one framework to describe this complex relationship between gender and behavior. This theory proposes that sex linked, content specific information and behavior are learned through complex cognitive processes in social interactions. The gender schema is a cognitive network of associations and organizing principles that guides individual perception. Bem notes:

> A schema functions as an anticipatory structure, a readiness to search for and to assimilate incoming information in schema-relevant terms. Schematic processing is thus highly selective and enables the individual to impose structure and meaning onto the vast array of incoming stimuli. (Bem 1981)

Sex typing in information processing and responses to the environment derive from gender schema and the notions of self-identity intertwined with it. The basic premise underlying this framework is that an individual's gender is integral to how they process and react to the exigencies of the world about them. In short, as a gender ideology the cultural model of "machismo" can be seen as a "social fact," a collective representation that generally compels people to act in certain patterned ways (Gilmore 1990).

"Machismo" among the "tecatos" of Ambos Nogales is part of a comprehensive cultural model of street masculinity that includes a variety of values and social orientations relating to drug use, aggression, and survival strategies. Cultural models are shared, taken-for-granted ideas people have about their world and their place in it that are learned and practiced in an interactive social context (Holland, Quinn 1987). Cultural models are an integral component of human motivation, social interaction, goal setting, and goal attainment since they not only provide important directive schema for engaging the world but also channel experience and memory. Cultural models are implicated in the shape and substance of a variety of human behaviors including health care seeking (Price 1987), career choices (Linde 1987), and courtship and marriage (Quinn 1987). Recent work in cultural aspects of cognition suggests cultural models are linked together into sets of schema that guide the conduct of certain activities, and in so doing, help motivate the achievement of valued goals (D'Andrade, Strauss 1992). The details of such forces and processes in the arena of masculinity, drug use, and street survival among Mexican IDUs remain largely unexplored.

## "MACHISMO" IN THE WORLD OF THE "TECATO"

Within the context of the "tecato" subculture "machismo" is linked almost exclusively to hypermasculine aspects of drug use and aggression. Thus, Bullington (1977) regards "machismo" as both an adaptive, efficacious attitude in navigating through prison experience and as an underlying variable related to the expression of criminal behavior. Likewise, Casavantes (1976), in his study of "el tecato," emphasizes the hypermasculine aspects of this model. He notes that

> machismo in its exaggerated form [includes] fighting, drinking, performing daring deeds, seducing women, asserting independence from women, and...bragging about escapades. (Casavantes 1976)

Thus, these previous studies of "tecatos" recapitulate the monolithic view of "machismo" present in stylized representations of masculine behavior and identity by emphasizing excess and violence.

Similar essential aspects of masculinity are highlighted by "tecatos" in Nogales who recognize two broad types of "machismo": the "machismo" of the street and the "machismo" of the home. One "tecato" noted:

> In the street "machismo" is something that you put on over others. You're in the habit of robbing people, putting them down, beating them up.

> You can get knifed or shot. The "machismo" that's used in the street is not like the "machismo" of a man over a woman. I am really macho when I am in the streets and he who is macho on the street is one of the most macho. Everywhere there are different levels of "machismo," but the most exaggerated form of "machismo" is that of the street. Street macho is when you put yourself above everybody else. It's the one you learn in the street. You don't have compassion for anybody.

Another "tecato" explained:

> I think there are various factors that go into one becoming "machista." In my case, my father would beat my mother. From the time that I could understand he would hit her everyday. He was a strong character. He was tattooed, bigger and older and I learned from him how to smoke marijuana and then to take cocaine. The first thing that he told me was to take care and watch. That's an aspect of "machismo." So that's one way that it is formed and the other way is in the street, one neighborhood or another, to see who is the most macho and all that, to see who beats up who, to see who beats up his girlfriend and that's how it's formed.

The "machismo" of the streets, which has the most social utility among "tecatos," is characterized by excess, drug use, aggression, and a willingness to confront and dominate others, as well as insensitivity and a lack of refinement. For the "tecato" "machismo" is simply "being a man" — invulnerable and a social locus of power and influence. "Machismo" is more than a term used to gloss certain behaviors. It is an enculturated model that provides individuals and social groups a framework for motivations and an attitude towards life. In what follows we illustrate how "machismo" is linked to a number of areas of critical importance in the life-world of the "tecato" including drug use, social status, self-identity, self-defense, and survival in the streets.

## "MACHISMO" AND DRUG USE

Interviews revealed that "machismo" helps motivate and maintain crucial aspects of the "tecato's" life-world. In many instances drug use trajectories, including the initiation and progression of drug use careers, are intricately connected to ideas of "machismo." As one "tecato" pointedly summarized, "You gotta understand that a macho guy gets that way by using drugs."

The details of this relation between drug use and "machismo" are varied. On one level the cultural ideal of "machismo" motivates the onset of drug use careers. "Tecatos" have many modes of situating the origins of their drug use, including feelings of curiosity and depression, but often "machismo" is implicated in the initiation of drug use careers. For young men, drug use is a means to perform macho values of risk taking, excess, and outstripping others. The "tecato" enters drug use in order to demonstrate socially valued toughness and "craziness" ("un buen loco"), or to show that they can control a vice where weaker men have failed. One "tecato" discussed the macho attitude of excess in the following way:

> "Machismo" is the urge to stand out among everybody else. If you have 30 hits (of drug) then I have 40 and if you drink five beers, I'll drink 20 and it doesn't matter if you have one, I have two. And that's "machismo," coming out on top. If you steal something I'll steal something better. That's how it goes. And if you stole one, I'll steal two, you steal three and it goes on and on, I'll steal four. It's when you go around in the world of sex, or drugs, delinquency, violence, in excess.

"Machismo" values of excess and outstripping others also underlie the desire to progress rapidly through a gamut of harder and harder drugs. In this way, the attitude of excess not only influences initiation into drug use, but is also implicated in the progression of drug use, drug abuse, and addiction. The use of drugs, aside from the effects or behaviors associated with it, is seen as macho — especially when done in an atmosphere of competition. As young men, many "tecatos" began their drug use careers with alcohol and marijuana but then, motivated to out-do others, moved on to the use of pills, including barbiturates. Escalating drug use eventually led to experimentation with heroin. For many "tecatos" the beginning of injection use was a tangible signifier that they had achieved the socially valued goal of becoming real drug addicts. One "tecato" described his progression into heroin use in the following way:

> When I was younger, the first thing I began using was pot and pills. It was in a neighborhood of Los Mochis, Sinaloa. But I had to move to

> Culiacn. In that capital of Sinaloa I made friends and I began to get together with older people that were already strung out on heroin and cocaine, and I remember watching them. They were different than me. I was only a pill-popper. I smoked pot. But always, always, when I was younger, I wanted to be a bigger dope-fiend, experiment more, experiment all I could with drugs because that was my life as a drug addict. I wanted to be another real drug addict. So, when the opportunity came about to experiment with heroin, I said, "Yes." I said, "Of course."

Another informant expressed similar sentiments:

> Like all the other "locos" I started out smoking marijuana and using pills, barbiturates, downers, as you say, then very soon, since we were very tough, very soon we experimented with heroin. First, it was by snorting it up our noses, but because you're young, each time, you want to know more and you want to have experiences. According to some maybe it's because you're Mexican, a man, right? But after that it's quick, out comes the needle.

Interrelations between drug use and "machismo" exist on other levels as well. Since the control of the production and distribution of drugs brings with it access to status and power, drug dealers are considered macho. Ultimately, those that control the drug dominate those that seek it. One "tecato" characterized this situation in the following way:

> [Tell me what it means to be macho in the world of drug addicts.]
> Well, for me it's the guy "que cria."
> [What do you mean by "cria," the one who sells?]
> The one that has the heroin. The one with the connection. That's what counts among the drug addicts, the one with the store, the one that has the production. That's the one everyone humiliates themselves with. You give them a position of authority, a position of domination, recognition.

"Machismo" and drug use are also linked together in other ways. In some instances, "tecatos" employ certain drugs to produce distinct affects, such as "confidence" or "fearlessness," that are characteristic of the macho. These dispositions are actively sought in specific social interactions where it is important for men to demonstrate idealized aspects of masculinity, as when relating with the opposite sex or perpetuating crimes. Drugs also provide access to money, prestige, and power on the streets, and are therefore a valuable means of gaining status and influence in male peer groups.

Macho attitudes of aggression are a vital component to drug use management strategies for "tecatos" in the streets. Violence provides access to limited resources that are crucial in securing drugs. The physical dependence engendered by drug use and the associated desire to avoid the pangs of withdrawal, or "malilla," motivate many "tecatos" to resort to violent crime as a means to manage their addiction. One "tecato" described the totality of his fall into heroin addiction, and its relation to the violent acts he committed, in the following way:

> Look, this drug is very miserable. It destroys you. It brings you up and lets you down. It is a drug that destroys you, physically, morally, and materially. It is so opposed to your life, it's like living in the night. You're always walking around in confusion, at night, not seeing. It's your wife, your husband, your brothers, and your mother and father, your God. This drug takes you and wastes you. A lot of times I hit people. I used guns. I was never violent until I began drugs. It made me very violent. I was able to kill people without feeling anything. The people that I hurt, I put them in the hospital. It's a drug that is, it is tremendous. I think that of all drugs it is the heaviest.

Another "tecato" related how he would regularly assault people in order to secure funds for his heroin use:

> It was almost always when I was hanging out with my buddies in order to make a deal. I wouldn't wear shorts. I would dress in another way. Normal. I'd comb my hair to one side like this. And I would always bring one of the biggest types of screwdrivers with a point. Then I'd pass by the side of a guy and when I was by him, shoulder to shoulder, I'd grab him around the neck. Then I would put the screwdriver in his neck and the guy that was walking with me would then take everything and I would say to the guy, "Give it to us," and take everything and I would stab him a few times and the guy would go down. I would stab him and I'd do it so that he wouldn't follow us. I would let the guy fall. A lot of times they would fight back and I'd

have to leave them there all knifed up.

Aggressive aspects of "machismo" have a special utility in these situations where drug use motivates violence. These attitudes are compounded through the embodied effects of drugs ("fearlessness," lack of compassion, "malilla") to produce a disposition where violence is both normative and necessary.

## "MACHISMO," SOCIAL STATUS, AND SELF-DEFENSE

"Machismo" frames a nexus between self-identity, social standing, and self-defense. Cultural models of masculinity motivate many to demonstrate and maintain boundaries of status and personal self-identity in the streets. When these boundaries are transgressed violence often results. One "tecato," whose drug use patterns gained him notoriety in the streets, discussed these aspects of "machismo":

> They called me "Pingo" 'cause if someone screwed with me, I let them have it. In other words, there are some people that get nicknames and they like them, so they have to protect them, like their reputation, same as a doctor or an engineer.
> [What do you mean? No one else can use your nickname?]
> No, you'd have to protect it. For example, if your nickname is "Chango" and someone comes along and says "Chango is worthless," well the guy has to get pissed off. Just like with me, if someone comes along and says "Pingo is worthless." I'd get ready to fight, even if they beat me. Every time they saw me, they'd know me. I can go to the shooting galleries and they don't do anything to me.

At times this status, identity, and integrity extend well beyond the individual to include entire families, gangs, or "barrios." In Nogales and other areas of Northern Mexico the drug underground has a long history that connects generations of smugglers and dealers engaged in the production and distribution of narcotics (Astorga 1995). Given this context it should come as no surprise that notions of inter-generational familial pride and self identity are linked to the drug trade. One focus group participant shared his family history:

> I come from a family that moves drugs around. We had hidden laboratories and we were proud that we stood out among the others in the sense that we would stand out on the street looking as if we needed nothing and we could get anybody. But in the same street, the same neighborhood there was competition to see who was the toughest, who was bad. A pride grew up in us, a false satisfaction, that since I was really "macho" I could move and shake the whole neighborhood, and that's how we spent a lot of years. My father was the one that taught me to be tough. He himself got me involved with my first gang and my grandfather was the one that gave me my first fix. In my family, unfortunately, it was a pride that we had...standing out above everybody else.

Violence is a means of self-defense in the streets where many seek to take advantage of others for their own personal gain. This is particularly true in the "picadero" — locations in open areas, arroyos, abandoned buildings, and cemeteries — where many "tecatos" go to inject drugs. Characterized by desperation and danger "picaderos" require the "tecato" to be aware and invulnerable at all times. One "tecato" provided the following description of the "picadero":

> It's a place of vice, a place where you're always talking about drugs, always using the drugs they sell there. And what happens there is that there's lots of fights. They want to rob you. There's always someone there who's rotting, crying, for a few drops, for you to give them a few drops. That's what's always going on in a "picadero."

Another "tecato" noted some of the possible consequences of not projecting a macho image in the "picadero":

> You can't let down your defenses. There are guys that are cowards, wimps, like we say around here. In other words, you can grab his cure ["cura," fix] just by saying "Hey, is it gonna be a fight?" So a dope-fiend has to be more "macho" than the others because if he doesn't stand out then he loses. He's gotta take care or when he least expects it, there's a fight.

Thus, "machismo" provides a special utility in the streets where attitudes of dominance, pride, and aggression are critical to the establishment and maintenance of street identities and defenses. Toughness and a willingness to confront threats and fight challengers are an effective posture when negotiating a life-world

where others constantly seek to exploit vulnerability for personal advantage. At times not only individual honor, but the pride of the family, gang, or "barrio," may be at stake. The physical settings where the "tecato" resides, including the streets, abandoned buildings, and open areas where drug use takes place, are occupied by desperate and violent actors. In this context there is a marked efficacy in developing and maintaining the reputation as someone who will stand their ground and fight.

## DISCUSSION

The calculus of "machismo" among "tecatos" is ostensibly a simple matter. Those who control the supply of drugs, who use drugs to excess, and who engage in violence and intimidate others are more macho than those who do not. The "machismo" of the streets, a set of values, goals, and attitudes involving excess, drug use, and violence, has an exceptional social efficacy for the "tecato" and for this reason remains a viable model for performance and behavior.

But such a simplistic representation of "machismo" belies the plurality of this ideal conspicuous not only among "tecatos" but on more collective levels of Mexican consciousness as well. The masculine identities revealed in our interviews emerge from a larger context of national and cultural identities that are constantly reshaped in response to social dynamics and historical transformations. Mexican men present a manifold character absent in most representations of "machismo." Ideals of masculinity consist of competing and often contradictory values and propositions, and reflect transformations taking place in wider arenas of cultural force and social action (Guttman 1996).

Commentaries indexing this complex character of masculinity arose within the context of a focus group session where the topic of "machismo" generated a great deal of reflection and discussion. Several participants indicated the pervasiveness of this cultural ideal. One "tecato" noted:

> I think "machismo" is something that starts in infancy. It's the strongest, the most natural thing. It's someone wanting to be a superman. He keeps up the idea that he is one, that he's going to become one, in the streets. He feels like he is a warrior.

Another focus group participant revealed a similar opinion:

> I believe that a lot of "machismo" is socialized. It is at the base of our society, our culture, as Mexicans. Because from childhood you begin to see film heroes, the macho man who has three, four women, children everywhere, so you start to have a certain propensity or leaning towards certain idols that you carry with you through life. I have seen examples of macho men, the guy who hits his wife, who doesn't give a damn about his wife, who doesn't have any love for his kids, no compassion for his children, but he's just projecting a false image of a macho guy because on the inside there is just a void because they can't really love themselves or understand themselves.

The last sentiment expressed is noteworthy since it points to a general ambivalence towards an ideal image of "machismo." Men in Mexico are reflecting on the representations and components of the macho man and they are finding them problematic. Whatever positive rewards the maintenance of a macho image provides in the social world of the "tecato," it is clear that some men also recognize its emotional toll. In the context of drug use, violence, and street survival these costs are especially poignant. While the cultural model of "machismo" may provide a means to attain status, self-identity, and promote survival in the streets it has drawbacks as well. Positive aspects of cultural models of masculinity, such as care for the family or responsibility as provider, remain undeveloped. It was in this vein that another focus group participant noted:

> What I think has happened to me with my family is that I have become a completely irresponsible person, especially with my wife, as a man and as a provider in my home. Why? Because the drugs won me over. You become irresponsible with regard to your family, you neglect them completely. All the money goes. My house is gone, all my furniture and everything that I had. It's all gone because of drugs and I am not important to my family. Dignity, respect, responsibility, the sense of family, it's all lost. That sense of the man being the provider, of the responsible man, it is completely lost among drug addicts.

In light of these personal costs it is important to critically examine why it is that

certain facets of masculinity are re-created in specific settings. While the social utility of aggression and violence in the context of street survival are clear, what is less apparent are the factors that help create the arenas of social action where these particular aspects of "machismo" have the currency they do.

Why are certain masculine traits more pronounced than others in particular environments? In monolithic representations of "machismo" the enactment of hypermasculine traits is typically attributed to some type of psychological predisposition related to the culture of the "Mexican." There are, however, a host of structural issues warranting consideration. On the US-Mexico border a combination of social and political factors systematically marginalize substantial groups of people from broad economic developments. Immigration, devaluation of the peso, the North American Free Trade Agreement, political insurgence, and the rise of "maquiladoras," are all tangible components of the macro-systemic forces at work throughout Mexico; forces which have compelled many "tecatos" from the interior of Mexico to move to Ambos Nogales and undertake a life in the shadowlands of the underground border economy.

Without more critical consideration of this wider context, drug use and aggression may be attributed to the culture of men, adolescents, or even Mexicans, thereby ignoring the overall structural factors — including institutionalized racism, economic exploitation, and the violence of poverty and deprivation — that make some aspects of "machismo" a necessary means of engaging in certain social lifeworlds. By deferring to a definition of "machismo" that links specific behaviors, including drug use and aggression, to innate aspects of culture and personality, a host of political-economic factors that make these aspects of "machismo" expedient are ignored (Erlanger 1979; Glick 1990; Messerschmidt 1986, 1993). Recourse to the culture of "machismo" to explain drug use and violence allows a structural problem of social stratification to be framed as a cultural problem of ideological retrogression. This, it should be noted, takes place in a broader context where violence and aggression are emphasized as inherent, demonized male traits (Mariani 1995); aspects of masculinity are increasingly medicalized (Tiefer 1986), particularly among minority men (Delgado, Stefancic 1995); and Latino portrayals in the mass media have an overwhelmingly negative bent (Tobenkin 1995; Torres 1996).

Consideration of this set of issues has important theoretical implications. Cultural model theories often emphasize the shared and accessible character of cognitive frameworks. What remains less stressed is the fact that some groups have differential access not only to material resources but to ideological resources and the interactional possibilities they frame. By glossing attitudes and behaviors under the generalized label of "machismo" we are in danger of desensitizing ourselves to these underlying concerns. Too often in the past the social sciences have been complicit in representing the Mexican male as atavistic, hyperaggressive, and misogynist without critically examining the underlying dynamics within larger power structures that may channel these expressions.

An assessment of cultural models of masculinity among "tecatos" also raises important practical issues that have a bearing on drug abuse treatment (Casas, Wagenheim, Banchero, Mendoza-Romero 1994). Many "tecatos" eventually leave the street life behind them and age out into more controlled patterns of use and assume an active role in household responsibilities. How do cultural models of positive male roles motivate attempts at personal change, including cessation of drug use? Do men articulate masculine identities by not using drugs? Clearly there is a need to understand the relationship between cultural aspects of masculinity and the "retirement phase" of drug use careers noted among Mexican and Mexican-American heroin users (Castro, Sharp, Barrington, Walton, Rawson 1991; Jorquez 1983). By adopting such a perspective we may gain deeper insight into the complex interrelations between drug use patterns, stages in life cycle, and models of masculinity.

## CONCLUSION

"Machismo," a socially valued ideal that emphasizes aggression, control, and venerates dominance, has wide currency in the "tecato" world of drugs and life on the streets and is distinguished from the "machismo" of the home. As a cultural model for male behavior "machismo" provides important standards and motivations for the attainment of social goals. The cultural model of "machismo" is embedded in other meanings revolving around the use of violence to gain social status and respect, achieving a degree of protection and

self-defense, and promoting drug use and abuse. These aspects of Mexican masculinity are performed and emphasized to the detriment of other, more positive, cultural models of "machismo" and manhood. While cultural and psychological constructs are typically used to explain the hypermasculine aggressive aspects of Mexican males, we argue for the importance of considering structural factors, including economic marginality, in explaining these phenomena.

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# SOCIAL BONDING AND JUVENILE MALE VIOLENCE: AN EMPIRICAL INVESTIGATION

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## ABSTRACT

This paper examined the relationships of several social bonding components and juvenile violence. Specifically, the components as operationalized in this study are rejection by parents, rejection by teachers, and disaffection from The conventional community. We employed these as predictor variables in a causal model and examined both the direct and indirect effects each of these variables had on juvenile violence. The data were obtained from a 1994 survey of 172 seventh and grade male students in an eastern Ohio urban school system. In order to compare the reliability of the social bond components across racial groups, we conducted separate path analyses for African American youth and white American youth. Differences in the strength of the predictive ability of these variables were found across racial groups. Although rejection by parents proved to be the most significant predictor variable for the African American sample, it was not significant for the white American sample. The findings reveal disaffection with the conventional community to be the most important predictor of violent behavior for the white American sample. The causal model explained more of the variance in violence for the African American sample than for the white American sample. Finally, our findings indicate no difference between the two races as far as the rate of violent behavior is concerned.


## INTRODUCTION

Statistics reveal that juveniles under the age of fifteen were arrested for 5.6 percent of all criminal offenses for the year 1994 and 5.8 percent of all violent crimes for the same year (U.S. Department of Justice 1995). The need to address this serious national problem has led social scientists to expand their investigation into the nature and causes of juvenile delinquency.

One productive line of social research emanating from these investigations examines the relationships between social bonds and juvenile delinquency. Much of this research emerges from Travis Hirschi's (1969) social bonding theory in which he hypothesized that individuals whose social bonds are weak or severed have a greater propensity to engage in delinquent behavior than those whose bonds are strong. Elements of social bonding include attachment and commitment to, and involvement in, institutions such as family and school. Hirschi also includes "belief in conventional values," such as legitimacy of the law, as a component of social bonds.

Various studies have revealed significant relationships between the bonding components and forms of juvenile delinquency ranging from status offenses to violent behaviors (Krohn, Massey 1980; Liska, Reed 1985; Rankin 1983; Wiatrowski, Griswald, Roberts 1981). According to the conclusion reached in many of the studies, however, the bonding elements may explain one form of delinquency better than another (Gardner, Shoemaker 1989; Krohn, Massey 1980; Van Voorhis, Cullen, Mathers, Garner 1988). Van Voorhis et al (1988), for example, examined the relationship of the family bond and various forms of delinquent behavior. Their findings revealed: 1) significant relationships between measures of family quality and overall delinquency and status offenses; 2) moderate relationships between drug offenses and property offenses and family quality; and 3) weak but significant effects of home quality on violent behaviors.

Although we acknowledge the relevance of investigating the causes of all categories of juvenile delinquency, this study focuses on the relationships between juvenile violent behavior and the social bonding components for African American and white American youth. We have tapped several measures pertinent to Hirschi's bond components of attachment to parents, attachment to school, and belief in conventional values, and we refer to them in this study respectively as rejection by parents, rejection by teachers, and disaffection from the conventional community. Although Hirschi (1969) looked at the separate direct effects each of the bonding variables has on delinquency, we employ the social bonding measures as predictor variables in an integrated causal model and are concerned with examining both the direct and indirect effects each has on juvenile violence.

There is a strong possibility that the predictor variables may have differential effects on juvenile delinquency when controlling for race. Therefore, a second concern of this study is to investigate the effects of the social bond components on juvenile violent behavior across racial categories. Hirschi (1969) contends that the causes of delinquency do not vary between social categories and that all

elements of bonding apply equally for all racial categories. If this indeed is true, then we might expect each of the social bonding components to exert the same level of influence upon delinquency for our African American and our white American subjects. Matsueda and Heimer (1987) clearly indicate, however, that variable levels of influence would not invalidate Hirschi's theory but would call into question the argument that no racial differences exist. We also investigate whether there is a difference in the rate of juvenile violence between African American and white American youth.

In consideration of the above, the first section of this paper discusses the theoretical basis relating the direct and indirect influences of the social bonding components on juvenile delinquency. Although we will be referring to juvenile delinquency in general, we contend that since juvenile violence is one particular form of juvenile delinquent behavior, this framework can rightfully be employed in our investigation of juvenile violence. We base this conclusion on the finding by Salts, Lindholm, Goddard, and Duncan (1995) that the predictors of general delinquent behavior are also predictors of violent behavior. From this discussion, we construct the causal model which guides our investigation, and we present the set of testable hypotheses extrapolated from the model. The second section of the paper summarizes the results of the path analyses testing the key hypotheses as they relate separately to the African American sample and the white American sample. The third section discusses the relevance of our findings and suggests ways to correct for any methodological and theoretical errors that may be a part of this study.

## LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

We present a framework through which we consider the direct and indirect effects each of the social bonding components has on juvenile delinquent behavior. We will begin with a discussion of the family bond since it has been identified in the literature as the most important bonding component.

With the increase in the rate of juvenile delinquency occurring concomitantly with the increase in the number of broken homes, there has been a resurgence of interest in Hirschi's social bonding theory, particularly interest in the effects of the family structure on juvenile delinquency. Evidence marshalled from these investigations has, however, produced mixed results. As Van Voorhis et al point out

> generally the relation between broken homes and delinquency is modest when delinquency is measured by official data and weak when it is measured by self-report data. (1988)

Not surprisingly, therefore, there are those who have concurred with the view stated by Nye (1958) nearly forty years ago that it is not family structure which is causally related to delinquency, but rather it is the nature and quality of the child/parent relationship in the family unit which acts as a fairly important determinant of involvement in delinquency (Cernkovich, Giordano 1987; Jensen 1972; Simons, Robertson, Downs 1989).

Although these researchers have examined various dimensions of family quality, there appears to be some consensus concerning the importance of including rejection by parents as a measure of family quality. Cernkovich and Giordano (1987), for example, offer a multidimensional interpretation of this construct. Included in the interpretation is a dimension referred to as "identity support" which Cernkovich and Giordano (1987) characterize as the "belief that parents respect, accept, and support the youth for what he is." They argue these are the most critical areas of support a family can provide a child. Simons et al (1989) reached a similar conclusion in their review of the literature examining the relationships between family factors and adolescent deviance. They reported that the strongest and most consistent associations have been found for the variable parental rejection. In their own investigation of rejection and juvenile delinquency, Simons et al (1989) found that this "relationship remains robust after controlling for the effects of other family factors such as control, organization, religiosity, and conflict." Moreover, the relationship between parental rejection and delinquent behavior has been established in both the African American and white American population (Salts et al 1995). Parental rejection has also been linked with juvenile aggressive behavior (Bandura, Walters 1959).

Focusing on the nature of the relationship between rejection by parents and delinquent behavior, Simons et al (1989) offer two possible explanations for the association: 1) Since rejected children are socialized in a non-trusting environment which consists of little

**Figure 1a - Causal Model of Juvenile Violence (African-Americans)**

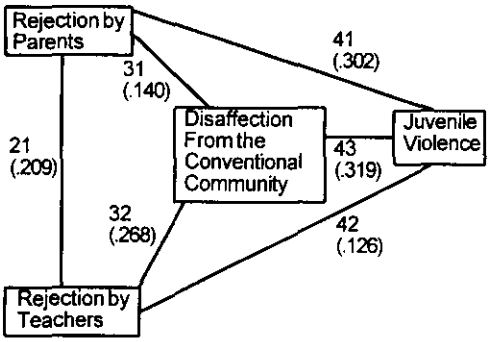
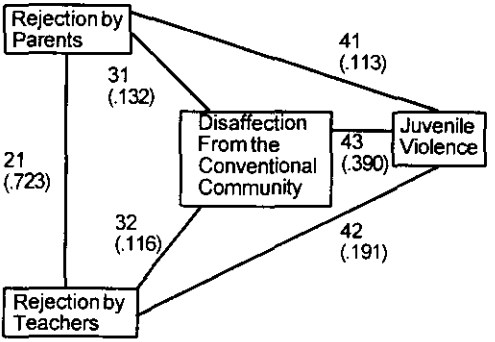



**Figure 1b - Causal Model of Juvenile Violence (White-Americans)**




affection or concern for others, they are likely to generalize this callused attitude to outside relationships; and 2) Rejected children may not develop an attachment to their parents and therefore would not be influenced by their parents values, causing them to be unconcerned with acting in a manner that parents would not approve. This is similar to the position stated by Hirschi that

> the more strongly a child is attached to his or her parents, the more strongly he or she is bound to their expectations and therefore, the more strongly he or she is bound to conformity with the legal norms of the larger system. (1969)

Awareness of the relationship between the family bond and juvenile delinquency, however, does not preclude the investigation of the relationships between other bonding components and delinquency. As already noted, the school also provides an environment in which the adolescent may form a bond with the social order. As a social institution, one of the responsibilities of the schools involves the transmission of the normative culture including the values, norms, attitudes, and beliefs of society. Therefore, social bonding theory argues that the less the adolescent feels attached to the school, the more apt he or she is to reject the norms, thus freeing him or her to engage in activities that violate the conventional standards. Empirical investigations testing this proposition have uncovered a relationship between attachment to school and belief in conventional norms (Thornberry 1985; Wiatrowski et al 1981).

Although Kaplan, Johnson, and Bailey (1986) provide further evidence confirming the relationships between rejection by parents and rejection by teachers and delinquency, they offer a somewhat different, yet complimentary, perspective to explain this association. Kaplan et al (1986) concluded that negative self-attitudes, as measured by perceived rejection by parents and perceived rejection by teachers, were positively correlated with the frequency of committing delinquent behavior. They clearly indicate, however, that these relationships are indirect in that they are mediated by what they refer to as "disposition to deviance." Included in their definition of disposition to deviance is a component referred to as "disaffection with the conventional community." This component parallels Hirschi's variable belief in conventional values. Kaplan et al (1986) explain that if the normative structures of the person's membership units (family, school) fail to provide environments which allow opportunities for self-enhancing experiences, the individual may lose motivation to conform to the norms of the conventional community. As a result, with no norms to guide his or her behavior, it is expected that the likelihood of this individual engaging in deviant behaviors may be greatly augmented.

A review of previous research testing the effects of the bonding components on juvenile delinquency indicates that although studies share common assumptions, they vary in the choice of dimensions employed to measure the bonding components and in the posited direction of the effects (direct, indirect, reciprocal). In this study, we employ "rejection by parents" as a measure of attachment to parents. We argue, as did Simons et al (1989), that level of attachment to parents is partially a product of the level of the parental rejection

felt by the youth in the parent/child relationship. We apply this same line of reasoning to explain our choice of "rejection by teachers" as the dimension measuring attachment to school - the youth's level of attachment to the school is partially a product of the level of teacher rejection felt by the youth in the teacher/student relationship. Finally, in explaining our choice of disaffection from the conventional community to measure Hirschi's belief in conventional values, we posit that the strength of the youth's belief in the conventional norms of society is very much a reflection of the degree of disaffection he/she feels from the conventional community. That we have chosen to examine the direct and indirect effects of the bonding components on juvenile delinquency is apparent in Figures 1a and 1b which present our causal model of the relations between the variables rejection by parents, rejection by teachers, disaffection from the conventional community and juvenile violence for both racial categories. Our hypotheses are derived from this model.

**Causal Model for Path Analysis**

Kaplan et al (1986) argued that the youth's sense of disaffection from the conventional community decreases the amount of obligation and commitment he or she feels to the conventional community, thus increasing the likelihood that he or she may engage in delinquent behaviors (Path 43). However, as indicated above, the youth's level of commitment to the conventional norms of society is very much a result of the rejection he or she feels from family and from teachers. This formulation suggests that the effects of rejection by parents and rejection by teachers on juvenile delinquency are indirect in that they are mediated by the variable disaffection with the conventional community (Path 31 and Path 32 respectively). Rejection by parents and rejection by teachers, however, may also have direct effects on juvenile delinquency (Path 41 and Path 42 respectively).

Furthermore, it is possible that the youth's feeling of rejection by parents may increase his or her feelings of rejection by teachers, thus exacerbating the existing disaffection with the conventional community and further increasing the possibility that he or she will commit delinquent acts. In this regard, parental rejection may have two indirect effects: 1) through the mediating variable of disaffection with the conventional community (Path 31), and 2) via the mediating variable rejection by teachers (Path 21).

By placing the rejection by teachers and disaffection with the conventional community constructs as intervening variables, we contend that a portion of the effect of rejection by family on delinquency is mediated by these variables. If this conclusion is correct, most of the effect of rejection by parents on delinquency will be mediated by the rejection by teachers and the disaffection variables.

The main hypotheses which emerge from the above discussion are presented below. Once again, we are only examining juvenile violent behavior. The hypotheses, therefore, are stated in such a way that reflect this consideration.

> Hypothesis 1 - Disaffection with the conventional community has a positive effect on juvenile violent behavior. This effect is partially influenced by the youth's perceived rejection by parents and rejection by teachers.

> Hypothesis 2 - Rejection by parents has a positive effect on juvenile violent behavior. This effect is mediated by the variables rejection by teachers and disaffection from the conventional community.

> Hypothesis 3 - Rejection by teachers has a positive effect on juvenile violent behavior. This effect is mediated by the variable disaffection from the conventional community.

Since a concern of this study is to examine the predictive ability of the causal model for African American youth and white American youth, we separately test the hypotheses for each racial category. Lastly, to examine the possibility that rate of juvenile violence may differ between the races, we include Hypothesis 4 which states: The rate of juvenile violent behaviors does not differ between the races.

## RESEARCH DESIGN

**Sample and Data Collection**

Data were collected through the use of a self-report questionnaire consisting of 101 items, and the survey was administered in the spring term of the 1994 school year. The sample, which was drawn from an urban school system in eastern Ohio, consists of 172 seventh and eighth grade male students and yielded approximately 21 percent of the total male population in this system. A nonrandom

**Table 1: Zero Order Correlations Between Variables**

| Variable | Rejection by Parents | Rejection by School | Disaffection from Conventional Community | Violent Behavior |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Rejection by Parents | --- | .26 | .21 | .39** |
| | --- | .74** | .28* | .14 |
| Rejection by School | --- | --- | .31* | .31* |
| | --- | --- | .26* | .25* |
| Disaffection from Conventional | --- | --- | --- | .41** |
| Community | --- | --- | --- | .40** |
| Violent Behavior | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | --- | --- | --- | --- |

The first number in each row indicates the correlation coefficient for the African-American sample.
The second number in each row indicates the correlation coefficient for the white-American sample.
*p< .05; **p< .01

convenience sampling method was used in the selection of schools and the students within each school. There was equal participation of students by grade and by race in the study. Participation was voluntary and required an informed consent letter signed by a parent or guardian. To facilitate and encourage participation and trust, students were guaranteed anonymity.

## VARIABLES

### Violent Behavior

The dependent variable consists of five separate indices: 1) starting a fist fight; 2) carrying a weapon; 3) taking part in gang fights; 4) beating someone up without a cause; and 5) using force to get money or valuables from another person. Students were asked to indicate by responding "no" or "yes" if they had engaged in any one of these behaviors in the past six months.

Included in the analyses were the following three sets of independent variables which directly were drawn from the questionnaire used by Kaplan et al (1986) in their study of juvenile deviance. Responses to all three sets ranged from 1) definitely false to 6) definitely true.

1) Rejection by Parents - The four components comprising this scale reflect Hirschi's social bond component of attachment to the family. The indices center on the individual's perception of parental rejection he feels in the parent-child relationship. These are: 1) As long as I can remember, my parents have put me down; 2) My parents are usually not very interested in what I say; 3) My parents do not like me very much; and 4) My parents wish that I were different from what I am. The scale is designed in such a way that it requires the respondent to focus upon both parents simultaneously rather than asking about each individually.

2) Rejection by teachers - Hirschi's bonding component attachment to teachers is assessed through a group of indicators which refer to the individual's perception of the teacher's evaluation and interest demonstrated toward him in the teacher/student relationship. The items duplicate those designed by Kaplan et al (1986) and are stated as: 1) My teachers are usually not interested in what I say or do; 2) By my teachers standards, I am a failure; 3) My teachers do not like me very much; and 4) My teachers usually put me down.

3) Disaffection with the conventional community (Hirschi's belief in conventional values) - In order to measure this variable, we used a scale constructed by Kaplan et al (1986) which consists of the following six indices: 1) I would like to quit school as soon as possible; 2) I would like to leave home; 3) If you stick to law and order, you will never fix what is wrong with this country; 4) The law is always against the ordinary guy; 5) I have a better chance of doing well if I cut corners than if I play it straight; and 6) The kids who mess up with the law seem to be better off than those who play it straight. In addition to the variables measured relevant to this study, other variables were included as part of a larger study.

## ANALYSES AND FINDINGS

The data analyses addresses several main objectives of this study: 1) to investigate if the rate of juvenile violence varies between the races; 2) to examine the social bond components as predictor variables when investigating juvenile violence; and 3) to appraise whether the predictor variables identified in this study

**Figure 2: Percentages and Means of Juveniles Committing Delinquent Acts According to Race and Tests of Significance Between the Means**

| Level | African-American | | White-American | | Significance 2-Tail Probability* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | Mean | % | Mean | |
| Carry a weapon | 24 | 1.24 | 14 | 1.11 | .081 |
| Start a fist fight | 20 | 1.18 | 17 | 1.16 | .659 |
| Use force to get money or valuables from another person | 15 | 1.08 | 17 | 1.16 | .205 |
| Beat someone up without cause | 16 | 1.12 | 14 | 1.11 | .763 |
| Take part in gang fights | 23 | 1.20 | 13 | 1.13 | .092 |
| Violence (Sum Score) | | | | | .561 |

*Significance level = less than .05

contribute equally to the explanation of violence for both black juveniles and white juveniles. Therefore, our analyses involves several parts.

We begin by examining the simple bivariate relationships between juvenile violence and the predictor variables for both races. Next, we conduct t-tests to determine if a significant difference exists in the mean scores between the races. Lastly, because we are testing for both direct and indirect effects of the social bond variables on juvenile violence, we employ multiple regression techniques to form separate path analyses to explain juvenile violence for the African American sample and for the white American sample.

## Findings

Zero-order coefficients were computed for violent behavior and the independent variables. The coefficients allow us to determine how strongly the variables are linked to violent behavior. The resulting correlation matrix is presented in Table 1.

For the African American subjects of this investigation, it was found that all of the social bonding variables reached statistical significance at either the .05 or .01 level of confidence. The variables which show the strongest positive correlation with violence are disaffection with the conventional community (.41) and rejection by parents (.39), with rejection by teachers showing a positive correlation of (.31).

Table 1 contains some interesting observations for the white sample. First of all, the correlation coefficients reveal no association between rejection by parents and violence (.14). There is, however, a modest positive association between rejection by teachers and violence (.25) and a strong positive correlation between the variable disaffection with the conventional community and violence (.40). These results show significant relationships between the variables rejection by teachers and disaffection from the conventional community with violence, but no statistically significant relationship between rejection by parents and juvenile violence for the white American sample. There is an obvious difference in the strength of the relationship between rejection by parents and juvenile violence for our two racial groups. Data shown in Table 1 clearly indicate that rejection by parents is more strongly correlated with juvenile violence for our African American sample than it is for our white sample.

T-tests were conducted to determine if a significant difference exists in the sum mean scores on the violence scale between the African American and white American samples. As reported in Figure 2, there are no significant differences in the mean scores between the racial categories. We can conclude, therefore, that the number of juvenile violent acts did not differ between the two racial categories (Hypothesis 4).

The simple Pearson correlations discussed do not provide adequate basis for testing the hypotheses of our causal model. Therefore, we extend our investigation by examining the predictive ability of each of these variables via path analysis.

Separate path analyses were conducted for the two racial categories. Table 2 presents the standardized coefficients on which the following analyses are based. Path analysis distinguishes three types of effects: direct, indirect, and total effects. These are all reported in Table 2. The causal model explains 29 percent of the variation in violent behavior for the African American sample and explains only 20

**Table 2: Decomposition of Effects for Path Model**

| Dependent Variable | Predictor Variable | Total Association | Total Effect | Indirect Effect Via: Rejection by Teachers | Indirect Effect Via: Disaffection with the Conventional Community | Standardized Coefficients: Direct Effect | Standardized Coefficients: Spurious Effect*** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Rejection by Teachers** | **Rejection by Family** | | | | | | |
| | African-American | .260 | .209 | --- | --- | .209 | .051 |
| | White-American | .744 | .723** | --- | --- | .723** | .021 |
| **Disaffection with the Conventiona Community** | **Rejection by Family** | | | | | | |
| | African-American | .200 | .200 | .06 | | .140 | |
| | White-American | .192 | .192 | .06 | | .132 | |
| | **Rejection by Teachers** | | | | | | |
| | African-American | .297 | .268 | | | .268 | .029 |
| | White-American | .212 | .116 | | | .116 | .096 |
| R2 for African-American sample=.13 | | | | | | | |
| R2 for white-American sample= .09 | | | | | | | |
| **Juvenile Violence** | **Rejection by Family** | | | | | | |
| | African-American | .391 | .391** | .034 | .055 | .302* | |
| | White-American | .300 | .300 | .137 | .050 | .113 | |
| | **Rejection by Teachers** | | | | | | |
| | African-American | .282 | .211 | | .085 | .126 | .071 |
| | White-American | .361 | .261 | | .070 | .191 | .100 |
| | **Disaffection with Conv. Community** | | | | | | |
| | African-American | .338 | .319* | | | .319* | .019 |
| | White-American | .480 | .390** | | | .390** | .090 |
| R2 for African-American sample=.29** | | | | | | | |
| R2 for white-American sample= .20** | | | | | | | |

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

***This number refers to that portion of the total association due to the correlation of the predictor variables with other variables in the model, which in turn causes variation in the dependent variable.

percent of the variation for the white American sample. A look at the differential effects each of the predictor variables has on juvenile violence for the two racial categories helps to explain why the model had better predictive ability for the African American sample.

Turning to the predictor variables, it can readily be seen that for both races disaffection with the conventional community is a very significant correlate of violent behavior (African American: Beta=.319*) (white American: Beta =.390**). In fact, it proves to be the most significant correlate for the white American sample. We can conclude, therefore, that there is a relationship between feeling disaffected from the conventional community, which reduces the individual's belief in and commitment to the conventional norms, and juvenile violence and that this relationship exists for both racial categories (Hypothesis 1).

Our theoretical framework indicated that disaffection from the conventional community may also act as an intervening variable between rejection by parents and rejection by teachers and violent behavior. A discussion of the intervening role of this variable is included in our presentation of the findings concerning the relationships between rejection by teachers and rejection by parents and violence.

Regarding the predictor variable rejection by teachers, a comparison of the path coefficients reveals some interesting variations in the effects of this variable for the two racial

categories. The coefficients for the direct effect (.126) and the total effect (.211) of rejection by teachers on violence for the African American sample reveals no significant relationship between these variables. In fact, a rather modest portion (40%) of the total effect of this variable's influence on violence is mediated through the intervening variable disaffection with the conventional community (.085/.211). Table 2 shows that rejection by teachers has a direct, although insignificant, effect on disaffection from the conventional community (Beta =.268) which is strongly related to juvenile violence. Therefore, as our causal model predicts, at least a part of the effect of disaffection from the conventional community on violence is transmitted through rejection by teachers.

Likewise, for the white American sample, the Betas for the direct effect and for the total effect of rejection by teachers on violence reveal no significant relationship between these variables. Table 2 shows that 73 percent (.191/.261) of the total effect of rejection by teachers on violence is through a direct path while 26 percent (.07/.261) of the total effect is mediated through the intervening variable disaffection with the conventional community. Although disaffection with the conventional community acts as an intervening variable between rejection by teachers and violence for both races, its mediating effect is slightly greater for the African American sample. These findings reveal no significant relationships between rejection by teachers and juvenile violence for both racial categories. Thus, we cannot, therefore, confirm Hypothesis 3 as it is stated in this study.

Investigating the effect of rejection by family on juvenile violence yielded the following results. Beginning with the African American sample, Table 2 shows that rejection by family exerts a direct positive effect on violent behavior (Beta =.302*). Two indirect positive effects of rejection by family on violence are also apparent: 1) through rejection by teachers (.034), and 2) through disaffection from the conventional community (.055). It is important to note that only 23 percent (.089/.391) of the total effect of rejection by family is mediated by the variables rejection by teachers and disaffection from the conventional community, while 77 percent (.302/.391) of the total effect is through the direct path. This leads us to conclude that the direct influence of rejection by family on juvenile violence for African Americans remains significant after controlling for the other predictor variables. These results tend to support the findings in the literature, at least for our African American sample, that there is a significant relationship between attachment to family, as measured by our variable rejection by family, and juvenile violence (Hypothesis 2).

Rejection by parents, however, did not prove to have any significant effects on violent behavior for the white sample. As Table 2 reveals, the direct effect of rejection by family on violence for the white American youth is practically negligible (Beta= .113). In fact, for this group, 62 percent (.187/.300) of the total effect of the family variable on violence is mediated by the intervening variables rejection by teachers (46%) and disaffection from the conventional community (16%). Therefore, we can conclude that when statistically holding constant the influence of all other variables in our causal model, rejection by family becomes insignificant as a predictor variable for the white American sample. These findings do not provide evidence concerning the significance of the variable rejection by family in the etiology of juvenile violent behavior. Thus, we cannot confirm Hypothesis 2 as it relates to our white American sample.

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The results of the present analyses yield several basic conclusions and reveal areas of concern which should be addressed when investigating the relationships of the social bonding components with juvenile delinquency. The data provide evidence confirming several of the hypotheses emerging from the social bonding theory while rejecting others. Additionally, while the findings reveal variations between racial categories, the most apparent difference is found in the effect of parental rejection on juvenile violence.

First of all, our data fail to confirm Hypothesis 3 which points to a positive association between rejection by teachers and juvenile violence. In fact, most of the effect of rejection by teachers on violence for both racial groups was mediated through the disaffection with the conventional community variable. Nevertheless, the total of the direct and indirect effect of rejection by teachers on violence was statistically insignificant for both racial groups.

One possible explanation relevant to the methodology of this study may help explain

this finding. We tested the relationship between rejection by teachers and violence in a recursive model. Liska and Reed, however, concerned that the effects of these variables might be reciprocal, examined them in a nonrecursive model and concluded that

> delinquency appears to be more of a cause than a consequence of school attachment, which only affects delinquency indirectly though its effect on parental attachment. (1985)

Perhaps it would have been advisable when constructing our causal model to have considered the possibility of reciprocal effects, since as Liska and Reed (1985) conclude, "the relationship between social attachment and delinquency is not as simple as implied in theories of social control." Thus, we contend that further research is needed to specify the possibility of reciprocal effects.

Secondly, although the results of this analysis showed strong associations between the family bond component (rejection by parents) and juvenile violent behavior, clearly this only applied to our African American sample. A comparison of the strength of the coefficients in the African American sample reveals rejection by parents to have the strongest effect on violence for this group, yet the total effect of this variable for the white American sample was rather modest.

We continue to acknowledge the importance of including the family bond component in the explanation of juvenile violence. We do suggest, however, the need to consider alternative conceptualizations of family attachment. This study employed the dimension of parental rejection as an indicator of family attachment. Our findings permit us to conclude that rejection is a powerful indicator of family attachment for African Americans. The insignificant direct effect and the modest total effect of parental rejection on violence for our white American sample, however, may reveal the need to either explore more accurate indicators of family attachment for this racial category or to construct universal indicators of family bonding which would be applicable for all racial categories.

The relevance of employing precise measures is specified by Weber, Miracle, and Skehan (1995) in their study of family bonding and delinquency. They advise researchers to be cautious when utilizing the social bonding measures in diverse groups, pointing out that "measures that may be valid indicators of the bonding components in one group may be an indicator of another component in another group" (Weber et al 1995). We concur with their conclusion that an accurate investigation of the predictors of juvenile violence across racial categories requires employing more universal measures of family bonding.

More precise indicators of the family bond also may have wielded stronger effects of this variable on disaffection with the conventional community. Our causal model proposed that internalization of the values and norms of society by the adolescent is greatly dependent on whether he or she feels an attachment to his or her family. Obviously, the findings for both racial groups support our argument that disaffection from the conventional community has a strong effect on juvenile violence, yet the findings do not support our proposed link between attachment to family (rejection by parents) and disaffection. Although the zero order correlations do show a modest relationship between rejection by parents and disaffection for the white American sample only, when controlling for other variables in our path analysis, this relationship becomes insignificant. In other words, our model does not significantly contribute to the explanation of the process through which the juvenile fails to internalize the values and norms of society. Nevertheless, since disaffection from the conventional community proved to be a strong predictor of juvenile violence for both racial groups, we contend that attention should be given to those factors which weaken the youth's ties to the conventional community. At this time we can only suggest that, if other indicators of family bonding such as parental supervision, parent/child communication, and parental involvement had been employed in this study, perhaps we would have found a stronger association between the family bond variable and disaffection from the conventional community.

Finally, we believe that the explanatory power of our causal model would have been greater if we had given some consideration to other correlates of juvenile delinquent behaviors. Indeed, it is not reasonable to assume that juvenile delinquency naturally follows severing of the social bonds. Hirschi's theory more or less describes the conditions that allow for, but that do not necessarily cause delinquency. Therefore, important intervening factors such as Cloward and Ohlin's (1960)

availability of opportunities to engage in delinquent activities may explain why some individuals who are weakly attached to their parents turn to delinquent behaviors and others do not. With this consideration, it may be helpful for future research to consider those conditions in the environment which make available opportunities for the unattached youth to learn and to engage in delinquent activities. Sutherland and Cressey argued that

> a child does not necessarily become delinquent because he is unhappy. Children in unhappy home may take on delinquency patterns if there are any around for them to acquire. (1966)

One condition in the youth's environment which affects the availability of opportunities to engage in delinquent behaviors is associations with deviant peers. The importance of deviant peers is brought forth by Krohn and Massey (1980) who contend that social bonding theory should be complemented with "variables indicating deviance-producing motivation such as association with delinquent peers." According to Krohn and Massey (1980) once the family bonds are weakened or severed, the more deviant companions the adolescent has, the more likely he or she is to deviate. This proposition was tested by Matsueda and Heimer (1987), and in their findings they reported that the number of delinquent friends does have a statistically significant influence on delinquency. Placing their argument within the differential association framework, they explain that youths who are not attached to their parents and who have formed friendships with deviant peers are more exposed to deviant cultural patterns. Through association with deviant peers, the youth not only learns how to engage in deviant behaviors defined within the context of the deviant culture as acceptable, but also is more exposed to opportunities to participate in deviant acts. What follows is a loss of attachment to the conventional normative standards which stress adherence to the legal code. Hence, the chances of actually engaging in delinquent acts are increased.

We stated earlier that our causal model did not contribute to the understanding of how youths become disaffected from the conventional community. Perhaps the inclusion of the effects of deviant peer groups in our model would have made a difference. We posit that if association with deviant peers entails the learning and sharing of norms and beliefs which greatly oppose the norms and beliefs of the conventional society, then we could expect that the more strongly the youth is attached to and committed to his or her delinquent peers, the more disaffected from the conventional community he or she becomes. This line of reasoning introduces a fifth predictive variable into our causal model - deviant peer groups. As the discussion indicates, however, this variable's effect on juvenile delinquency is more indirect in that it serves as an intervening variable mediating the effects of the family bond on disaffection from the conventional community. Further research is needed to investigate the mediating role of deviant peer groups on delinquency.

As a caveat, however, without examining reciprocal effects, we do not know if severing of the bonds with the family pushes the adolescent to form associations with deviant peers or if the adolescent's friendship with deviant peers leads to rejection by parents. Once again, we are confronted with the issue of disentangling reciprocal effects.

Despite the theoretical and methodological issues raised here, we cannot dismiss the relevance of our findings. First, our findings reveal the need to give further consideration to the causal structure of the relationships between social bonds and delinquency. Specifically, we suggest that theoretical consideration be given to the indirect effects of the bonding components on juvenile delinquency and the reciprocal causal effects between the bond components. Second, we indicated that racial variations in the effects of the family bond component on juvenile violence may have been a result of inaccurate measures of attachment to family, and we stressed the need to generate indices for this variable that would be equally valid for both races. This study, therefore, gives further support to the argument that careful consideration must be given to assure the use of more universal indicators of family bonding, and it also emphasizes the need to generate future research applying those indices. Lastly, we suggested that integrating the social bonding theory with differential association theory could result in a causal model that could make a greater contribution to the explanation of juvenile delinquency than either model alone could do.

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# POSITIVE DEVIANCE: A CLASSIFICATORY MODEL

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**ABSTRACT**

The topic of positive deviance is analyzed in relation to how various theorists have conceptualized this particular type of deviance. In addition, the divergent examples of positive deviance/deviants that have been cited in the literature are reviewed. Finally, a typology is developed that is based on those previously cited examples. The typology includes the following kinds of positive deviance: altruism, charisma, innovation, supra-conforming behavior, and innate characteristics. Another potential type—ex-deviants—is also suggested.

## INTRODUCTION

Positive deviance has been variously defined in the literature. Additionally, divergent examples, ranging from extreme intelligence to accomplished athletes have been advanced as pertinent examples of positive deviance. While the actors and/or actions that have been mentioned in the literature do have in common that there has been a deviation in a positive direction, the diversity of the examples is great. Consequently, a classificatory model, developed from examples that have been cited in the literature on positive deviance is presented. The types (i.e., ideal types) include the following: altruism, charisma, innovation, supra-conforming behavior, and innate characteristics. The category of ex-deviants is also advanced.

## POSITIVE DEVIANCE

Not specifically utilizing the term, Sorokin (1950) had by 1950 recognized the validity of the concept. Convinced that Western culture had entered a "declining sensate phase," Sorokin felt that a negative orientation permeated these societies. This stance also dominated the social sciences. According to Sorokin:

> For decades Western social science has been cultivating...an ever-increasing study of crime and criminals; of insanity and the insane; of sex perversion and perverts; of hypocrisy and hypocrites...In contrast to this, Western social science has paid scant attention to positive types of human beings, their positive achievements, their heroic actions, and their positive relationships. The criminal has been "researched" incomparably more thoroughly than the saint or the altruist; the idiot has been studied much more carefully than the genius; perverts and failures have been investigated much more intensely than integrated persons or heroes. (1950)

Sorokin (1950) suggested that a more thorough understanding of positive types of individuals was essential, especially in terms of the ability of humans to understand the negative.

Various conceptualizations of positive deviance have emerged during the last several decades. One important point is that, unlike the scholarly theorizing regarding deviance (negative deviance), in general, certain analysts (Best, Luckenbill 1982; Goode 1991; Sagarin 1985) contend that positive deviance does not exist. For example, in an acerbic denunciation, Sagarin (1985) contended that positive deviance is an oxymoron and should occupy no place in the study of deviance and Goode (1991) also proclaimed that the concept was not viable. Nevertheless, this opinion is not universally accepted.

Currently, existing literature in positive deviance is scant in comparison to the voluminous literature in negative deviance. However, social scientists have advanced the point of view that the concept of positive deviance is important, and furthermore, pertinent to the study of deviance, in general. According to Ben-Yehuda (1990), "...it will open new and exciting theoretical and empirical windows for research." Considering the multitude and the divergency of definitions and definitional approaches to the concept of deviance, it should not be surprising that there has also been a variety of definitions/definitional approaches offered for positive deviance. As such, these can be separated into the following categories: discussions of positive deviance that do not specifically use the terminology, definitions postulating a norm-violation perspective, definitions that utilize a labeling or societal reaction approach, and definitions that advocate a single or unique form of behavior only.

Certain theorists (Katz 1972; Lemert 1951; Liazos 1975; Sorokin 1950; Wilkins 1965) have recognized the validity of analyzing positive forms of behaviors within the general context of the study of deviance. Nevertheless,

they did not employ the term, positive deviance. For example, Wilkins (1965) wrote that some types of deviance are functional to society. Geniuses, reformers, and religious leaders are all examples of deviants, in addition, to those examples more often thought about, such as criminals. Wilkins (1965) suggested that deviance could be examined by utilizing the analogy of a continuous distribution which ranged from bad to good. Normal behaviors constitute the major portion of the continuum; at the negative end are acts such as serious crimes and at the good end are behaviors, such as those performed by saints. For example, regarding intelligence, most people fall into the middle part of the continuum, while there are a small number of those of very low intelligence (negative deviants) as well as a very small number of geniuses (positive deviants).

Perhaps, not always explicitly stating a preference of a specific paradigm, some theorists (Sorokin 1950; Wilkins 1965; Winslow 1970) have offered a view of positive deviance as that which violates norms, in that norms are exceeded. Similar to Wilkins (1965), Winslow (1970) noted that deviance can be constructed as a concept which is "relative to statistical norms." When deviance is conceptualized as approximating a normal curve, normative acts are in the middle of this curve. At one extreme end of the curve, beyond tolerance limits, are disapproved behaviors, such as mental illness and suicide. Positive deviance refers to approved deviation, beyond the tolerance limits, such as wealth, health, wisdom, virtue, and patriotism.

On the other hand, while not always stating their adoption of the paradigm, various theorists (Freedman, Doob 1968; Hawkins, Tiedeman 1975; Norland, Hepburn, Monette 1976; Scarpitti, McFarlane 1975; Steffensmeier, Terry 1975) have explained positive deviance from a labeling or societal reaction paradigmatic stance and in synthesis with a non-Marxist Conflict approach, so does Ben-Yehuda (1990). As an example, Freedman and Doob (1968) analyzed positive deviance from a psychological frame of reference, while for all intents and purposes proffering a labeling approach. From their point of view, deviance is an ephemeral characteristic which varies by situation. Differences are important. Various characteristics can be labeled deviant if others involved in a situation in which the individual is enmeshed do not share the same trait. As Freedman and Doob wrote:

> Gulliver was as deviant among the Brobdingnags when he was unimaginably small and weak then when he lived in Lilliput where he was fantastically big and powerful. The genius is as deviant as the idiot...It is perhaps remarkable that the term "exceptional" children is used to refer not only to the unusually intelligent, but also the mentally retarded, the physically handicapped, the emotionally disturbed and so on. (1968)

The reaction of others is significant since certain acts will require a major difference from the norm to be judged deviant while with other acts, only a small variation from the norm will result in a designation of deviance. Simply put, as Steffensmeier and Terry (1975) noted, "Deviance consists of differentially valued phenomenon." Optimally desirable phenomena include great beauty or heroism as examples of positively valued behaviors.

As a final approach, some theorists (Ewald 1981; Buffalo, Rodgers 1971) have suggested that positive deviance refers to only a very specific type of action. Ewald advanced the idea of positive deviance as excessive conformity when he wrote:

> Positive deviance is where the relationship to societal norms is not one of blatant violation but rather extension, intensification, or enhancement of social rules. In this case, the zealous pursuit or overcommitment to normative prescriptions is what earns the individual or group the label of deviant. The individual or group is essentially true to normative standards but simply goes "too far" in that plausible or actual results are judged inappropriate by the general culture. (1981)

In a nutshell, positive deviance has been conceptualized as follows: from a norm-violation stance, from a labeling perspective, and from the reference of describing only one type of act. Some integration can be achieved with the norm-violation and reactionist approaches. Therefore, positive deviance is defined as behavior that people label (publicly evaluate) in a superior sense. That labeling will typically occur because the behavior departs from that which is considered normative in the particular case.

## EXAMPLES OF POSITIVE DEVIANCE

A myriad of behaviors and/or actions have been advanced as examples of positive deviance. Specifically, the following have been referred to as examples of positive deviance: Nobel Prize winners (Szasz 1970), the gifted (Huryn 1986), motion picture stars (Lemert 1951), superstar athletes (Scarpitti, McFarlane 1975), pro quarterbacks (Steffensmeier, Terry 1975), geniuses (Hawkins, Tiedeman 1975), exceptionally beautiful women (Lemert 1951), reformers (Wilkins 1965), altruists (Sorokin 1950), Congressional Medal of Honor winners (Steffensmeier, Terry 1975), religious leaders (Wilkins 1965), straight-A students (Hawkins, Tiedeman 1975), zealous weight lifters and runners (Ewald 1981), innovative/creative people, such as Freud or Darwin (Palmer 1990), and social idealists (Scarpitti, McFarlane 1975).

These behaviors and/or actions are similar to the extent that they are all examples of positive deviance. Consequently, people will label (publicly evaluate) the behaviors and/or actors in a superior manner. In essence, there is a departure from that which is deemed to be normative in a society. As a result of the behavior being non-normative, several potential consequences ensure the similarity of the divergent types of positive deviance. For example, positive deviants due to the fact that in essence they are as different from "normal" as negative deviants and perhaps threatening to the dominant social order, can at times, be originally labeled negative deviants (e.g., the French Impressionists, Galileo, civil rights leaders) by the powers that be. Also, even many types of positive deviance, that are for the most part viewed positively, often concomitantly, are subject in some respects to negative treatment. For example, inordinately intelligent individuals are considered positive deviants, according to Scarpitti and McFarlane (1975). Nevertheless, derogatory traits are often imputed to them. This process is intuitively obvious to the gifted child who is simultaneously termed gifted, yet perniciously assumed to be "geeky" or socially unacceptable to peers. In essence, various types of positive deviance share many attributes in common. Perhaps, positive deviants even have similarities to negative deviants that they do not share with non-deviants.

Nevertheless, a problem emerges due to the diversity of behaviors and/or actors that have been posited to be examples of positive deviants. In reality, a Congressional Medal of Honor winner, a charismatic religious leader, and a beauty queen winner are actually quite disparate. Comparatively, the mentally ill, criminals, and the physically handicapped are also different. Consequently, to delve further into the nature of positive deviance, a typology of positive deviance would assist in the elucidation of positive deviance.

## POSITIVE DEVIANCE: A CLASSIFICATORY MODEL

The following types of positive deviance are advanced: altruism, charisma, innovation, supra-conformity, and innate characteristics. This classificatory scheme was developed by examining and categorizing the examples provided in the existing literature on positive deviance. The typology may not yet be exhausted at this point; indeed, another potential type of positive deviant, the ex-deviant, is suggested. Additionally, other types of positive deviance could also be postulated at some further point. This model is composed of ideal types.

### Altruism

The first form of positive deviance postulated is altruism. Sorokin (1950) specifically discussed altruists in general (including saints and good neighbors as examples), Scarpitti and McFarlane (1975) mentioned self-sacrificing heroes, and in a variation on that particular theme, Steffensmeier and Terry (1975) referred to Congressional Medal of Honor winners. Interestingly, while altruism has been primarily researched by psychologists in the modern era, Auguste Comte (1966) was the first social scientist to use and analyze the concept. Altruism involves an act undertaken voluntarily to assist another person or other people without any expectation of reward (Leeds 1963; Cialdini, Kerrick, Bauman 1982; Grusec 1981; Macaulay, Berkowitz 1970). As Sorokin so eloquently noted,

> Genuine altruism is pure also in its motivation: altruistic actions are performed for their own sake, quite apart from any consideration of pleasures of utility. (1948)

Rosenhan (1970) has dichotomized altruism into normal altruism which includes acts such as donating small amounts of money and does not require much effort and autonomous altruism, which refers to actors, such as

abolitionists who did exert themselves and sacrifice themselves to a much greater degree. Autonomous altruism is more descriptive of positive deviance.

**Charisma**

Charisma is the second type of positive deviance. Sorokin (1950) discussed the historical examples of Gandhi and Jesus as examples, and Wilkins (1965) cited religious leaders in general as positive deviants. According to the seminal work of Weber (1947), the charismatic claim to legitimate authority (as opposed to rational-legal or traditional authority) is rooted in the devotion of followers to the believed (not necessarily tangible) extraordinary qualities of their leader and the authority is based on the willingness of the followers to obey their leader. More comprehensively, Weber wrote:

> The term "charisma" will be applied to a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers of qualities. These are such as are not accessible to the ordinary person, but are regarded as of divine origin or as exemplary, and on the basis of them the individual concerned is treated as a leader...How the quality in question would be ultimately judged from any ethical, esthetic, or their such point of view is naturally entirely indifferent for purposes of definition. What is alone important is how the individual is actually regarded by those subject to charismatic authority by his "followers" or "disciples." (1947)

One important point that Weber (1947) made was that this quality can be attributed by followers to people perceived as having gifts in different areas, including, for example, intellectuals, shamans (magicians), war leaders, heroes, and prophets. Essentially, the charismatic relationship is composed of two important elements: a situation in which there is a following that wants to be led and a leader who has the capability to catalyze their needs and/or desires.

**Innovation**

Innovation is another form of positive deviance. As examples, Szasz (1970) discussed Nobel Prize winners, Palmer (1990) analyzed innovative/creative figures including Freud and Darwin, and Wilkins (1965) suggested reformers. In essence, innovation (or invention) has been basically defined as the combining of already existing cultural elements in a novel manner, or the modifying of already existing cultural elements to produce a new one (Lenski, Lenski 1982; Linton 1936; Ogburn 1964; Rogers, Shoemaker 1971). Innovations cover a myriad of areas, as they range from the abstract to the pragmatic, and from art to technology. As Kallen (1964) notes, innovations are a fundamental factor of a society as innovations can occur in these crucial areas of culture: food, clothing, shelter, defense, disease prevention, production, recreation, religion, science, thought, literature, and art. Innovators, as positive deviants, profoundly impact the life of a culture. The willingness of a society to foster change, which is a condition present to a greater extent in modern societies, will relate to the acceptance of the innovator.

**Supra-Conformity**

A fourth kind of positive deviance is supra-conformity. Hawkins and Tiedemen (1975) pointed to straight-A students, Ewald (1981) analyzed zealous weight lifters and runners, and Scarpitti and McFarlane (1975) mentioned extreme moralists. Additionally, Buffalo and Rodgers (1971) and Ewald (1981) have utilized the concept of positive deviance to suggest only supra-conforming behavior. Supra-conformity is behavior that is at the level of the idealized within a culture. That is, as Gibbs noted,

> Collective evaluations refer to what behavior *ought to be* in a society, whereas collective expectations denote what behavior actually *will be*. (1965)

In relation to the normative structure of a society, there is a tendency for the idealized version of the norms to be attained less often than the realized versions of the norm (Homans 1950; Johnson 1978; White 1961). In other words, norms operate at two levels—the ideal, which most people believe is better but few achieve and the realistic version, which most people can achieve. The negative deviant fails to abide by either level; the "normal" person operates at the realistic level, but does not achieve the idealized level; and the positive deviant is able to attain or behave at the idealized level. Cohen expressed this idea in the following manner when he noted that only

a small percentage of people can reach that which is idealized in a society:

> The ideal is one thing, the practice another. In other words, persons may be variously socialized into the ideological traditions of their society so that the two—ideology and its achievement—are not simply the same thing from different perspectives, but are quite independently variable entities. (1966)

Thus, a supra-conformist demonstrates desire and ability to pursue, perhaps, even in quixotic style if necessary that which is idealized for a particular norm.

**Innate Characteristics**

Finally, innate characteristics constitute a fifth kind of positive deviance. Certain actions/actors, that are positive deviance, are at least partially rooted in innate characteristics. Examples that have been referred to as positive deviance include beautiful women (Hawkins, Tiedeman 1975; Lemert 1951), superstar athletes (Scarpitti, McFarlane 1975), and movie stars (Lemert 1951). The use of the terminology, innate characteristics, is actually not the best choice to describe this type of positive deviance. These traits (e.g., beauty, intelligence, talent) are innate to a certain, as to yet, unspecifiable extent, and to a certain, as to yet, unspecifiable extent, are modified by environmental conditions. In addition, these characteristics are culturally defined. For example, Rebelsky and Daniel (1976) clearly note that intelligence is culturally defined and according to Morse, Reis, Gruzen, and Wolff (1974), attractiveness is culturally defined, as individuals from the same cultural background do tend to coincide in their assessment of what is physically attractive. As such, innate characteristics can be considered a fifth type of positive deviance. As Scarpitti and McFarlane noted,

> Deviant attributes often are the products of one's biological inheritance, which accounts for such conditions as rare beauty, extraordinary intelligence, or dwarfism. (1975)

**Another Potential Type: The Ex-Deviant**

The potential for new types of positive deviance, not previously cited in the literature, certainly exists. For example, the ex-deviant might possibly be deemed a positive deviant. The previously stigmatized person, labeled in a negative fashion, that manages to convert to a status of normative person is essentially a novel way to think of a positive deviant. According to Pfuhl and Henry, destigmatization

> ...refers to the processes used to negate or expunge a deviant identity and replace it with one that is essentially non-deviant or normal. (1993)

Subsumed as types of destigmatization are purification "...whereby one's defective self is replaced by a moral or 'normal' self, either by sacred or secular norms" and transcendence whereby the deviant manages "...to display a 'better' self rather than to eliminate the former self." An example of destigmatization is an ex-convict; an example of transcendence is an accomplished person with a physical disability. Purification essentially involves a destigmatization by which the person exits a stigmatized role. While the previous stigmatization might still taint the individual, society tends to positively evaluate the purification. As such, an ex-deviant might potentially be considered in relation to the concept of positive deviance.

More specifically, Ebaugh has defined the ex-role as,

> The process of disengagement from a role that is central to one's self-identity and the reestablishment of an identity in a new role that takes into account one's ex-role. (1988)

As Ebaugh (1988) notes, certain ex-roles are in fact potentially stigmatizing as they are not generally culturally construed as positive role changes (e.g., ex-spouse, ex-nun). On the other hand, other role changes are societally constructed as positive in that the deviant has been rehabilitated to a more positive status (e.g., ex-alcoholic, ex-prostitute, ex-convict). Additionally, those role changes viewed as socially positive are deemed to be more within the control of individuals.

Crucially, the exiting process is a fairly difficult one, mediated by various factors. Ebaugh (1988) hypothesizes that the role exit is a fairly long-term process generally consisting of the following stages: first doubts, or doubting the previous role; seeking and evaluating alternatives to the role (including "conscious cuing, anticipatory socialization, role rehearsal, and shifting reference groups"); turning points; and establishing the ex-role. Even while the role exit from deviant to non-deviant is

positively evaluated and labeled, the person still often experiences the remnants of the stigmatization that typically accompanies the previous role. Thus, there is a tenuousness to exiting a role. Perhaps, the fragile and difficult path from deviant to ex-deviant produces the positive evaluation of the category of ex-deviant.

One of the most dramatic role changes is that of ex-convict. Irwin and Austin have outlined the extraordinary difficulty in the transformation of an incarcerated individual to an ex-convict who does not relapse, as follows:

> During this period of supervision, many released inmates experience tremendous difficulties in adjusting to the outside world without being rearrested and returning to prison and jail. In general, most inmates are rearrested at least once after being released from prison. (1997)

Among the most critical factors in facilitating recidivism, or impeding rehabilitation, according to Irwin and Allen (1997) are the following: the trauma of reentering the world after being incarcerated in a total institution; the difficulty of attaining employment for the all too often undereducated and underskilled ex-convict; the intensive supervision and law enforcement mandate of parole agents; drug testing; intensive supervision programs; and electronic monitoring. While Irwin and Allen (1997) conclude that the majority of incarcerated individuals do intend to lead a conforming life after their release from prison, these difficult obstacles result in most inmates ending up dependent, drifting between conventionality and criminality, and dereliction. Some do make it.

How do the formerly incarcerated achieve the positively evaluated status of returning to conformity. Irwin and Allen conclude:

> The usually do so only because of the random chance of securing a good job and a niche in some conventional social world by virtue of their own individual efforts to "straighten up" often with the help of their family, friends, or primary assistance organization. But even members of this group are likely to face periodic obstacles in being accepted as a fully citizen. (1997)

Shover (1983) has most extensively analyzed the successful passage, from the perspective of ex-convicts (in this case, ordinary property offenders). According to ex-convicts, two types of changes assisted the transition from the negative status of convict to ex-convict: temporal changes and interpersonal changes. The temporal changes, perhaps congruent to a certain extent with the processes of adult maturation, included the following: an identity shift, in the confrontation with a past of unsuccessful criminality; a perception that their time had not been well spent and that time was not infinite; a lessening of youthful material goals; and a sense of tiredness at the thought of dealing with a criminal justice system that while not omnipotent, is certainly potent. Additionally, interpersonal contingencies primarily revolved around involvement with a significant relationship and secure employment. Essentially, these were the factors identified by one group of ex-deviants as the most pertinent in their advancing beyond their formerly negative status.

Thus, the ex-deviant transcends the stigmatization, that Goffman (1963) deemed so critical in shaping the individual. While the ex-deviant still may be tinged with a previous status, this particularly unique category is another potential type of positive deviance. Perhaps, other types will be outlined in the future.

## CONCLUSION

One point should be noted. Various actions or actors probably transcend more than one category. As an example, Mother Theresa lived a life of altruism (rather than just having engaged in one dramatic altruistic incident), yet was also a supra-conformist, as she abided by the idealized norms of religious adherents, rather than just the expected behavioral norms. Additionally, while Martin Luther King was primarily a charismatic leader, he was innovative in that he combined cultural elements in a new way, by applying the techniques of nonviolent civil disobedience to the civil rights movement. At the same time, with his specifically exquisite oratorical skills, he also fits into the category of having been a possessor of innate characteristics. All in all, many actions and/or actors can be explained by more than one type. Nevertheless, the present typology seems the best way to begin the categorization of positive deviance, since as previously noted, each type can be considered an ideal type.

Hopefully, this typology will help to clarify the concept of positive deviance and facilitate the emergence of other questions and other issues, especially those issues that have been

suggested in relationship to deviance (negative deviance). For example, various theorists contrast major forms of deviance, with minor ones. Curra (1994) and Raybeck (1991) differentiate between soft deviance, or unique behaviors not consistent with social norms but not threatening to the social system, and hard deviance, or more serious and ominous forms of behavior. Along these same lines, Thio (1988) contrasts higher-consensus deviance with lower-consensus deviance, depending on the seriousness of the act and the degree of societal consensus in relationship to the perception of the act. In reference to examples of positive deviance that have been cited in the literature, most are probably soft deviance, in that the acts do not generally harm others and are not reacted to as serious. For example, altruists and straight-A students do not potentially harm others. In some cases, the predominant paradigms ensconced in the social order are potentially challenged by such examples of positive deviants as innovators in any realm of the social order, from science to art to politics to religion, or by reformers. This phenomenon might address the issue of why certain positive deviants are not generally easily accepted in their time and place. Deviance is relative; many positive deviants also experience this relativity in that the initial reception to their actions is negative. In this sense, these types of positive deviants can potentially, at least, be deemed hard deviance, in the sense that the social order is challenged.

Another interesting issue is the following and also relates to the relativity of deviance. Are certain actions and/or actors (or categories of positive deviance) more likely to be positively labeled, negatively labeled, or neutrally labeled at first? Perhaps, since innovation can be more psychologically threatening to a culture, innovation is more often negatively labeled in the beginning. On the other hand, altruism, because it involves self-sacrifice, and is not usually potentially threatening to society, is more often positively evaluated at first. In addition, physical attractiveness as a form of innate characteristic, seems usually to result in an initial positive label and minimal negative treatment. According to Dion, Berscheid, and Walster (1972) "what is beautiful is good" since the attractive are the recipients of ubiquitous advantageous treatment, extending to various parts of their life.

Additionally, the notion of stigma, outlined by Goffman (1963), has been central to the examination of deviance. The ambivalence toward positive deviance does raise the possibility that stigma is applicable in this case, also. The central reason is that positive deviants are also different. For example, as previously suggested, the entire social construction of the "geek" with its accompanying stereotypes, would suggest that straight-A students and/or the gifted are not entirely positively received. The sword is dual-edged in that while there is positive treatment, the stigmatization is also profound and quite potentially has a negative impact on individuals so categorized. The clownish, or not completely human construction of the geek (or nerd or dweeb or dork) is perhaps similar to the village idiot or the in-group deviant, as presented by Goffman (1963), a "mascot" not fully rejected and partially admired for academic acumen, yet not fully accepted. Positive deviants are different; due to their difference, the possibilityof stigmatization is great.

Another useful way to think about deviance, that might also be pertinent to positive deviance, is the manner in which deviance is functional to society. Cohen (1966) has maintained that deviance can contribute to society in the following manner: opposing red tape and dealing with anomalies, serving as a safety valve, clarifying the rules, uniting a group in opposition to the deviant, uniting a group in support of the deviant, accentuating conformity, and performing as a warning sign to society. Along these same lines, perhaps, positive deviance also provides some of the same opportunities to benefit the social order. For example, reformers clearly provide a warning signal to society that the social order is in dire need of change. As another example, positive deviants accent conformity. As Cohen (1966) describes, "The good deed, as Shakespeare noted, shines brightest in a naughty world." Thus, as deviants (negative deviants) are a reference for the contrast between bad and good, so can positive deviants, ranging from straight-A students to altruists serve as a reference. Altruists also contrast with conforming behavior, serving as a guide for human potentiality. As such, positive deviance, like deviance also contributes to the social order of society.

The concept of positive deviance needs to be further expanded. Yet, it does appear that critical ideas related to deviance could also be applied to positive deviance. Additionally, this typology posits that there is more than one

type of positive deviance. Each type needs to be examined further—within a framework and within the parameters of positive deviance and of deviance theory—as a unique and as an important entity.

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# LITTLE EXAMINED ELEMENTS IN THE WELFARE REFORM DEBATE: THE DIMINISHED MALE AND THE DECREASED VALUE OF EDUCATION IN THE LABOR MARKET

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## INTRODUCTION

Since the 1994 national elections, the rhetoric of the welfare debate has been framed in terms of dependency and the culture of poverty versus effects of the changing labor market. In the *Contract with America*, Gingrich, Armey, and the House Republicans (1994) have argued that government programs designed to give a helping hand to the needy have instead bred illegitimacy, crime, illiteracy, and more poverty. Their solution was to cap welfare spending by removing welfare as an entitlement and to give block grants and certain levels of discretion to the states to develop and administer welfare programs at the state level. Additionally, several consequences designed to engender responsibility were added: Provide no welfare to teen age parents; require beneficiaries to work or to be in training no later than two years after first benefits; grant no more than five years of benefits to anyone during his or her life time; require that paternity and responsibility be established in all illegitimate births before welfare benefits are sought.

If the Contract with America represented one side of the debate, Carville's *We're Right, They're Wrong* (1996) might be taken to represent the rhetoric on the other side of the debate. Rather than making welfare the cause of poverty, Carville focuses on the changing labor market: High tech jobs have educational requirements that persons with little education or training cannot fill; therefore, welfare reform should include job training and education. However, Carville also includes several welfare reform proposals that either work directly on the labor market or provide supports for persons working for low wages: help with child care, health care for the poor, reduced taxes on the working poor, and an increase in the minimum wage. These proposals do not assume higher paying jobs.

If welfare administration is to be shifted to the state — and possibly the local — level, what might one expect in terms of the rhetoric of welfare reform? Since the "local" area for this author is Tulsa, Oklahoma, the rhetoric and reality of poverty will be more closely scrutinized in the Tulsa area.

As part of the planning process for the City of Tulsa's Enterprise Community application in 1994, recommendations and findings from over one-hundred existing human service and community development plans provided by governmental and nonprofit organizations were compiled. In these local plans, one finds elements of both sets of rhetoric present at the national level. Several plans are devoted to the prevention of teenage pregnancy and to parenthood training. Other plans are devoted to improving educational attainment and vocational training to better prepare area residents for the labor market. However, poverty is only mentioned fifteen times in the 179 pages of compiled findings and recommendations. Yet, data from the U. S. Census indicates that the poverty rate for the City of Tulsa increased from ten percent in 1979 to fifteen percent in 1989. In the compiled plan recommendations and findings, issues of illegitimate births and family dissolution and issues of education and training are not explicitly linked to the problem of poverty.

If one begins with the issue of poverty rather than framing the issue in terms of welfare reform, welfare reform seems to be only part of the picture. Most of the debate over welfare reform has been aimed at the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program and, therefore, only involves poor families with minor children. Yet from the 1990 U. S. Census, forty-nine percent of poor households headed by persons under the age of 65 in the City of Tulsa in 1989 contained no children under the age of eighteen. These households contained thirty percent of poor persons under 65 years of age. Jencks (1994) found that unattached individuals living on extremely low incomes are the most likely to become homeless. In the City of Tulsa in 1989, data from the 1990 U. S. Census indicate that twenty-five percent of poor persons under 65 years of age were unattached adults. Just as the rhetoric of the national welfare debate has concentrated on poor households headed by single women, the local planning documents have also concentrated on households with minor children headed by single women. In the compilation of recommendations and findings, women are mentioned sixty times while men are only

mentioned five times and then only as perpetrators of domestic violence and illegitimate children. Yet, between 1979 and 1989, data from the U. S. Census indicate that the proportion of employed males in the City of Tulsa dropped from seventy-eight percent to seventy-two percent while the proportion of employed females increased from fifty-three percent to fifty-five percent.

In this work, the author argues that the premises of both the national and local rhetoric over welfare reform are fundamentally flawed when tested against a view of poverty in Tulsa, Oklahoma, deduced from a secondary analysis of U. S. Census data. First, the author argues that higher rates of poor single female heads of households in Tulsa are associated with the loss of jobs for males who would most likely be their potential marriage partners. The negative effect of the labor market on males as a cause of poor single female headed households with minor children is totally ignored in both the *Contract with America* and *We're Right, They're Wrong*. Second, the author argues that the labor market in Tulsa is becoming more bifurcated with some jobs that pay well and require education and training and other jobs that do not pay well and do not necessarily require education and training. Furthermore, it will be shown that there are already more persons in Tulsa with educational requirements than there are jobs that require them. Thus, while education and training are important to compete for higher income jobs, there will be far more qualified applicants than jobs for the foreseeable future. Neither the *Contract with America* or *We're Right, They're Wrong* recognizes that training and education will likely have a minimal impact on poverty.

## A VIEW OF POVERTY FROM LITERATURE ON THE LABOR MARKET

In a review of a study on welfare reform, Astone (1995) notes that most sociologists who study poverty probably believe that there will not be a reduction in welfare recipients without an expansion in employment opportunity. The question to be explored is exactly how the labor market is changing and how those changes affect the welfare population that is the usual rhetorical target of welfare reform: poor families — and usually families headed by single females — with dependent children.

It has been widely documented that processes such as down sizing, outsourcing, plant relocation, using contract labor and temporary employees, and antiunionism have reduced employment in the better paying manufacturing and construction industries while increasing employment in the lower paying sales and service industries, have increased the number of hours worked both by forcing overtime and by forcing employment in several part time jobs, and have put downward pressure on wages (Bluestone, Harrison 1982; Garson 1988; Prashad 1994; Schor 1991; Yates 1994). Wilson (1980, 1987) traced how educationally advantaged blacks were able to take advantage of changes in civil rights laws and changes in the labor market to achieve upward mobility. Unfortunately, educationally disadvantaged blacks were negatively affected by the loss of manufacturing and construction jobs, by the flight of jobs to the suburbs, and by the growth of low wage sales and service jobs. Wilson observed that black men were most negatively affected because they tended to be heavily employed in the manufacturing and construction jobs that were being eliminated in the labor market.

Even though it is not widely recognized or discussed, the same dynamic interaction of education, civil rights laws, and changes in the labor market also altered the employment position of women with respect to men. Men, in general, have tended to be employed in the industrial and occupational sectors that have been losing ground. Although the wages of women still lag behind those of men in all occupational categories, both Siegal, Foster, and Cessna (1992) and Yates (1994) found that the income of men has declined over the past two decades while that of women has increased.

While these changes in the labor market can explain increased levels of poverty, one must explore the interaction of the stratification of marriage by education and occupation levels with changes in the labor market to finally link the impact of changes in the labor market on the rhetorical target of welfare reform: poor families — and usually families headed by single females — with dependent children. Two lines of analysis are instructive. In their study of the American occupational structure, Blau and Duncan (1967) found that men and women tend to marry persons of their own educational levels. Since occupations and educational levels tend to also be stratified, it is reasonable to conjecture that marriage is also stratified by occupation. Thus, if the number of educationally advantaged

**Table 1: Employment by Occupation & Sex in 1969, 1979, and 1989 for Tulsa County**

| | | 1989 | % change | 1979 | % change | 1969 | 1979-89 change |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Managerial & Professional | Male | 38124 | 6% | 36068 | 33% | 27019 | 2056 |
| | Female | 32476 | 53% | 21182 | 102% | 10508 | 11294 |
| | Total | 70600 | 23% | 57250 | 53% | 37527 | 13350 |
| Technical, Sales, & Admin. | Male | 32655 | 11% | 29388 | 38% | 21337 | 3267 |
| Support | Female | 53279 | 2% | 52244 | 70% | 30704 | 1035 |
| | Total | 85934 | 5% | 81632 | 57% | 52041 | 4302 |
| Services | Male | 13325 | 41% | 9455 | 32% | 7168 | 3870 |
| | Female | 18401 | 14% | 16098 | 16% | 13913 | 2303 |
| | Total | 31726 | 24% | 25553 | 21% | 21081 | 6173 |
| Precision Production, Craft, | Male | 24617 | -16% | 29359 | 32% | 22217 | -4742 |
| & Repair | Female | 2435 | -5% | 2553 | 176% | 926 | -118 |
| | Total | 27052 | -15% | 31912 | 38% | 23143 | -4860 |
| Operators, Fabricators, | Male | 21891 | -17% | 26528 | 19% | 22344 | -4637 |
| Laborers | Female | 5473 | -12% | 6223 | 36% | 4577 | -750 |
| | Total | 27364 | -16% | 32751 | 22% | 26921 | -5387 |
| Total | Male | 130612 | 0% | 130798 | 31% | 100085 | -186 |
| | Female | 112064 | 14% | 98300 | 62% | 60628 | 13764 |

**Table 2: Employment by Occupational Category by Sex for Persons 16 Years of Age and Over for Tulsa County in 1969, 1979, and 1989 (in percent of occupation)**

| | 1970 | | 1980 | | 1990 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Occupation** | **Male** | **Female** | **Male** | **Female** | **Male** | **Female** |
| All occupations | 63 | 37 | 56 | 44 | 54 | 46 |
| All persons | 46 | 54 | 48 | 52 | 47 | 53 |
| Managerial & Professional | 72 | 28 | 63 | 37 | 54 | 46 |
| Technical, Sales, & Admin. support | 41 | 59 | 36 | 64 | 38 | 62 |
| Services | 34 | 66 | 37 | 63 | 42 | 58 |
| Precision production, Craft, Repair | 96 | 4 | 92 | 8 | 91 | 9 |
| Operators, Fabricators, Laborers | 83 | 17 | 81 | 19 | 80 | 20 |

women increased while the number of educationally advantaged males remained constant, one might expect to see an increase in the number of households headed by single females who are not poor.

A second element of the dynamics of the interaction of marriage and the labor market is suggested by Wilson (1987) and Wilkie (1991). They have found that, as the men's participation in the labor force and income decrease, the proportion of poor households headed by single females increases. In general, there has been a rise in the proportion of young mothers who do not marry before the birth of their first child because young men without adequate employment are less likely to marry and because young mothers have little to gain financially from marrying the young fathers of their children. Wilkie found that those who do not marry tend to be better off in terms of higher educational attainment and lower fertility that those who do. So, the employment status of males is another factor that affects the interaction of the labor market and the stratification of marriage by education and occupation. Thus, if the number of educationally advantaged women increased while the number of *employed* educationally advantaged males remained constant, one might expect to see an increase in the number of households headed by single females who are not poor. Similarly, if the number of educationally disadvantaged *unemployed* males increases, one might expect to see an increase in the number of households headed by single females who are poor. Thus, what is attributed to the culture of poverty in the rhetoric of welfare reform — unwed women with children — may well be an

**Table 3: Black Employment by Occupation & Sex in 1969, 1979, and 1989 for Tulsa County**

| | | 1989 | % change | 1979 | % change | 1969 | 1979-89 change |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Managerial & Professional | Male | 1009 | 13% | 893 | 89% | 473 | 116 |
| | Female | 1771 | 47% | 1206 | 128% | 530 | 565 |
| | Total | 2780 | 38% | 2009 | 100% | 1003 | 771 |
| Technical, Sales, & Admin. | Male | 1639 | 46% | 1125 | 77% | 634 | 514 |
| Support | Female | 3873 | 18% | 3282 | 218% | 1031 | 591 |
| | Total | 5512 | 25% | 4407 | 165% | 1665 | 1105 |
| Services | Male | 2389 | 56% | 1533 | 7% | 1431 | 856 |
| | Female | 3353 | 14% | 2934 | -6% | 3111 | 419 |
| | Total | 5742 | 29% | 4467 | -2% | 4542 | 1275 |
| Precision Production, Craft, | Male | 1383 | -11% | 1551 | 96% | 793 | -168 |
| & Repair | Female | 124 | -30% | 176 | 389% | 36 | -52 |
| | Total | 1507 | -13% | 1727 | 108% | 829 | -220 |
| Operators, Fabricators, | Male | 2097 | -30% | 2990 | 29% | 2317 | -893 |
| Laborers | Female | 748 | -15% | 881 | 144% | 361 | -133 |
| | Total | 2845 | -27% | 3871 | 45% | 2678 | -1026 |
| Total | Male | 8517 | 5% | 8092 | 43% | 5648 | 425 |
| | Female | 9869 | 16% | 8479 | 67% | 5069 | 1390 |

epiphenomenon of the diminished employment opportunities for males in the labor market.

The second rhetorical assumption of the welfare debate to be examined is that education and skill enhancement is sufficient to take care of the problem of poverty for welfare recipients. If one examines the welfare reform debate (Astone 1995; Gueron, Pauly 1991; Porter 1990; Urban Institute 1994), one finds two diametrically opposed assumptions about education and the labor market. On the one hand, one finds the view that the work place is becoming more technological and that higher levels of education and basic skills will be needed. On the other hand, one finds the view that most increasing occupations are those that require low levels of education, that pay low wages, and that contain relatively high levels of part-time work. For example, Nissen and Seybold (1994) cite a Department of Labor study that found that eight of the top ten fastest growing occupations are in services or retail sales. The only two occupations that fit the high skilled image are registered nurse and systems analyst. Thus, regardless of the educational level of the overall population, more and more jobs being offered in the labor market will not pay a living wage for many families.

There is no question that higher education is necessary to be able to compete for jobs in occupations that pay higher wages and offer full-time work. But, if there are generally more persons with educational requirements for higher paying occupations than there are persons in those occupations, how effective will education be as a poverty reduction strategy among welfare recipients?

## METHODS

The U. S. Census contains employment by occupation cross classified by sex and race for counties in 1969, 1979, and 1989 for persons 16 years of age and over. Thus, one can use employment classified by occupation to explore how the industrial reorganization that occurred between 1969 and 1989 differentially affected men and women in Tulsa County. Tulsa County, rather than the City of Tulsa, is utilized as the basic unit of analysis because Tulsa County contains over ninety-eight percent of the City of Tulsa and because the City limit boundaries of the City of Tulsa changed from decade to decade. Since farming, forestry, and fishing occupations only account for less than one percent of employment in Tulsa County, it was left out of the analysis. Otherwise, the Census classifies occupations as: 1) managerial and professional specialty occupations, 2) technical, sales, and administrative support occupations, 3) service occupations, 4) precision production, craft, and repair occupations, and 5) operators, fabricators, and

**Table 4: Mean Earnings for Men and Women Age 16 to 64 Working in Tulsa, Creek, and Osage Counties in 1979 and 1989 (in 1989 Dollars)**

| Occupation | Sex | 1979 | 1989 | % Change |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Manager | Men | $41,455 | $47,377 | 14% |
| | Women | $18,175 | $23,988 | 32% |
| Professional | Men | $36,600 | $44,738 | 22% |
| | Women | $16,595 | $22,397 | 35% |
| Technical | Men | $28,133 | $29,921 | 6% |
| | Women | $18,338 | $20,017 | 9% |
| Sales | Men | $29,335 | $32,010 | 9% |
| | Women | $10,262 | $13,273 | 29% |
| Adm. | Men | $25,723 | $23,506 | -9% |
| Support | Women | $13,996 | $15,707 | 12% |
| Services | Men | $16,000 | $14,679 | -8% |
| | Women | $7,299 | $8,820 | 21% |
| Crafts | Men | $26,759 | $24,021 | -10% |
| | Women | $13,058 | $19,539 | 50% |
| Laborer | Men | $21,192 | $18,945 | -11% |
| | Women | $11,332 | $12,763 | 13% |

laborers.[1] The number of persons employed in Tulsa County in each occupational category by sex is contained in Table 1. To specify the differential effects of the changing occupational pattern on men and women in Tulsa County, the data from Table 1 for each occupational category was expressed as a percent of employment by sex in each category for 1969, 1979, and 1989. The use of percentage comparison allows one to compare populations of different sizes over time (Shryock et al 1976). The results are contained in Table 2. The same classification as Table 1 was carried out for black males and females and is reported in Table 3.

To explore the differential rate of change in earnings between women and men, mean earnings for women and men who were 16 to 64 years of age and working in Tulsa, Creek, and Osage Counties were calculated for 1979 and 1989 from the 1980 and 1990 U. S. Census Public Use Microdata Sets (5% sample) and expressed in 1989 dollars by adjusting the 1979 mean earnings by the CPI for urban consumers indexed on a 1982-1984 baseline. The results are found on Table 4. Tulsa, Creek, and Osage Counties are used as the unit of analysis for the Microdata Set data because it is the area for which the data is reported both in the 1980 and the 1990 U. S. Census Public Use Microdata Sets (5% sample). The City of Tulsa and Tulsa County contain most of the employment in the three county area.

To test Blau and Duncan's (1967) findings that men and women tend to marry persons of their own educational levels, one can use the 1990 U.S. Census PUMS (5% sample) for Tulsa County to test Blau and Duncan's finding for Tulsa. If one cross classifies all married couples in Tulsa County with heads of households from sixteen to sixty-four years of age by sex and educational levels, if one uses the marginal distribution of married couples by sex and by educational levels to create an expected distribution, and if one calculates the difference between the actual and expected levels as a fraction of the expected level, one will obtain the results found in Table 5. In Table 5, any value greater than zero (0) represents proportionally more respondents than one would expect from the marginal distribution alone.

As noted earlier, if marriage is stratified by educational levels and if occupations are stratified by educational levels, it is reasonable to conclude that marriage is also stratified by occupations. To test this in Tulsa County, the sample used to create Table 5 was used to create Table 6. The values in Table 6 were created by cross classifying all married couples in Tulsa County with heads of households from sixteen to sixty-four years of age by sex and occupations, by using the marginal distribution of married couples by sex and by occupations to create an expected distribution, and by calculating the difference between the actual and expected levels as a fraction of the expected level. If marriage is stratified by occupations, one would expect over representation concentrated along the diagonal of the table.

It will be seen in Tables 5 and 6 below that marriage in Tulsa County is stratified by education and by occupations related to the office or professional work environment (managers, professionals, technical, and administrative support) and by occupations related to the manual or service work environment (sales, services, craft, and laborer). As will be seeen in Table 3 below, occupations related to the office or professional work environment tend to pay more than occupations related to the manual or service work environment. Over a period of time, if there is a growing imbalance of women to men in occupations related to the office or professional work environment, one would expect a growth in the proportion of

**Table 5: The Actual Distribution Minus the Expected Distribution of Married Couples with Heads from 16 to 64 Years of Age in Tulsa County by Males and Females by Educational Attainment Level Divided by the Expected Distribution**

| | Men | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Women** | **No High School** | **High School** | **Some College** | **Bachelor Degree or More** |
| No High School | 1.6177 | 0.0330 | -0.4584 | -0.8386 |
| High School | -0.0010 | 0.4560 | -0.0771 | -0.5654 |
| Some College | -0.5359 | -0.2413 | 0.4695 | 0.1965 |
| Bachelor Degree or More | -0.8501 | -0.6765 | -0.1607 | 1.9357 |

**Table 6: The Actual Distribution Minus the Expected Distribution of Married Couples with Heads from 16 to 64 Years of Age in Tulsa County by Males and Females by Occupations Divided by the Expected Distribution**

| | Men | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Women** | **UNEMP** | **MNGER** | **PROFS** | **TECH** | **SALES** | **ADM SUP** | **SRVCS** | **CRAFT** | **LABOR** |
| UNEMP | 1.64 | -0.11 | -0.15 | -0.13 | -0.15 | -0.16 | -0.29 | -0.01 | 0.05 |
| MNGER | -0.59 | 0.66 | 0.19 | 0.37 | 0.20 | 0.18 | -0.14 | -0.18 | -0.33 |
| PROFS | -0.53 | 0.42 | 1.33 | 0.12 | -0.01 | 0.01 | -0.20 | -0.34 | -0.40 |
| TECH | -0.31 | -0.19 | 0.18 | 1.15 | -0.03 | 0.08 | -0.12 | 0.08 | -0.16 |
| SALES | -0.33 | -0.11 | -0.27 | -0.11 | 0.62 | -0.09 | -0.03 | 0.01 | 0.02 |
| ADM SUP | -0.54 | 0.17 | -0.04 | 0.11 | 0.19 | 0.18 | -0.01 | 0.02 | -0.15 |
| SRVCS | -0.02 | -0.44 | -0.46 | -0.29 | -0.34 | -0.10 | 0.62 | 0.18 | 0.34 |
| CRAFT | 0.06 | -0.37 | -0.57 | -0.16 | -0.30 | 0.02 | 0.00 | 0.37 | 0.24 |
| LABOR | 0.05 | -0.49 | -0.68 | -0.26 | -0.47 | -0.10 | -0.07 | 0.22 | 0.69 |

families headed by single persons — most of whom are female — who are not poor. On the other hand, if there is a growing imbalance of women to men in occupations related to the manual or service work environment, one would expect a growth in the proportion of families headed by single persons who are poor. To test for this, changes in the number of women and men in different occupations between 1969 and 1979 and between 1979 and 1989 will be compared to changes in the proportion of families that are headed by singles and are either poor or not poor during the same time periods to determine if the two phenomenon covary in the hypothesized direction.

Wilson (1987) and Wilkie's (1991) findings imply that the birth rate of unwed women can be accounted for by the availability of employed, i.e., marriageable, men. Using 1980 and 1990 U. S. Census data for the City of Tulsa, if one compares the number of employed men sixteen years or older to the number of women in this age group, one finds that thirty-one percent of women in this age group in 1980 and thirty-six percent in 1990 did not have actual or potential employed mates. Thus, one would expect the proportion of never married women with children to increase.

To test this hypothesis in the City of Tulsa, a modified marriage rate for women 15 to 34 years of age in 1980 and 1990 was calculated by dividing the number of ever married women in the age group by the number of employed men in the age group to test for the stability of the propensity of women to be interested in marriage and family creation. Using the birth rate of ever married women as an indicator of the general propensity of women to have children, an expected birth rate among never married women was calculated for 1980 and 1990 and compared to the actual birth rate among never married women. Assuming that the proportion of women in the age group that could be married to employed men was the same in 1990 as it was in 1980, the number of additional women who would fall in the ever married category in 1990 if employed men were available was calculated. Assuming that these women who would have fallen in the ever married category had children at the ever married rate rather than the never married rate, an expected birth rate among never married women was calculated for 1990. If this rate is comparative to the ever married birth rate, one could argue that the change in birth rates among unwed women can be accounted for by changes in the number of employed men.

**Table 7: Percent of Workers Employed Less than 50 Weeks per Year or Less than 35 Hours Per Week in Tulsa, Creek, and Osage Counties by Occupation**

| Occupation | Percent Employed Part-Time |
|---|---|
| Manager | 10% |
| Professional | 15% |
| Technical | 12% |
| Sales | 25% |
| Administrative Support | 19% |
| Services | 28% |
| Crafts | 12% |
| Laborers | 19% |

To explore the diminished value of education, the median educational attainment for all occupations was obtained from the 1980 and 1990 U. S. Census Public Use Microdata Sets (5% sample) for Tulsa, Creek, and Osage Counties. Then, the number of persons with the median educational attainment for each occupation was compared to the number of persons in that occupation to determine if there were greater or fewer persons with occupational credentials than there were occupational positions available in the labor market. If there were more persons with educational credentials than there were positions in the labor market, education as a strategy for welfare reform is problematic.

## FINDINGS

From Table 1, it is evident that all occupational categories increased between 1969 and 1979 for Tulsa County. In Tulsa County, precision production, craft, and repair occupations decreased over 15 percent between 1979 and 1989. Operators, fabricators, and laborers decreased over 16 percent between 1979 and 1989. Between 1979 and 1989, managerial and professional specialty occupations and service occupations—occupations which tend to be on the opposite ends of the wage scale—grew by about 24 percent each. During the same period, technical, sales, and administrative support occupations grew by over 5 percent.

In Table 2, one can see that the two occupational categories losing employment between 1979 and 1989 in Table 1—precision production, craft, & repair occupations and operators, fabricators, and laborers—are the occupations containing the highest concentration of male workers. Thus, what has traditionally been "men's" work is dying. One can see in Table 2 an increase between 1979 and 1989 in the proportion of men in technical, sales, administrative support, and service occupations as the occupations which traditionally employed them decreased. The one occupational category which traditionally employed proportionally more men which grew between 1979 and 1989 was managerial and professional specialty occupations. Yet, the growth in employment during this period in this occupational category was fundamentally a growth in female employment. While males employed in managerial and professional specialty occupations increased by about six percent between 1979 and 1989, females employed in this occupational category increased by fifty-four percent.

Another area in which there was a shift from male dominance to female dominance in employment is in full-time (35 hours per week or more) and part-time (less than 35 hours per week) employment. Data from the U. S. Census indicate that, between 1979 and 1989 in the City of Tulsa, the number of males and females employed part-time increased about fourteen percent. But, during the same period, the number of males employed full-time decreased about five percent while the number of females employed full-time increased about three percent.

If one examines changes in the proportion of males and females 16 years of age and older employed in the City of Tulsa between 1979 and 1989, it is not surprising to find that the proportion of employed males dropped from 78 percent to 72 percent while the proportion of employed females increased from 53 percent to 55 percent.

If one examines the change between 1979 and 1989 by occupations in Table 1—which reports employment for all persons in Tulsa County classified by occupation and sex—and in Table 3—which reports Black employment classified by occupation and sex—one can see that the effect of the loss of employment as operators, fabricators, and laborers has been most significant for Black males.

Managerial and professional specialty occupations have increased the most in absolute terms between 1979 and 1989 —13350—and have grown almost at the same rate as service occupations. From Table 1, it is apparent that women have been added to the ranks of managerial and professional specialty occupations at almost nine times the rate of men between

1979 and 1989. From Table 1 and Table 3, Black women have been added to managerial and professional specialty occupations at a rate less than but close to all women. Black women have been added at almost eight times the rate of all men and at more than three times the rate of Black men. Black men have been added at twice the rate of all men.

The growth rates for males and females in technical, sales, and administrative support occupations has reversed between the period from 1969 to 1979 and the period from 1979 to 1989. From 1969 to 1979, women were added to this occupational category at approximately twice the rate of men. From 1979 to 1989, men were added to this category at a higher rate than women. This reversal appears in Table 1 for all persons as well as in Table 3 for the Black population.

Finally, service occupations have increased at the highest rate between 1979 and 1989 — 24 percent — and have grown in absolute terms during the period at the second highest number behind managerial and professional specialty occupations — 6173. Both between 1969 and 1979 and between 1979 and 1989, the growth rate of male employment in service occupations both for all persons and for Blacks was higher than the growth rate of female employment in service occupations.

From Table 4, it appears that women only earned from $0.35 (Sales) to $0.65 (Technical) for every dollar earned by men in 1979. Between 1979 and 1989, the rate of real wage growth for women was positive and greater than that of men in all occupational categories. The real wages of men employed in administrative support (-9%), services (-8%), crafts (-10%), and laborers (-11%) decreased between 1979 and 1989. As a result, the wage gap between women and men decreased to a range of $0.42 (Sales) to $0.81 (Crafts) per dollar earned by men in 1989.

These findings generally confirm national trends. Siegal et al (1992) found that the median personal income of American men has declined over the past two decades while the median personal income of women has increased. Specifically, median earnings for males dropped fourteen percent between 1973 and 1990 while the median earnings for females increased by twenty-two percent.

As expected from Blau and Duncan (1967), it is clear from Table 5 that there is a tendency for people to marry people with a similar education. With one exception — administrative support — the diagonal of Table 6 contains the most over represented cells for each occupation. Furthermore, there is a general clustering of positive values among occupations related to the office or professional work environment and among occupations related to the manual or service work environment. This stratification probably intensifies the upward mobility of families taking advantage of growth in managerial and professional specialty occupations and the downward mobility of families affected by the decline of craft occupations and laborers and the increase of service and retail service occupations.

From Wilson's (1987) and Wilkie's (1991) findings, one would expect the proportion of never married women with children to increase. The situation found in the City of Tulsa is similar to the situation described by Wilson and Wilkie for the United States. If one compares the number of men sixteen years or older who are employed to the number of women in this age group, one finds that thirty-one percent of women in this age group in 1980 and thirty-six percent in 1990 did not have actual or potential employed mates.

To explore this hypothesis in the City of Tulsa, a modified marriage rate for women 15 to 34 years in 1980 was calculated by dividing the number of ever married women in the age group by the number employed men, i.e., marriageable, in the age group. A modified marriage rate of 886 ever married women per 1000 employed men was found. A rate of 869 ever married women per 1000 employed men was found in 1990. This rate, while decreased, seems fairly stable.

The birth rate for ever married women of age 15 to 34 increased 7.3 percent from 1260 to 1352 per 1000 women between 1980 and 1990. If one takes the birth rate of ever married women as an indicator of the general propensity to have children, one would expect a shift in birth rate among never married women proportionally from 142 to 152 per 1000 never married women between 1980 and 1990. Instead, the birth rate for 15 to 34 year never married women increased from 142 to 271 per 1000 never married women.

Now, if one assumes that the proportion of women in the age group that could be married to employed men was the same in 1990 as it was in 1980, one would expect an additional 2,657 women to be in the category of the ever married. Following Wilkie's (1991) observation, if one assumes that they had the same

propensity as ever married women to have children but had no suitable mate such that they had children at the ever married rate, the rate of birth for the remaining never married women 15 to 34 years in 1990 would be 153 per 1000 never married women instead of 271 per 1000 never married women. This is approximately the birth rate one would expect if ever married and never married birth rates changed in the same proportion between 1980 and 1990. This tends to confirm Wilkie's observation that the increased propensity for unwed women to have children is influenced by the imbalance in the number of women and the number of employed men.

In Tables 5 and 6, it was shown that marriage is stratified by education and by occupations related to the office or professional work environment and by occupations related to the manual or service work environment. Between 1969 and 1979 in Tulsa County, occupations related to the office or professional environment added 25,114 more women than men; occupations related to the manual or service work environment added 8,155 more men than women. Between 1969 and 1979, the proportion of families that were headed by singles (almost all of whom are female headed) and that were not poor increased from seven percent of families to twelve percent of families. The proportion of families that were headed by singles and that were poor remained constant at six percent between 1969 and 1979. This is what one might expect given the increased imbalance between women and employed men in occupations related to the office or professional work environment. Between 1979 and 1989, 6,966 more women than men were added to white collar positions; 5,509 men lost positions in blue collar and service occupations while 1,435 women gained such positions. Between 1979 and 1989, the proportion of families that were headed by singles and that were not poor remained constant at twelve percent. The proportion of families that were headed by singles and that were poor increased from six to nine percent. Again, this is what one might expect given the increased imbalance between women and employed men in occupations related to the manual or service work environment.

The problem of finding a mate who is employed to marry can be seen by looking at the proportion of women 16 years of age or older compared to the number of employed men of the same age. Among women 16 years or older in the City of Tulsa according to the 1990 U. S. Census, 34 percent of white women, 52 percent of Black women, 40 percent of Native American women, and 20 percent of Asian women do not have available employed mates. If one separates out the census tracts in the City of Tulsa that have fifty-one percent or more families with incomes less than the median income for the Tulsa MSA ($37,500) and examines these areas, 36 percent of white women, 56 percent of Black women, 46 percent of Native American women, and 43 percent of Asian women do not have available employed mates. If one examines the remaining census tracts that are not low income, 33 percent of white women, 39 percent of Black women, 35 percent of Native American women, and 13 percent of Asian women do not have available employed mates. These imbalances could easily account for differential rates of births among single female heads of households among different race.

Turning to examine the balance between education and occupational levels, 57,250 persons were employed in managerial and professional specialty occupations in Tulsa County in 1979 according to the U.S. Census. From the 1980 and 1990 U. S. Census Public Use Microdata Sets (5% sample) for Tulsa, Creek, and Osage Counties (PUMS/INCOG area), the median educational attainment in 1979 and 1989 for managers was some college and for professionals was a bachelor degree. There were 2,506 more persons employed in these occupations in 1979 than there were persons holding bachelor degrees or more.

In 1979, there were 81,632 persons employed in technical, sales, and administrative support occupations. In 1979 and 1989, the median educational attainment for persons in technical occupations was some college. In 1979, the median educational attainment for persons in sales and administrative support occupations was a high school education. By 1989 the median educational attainment for persons in these occupations was some college. There were 26,989 more persons employed in these occupations in 1979 than there were persons with some college. Thus, in 1979, a person could occupy a position in one of these three occupational categories without the average educational attainment.

By 1989 in Tulsa County, the relation between the number of positions occupied by persons and the number of persons with the

prerequisite educational attainment for these two clusters of occupational categories was reversed from the situation in 1979. In 1989, there were 9,623 more persons holding college degrees or more than were employed in managerial and professional specialty occupations. There were 32,698 more persons having some college than were employed in technical, sales, and administrative support occupations. A recent study conducted by Deloitte and Touche for the Metropolitan Tulsa Chamber of Commerce found that more than 50,000 Tulsa workers were employed in jobs that do not utilize their skills and education and that do not pay enough for their training and education (Maurer 1996).

In 1989, services, crafts, and laborers were the only occupational categories with median educational attainment at the level of high school graduates. As noted earlier, craft occupations are decreasing in number. This would indicate that the main occupations to which persons with little education can gain entry are those with higher levels of part-time employment such as services and laborers. It is apparent from Table 7 that the general cluster of service occupations, sales, administrative support, and laborers are the most densely populated with part-time jobs. These are precisely the occupational categories usually classified as secondary labor market jobs.

The fastest growing occupational clusters are on the opposites side of the educational and earnings divide from each other: managerial and professional specialty occupations on one hand and sales and service occupations on the other. Thirty-four percent of the change in employment from 1990 through 1994 in the Tulsa area are in the first cluster. Forty-one percent are in the second cluster. The remainder are in the middle. Thus, regardless of the educational level of the overall population, more and more jobs being offered in the labor market will not pay a living wage for many families.

There is no question but that higher education is necessary to be able to compete for jobs in occupations that pay higher wages and offer full-time work. But, as noted earlier, there are generally more persons with educational requirements for higher paying occupations than there are persons in those occupations. The proportion of males and females 25 years of age and over with more than a high school education has continually improved from 1970 to 1990 for both the population as a whole and for Blacks. If one examines educational achievement levels for persons employed in Tulsa, Creek, and Osage Counties in the 1980 and 1990 U. S. Census PUMS, one finds that each ten-year age cohort born between 1935 and 1965 increased the proportion of persons in that cohort with some college or higher educations by at least ten percent during the ten year period.

The combined trends of growing lower-paying jobs and generally increasing levels of education among the work force raise questions about the effectiveness of education as an antipoverty strategy.

## CONCLUSION

If one uses Tulsa, Oklahoma, to test the assumptions of the rhetoric of the welfare reform debate, it has been shown that key assumptions of both Republicans and Democrats are fundamentally flawed.

First, negative effects of the reorganization of the labor market have directly affected men more negatively than women. However, women are indirectly affected by having a reduced pool of employed males with livable wages as potential or actual marriage partners. Because marriage partners tend to be stratified by educational level and occupational cluster, women employed in low paying occupations were more negatively affected than women in higher paying occupations. Furthermore, it was argued that the loss of potential or actual employed men with livable wages could easily account for increased levels of poor families with dependent children headed by single females. Thus, the labor market and not necessarily a culture of dependency could account for higher levels of households on AFDC.

Second, there are already more persons with educational requirements than there are positions requiring those requirements. The labor market continues to produce employment on both ends of the skill and wage spectrum. Moreover, the tactics of the routinization of jobs to deskill work, of outsourcing, and of contract and temporary labor is being applied to mental work as well as to menial work. Thus, education and training do not necessarily translate to higher paying jobs as they did before the mid 1970s.

## NOTES

1 These classifications are essentially comparable between the U. S. Census of 1990 and 1980. However, they are not comparable with the occupational classification scheme contained in the

1970 U. S. Census. To increase the comparability of the 1970 U. S. Census with the 1980 U. S. Census and 1990 U. S. Census, the 1970 U. S. Census data was reclassified in the following manner: Professional, technical, and kindred workers less health workers (except practitioners) and technicians (except health) in the 1970 U. S. Census were classified as managerial and professional specialty occupations; sales workers, clerical and kindred workers, health workers (except practitioners), and technicians (except health) in the 1970 U. S. Census were classified as technical, sales, and administrative support occupations; service workers and private household workers in the 1970 U. S. Census were classified as service occupations; craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers in the 1970 U. S. Census were classified as precision production, craft, and repair occupations; and operatives, transport equipment operatives, and laborers (except farm) in the 1970 U. S. Census were classified as operators, fabricators, and laborers.

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# FROM THE CREDIBILITY CRISIS OF FORMAL ORGANIZATIONS TO THE RE-EMERGENCE OF THE GROUP: AN ECOSYSTEMIC APPROACH

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ABSTRACT

The concept of ecosystem is used here as a paradigm for analyzing the current problems of credibility suffered by large bureaucratic, political or managerial organizations. The process of social globalization and the crisis of the postmodern era form the context of these problems. Collective uncertainty and pessimism at this time have increased, especially since the collapse of the balance of power between East and West at the end of the Cold War and in the present welfare state crisis. In these circumstances, an existential environment emerges in which social bonds are also in crisis. In response to the individual absorption brought about by formal organizations, there is now a trend towards the re-emergence of fundamentalisms or social movements of a strong community or group nature.

## PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

The evolution of modern societies has brought with it the gradual establishment of certain social, economic or political organizational models in accordance with those put forward by Weber in his ideal typology of bureaucracy. But this process has not always functioned smoothly. Many large present-day organizations are far from providing an objective institutional-normative framework for the development of equality of opportunity and the freedom of the individual. It would seem that individual liberty has never been so restricted as it is within the complex organizational structures which span all aspects of society. The ends and the means for obtaining them are usually beyond the control of most people involved in these organizations. This would seem to be the reason for the spread of non-participatory attitudes and the individual's absorption with self.

Over the last few decades, sociological theory has highlighted the importance of the individual, the microsocial and the intersubjective (as in sociological neoconstitutionalism, rational choice theory, symbolic interactionism and ethnomethodology), in contrast to other perspectives which have pointed out the objective determinants of collective behaviour on a macrosocial scale (as exemplified by marxism and functionalism). This emphasis on subjectivity was a reaction to the excessive determinism of society and the schematism frequently present in macrosocial theories. These usually worked on the premise that people are almost totally conditioned by the social structures of which they form part.[1]

The tendency towards assertion of privacy in modern societies is a reaction to that determinism, a search for a space for oneself and one's personal fulfilment. Individualism has become a culture in itself, a way of perceiving the world which implies a specific way of understanding society, others and all humankind. Individualism has come to have supreme value in the modern world, and it is directly connected to the core of classical Liberalism, freedom of conscience and choice (Béjar 1990). But this re-emergence of privacy and individual self-absorption has brought about such fragmentation of society that we are now seeing a tendency towards retribalization and the re-emergence of the group.

Group and formal organization are here conceived as different ways of social articulation. In accordance with classical sociological typologies as constructed by Toënnies or Cooley, group is based on "community" or primary bonds. In contrast to it formal organizations develop through the typical secondary links of the "association". This second class of social bindings is usually dominant in large-scale rational-instrumental means-ends organizations of a bureaucratic, political or managerial nature. However, large organizations could not operate without community relations and the latter frequently develop inside the former. In fact, relations of community and association are ordinarily intermingled in everyday social life.

The above-mentioned tendency towards the re-emergence of the group is illustrated in the proliferation of social movements and other autonomous groups and in phenomena such as fundamentalisms. These are conceived in the present text as forms of collective articulation which intend to emphasize primary group relations and whose social action could be understood as a search for identity and autonomy outside of controls of large-scale organizations. A basic question is, why does this search so often fail? It is difficult to answer this question satisfactorily, but, in general, it is due to the following:

1) The re-emergence of groups is very often promoted by the organizations themselves or happens within them. In this respect, the nature, rationality, internal structuring and operation of large organizations is today undergoing significant qualitative transformations. According to Giddens (1991), all the signs are that these organizations are becoming more flexible and less hierarchical, and giving more and more leeway to informal groups. But, in many cases, it would seem that organizations become more flexible in order to wield control over the people involved in them more effectively. A well-known example of how large organizations utilize primary bonds to their own profit is the human relations movement. This stresses the importance of social relations in organizations and considers that informal relations and sentiments within the group determine individual work behaviour. But, its real purpose is to understand workers and managers as human beings with social and emotional needs in order to improve their productive efficiency and involvement in the organization's objectives.

2) With regard to fundamentalisms, although these seem to strengthen the sense of group identity in their members, in reality they are often extremely conservative, rigidly organized and subjected to a strict leadership. They usually have their own parties or movements, but sometimes operate through other organizations. So, for example, in the United States, fundamentalists have used and indeed taken over political parties in their own interests. One could affirm, therefore, that the autonomy and group relations offered by these movements or expected by people involved in them fail ahead of time.

3) From the very moment in which they triumph and need to become institutionalized as a new sociopolitical order, whether they be fundamentalisms or other social movements, a gradual process of bureaucratization and neglect of grassroots group and community aspirations of their initial followers tends to be experienced. So, the new order usually forgets those who contributed so much to its revolutionary or electoral victory, and may even become their oppressor. Before the First World War, Robert Michels spoke of a very similar process in his well-known "iron law of oligarchy". According to this author, the equalitarian primary appearing groups tend unavoidably to become oligarchic and bureaucratic as they mature as social movements.

To sum up, then, the failure of movements which favor the re-emergence of the group in their aspirations of autonomy is to a large extent due to the fact that they seldom flourish independently of big organizations and when they do, they tend to be controlled by them or even become bureaucratic organizations in themselves. Undoubtedly, this general answer is not enough to explain the complex causes of such recurrent failure, which are specific to each case. Allow me to leave a more in-depth study of this topic for another time, as the aim of the present article is to shape a framework which may enhance our understanding of the social and existential context in which the current re-emergence of the group is being seen.

The purpose of this text is not to make an explicit analysis of formal organizations or of the credibility crisis of their legitimizing rationality. This crisis is merely considered as the starting point for the study of the ecosystemic context in which the re-emergence of the group occurs. To this end, the author shall rethink the elements of ecosystem concept put forward by Duncan (1959). These elements are: *population, environment, technology and organization.*

## ON THE CONCEPTS OF ECOSYSTEM, FORMAL ORGANIZATION AND CRISIS

Duncan's notion of ecosystem had serious functionalist and determinist shortcomings for the individual action that posterior theoretical developments have overcome, for example, the systems theory by authors such as Luhmann (1990). According to this, modern society is characterised by its continuing functional differentiation into "autopietic subsystems", which operate self-referentially in accordance with their own codes.[2] But again, this article does not intend to consider this question or other recent theoretical contributions to system theory (i.e. Giddens or Archer).

Also, since the author does not agree with Duncan's view, the purpose here is not at all to try to revive his paradigm, but only to reread each one of four elements referred to by him. The reinterpretation of them constitutes a suitable strategy for the aim of this paper in making a global and structured analytical framework on which to describe the characteristics of modern and postmodern ecosystemic contexts (both understood as existential environments of population on a world scale) in which the emergence and crisis of formal

organizations legitimizing rationality respectively has occurred.

The author conceives the ecosystem as a complex structured whole in which its four components are dialectically interrelated. It is only possible to consider each element separately at an analytical level, for in reality they work together simultaneously and inextricably. This may be conceptualized as the collective action by people (a *population*) which tends to shape a particular environment (an existential global context on both a natural and social level). To this end, this population lays down rules of conduct and organizational ties which condition or are conditioned by this environment and the development of a specific *technology*. In other words, a population must always survive within an *environment* with certain particular natural characteristics. In its relationship with its environment, the population adopts certain characteristic ways of *organizing* itself (that is to say, economic-productive and institutional practices, as well as symbolic-legitimizing strategies which attempt to explain and/or justify them). These kinds of organization in turn are closely linked to a certain level of technological development. Each ecosystem is a kind of existential environment, a framework of social interaction, generation and reproduction of the collective identity.

For Robert K. Merton (1970), a formal organization implies a rationally-constituted social structure with clearly-defined norms and procedures, which are functionally related to the objectives of the organization itself. Rather than "organization", Salvador Giner and Manuel Pérez Yruela prefer the term "corporation". For them, this is

> every institution formed within a society by persons or coalitions in order to serve certain more or less explicit objectives through regulating the conduct of its members according to rules of internal hierarchy, imperative co-ordination and norms of efficient behaviour, as well as differential norms of access to, sharing out of, participation in and exclusion from the scarce commodities whose control is being pursued. (1979)

Formal organizations, then, are those which formally operate in accordance with a means-ends instrumental rationality. To understand what is meant by this, we must distinguish between an "ends" rationality and a "means" rationality, which is also called "instrumental reason" or "functional reason". In principle it would seem that instrumental reason is a "knowing how" rather than a "knowing that" (Ferrater Mora 1988). In other words, it is what Max Weber (1979) described as a rationality of social action which works towards ends: a rationality determined by expectations of how objects of the outside world and other people will behave, and using these expectations as "conditions" or "means" towards the achievement of ones' own rationally-considered and pursued ends. It is therefore a type of rationality whose formal logic is an instrumental means of structuring, organizing, planning and institutionalizing social action in order to find the most efficient way of "knowing how" to achieve certain ends. This rationality constitutes the logic of legitimation (justification and/or explanation) of certain strategies which work towards the planning or rational organization of human activity with the intention of achieving certain ends. This paradigm of rationality which has spread virtually worldwide is the fundamental premise of social action inherent in modern formal organizations.

Finally, for the ecosystemic viewpoint, it is convenient to take "crisis" to mean one of man's relationships with his environment, brought about by his inability (or the group's or social organization's) to keep up a certain behaviour pattern any longer (Nisbet 1975). What follows, then, is an attempt to explain the present credibility crisis of formal organizations by means of an analysis of the transformations undergone in the relationship between these organizations and their environment as a consequence of the transition between modernity and postmodernity (Turner 1990).

## MODERN ANTHROPOCENTRISM AND THE MEANS-ENDS RATIONALITY OF FORMAL ORGANIZATIONS

The above-mentioned "ecosystem" concept is useful in the overall understanding of the socio-historical context of the transition from the traditional rural world to modern society. So, the relatively limited *technology* of rural societies contributes to the establishment of a collective identity which implies a conscience of adaptation to the limits demanded by the *environment* and a certain feeling of permanence. This same ecosystemic conditioning, which is in large part responsible for the rural *population's* withdrawal into itself and its rejection of socio-economic change, also

explains its confusion or opposition to ways of *organization*, whose development implies legitimable social action types as described in Weber's paradigm of means-ends, formal-instrumental rationality. Most modern managerial or political organizations are based on this paradigm. These forms of social behaviour imply the carrying out of certain actions which together may be called *active instrumental strategies, and they work towards the planning, transformation, domination and regulation of the natural and social environment.*

At the same time as the western world was undergoing industrialization and modernization, the conditions which brought about this rationality and forms of social action also came into being. This occurred within an ecosystemic context of continuous scientific and *technological* progress which often gave rise to almost limitless expectations of man's capacity to transform his natural and social *environment.* In this way a vision emerged of the human *population* as the centre of the universe and the architect of history. It is this anthropocentric idea, established at the same time as the development of the existential context of modernity, which built up man's confidence in his capacity to transform the world. This idea is closely linked to the dream of the builders of modernity which attempted to "rationalize the world", free it of the bonds of "obscurantism" and tradition, and make human relations more just and transparent. To this end, one of the fundamental challenges of the architects of modernity was to adapt social reality to political or scientific programmes organized and legitimized on enlightened reason. This challenge is a common denominator in, for example, subversive or revolutionary hegelian-marxist thought and in the more or less integrating reforming perspectives of such pioneers in sociology as Comte or Spencer. To "rationalize the world" meant the explanation, enlightenment and regulation of human relations, which would thereby be freed of every alienation (Marx), of the ancestral religious vestiges of a defeated "theological state", and of coercive or mechanical social bonds. All in all, from the sociological viewpoint, this shows the strengthening of reason as an instrument of analysis, regulation, control and transformation of social reality.

The advent of anthropocentrism goes hand in hand with the gradual establishment of a rationalization determining and determined by technological advances which came about at the same time. In contrast to the restraints man had encountered until then, he now felt a stronger confidence in his powers of manipulating the world around him. The aim of this mentality was to propose the rational articulation of strategies and projects (instrumental means) which would enable people to participate in the transformation and control of their physical, economic, political and social environment. The state, political parties, the marxist-leninist "Revolutionary Party" and other forms of bureaucracy are different kinds of formal means-ends organizations which attempt to become instruments in the bringing to fruition the rationalization of the project undertaken by modernity.

Bureaucratic, managerial or political typologies of *organization*, therefore, may be considered as instrumental strategies to adapt and transform the social and natural environment. They were created with the aim of fulfilling the expectations of the modern scientific, political or revolutionary conscience, which in turn aimed to achieve the anthropocentric ideal of enlightened thought. The idea of progress, one of most significant of these expectations, has fuelled such phenomena as the Industrial Revolution, the colonizations of the nineteenth century, revolutionary struggles or the theories and processes of modernization after the Second World War.

Formal means-ends organizations are, then, a particularly significant example of building strategies adopted by this modern manipulating mentality, which in some cases was applied to regulate society, and in others to transform it, as well as to put an end to the limitations of the socio-natural order with the aim of moulding it to the wants of humankind, who feels it is at the centre of the universe.

Formal organizations are so-called because the means-ends rationality which sustains them is normally only a paradigm of their formal legitimation and their guiding principles. According to Mayntz (1987), the idea of the capacity of the organization to carry out ends consists almost always of a post factum judgement, and only a small part is an experience attained step by step. Normally, unforeseen consequences crop up, in such a way that events constantly occur which have not been planned or wished for, and which in most cases even the directors or members have not anticipated.

In practice, then, the behaviour and procedures of these organizations, while in

accordance with a particular formal rationality, never adjust to it completely. Following P. M. Blau (1979), if all the relationships between members of organizations and their activities were totally predetermined by formal procedures, there would be no problem worthy of analysis, for it would be enough to examine their programmes and official manuals to know everything you want about them. Indeed, social interaction and the activities of the organization never correspond closely to their official norms, if only because all the norms are not mutually compatible.

So, regardless of the formal rationality which guides or legitimizes their ends and determines the instrumental means for achieving them, organizations have never fulfilled their formal principles (Giddens 1991). Informal behaviour is always to be found within them and their day-to-day working and the relations between their members have unforeseen consequences. This dichotomy between their formal principles and how they really work has tended to become more pronounced in the postmodern era of rapid social changes and legitimacy crisis in which advanced industrial societies are immersed. As the gap widens between the formal and the real, organizations lose their credibility and their legitimizing principles enter into crisis too.

## SOCIOECONOMIC GLOBALIZATION AND THE CRISIS OF POSTMODERNITY

Is there a crisis and social decline of a globalized postmodern society or a new stage of modernity as a result of its critical tradition and reflexive processes of modernization? For Niklas Luhmann, postmodernity is a misconception. In a similar way, some recent thinkers state that squabbling modernists and postmodernists are being overtaken by a third conceptual vehicle: reflexive modernization (Beck, Giddens, Lash 1994). This is not another theory of decline, but of "reinvention of politics". From its point of view, the present worldwide situation is not a crisis, but rather the victory of capitalism giving rise to new social forms. Like these authors, my personal opinion is that the basic macro-functions of modern societies are not severely impaired. In any case, these societies are better understood if they are conceived not only as "new social forms of capitalism". In this regard, both postmodernity theories and globalization perspectives offer suitable, well-known paradigms which characterize the uncertain, unpredictable and unbalanced situation of such societies, immersed as they are in deep, hitherto unseen transformation and in crises of legitimacy and identity.

In today's societies there is an increasing globalization of problems. These and their solutions are becoming more and more linked to the unpredictable dynamics of globalized society. Globalization has become a very popular term in the nineties. It refers to the fact that all the processes undergone by people are to be found in the context of a single world society, a "global society" (Albrow 1990). However, this is not the first time globalization has happened. It could be stated that we have had a global socio-economic system since Columbus discovered America or, from a less Eurocentered viewpoint, since the explorations and commerce of the Chinese in the X century. Later, the Spanish and Portuguese conquest and colonization of South America and the British and French ones of North America are examples of the gradual expansion of the social, institutional and economic western paradigm all over the world, that is to say, globalization. Globalization was also the various colonizations carried out during the nineteenth and early twentieth century by a handful of European powers who extended their dominance to encompass virtually the entire African continent, together with large areas of Asia, Latin America and Pacific Ocean.

The decolonization process which occurred after the Second World War saw the birth of many new independent countries and with it many expectations for their economic and sociopolitical development. Modernization theories offered the sociological framework on which to explain or promote such development. As is well known, many imperial powers retained economic dominance over their former colonies and in practice modernization theories were often a way of imposing socio-economic policies on newly-independent countries which would still benefit the former metropoli. In this way, such theories helped to legitimize a new kind of colonialism: so-called neocolonialism. This is, in fact, a tacit continuation of the colonization and globalization processes initiated almost five centuries ago that meant the gradual expansion of the western socio-economic and political model across the world.

All this and the slow pace of socio-economic development in most developing countries triggered a wave of radical theorising

from theirs point of view. In contrast to the confidence and the optimism of modernization's foci, these new theories about "underdevelopment" or "dependency" held a pessimistic view. This pessimism was closely related to the feeling of powerlessness of those living in the peripheral areas of the world system, for they were fully aware that they could not control the plethora of socio-economic and external decision-making processes which was conditioning their role as dependent societies. This served to perpetuate their socio-economic structure, which in turn hindered their development. While these critical theories about modernization burgeoned, many people living at the heart of the worldwide system enjoyed economic growth, the Welfare State and the comparatively stable labor situation of advanced industrial societies after the Second World War.

One of the basic differences between the past globalization-colonization and the present one is that as a consequence of the latter, people's sense of powerlessness before the socio-economic processes controlling their daily lives has increased to such an extent that it is even affecting many people at the worldwide system's centre. In a world that is becoming less and less structured, the social status of these people is increasingly threatened as socio-economic processes get more and more out of hand. In its previous stages, globalization was fundamentally a process of internationalization or diffusion across the world of western political, economic and socio-cultural patterns. In contrast, today we are witnessing a growing transnationalization of economic, political and cultural flows that develop and exert their influence more intensely than ever before on a global scale, and they are profoundly affecting the very core of the worldwide system.

All this is evidence that globalization is not "globaloney". At the economic level, increasing present-day globalization could be understood as a new type of production. This includes the movement of capital and products and, in a more restricted sense, of human beings who provide labor. Globalization brings with it the development of production/distribution systems beyond local, regional or national levels (Friedland 1994). It is undeniable that economic globalization is often an excuse for legitimizing socio-economic deregulation policies which play havoc with the daily lives of many people or local environments, for in reality they serve the interests of Transnational Corporations (TNCs). It is also true that the majority of the world's population do not enjoy the global circulation of goods and services. So, for instance, many people have neither cash nor credit to buy anything other than a Coke and a bag of Cheetos, examples of "global" products. Yet even these people are feeling the consequences of certain economic policies originating in globalization from above which increasingly concentrates power in the hands of a few powerful TNCs at their expense. Therefore, globalization is to a great extent responsible for the social exclusion suffered by the population in the South or "developing world", as well as by an increasing number of people in the North or "developed" world.

In contrast, as part of a slowly emerging "globalization-from-below", diverse social movements and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are seeking alternatives to serve the interests of the powerless and marginalised. Unfortunately, such alternatives are still insufficient to counteract the negative consequences of "globalization-from-above". Consequently, while a minority perceive themselves as protagonists and beneficiaries of globalization, for the majority it means a growing sense of powerlessness in the face of external processes which undermine the bases of their existential security: life style, income and work stability.

Permanent unemployment is bringing with it growing social exclusion and a proliferation of precarious occupations, as well as an increase in uncertainty and inequality. This is happening while the classic "fordist" productive system (that is to say, the elaboration of homogeneous products on a massive scale) is being replaced by a new model that, among other things, puts the emphasis on quality, specialization, organizational flexibility, socio-economic deregulation and competitiveness (postfordism). At the present time, this new model is becoming more and more wound into to the "competitiveness requirements" of the TNCs and its supposed organizational flexibility is actually a strategy for using fewer people to play more roles, thereby eliminating labor. In consequence, far from encountering a more hospitable environment for primary group relations and personal fulfilment, people in these flattened organizations find themselves valued primarily as a productive labor force.

Globalization is also evidenced in the realm of politics. At this time, the social unit which serves as a point of reference to many

phenomena of development and structural changes is no longer particular states, but humanity divided into states (Elias 1990). These phenomena and structural changes cannot be diagnosed or satisfactorily explained by sociology if they are not approached within a global framework. We are coming to a time when groups of states, not just individual ones, that is to say humanity as a whole, will make up the determining social unit, the model of what we understand by society, and therefore, the cornerstone of many scientific studies. Humanity is immersed in a process of integration on a massive scale. We are witnessing the transition towards ever bigger and more complex organizations.

In the existential global environment in which this is happening, there has been rapid growth of many national and transnational organizations, institutions, and movements, which has meant that societies have become more permeable and more open to outside influences (Robertson 1993). This gradual extension worldwide of economic, political and social forces is concomitant with loss of sovereignty and autonomy on the part of individual states.

The international order, and with it the role of the nation-state, is changing. Even though a complex pattern of global interconnections was noticed some time ago, recently there has been a much greater internationalization of domestic affairs and a burgeoning of decision-making processes in international contexts. It is indeed true that transnational and international relations have weakened the sovereignty of modern states. In the light of this, the meaning and the place of democracy have to be reconsidered in relation to different local, regional and global structures and processes which have become interdependent. We can recognize three fundamental consequences of globalization. First, global interconnection creates meshes of political decisions and interlinked results among states and their citizens, which affect the nature and dynamics of national political systems themselves. Second, the interconnection between economic, political, legal and military aspects, among others, is altering the sovereignty of the state from above (Held 1991). Third, the state is being eroded from below by regional and local nationalisms or because many communities and regions are attempting to find more advantageous roles for themselves in their relationship with the global society. Sometimes states even curtail their own sovereignty. For example, in the United States more than 30 per cent of social welfare is channelled through the private sector (Rein 1996), that is to say, three or four times the European figure. Although the motives behind this privatization of American social policy are undoubtedly many and varied, it would be appear that they are a symptom of the victory of business interests and a sign of the weakness of organized labor and of the left in general. It is without doubt closely related to the putting into practice of the postfordist principles of "competitiveness" and "deregulation" proclaimed by the trumpeters of globalization. In fact, as Coleman's discussion shows, the U.S. federal system is constitutionally acting in accordance with these very principles when it disperses power among states. As a result, states are constantly vying with each other to get corporations to establish employment in their territory. This demonstrates how the decentralized appendages of global TNCs become local as they disperse and operate within a specific territory, but actually their control and strategies are in consonance with decisions made at extra-local level (Bonanno, Bradley 1994).

At the planetary level, globalization is giving rise to increased North-South inequalities and the growing impoverishment of many people, as well as a high level of social mobility and instability which bring about very rapid changes. Where is the object of power to whom we can relate in today's world of political and economical globalization, loss of autonomy of the state and transnationalization of capital whose rapid ebbs and flows are ever more difficult to see and control? This acceleration in economic transactions in the wake of neoliberalism is correlated to the dizzy social and cultural mobility inherent in postmodernity. And one of its consequences is the difficulty in regulating and controlling a society undergoing such rapid and unforeseeable changes.

Society has never been really that perfectly constructed, unified and articulated spider's web which was often present in the great theoretical models put forward by the classical social thinkers of the nineteenth century.[3] Nor has the framework or the operation in real terms of social organizations ever completely corresponded to their formal legitimizing logic. However, when societies were more static than now and there were clearer points of reference for the building of social aspirations and the construction of the collective identity,

it was also easier to propose theories regarding the origins and the destiny of change and the history.

Postmodern pessimism, collective uncertainty and job insecurity as a consequence of globalization processes have become more ingrained especially since the end of the Cold War. With the collapse of the Soviet Union and the de facto conversion of China, capitalism is for the first time in history an economic system which encompasses the whole globe. On the other hand, we have seen the dismantling of the balance of world power which was sustained by a fear of "certain mutual destruction" between the two great power blocks. In its wake there has emerged a period of crumbling of the old order, of "democratization" of nuclear, biological, or chemical weaponry with no guarantee of control over them (Robertson 1993). This period is more dangerous and less easy to control and predict than the Cold War itself. The collapse of so-called "real socialism" has not brought about socio-historical circumstances to favour the position of the liberal-capitalist system as the only possible and feasible alternative. The demise of this "real socialism" has also contributed to deepening the credibility crisis of formal organizations, for it has revealed the oppression, corruption and inefficiency of certain regimes which, according to their propaganda, were devoted to using bureaucracy, the "Communist Party" and the state (paradigms of rational-instrumental organizations) as instruments for the "revolutionary" transformation of society.

The crisis which has arisen after the disappearance of the "monopoly of legitimate violence" and coercion in what was the USSR and Eastern Europe, has impeded the harmony and liberty expected by many when the Berlin Wall fell. It has also given rise to a volatile present and an uncertain future. This situation is already generating conflicts between groups of differing ideologies, who are attempting to take advantage of these circumstances (Luchen 1992). For Marvin Harris (1993), the state is "mafioso" in origin; indeed the collapse of "real socialism" has favored the appearance of mafias, the fragmentation of the state and its authority, the emergence of socio-political and ethnic groups who are disputing different portions of power amongst themselves.

The fulfilment of the dream of enlightened reason gave rise to the spread and consolidation of formal bureaucratic organizations in their liberal-capitalist and state-socialist forms. In both cases, bureaucracy not only meant an organizing strategy or institutional tool with which to regulate and control society more efficiently, but also it often manifested itself as a complex and barely-controllable instrument of power and as a reification of the original modern enlightened project which, far from contributing to its liberating ideal, became an apparatus of oppression or social obstruction.

These are some of the reasons why in so many advanced Western industrialized countries there has been a growing loss of confidence in the bureaucratic machinery of the so-called welfare state. The fact of the matter is surely that these countries are undergoing a transition from welfare to "workfare" societies. Mainstream political parties also appear to be losing support, while scepticism towards these and large formal bureaucratic organizations in general seems to be on the increase. Two decades ago Jürgen Habermas (1975) pointed out the legitimation problems of advanced capitalist societies, in which competing managers make their decisions according to maxims directed towards material gain, replacing action guided by values with action ruled by interest. In today's complex world, society's demands on the state are ever increasing. Governments find they must provide many services which private companies are reluctant to undertake as they are not profitable. And the more social tasks the state takes on, the more resistance there is on the part of individuals and private companies to pay taxes to finance them. Governments are hard pushed to deal with these contradictory demands. And pressure on many governments has risen in the last few years as the services they provide are continually expanding.

But it is not enough to suggest solutions to this crisis of the welfare state only in terms of cuts in spending or constant economic growth. In this regard, Niklas Luhman (1981) recommends a concept of welfare state which would demand the incorporation of the whole population into the services offered by the different functional systems of society as well as their consequent political inclusion.

The tendency towards exclusion of different social sectors is one of the principal causes of the crisis of legitimacy of modern state and/or bureaucratic organizations in some advanced industrial societies. The capacity of political parties in power to sustain social services is being depleted. This has meant a partial

withdrawal of support and general disillusionment with politicians, which are two of the main causes of today's "crisis of legitimation".

## THE RE-EMERGENCE OF THE GROUP

The processes of globalization and the uncertainty of postmodernity form the existential environment of the present credibility crisis of large formal organizations and the subsequent re-emergence of the group. In the face of "gesellschaft" and secondary bonds which are characteristic of these organizations, attitudes are now tending to reaffirm community forms of solidarity ("gemeinschaft"). This can be seen in the claim made by populations for autonomous social environments, with regard to the state or national or transnational organizations, in which to build their own identity. These are types of collective interaction in which primary or group relations predominate, leaning towards affectivity, auto-orientation, specificity or particularism which Parsons (1976) has seen as gradually abandoned for the sake of the growing universalism of modern societies. As Robertson (1993), in his work on globalization, strongly emphasizes, we are now seeing the "universalism of particularism". The return to the group, to the nearest local community or nationalism, in short, to the primary forms of sociability, leads us to question a lineal and schematic vision of progress shown by some classical nineteenth century sociological authors. This perspective is also shared by figures of contemporary sociological thought such as Parsons (1976) himself, who, in accordance with his own typology of pattern variables, postulates that the tendency of societies towards modernization is reflected in the path from individualism to universalism.

What are the ecosystemic conditions which are giving rise to this situation? One fundamental cause is undoubtedly the gradual loss of legitimacy of large political, bureaucratic, party or managerial organizations and the subsequent tendency towards the weakening of formal bonds characteristic of "gesellschaft". Behind the loss of confidence in large organizations and political systems, together with their operational and credibility problems, specific reasons exist in each country or society, but in general we must look towards the rapid processes of transformation of present-day societies immersed as they are in post-modernity. This constitutes an existential global environment which, according to the concept of ecosystem adopted in this paper, gives rise to the following circumstances:

A) The diverse and contradictory interests which are present in large corporations, as well as their tendency towards oligarchy, all of which has hindered social control by their members. This, together with their lack of transparency, discourages the general *population* from identifying with them and from using them as vehicles to fulfil their demands and aspirations.

B) The "colonization" and restraints to which the instrumental means-ends rationality "system" of these organizations, ruled above all by *technical* imperatives, subject the experiential whole of the "world of life".[4] In this way, technification has pervaded social ways of life, work, and material and spiritual production. As Umberto Cerroni (1973) points out, the prevalence of science and technology today has reached such a point that almost all non-scientific control has been eliminated, even political control on behalf of the population which is one of the mainstays of democracy. The strict use of science for material gain and the ruthless exploitation of nature are causing a disintegration of man's identity, whose consequences have not been fully taken into account. The notion of "risk society" could be very suitable to conceptualize the unpredictable situation of today's unseen side-effects of industrial production into foci of global ecological crises (Beck 1992). These are transformed from environmental problems to profound institutional and organizational crises of the industrial societies of our days.

C) The strengthening of the means-ends instrumental rationality behind formal organizations has not brought about the utopia of progress which inspired the beginnings and development of the large organizations of the modern era, but the disenchantment and uncertainty of postmodernity. The sense of history has been lost and people have chosen to live in the present.[5] At the present time, the formal-instrumental means-ends rationality of organizations (typified by classical thinkers of sociology as characteristic of modern societies), if not in crisis, is at least being questioned. Most people do not have at their disposal any effective way of controlling the instrumental means which constitute these organizations. As far as the ends are concerned, unintentional effects of people's action are produced, especially in very complex organizations, which cause the widening of the chasm

between formal aims and actual results.

D) The existential postmodern *environment* in which people are experiencing a gradual loss of confidence in the means-ends instrumental rationality of formal organizations, whose crisis of credibility is arousing more and more criticism regarding the anthropocentrism which legitimized their creation. This has been one of the ways of materialization of that manipulating attitude inherent in modernity whose objective was to control the natural and/or social environment, to transform it, and to subject it completely to the human will.

The growing sense of the importance of conservation of the environment is gradually undermining this anthropocentrism which was upheld by the belief that mankind was capable of boundless socio-economic growth. While this belief has been the substratum of the relatively high economic-productive levels of today, we are now aware that we need to limit this growth if we do not wish to destroy our environment. Today's ecological perspective implies returning, to a certain extent at least, to the original collective conscience of a traditional society living within the limits demanded by its natural surroundings. In the modern era, faith in means-ends instrumental rationality legitimized the systems and operations of formal organizations. These were the instruments and the expressions of collective aims to achieve progress or realize utopian or revolutionary projects. They were constructed in accordance with the collective identification with what Lyotard has called "great stories", which are sacred or dogmatic in character and which guided the course of the expectations of transformations in both the traditional world and modern enlightened society.[6]

Today's postmodern global existential environment nurtures uncertainty and pessimism as far as the realization of these expectations is concerned. These circumstances have given rise to the strengthening of social attitudes which tend to favour the inhibition of any form of commitment (political, ethical or otherwise), and collective disenchantment with the formal principles at the heart of large organizations. In this context, we may observe a growing tendency towards flexibility within these organizations, with informal and/or group relations coming to the fore.

This reassertion of the group is implying a reaction against individualistic absorption, a slow re-emergence of the idea of the need for bonds of solidarity with others, parallel to the awareness that it is imperative to restrict development so as to exploit the natural environment only within sustainable limits. This strengthening of the group is not exclusive to formal organizations but is also becoming more and more evident in the maelstrom of postmodernity. Feminist, pacifist and ecological movements, NGOs, neighbourhood associations and "urban tribes" (Maffesoli 1990), so characteristic of advanced industrial societies are all manifestations of this re-emergence of the group. They are all attempts to preserve a range of affective bonds and communicative structures inherent in the "world of life".[7] They are new forms of collective solidarity in the face of individualistic isolationism brought about in many people by barely-controllable large organizations. In this way people's identity finds channels to become stronger through the reinforcement of affective relations and primary bonds of group solidarity, and also because these new group relationships provide occasions in which people can have utopian-charismatic experiences.

For Robertson, the "universalism of particularism" is a way of understanding the rise of primordially-based social movements as a global phenomenon. Social movements are not usually rigidly structured nor do they offer clear alternatives of power. They are generally spontaneous and more or less autonomous in contrast to what happens in fundamentalisms. Fundamentalism is a polysemic word and what it means in each case would have to be specified. It was hardly used outside the USA as recently as the late seventies and only then on a limited scale. With the Iranian revolution lead by Ayatollah Jomeini it was adopted around the globe by people and movements of very different socio-economic and cultural backgrounds. According to Lechner, in a generic sense, fundamentalism could be understood as a

> value-oriented, antimodern, dedifferentiating form of collective action - a sociocultural movement aimed at reorganizing all spheres of life in terms of a particular set of absolute values. (quoted in Robertson 1993)

But, although this definition includes the expression "anti-modern", surely fundamentalism is not *simply* antimodern. The fact is that fundamentalist leaders across the world usually employ modern methods of mobilization and even attempt to attract potential converts

by appealing to distinctively "modern" diagnoses of the disenchantments of modernity.

Both these strategies of mobilization and the uncertainties and socioeconomic insecurities of today's globalized society may partly explain the expansion of fundamentalisms. The study of so complex a topic, however, does not fall within the scope of this article. The central question of the present work is: why are so many people involved in fundamentalist movements? The author is aware that broad generalisations are not enough to answer this question. It could be that, to a great extent, people become fundamentalists because these movements offer them the chance to feel a common group identity. However, this feeling is often an illusion, as the reemergence of the group is more apparent than real in those movements, for they usually show a marked conservatism, a rigid structure and a strong/despotic? leadership. This "mimac" of primary group relations is possibly one of the key motivations at grassroots level in some fundamentalisms, such as the Iranian revolution before its triumph and proclamation of the Islamic Republic in 1979 or the extremist factions of the Palestinian liberation movement.

Frequently fundamentalisms are fuelled by religious or spiritual leanings, but we could also mention political fundamentalisms. At a religious as well as a political level, they usually nurture narrow-mindedness and fanaticism in their followers, offering a simplified view of present problems and their solutions, while apparently "being in possession of the truth" and able to overcome postmodern individualist loneliness and relativist uncertainty which beleaguer vital certainty. Above all, religious fundamentalisms promise to remake the whole world as well as bestow collective assurance regarding a whole range of basic values, feelings and beliefs.

> Fundamentalism is a religious way of being that manifests itself as a strategy by which beleaguered believers attempt to preserve their distinctive identity as a people or group. Feeling this identity to be at risk, fundamentalists fortify it by a selective retrieval of doctrines, beliefs, and practices from a sacred past...Fundamentalists...seek to remake the world. (Marty, Appleby 1992)

**Translated by Jean Stephenson**

NOTES

[1] A particularly extreme view is that of Peter Blau (1977), famous for his outstanding contributions to the study of formal organizations and who defined himself as a "structural determinist". In any case, any sociology which only highlighted the intersubjective dimension of a sociological phenomenon, would be doomed to come to a dead end. Excessive emphasis on the individual or the microsocial could deny the possibility of existence of sociology as a science, which, not forgetting the specificity and singularity of any social manifestation, must aspire above all to explain the social dimension of any act or behaviour, even when this is carried out by individuals.

[2] For Richard Münch (1993), in the positive sense, Luhmann's theory can be understood as having rescued the individual from the centre of communicative rationality. A society without a centre is a really pluralistic society of checks and balances with the highest possible degree of freedom for everybody.

[3] As Bell (1977) has pointed out, the conception of society as a fabric (and, in literary hallucinations, as a spider's web) was fundamental in the nineteenth century imagination. Or, in the most abstract philosophical spirit, as elaborated by Hegel, every culture, every 'period' of history and, correspondingly, every society was a structurally interwoven whole, unified by some internal principle. For Hegel, it was the *Geist*, or interior spirit. For Marx, it was the mode of production which determined all social relations.

[4] Here "colonization", "world of life" and "system" are to be understood in Habermas's sense (Habermas 1987).

[5] To live the present only in the present, without depending on the past or the future, is the loss of the sense of historic continuity (...) Today we live for ourselves without thought for our traditions or our posterity (Lipovetski 1990).

[6] According to this author, "great stories" are narratives which are told in all cultures and serve to provide a coherent and integrated vision of different aspects of reality. They have, therefore, many functions such as giving cohesion to the group, legitimizing values and projects, or making norms which regulate society acceptable. In this sense, they may be considered "great stories" or "metastories", for example, the idea of the progressive emancipation of human reason, so characteristic of modernity or the concept of liberty which took root in this period (Lyotard 1987).

[7] As Bernstein (1991) points out, we can focus on the study of new social movements from the theoretical-communicative perspective: for example, ecology, anti-nuclear, feminist and liberation movements,

even neoconservative movements which are so prevalent today. They may be considered as defensive reactions to protect the integrity of communicative structures of the vital world against intrusions and distortions imposed on it by processes of systematic rationalization.

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# UNDERSTANDING ADOLESCENT WORK IN SOCIAL AND BEHAVIORAL CONTEXTS

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ABSTRACT

This study investigated the characteristics of adolescents who work and the relationship between intensive work and risky social and behavioral consequences. A sample population of 7392 students in grades 7-12 from six school districts who responded to a survey on the effects of work were used for empirical examination. Results showed that the ideal type teen who work intensively is older, lower or middle SES, male, and a member of an ethnic minority group. Furthermore, intensive employment of teens is linked to lower levels of well-being, less achievement in academics and higher levels of delinquency and substance use.

## INTRODUCTION

Traditional explanations of crime and delinquency imply that adolescent work is a useful control mechanism. For example, opportunity theory (Cloward, Ohlin 1960), provided the political basis for the inner-city youth work programs which included skill training and job placement such as New York City's Mobilization for Youth in the 1970s. Furthermore, bonding theory (Hirschi 1969) proposed that strong links to conventional groups and institutions reduce the risk of delinquency. According to bonding theory, participation of the adolescent in the labor force could serve as a functional bond to conventionality. The outcome assessment of treatment models that incorporated work as a control mechanism has been inconclusive, due in part to lack of long-term commitment to treatment by the government (Betsey, Hollister, Papageorgiou 1985).

Implications derived from opportunity and bonding theories appear to overlook the notion that the workplace can be an environment which displays significant sources of deviant activities. Social learning/differential association theory (Akers 1985; Burgess, Akers 1966; Sutherland 1947) assumes that all behavior is learned through interacting with others in relevant social milieus (e.g., family, school, and peers). The theory suggests that the learning of deviant behavior is the result of association with deviant others in respective social groups. The influence of this association can be both direct and mediated (through deviance-prone beliefs and social reinforcements of deviance). The duration and intensity of association determines the magnitude of this influence. Like family, school, and peers, the workplace is another social environment that gives rise to differential patterns of association. Thus, adolescent work can be a risk factor.

Research using cross-sectional data has showed both benefits and liabilities of adolescent work in social and behavioral contexts. Benefits of work include increased academic motivation, mastery of non-classroom skills and problem solving techniques, practice of responsible behavior, exposure to a career, formation of adult work-attitudes and habits, interaction with adults, and development of lifelong occupational skills (Peters 1987; Steinberg, Greenberger, Garduque, Ruggiero, Vaux 1982). Job autonomy and intrinsic motivation regarding work heighten adolescent self-esteem (Mortimer, Finch 1983, 1986).

Liabilities of adolescent work include cynical work attitudes, employee deviance, increased use of alcohol and other drugs, increased school absence, tardiness and cheating, diminished time spent on homework and involvement in fewer extracurricular activities, and greater delinquency and substance use (Bachman, Schulenberg 1992; Greenberger, Steinberg 1980, 1986; Ruggiero, Greenberger, Steinberg 1982; Steinberg, Dornbusch 1991). Furthermore, work intensity decreases academic achievement; the more the hours adolescents work (15 or more hours per week) the lower the academic achievement (Greenberger, Steinberg 1980, 1986).

Most of the findings on adolescent work were based on cross-sectional data, and they suggested that work-related benefits and problems could be factors of selection-to-work rather than the outcomes of work. A few longitudinal studies have found empirical support for both the selection-to-work hypothesis and work as a causal explanation (Bachman, Shulenberg 1992; Mihalic, Elliott in press; Steinberg, Fegley, Dornbusch 1993). Mihalic and Elliott examined the short- and long-term consequences of adolescent work using data from the National Youth Survey. They found that the adverse correlates of work intensity (in excess of 20 hours per week) were partly, but

not entirely, due to selection effects (Steinberg, Dornbusch 1991; Steinberg et al 1993). Work continued to have detrimental effects after adjusting for selection effects. Furthermore, adolescents who worked over a longer period of time (duration) and who worked more hours (intensity) had more problems at school and at home, were more involved with delinquent friends, and used more alcohol.

Research has found that working females and nonwhites exit school earlier than their counterparts (Mihalic, Elliott in press). There is disagreement on a class-based differential. Some studies have not found a significant relationship between parental socioeconomic class (SES) and adolescent work (Greenberger, Steinberg 1986; Mihalic, Elliott in press). However, Phillips and Sandstrom (1990) reported that advantaged parents tended to approve of adolescent work and the initiation of work at earlier age. These parents perceived adolescent work to have benefits such as an increase of independence and responsibility, higher self-esteem, better time management, better work habits, better communication, smoother relationships, and greater appreciation of the value of education.

Studies using longitudinal data have provided empirical evidence for negative consequences of work intensity even after controlling for selection effects. Both longitudinal and cross-sectional research has confirmed that excessive work has an instantaneous effect on the risk of well-being (e.g., lower self-esteem and self efficacy), increased school disengagement (e.g., lower grades and future educational aspirations and attainment) and further delinquency and substance use (Mortimer, Finch 1986; Bachman, Schulenberg 1992; Steinberg, Dornbusch 1991; Steinberg et al 1993). Therefore, our analysis of the effects of adolescent work in social and behavioral contexts using data from cross-sectional design is defensible.

According to Greenberger and Steinberg (1986), adolescent work is associated with teenage delinquent activities such as substance use; however, age is an underlying correlate of both substance use behavior and work intensity. Might age explain the correlation between the intensity of adolescent work and teenage problem behaviors? Yamoor and Mortimer (1990) addressed the age effect through statistical interactions among specified variables. The search for statistical interaction after some of the basic relations in an area of inquiry already being known has a long history in survey research (Kendall, Lazarsfeld 1950). Yamoor and Mortimer (1990) specified conditions under which youth work was detrimental and those under which it was not. A three-way statistical interaction (age by gender by intensity of work) showed that younger males who worked fewer hours reported an increase of life satisfaction. Conversely, older females who worked more hours reported a decrease of life satisfaction. We incorporate the interactional approach in our testing. We expect that, depending on background characteristics, work intensity will have a negative effect on well-being and academics and a facilitating effect on delinquent and substance use behavior.

## METHODOLOGY

### Respondents

The Youth Lifestyle Survey (YLS) is a comprehensive survey of youth in grades 7-12 in the Pikes Peak Region of Colorado. It is a joint project of local school districts and the Center for Social Science Research at the University of Colorado, Colorado Springs. Five surveys have been conducted since 1983, and each survey dealt in depth with one or two adolescent issues in addition to delinquency and substance use. The Fall 1989 version dealt in depth with adolescent work.

Questionnaires were administered to the population of students in six participating districts. Two forms of the instrument, "A" and "B," were randomly assigned to students. Data on teen work came from 7392 students responding to the "B" format. Since, Forms A and B were randomly assigned, they represent random samples of the population. These samples match the population (within probability limits) for demographic characteristics with one exception: 12th graders were underrepresented in both A and B. This situation has occurred in every YLS we have done. Seniors are more likely than other students to be absent from campus (or busy with other activities) when the survey is distributed to the students. Since we invite "quiet" refusals of students (they merely do not fill out an item or the entire questionnaire), we have no way of knowing how many there were—probably no more in A than B. About 70 percent of the students actually completed the survey.

### Variables

Gender, ethnicity/race, social class, and

**Table 1: Significant Effects of Gender, Ethnicity, Social Class, and Age on Adolescent Work**

| Source of Variation | SS | DF | MS | F | p |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Main Effects** | 53.871 | 8 | 6.734 | 68.472 | .000 |
| Gender | 1.684 | 1 | 1.684 | 17.119 | .000 |
| Social Class | 1.872 | 2 | .936 | 9.517 | .000 |
| Age | 48.709 | 1 | 48.709 | 495.293 | .000 |
| **2-Way Interactions** | 4.936 | 21 | .235 | 2.390 | .000 |
| Ethnicity by Age | 1.218 | 4 | .305 | 3.097 | .015 |
| Social Class by Age | 1.581 | 2 | .790 | 8.037 | .000 |
| **3-Way Interactions** | .587 | 22 | .118 | 1.196 | .239 |
| Social Class by Ethnicity by Age | 1.555 | 8 | .194 | 1.976 | .045 |
| 4-Way Interaction | .927 | 8 | .116 | 1.178 | .308 |
| Explained | 62.321 | 59 | 1.056 | 10.741 | .000 |
| Residual | 760.498 | 7733 | .098 | | |
| Total | 822.819 | 7792 | .106 | | |

age are used to describe the demographic distribution of adolescents who are engaged in labor force. The variable of gender is a dichotomy (male and female). The ethnicity of respondents in this study is grouped into five racial categories (Native American, Chicano/Mexican American, Black/African American, Asian American, and White). Respondents are stratified into three social classes (working, middle, and upper). The variable of social class is a cross-classification of occupation prestige of head of household (0=not professional and 1=professional) and the highest level of parent's education (0=not college graduate and 1=college graduate). Adding these two dichotomies, respondents are classified into 0=working class, 1=middle class, and 2=upper class. Respondents are divided into two age groups, a younger group (11 to 14 years) and an older group (15 years and older).

Adolescent work is measured by asking how many hours per week the respondent works at a paying job. The eight categories are: 1=none/no job, 2=up to 4 hours per week, 3=5 to 9 hours per week, 4=10-14 hours per week, 5=15-19 hours per week, 6=20-29 hours per week, 7=30-39 hours per week, and 8=40 and over hours per week. To further understand the impact of the intensity of adolescent work on their social and behavioral outcomes, adolescent work is differentiated into a dichotomy of work intensity (15 or more working hours per week versus less than 15 hours per week).

Well-being, academics, delinquent and substance use behavior are the three dimensions of social and behavioral contexts investigated in this paper. Well-being is measured by self-esteem and purpose in life. Self-esteem is measured using the 10-item Rosenberg Self-Esteem scale (1965). Purpose in life is measured using five items from Crumbaugh's 20-item Purpose in Life Test (desperation, responsibleness, suicide ideation, control of one's life, and life satisfaction; Crumbaugh 1969). High purpose in life is the result of achieving meaningful goals. Low purpose in life is characterized by little meaning and scattering of focus.

Academics are measured by educational aspirations and academic achievement in academics. Educational aspirations assess expectations by respondents of the level of education they would like to complete (junior high, high school, vocational/technical school, college, and graduate school). Educational achievement is measured by the grade point average (GPA) of respondents on their last nine-week report card.

Delinquency is measured by items dealing with three unlawful acts: fighting, stealing, and trespassing during the last 12 months. Each item incorporates a 5-point response scale ranging from "Not at all" and "5 or more times."

Substance use behavior includes alcohol use, marijuana use, and other illicit drug use. Alcohol use involves the use of beer, wine, and liquor during the last 30 days. "Other illicit drugs" involve amphetamines/barbiturates, hallucinogens, cocaine, steroids, inhalants, and other illegal drugs. Each substance-use item uses a seven-point response scale ranging from "never tried" to "over 15 times."

**Table 2: Main Effects of Work Intensity and Demographic Variables on Adolescents' Well-Being, Academics, and Delinquent and Substance Use Behavior**

| | | Well-Being | | Academics | | | Delinquent and Substance Use Behavior | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | Self-Esteem | Purpose in Life | Educational Aspirations | Educational Achievement | N | Alcohol Use | Marijuana Use | Other Illicit Drug Use | Delinquency |
| Total Sample | 7392 | 30.70 | 21.08 | 4.25 | 3.98 | 7433 | 7.55 | 1.51 | 7.21 | 4.61 |
| **Work Intensity** | | | | | | | | | | |
| 15 or more hours | 890 | 30.68 | 20.95 | 4.00 | 3.66 | 892 | 10.32 | 2.20 | 9.19 | 5.36 |
| Other | 6502 | 30.70 | 21.10 | 4.28 | 4.02 | 6541 | 7.17 | 1.42 | 6.94 | 4.50 |
| F | | .20 | .07 | 38.10*** | 38.59*** | | 175.02** | 165.77*** | 166.08*** | 77.59*** |
| **Gender** | | | | | | | | | | |
| Male | 3604 | 31.61 | 21.11 | 4.17 | 3.85 | 3628 | 7.56 | 1.57 | 7.49 | 5.13 |
| Female | 3788 | 29.83 | 21.05 | 4.32 | 4.10 | 3805 | 7.53 | 1.46 | 6.94 | 4.11 |
| F | | 240.04*** | .76 | 61.68*** | 136.41*** | | 1.25 | 7.03** | 21.18*** | 345.08*** |
| **Ethnicity** | | | | | | | | | | |
| Native American | 402 | 30.01 | 20.67 | 4.08 | 3.71 | 408 | 8.29 | 1.70 | 8.47 | 5.58 |
| Black | 560 | 31.42 | 20.78 | 4.26 | 3.68 | 594 | 7.40 | 1.54 | 7.48 | 5.41 |
| Chicano | 736 | 30.51 | 20.77 | 4.10 | 3.71 | 752 | 8.38 | 1.79 | 7.55 | 5.06 |
| Asian | 353 | 29.84 | 20.78 | 4.29 | 4.03 | 389 | 6.84 | 1.44 | 7.36 | 4.67 |
| White | 5341 | 30.76 | 21.20 | 4.28 | 4.06 | 5731 | 7.43 | 1.46 | 7.03 | 4.38 |
| F | | 8.62*** | 2.37* | 5.94*** | 34.79** | | 12.52*** | 11.26*** | 12.67*** | 46.63*** |
| **Social Class** | | | | | | | | | | |
| Working Class | 1711 | 29.91 | 20.67 | 4.05 | 3.71 | 1732 | 8.10 | 1.63 | 7.35 | 4.92 |
| Middle Class | 2509 | 30.40 | 20.96 | 4.17 | 3.87 | 2539 | 7.62 | 1.58 | 7.37 | 4.73 |
| Upper Class | 3172 | 31.36 | 21.39 | 4.42 | 4.21 | 3162 | 7.18 | 1.39 | 7.00 | 4.34 |
| F | | 51.20*** | 19.32*** | 109.43*** | 144.58*** | | 12.05*** | 13.52*** | 2.59 | 25.60*** |
| **Age** | | | | | | | | | | |
| 11-14 years | 3847 | 30.64 | 21.18 | 4.33 | 4.12 | 3891 | 6.18 | 1.27 | 6.84 | 4.52 |
| 15 years & older | 3545 | 30.76 | 20.97 | 4.15 | 3.82 | 3542 | 9.05 | 1.78 | 7.61 | 4.70 |
| F | | .51 | 4.90* | 49.90*** | 129.24*** | | 587.22** | 191.67*** | 20.21*** | .77 |

## RESULTS

### Types of Adolescent Worker

Analysis of variance was performed to identify demographic distribution by gender, ethnicity, social class, and age of student workers. The average of adolescent work (an eight-category response measure) fell in between the first two categories with the mean score of 1.12 (mean=1.12) ("none, no job" and "up to four hours per week"). The main effects of gender, social class, and age on adolescent work were statistically significant (Table 1). Males (mean= 1.14), students of working and middle classes (mean=1.14 for working class and mean=1.13 for middle class), and older students (mean=1.20) worked more hours than did their counterparts (mean=1.10 for females, mean=1.10 for upper class, and mean=1.04 for younger students). Among demographic variables, the effect of age was the strongest.

The combination of background characteristics (statistical interactions) can be important to the level of adolescent participation in labor force. Two two-way interactions (of ethnicity by age and of social class by age) and one three-way interaction (social class by ethnicity by age) were significantly related to adolescent work. Students who worked the fewest hours were younger Asians of the middle class (mean=1.01), younger Blacks of the working class (mean=1.03), and younger Whites of the upper class (mean=1.03). Students who worked the most hours were older Blacks of the working class (mean=1.28) and older Whites of the working and middle classes (mean=1.25).

### Interrelationships of Variables

Prior to the investigation of the impact of intensity of adolescent work and background characteristics, a question about the theoretical positioning of these variables should be answered. As noted by Greenberger and Steinberg (1986), age is correlated with both problem behavior (e.g., older youths have a higher alcohol consumption rate) and work intensity (older youths tend to work more hours). Is it possible that the correlation between work intensity and problem behavior might be explained away by age; therefore, work might explain the relation between age and problem behavior (Kendall, Lazarsfeld 1950)? This question can be answered by testing the interrelationships of work intensity, problem behavior, and age.

To find out if the interpretation as causal of the relationship between work intensity and problem behavior is spurious, we compared the bi-variate correlation between work intensity and problem behavior to the partial coefficient (when age is controlled statistically). Results from our analyses suggested that age does not fully explain the relation between work intensity and problem behavior. For instance, the correlation between work intensity and alcohol use was .22 ($p<.01$), while the coefficient for work intensity and alcohol use was .14 ($p<.01$) controlling for age (via partial correlation). While the partial tended toward zero, it was not zero. It indicated that age did not fully explain the relation between work intensity and alcohol use.

We further investigated the notion of work as an intervening variable and found that work intensity does not interpret the relation between age and problem behavior. For example, the zero-order correlation coefficient between age and alcohol use was .36 ($p<.01$). The partial correlation coefficient (when work intensity was controlled statistically) was .32 ($p<.01$) and did not "tend toward zero" by much. It revealed that work did not capture much of the relation between age and alcohol use. We applied this analytical comparison across all other dependent variables, and our analyses yielded similar results to those discussed above.

These results led us to conclude that the approach of treating the intensity of teenage work as a variable that specifies the relations among demographic variables and outcomes could be fruitful (Yamoor, Mortimer 1990). That is, work intensity and demographic variables interact statistically to predict well-being.

### Main Effects of Work Intensity and Demographic Variables on Social and Behavioral Contextual Outcomes

Analysis of variance was employed to examine the joint effects of work intensity and demographic variables on adolescent well-being, academics, and delinquent and substance use behavior. The subgroup means for main effects of work intensity, gender, ethnicity, social class, and age are shown on Table 2. Males, on average, reported higher self-esteem than females. Among the five racial groups, self-esteem was the highest for Blacks and lowest for Native Americans. Working-class students reported lower self-esteem than

upper-class students. Neither work intensity nor age had an impact on self-esteem.

The main effect of ethnicity on purpose in life was statistically significant. Whites had the highest purpose in life, while Native Americans had the lowest. Purpose in life was the highest for upper-class students. They were followed by middle-class then working-class students. Younger students tended to have slightly higher purpose in life than older students. Neither work intensity nor gender had a statistically significant effect on purpose in life

Work intensity and all demographic variables were significantly related to academics (educational aspirations and educational achievement). Adolescents who worked 15 or more hours (per week) reported lower educational aspirations and lower GPAs than students who worked less than 15 hours. Females had higher educational aspirations and did better at school than males. Educational aspirations were higher for Asians, Whites, and Blacks, and they were lower for Chicanos and Native Americans. Whites and Asians did better at school than Blacks, Chicanos, and Native Americans. GPAs were highest for upper-class students and the lowest for working-class students. Educational aspirations were higher for younger students than for older ones.

For alcohol use, effects of work intensity, ethnicity, social class, and age were statistically significant. Adolescents who worked 15 or more hours per week reported higher rates of alcohol use than their counterparts. Chicanos and Native Americans drank more than members of other racial groups. Asians were the least likely group to use alcohol. Working-class students drank more than those of the middle and upper classes. Older students used alcohol more frequently than younger ones. The effect of gender on alcohol use was not statistically significant.

Work intensity and demographic variables all had significant influences on marijuana use. Students who worked 15 or more hours were more likely to use marijuana than their counterparts. Males were more frequent users of marijuana than females. Chicanos and Native Americans used marijuana more frequently than Blacks, Whites, or Asians. Working-class students were the most frequent users of marijuana, and upper-class students used it the least. Older students reported higher rates of use than younger students.

Work intensity and demographic variables (except social class) had a statistically significant effect on the use of other illicit drugs. Adolescents who worked 15 or more hours per week were more likely to use other illicit drugs than their counterparts. Males used illegal drugs more frequently than females. Native Americans reported using illegal drugs more frequently than students in the other groups. Whites reported the least frequent use of illegal drugs. Older students used illegal drugs more frequently than younger ones.

Work intensity, gender, ethnicity, and social class were significantly related to delinquency. Adolescents who worked 15 or more hours per week were involved in higher rates of delinquent activities than their counterparts. Males reported higher rates of involvement in delinquency than females. Among the five racial groups, Native Americans and Blacks reported higher rates of delinquency, while Whites reported the lowest rate. Working- and middle-class students were more involved in delinquent activities than upper-class students.

**Interactions of Work Intensity and Demographic Variables on Social and Behavioral Contextual Outcomes**

Presentation of means for the interactions is quite cumbersome; therefore, only the highest and lowest means are presented in the text. Despite over 7000 responses, frequencies became low in a few cells during the analyses of 5-way interactions. Means for statistical interactions discussed below were for cells that contained at least 20 cases. F-ratios for higher-order interactions did not subsume explained variances for main effects and lower-order interactions within them unless otherwise specified.

For self-esteem, the interaction of work intensity and age was statistically significant ($F=6.53$; $p<.01$). Younger students who worked less than 15 hours (per week) reported the lowest self-esteem (mean=29.81), and older students who worked 15 or more hours reported the highest self-esteem (mean=30.88).

The 3-way interaction involving work intensity, social class, and age was significantly related to purpose in life ($F=3.85$; $p<.05$). Purpose in life was observed to be the highest for younger, working-class students who worked less than 15 hours per week (mean=21.33). It was lowest for younger, upper-class students with 15 or more working hours (mean=19.95).

The two-way interaction of work intensity

and ethnicity had a significant effect on expectation in education ($F=3.34$; $p<.01$). Highest aspirations were observed for Asians (mean=4.34) and Whites (mean=4.31) who worked less than 15 hours. Lowest aspirations were observed for Chicanos who worked more than 15 hours (mean=3.75). For educational achievement, the 3-way interaction involving work in-tensity, gender, and age was statistically significant ($F=2.80$; $p<.05$). Highest grades were earned by younger, white females who worked less than 15 hours (mean=4.36). The lowest grades were earned by younger, Chicano males working more than 15 hours (mean=3.13).

The following 5-way interaction ($F=2.30$; $p=<.05$), which subsumed the main effects and two 2-way interactions, was important to characterizing alcohol users. Older, upper-class, male Native Americans and Chicanos who work more than 15 hours (mean=15.44 for the former and mean=13.86 for the latter) had the highest rates of alcohol use. The lowest frequency of alcohol use was reported by younger, middle-class, female Asians who worked less than 15 hours per week and younger, upper-class, female Chicanos who worked less than 15 hours per week (mean= 5.22 for both groups).

For marijuana use, three 4-way interactions, which subsumed the main effects as well as five lower-order interactions, were statistically significant. One 4-way interaction involved work intensity, gender, ethnicity, and age ($F=2.63$; $p<.05$). Older, male Native Americans who worked 15 or more hours per week reported the highest rate of marijuana use (mean=2.85). The lowest rates were reported by younger students who worked less than 15 hours from four racial groups: White males (mean=1.15); Native American females (mean=1.18); Asian males (mean=1.19); and Black females (mean=1.19).

Another 4-way interaction involved work intensity, gender, social class, and age ($F=3.08$; $p<.05$). The highest rates of marijuana use were observed for older, middle-class males who worked 15 or more hours (mean=2.58) and older, upper-class males who worked 15 or more hours (mean=2.41). The lowest rates of use were reported by younger, upper-class females who worked less than 15 hours (mean=1.15) and younger, upper-class males who worked less than 15 hours (mean=1.18).

The third 4-way interaction involved work intensity, gender, ethnicity, and social class ($F=2.52$; $p<.05$). Upper-class, male Native Americans who worked 15 or more hours were the most frequent users of marijuana (mean= 3.17). The lowest rates of marijuana use were reported by upper-class, female Asians who worked less than 15 hours per week.

The following 5-way interaction ($F=4.33$; $p<.001$), which subsumed the main effects and nine lower-order interactions, was statistically significant for other illicit drug use. The highest rate of use of other illegal drugs was observed for older, upper-class, male Native Americans who worked 15 or more hours per week (mean=21.22). It was the lowest for females of the following three groups who worked less than 15 hours: younger, upper-class Asians (mean=6.00); younger, middle-class Blacks (mean=6.09); and younger, upper-class Chicanos (mean=6.09).

The following 5-way interaction, which subsumed the main effects and 6 lower-order interactions, was significantly related to delinquency ($F=2.27$; $p<.05$). Older, working-class, male Blacks who worked less than 15 hours (mean=6.97) reported the most likelihood of being involved in delinquent activities. This finding is contrary to expectations. It is difficult to interpret the effect of work intensity by relying on the two cells in this analysis, because only 5 among the 47 older, working-class, male Blacks worked 15 or more hours per week. Other comparisons showed that the delinquency rose with the intensity of work. The lowest delinquency rate was observed for both older and younger, working-class, female Asians who worked less than 15 hours per week (mean=3.57 for the older and mean=3.68 for the younger).

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Results from our analyses provide justification for the usefulness of statistical interaction between work and demographic variables, rather than the notion of spuriousness or intermediation. Findings confirm that high intensity of work appears to be detrimental to adolescents' social and behavioral development, a common finding from previous research on adolescent work. Of particular interest, it seems to emerge that intensive-working, lower-class, older, male non-Whites (except for Asians) have lower levels of well-being and academics. Intensive-working, higher-class, older, male non-Whites (especially for Native Americans) are more likely to be substance users and have higher rates of delinquency.

These findings can be useful in identifying teens at risk.

More research is needed on understanding the operation of work intensity in relation to the utility of earned income among adolescents. Ianni (1989) noted that income usually was spent on extras, not on necessities. We tested the relationship between the family's money problems in the last year or two and work intensity. We found that the relationship did not exist. Furthermore, the rates of working by adolescents in minority groups continue to decline despite apparently greater financial pressure on those families. Previous surveys in the Pikes Peak region, 1983 and 1986, showed that educational aspirations were increasing, so perhaps the decrease in working is a part of an upward mobility process. Findings also suggested that sons and daughters in less affluent families do not work as intensively as their more affluent counterparts. Perhaps this finding is due to unemployment, or perhaps is due to a process of delayed gratification. In any event, the implications of this situation seem to be positive in the long run for teens.

Another aspect of adolescent work worthy of investigation is the quality of the work experience. In our study, no attempt was made to determine quality. Typically, adolescents tend to be hired doing repetitive, low prestige work for minimum wage. If they were given high quality employment, the negative effects of work shown in this research probably would be different. Also, no attempt was made to determine the work history of a respondent. The data used for this research contained the information on work only during the school year, a time when work competes with academics. No attention was given to the summer employment, a time when some of the negative effects of work may be blunted. If a respondent had ever worked in the summer, some of the benefits and deficits would still be present, but s/he would be classified in the "low intensity" category in this study.

Given these caveats, it seems fair to suggest that work as it currently is structured for teens has become an unwholesome process in the personal growth of adolescents. Overall, intensive employment of teens is linked to lower academic inclination and greater delinquency and substance use.

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# DISABILITIES AND THE WORKPLACE: EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES PERCEPTIONS OF COLLEGE STUDENTS

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**ABSTRACT**

The Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) of 1990 Prohibits discrimination against qualified job applicants and employees with disabilities. This article reports on a study of the perceptions of college students with disabilities of employment opportunities and concerns about the workplace as they prepare for employment with their college education credentials. The study found that they perceive less opportunities and more discrimination than others. Optimism about the effectiveness of the ADA to combat discrimination was found to be insufficient. Also, acceptance by supervisors was found to be less than by co-workers and individualized performance evaluation criteria was preferred. Furthermore, self-doubt was found along with time management and worries about health as personal concerns. Implications and challenges are integrated in the discussions.

## INTRODUCTION

Many college students anticipate completion of their degree programs and entrance into the workforce. Students with disabilities, however, may feel some anxiety preceding their desire to graduate and joining the workforce which they may perceive to be potentially impersonal and insensitive to their needs. Research indicate that various forms of disabilities have different characteristics that interfere with successful vocational adjustments (Braithwaite, Labrecque 1994; Dunn 1994; McNeil, Franklin, Mars 1991).

People with disabilities have been the subject of legislation (Asch, Mudrick 1995) in three areas: rehabilitation and education, income support, and civil rights. The rehabilitation and education regulations have established academic adjustment opportunities for students with disabilities to ensure appropriate access to higher education and mandated reasonable accommodation for them to compete with their peers. Many colleges and universities have expanded their accommodation requirements (Scott 1994) to include extended testing time, alternative testing procedures such as oral testing, taped response, taped classroom lectures, extended assignment deadline, and use of electronic devices. Some professors provide individual and small study groups, copies of lecture notes, study guides, and tutorial assistance (Scott 1994).

With the passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 (ADA), people with disabilities are protected against discrimination in public areas and the workplace. The increasing number of college educated persons with disabilities poses a new challenge for employers and businesses to individualize employment decisions, and may require employers to involve workers with disabilities in making accommodation decisions that involve them (Gray 1997; Henderson 1994; Kopels 1995; Slack 1995). Disability research has concentrated on the developmental needs of children and adolescents and can benefit from a life span focus.

The available studies on disabilities and the workplace have concentrated on the actions and perceptions of businesses and employers on such issues as safety, insurance, liability, productivity, attendance, and accommodations (Henderson 1994; Simons, Power 1996). Although little literature exists on employers' actions and attitudes toward those with disabilities in the workplace, there is a severe lack of literature directly pertinent to the investigation of the perceptions, opinions, and concerns of people with disabilities in the workplace. Their perceptions are sorely needed and may facilitate the development of more individualized and sensitive program services that address the changing workplace needs.

The purpose of this study was to ascertain the perceptions that college students with disabilities have regarding their workplace entrance opportunities and their specific concerns related to organizational, interpersonal, and personal issues. The major areas addressed by the questionnaire were:

1. Perceptions of job opportunities compared to others.
2. Perceptions of employers' willingness to hire graduates with disabilities.
3. Perceptions of co-workers' sensitivity to their disabilities.
4. Perceptions of supervisors' understanding of their disabilities.
5. Perceptions of individualized productivity evaluation.
6. Perceptions of ADA in addressing workplace discrimination.

## DISABILITIES AND THE WORKPLACE

Employer obligations under ADA requires that employers make reasonable accommodation for employees with disabilities. In December 1994, the President's Committee's Job Accommodation Network (JAN) reported that 68 percent of job accommodations cost less than $500, and further that employers report that for every dollar spent on accommodation, the company received 28 cents in benefits. Smolowe (1995) reported on one survey of corporate executives, about four-fifths of whom had altered their office space, indicated that it cost only about $223 per person with a disability to do so. Despite the fact that overall accessibility accommodation costs appear to be relatively meager, only 8 percent of people with disabilities are employed full-time, a mere 7 percent are employed part-time, which is about the same proportion it was in 1990 before ADA passed (Henderson 1994; Smolowe 1995). While people with disabilities encounter more difficulties in obtaining jobs, lack of opportunities for career advancement remains another source of frustration. Miller and Catt (1989) noted that upward mobility that has taken place in the workplace for workers with disabilities has been mostly in the federal government.

The employment rate of people with disabilities by large corporations has increased slightly over the past ten years. However, during that same period, the percent of people with disabilities hired by small businesses has decreased from 54 to 48 percent (Smolowe 1995). Employers commonly cite their fear of legal implications in case they need to terminate the employment of those with disabilities who do not work out. Fears that those with disabilities might prove to be more accident prone or that they might further exasperate existing disabilities also have hindered their employment. More of employers' reluctance to hire workers with disabilities emanate basically from spurious assumptions and misconceptions. Common misconceptions relate to safety, insurance, and productivity including acceptance and attendance in the workplace (Freedman, Keller 1981).

Studies that refute the safety misconceptions include a 1981 survey conducted by the DuPont company which showed that 96 percent of their employees with disabilities rated average or above average compared with 92 percent of those who did not have disabilities on safety records. One study of International Telephone and Telegraph Company (ITT) of their Corinth, Mississippi plant, where 125 persons with disabilities were part of a 2,000 member workforce, showed an all-time safety record of 3,700,000 job hours worked without lost time that was injury related. It also showed that no worker with a disability had suffered more than a minor on-the-job injury since starting with the company (Henderson 1994; President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped 1982).

The misconception that the requirements of insurance companies discourage employers from hiring workers with disabilities is common especially among small businesses. The assumptions are that they will be penalized through high premiums and worker's compensation rates if they hire persons with disabilities. Contrary to these assumptions, insurance premiums are based on a company's overall safety records. An employer is not obligated under ADA to provide insurance benefits, but if the employer chooses to offer such benefits, an employee with a disability is entitled to the same quality of coverage as is provided to all other employees. The President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped (1982) reported on a study of 29 companies conducted by the United States Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers which revealed that 90 percent of the respondents reported no change in insurance costs as a result of hiring persons with disabilities. It was also indicated that insurance companies do not tell employers whom to hire, nor are employers obligated to obtain approval for workers' compensation insurance before hiring workers with disabilities (Henderson 1994). Thus, employers should not refuse to hire applicants because of a feared or actual increase in insurance costs.

A common productivity misconception is that workers with disabilities are not capable of performing their jobs and represent a burden to other employees who must "take up the slack". Henderson (1994) reported on the DuPont study which showed that 92 percent of their workers with disabilities were rated average or above average on productivity measures, compared with 91 percent for their workers who did not have disabilities. Similarly, ITT found that individuals with disabilities were more productive than their co-workers. At a Texas company, for example, two employees with mental retardation who insert

springs into window locks produced 60 percent more output than their co-workers without disabilities. In another example, Continental Bank of Chicago proudly boasts of a blind worker who accurately types up to 96 words per minute (Miller, Catt 1989). A fundamental principle of the ADA is that an individual with a disability must be qualified to do the job. Only the capabilities of the individual at the time of the employment decision must be evaluated. Speculation that the applicant may become incapable in the future to perform the job's essential functions is prejudicial (Bishop, Jones 1993).

Another misconception about individuals with disabilities in the workplace is the issue of acceptance. The assumption is that employees who do not have disabilities will not accept individuals with disabilities and will resent any special treatment to them such as parking spaces, wheelchair ramps, elevators etc. While the DuPont survey (Henderson 1994) did not find that special accommodations resulted in much resentment of workers with disabilities, it is essential to note that acceptance by co-workers is critical for workers with disabilities. There are still many people who are unable to see beyond the physical disability to the individual. They have the sentiment that those with disabilities are not capable of making decisions about their lives. Such fears can be avoided by employer initiated panel discussion of the disability, the needed accommodations, and many other strengths of the individual despite the disability (Vash 1982; Weaver 1991). However, it is essential to recognize that the use of a panel discussion approach could be legally problematic without the disabled worker's explicit written permission, since employers have been sued for informing co-workers who do not have a need to know. This is because disability status is considered confidential medical information under the ADA.

Attendance records of employees represent a significant criteria in performance evaluations. Misconceptions about work attendance of workers with disabilities assumes that they are absent from their jobs more frequently than others without disabilities. Again, the ITT Study (Henderson 1994) found that 85 percent of the workers with disabilities were average or above average in attendance. A reasonable accommodation action of employers is essential in helping workers with disabilities. Such actions may include scheduling consistent work shifts, allowing an employee who fatigues easily due to side effects of medication the opportunity to take more frequent breaks, and allowing more flexible scheduling. Employers' willingness to adapt (Gray 1997) to the changing nature of work by replacing adversarial labor relations with a cooperative approach that recognizes the clash between workers' status as employees and their needs as individuals will strengthen a supportive work environment for people with disabilities.

The role of employers in minimizing work disincentives and increasing self-determination opportunities for people with disabilities not only contributes to the success of the ADA initiatives but helps society overall. It is estimated that people with disabilities who do not work receive federal disability assistance that amount to almost 60 billion a year (Shapiro 1993). The overall cost of unemployed people with disabilities rises to $170 billion a year when the costs of medical care and rehabilitation are considered with loss of productivity. Disability income (DI) beneficiaries establish their eligibility, in part, by withdrawing from the labor force because they lose all benefits once they have earned an excess of approximately $500 per month for a nine-month period. Thus, people with disabilities are discouraged from working to the greatest extent they can, unless they are sure they can earn an amount greater than their disability income benefit (Asch, Mudrick 1995).

Overall, many people with disabilities are capable of making productive contributions to employers, their families, society, and earning their livelihood (Vander Beek, Gray 1995). Available data indicate that individuals with disabilities have performance records comparable to others without disabilities (Freedman, Keller 1981). They have fewer accidents and their insurance rates do not affect the worker's compensation rates. Workers with disabilities also have good attendance records in comparison with able-bodied colleagues (Miller, Catt 1989).

## METHODOLOGY

The subjects in this exploratory study were college students known to have some kind of disability and enrolled at a major university during the Fall Semester of 1996. Approximately 450 students with disabilities out of about 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 residing at the university's

**Table 1: Respondents Categorized Organizational, Interpersonal, and Personal Concerns**

| Organizational Question | Response Categories | Frequency |
|---|---|---|
| Concerns about workplace culture, practice, and accommodation asked, "what are your primary concerns about workplace culture as one with disabilities?" | Clear non-discrimination policy | 42 |
| | Sensitivity to differences in performance evaluation | 27 |
| | Education on disability and diversity issues | 27 |
| | Flexible work schedule | 12 |
| | Physical-structural accessibility | 8 |
| **Interpersonal Question** | | |
| What are your concerns about workplace relationships with co-workers and supervisors? | Disrespectful treatment | 28 |
| | Informal network exclusion | 18 |
| | Disapproval | 18 |
| | Patronizing | 15 |
| | Offensive jokes | 12 |
| | Perceived unintelligent | 8 |
| **Personal Concern Question** | | |
| Concerns about self attributes and needs asked, "what are your concerns about your disability that may affect your workplace success?" | Self-doubt | 36 |
| | Managing time | 23 |
| | Worry about health | 16 |
| | Asking for help | 4 |

Note: Number of responses may exceed sample size (N=48) because of opportunity to provide multiple responses

dormitories were selected for convenience. This resulted in a group of 178 students.

Because the study sought to obtain responses about subjects' perceptions toward their workplace entrance, the author limited the investigation to those identified as juniors and seniors in their undergraduate education. A sample of 82 junior and senior students with disabilities living at one of the university's dormitories was obtained. Five volunteer students with disabilities coordinated the distribution and collection of a self-administered questionnaire.

The questionnaire was designed to obtain responses to a series of scaled and open-ended questions. For each scaled question, respondents were asked to give their opinion using a Likert-type Scale (Strongly Agree, Agree, Undecided, Disagree, Strongly Disagree). The open-ended questions were structured to allow the respondent to elaborate in greater depth and detail on specific concerns on three levels: organizational, interpersonal, and personal. These responses were reviewed by the researcher and subsequently organized into major categories.

Fifty-nine students (72%) voluntarily completed usable study questionnaire with the instruction that they respond anonymously. Seventy-three percent of the respondents were female, and the average age of all respondents was 25.5 years. Forty-four percent were seniors, and 56 percent were juniors. The questionnaire was pretested on a small number of key informants including the five volunteers with disabilities. Modifications were made using their feedback. The data were analyzed using descriptive statistics.

## RESULTS

Perceptions of college students with disabilities regarding the workplace as they work toward graduation were considered across five items. Respondents reported on whether they perceive college students with disabilities to have the same opportunity of getting a job as those without disabilities. Fifty-one percent of the respondents strongly disagreed or disagreed that graduates with disabilities have the same chance as those without disabilities. Thirty-seven percent strongly agreed or agreed, and 12 percent were undecided.

Findings reveal that opinions were almost evenly divided on the item that measured whether employers will hire the right college graduate without regard to disabilities. Forty-two percent of the respondents felt that employers will consider persons with disabilities in their decision in hiring the right college educated person, and 17 percent were undecided.

Regarding the respondents' perceptions of potential co-workers' attitudes to disabilities, a majority felt that their potential co-workers will

be accepting of their disabilities. For example, fully 58 percent agreed or strongly agreed. Thirty-nine percent were of the opinion that potential co-workers will not be accepting, while only 3 percent were undecided.

Similarly, respondents were asked to indicate in their opinion whether potential supervisors will be understanding of people with disabilities. Fifty-eight percent indicated that supervisors will not be understanding, 32 percent felt that they will, and 12 percent were undecided. Regarding perceptions on individualized performance evaluation, findings reveal that the majority of the respondents (61%) believed that workplace productivity should be measured on individual abilities, rather than compared to that of others without disabilities. However, 31 percent strongly disagreed or disagreed that performance measurement should be individualized, and 8 percnet were undecided.

Opinions were evenly split on the final scaled question that related to the significance of the Americans With Disabilities Act (ADA) in addressing employers' discriminatory practices against people with disabilities. Respondents were asked to respond to whether the ADA will reduce discrimination of people with disabilities in the workplace. Forty-one percent felt that it will reduce discrimination, another 41 percent had the opinion that ADA will not reduce discrimination. Eighteen percent of the respondents were undecided.

Responses to the open-ended questions were solicited from the respondents regarding their specific concerns about the workplace in organizational, interpersonal, and personal levels. Eleven students (18.6%) did not respond to any of the open-ended questions. Respondents' categorized concerns to the open-ended questions are reported in Table 1.

On the organizational level, respondents provided a wide range of responses. This question asked, "what are your primary concerns about workplace culture as one with disabilities?" The largest single group of concerns were related to clear non-discriminatory policy (e.g. no discrimination in hiring, insurance, training, and promotions). Two equally prevalent concerns were related to sensitivity to differences in individual performance and the need for educating workers and supervisors on the issues of disabilities and diversity. Other frequently cited concerns included the need for flexible work schedules and adequate structural and facility accessibility to accommodate the needs of employees with physical disabilities.

Responses on the interpersonal level solicited the respondents' specific concerns about work relationships with co-workers and supervisors. They were asked, "what are your concerns about workplace relationships with coworkers and supervisors". While a majority of responses focused on concern about disrespectful treatment (e.g. respect, not treating disabilities like a disease, etc.), a large number of responses identified exclusion from informal networks and disapproval by co-workers and supervisors as important concerns. Other findings on the interpersonal level reveal that respondents are concerned about being patronized (helping when I don't need it, being superficially nice). Also, offensive jokes and being perceived as less intelligent were prominent among respondents concerns.

The final open-ended question was related to concerns that respondents had about themselves. They were asked, "What are your concerns about your disability that may affect your workplace success?". Respondents identified a number of specific concerns which they perceived. Principal among these were a set of concerns related to their self-doubt. A majority of the responses highlighted self-doubt concerns (e.g. fear of taking risks, afraid of mistakes, feeling inadequate, concern about what others think of me.)

In another large category of responses, respondents expressed concerns related to time management and problems of juggling the workplace demands with those of their disabilities. Also, a number of respondents cited that they constantly worry about their health. A small group of concerns revolved around not feeling comfortable about asking others for help. They felt that others will perceive them as a source of burden and inconvenience if they ask for assistance.

## DISCUSSION

Disability issues in the workplace is timely, especially with the passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) of 1990 which became fully implemented in 1994. Because it protects approximately 50 million people (McNeil 1993), organizations that are covered by ADA are prohibited from discriminating otherwise qualified disabled Americans in selection, retirement, and termination policies and practices. Further, it stipulates that individuals with disabilities cannot be denied

access to various job-related opportunities such as professional development incentives, participation in training programs, and workshops or career development.

The findings of this study clearly indicate that the majority of college students with disabilities did not believe that they have as much chance of being selected for employment as others without disabilities. This finding should be of interest to employers, especially human resources professionals and occupational social workers in their effort to develop a plan to help their organizations comply with ADA. Organizations can include statements that encourage all to apply for positions including those with disabilities in their job announcements.

In this study, it was also found that respondents almost divided evenly on issues about whether employers will select the right person for the job regardless of disabilities. Although most of the respondents felt that their chances of being selected for a job is less than that of others without disabilities, 42 percent believed that employers will select the right person regardless of disabilities. On the other hand, another 41 percent felt that disabilities can play a significant role in employers' selection of the right person for a job. Again, this finding has implications for employers who need to convince all those with disabilities that their disabilities are secondary to their qualifications for the right jobs.

The findings on the respondents' perceptions of their potential co-workers' attitudes about disabilities were interesting. The preponderance of respondents believed that coworkers will be accepting of their disabilities. This is interesting because employers tend to cite concerns about co-workers not accepting people with disabilities as reasons not to employ them (Henderson 1994). Actually, this research found that respondents were more concerned about a lack of acceptance from managers or supervisors than they were from co-workers. This finding has implications for organizations to design and deliver training for both employees and managers or supervisors on valuing employees with disabilities and particularly on helping those without disabilities understand how such workers can contribute to the organization and how to interact with them at work.

The research question related to individualized performance evaluations was supported by a significant majority as anticipated. That is, workplace accommodation should include productivity measurement systems that are based on individual output, rather than compared to that of others. In an effort to make reasonable accommodation for workers with disabilities, employers may have to treat them differently by rearranging duties, providing special help, or modifying work tasks (Rothwell 1991; Smith 1997). Most job analysis of employee skills, experience, needs, and interests are useful in enhancing a match between the individual and the work to be performed. It is important to note that evaluations of individual output regardless of the job performance standard is not required by the ADA and could result in lowering standards, something employers fear. Nevertheless, as with every human resource activity, performance evaluation is a systematic process designed to assess the extent to which employees are performing jobs effectively. Equal employment opportunity (EEO) regulations and court action have required employers to look closely at their evaluation systems to prevent discrimination.

A striking finding of this study came from the evenly split perceptions about the significance of the ADA in addressing employers discriminatory practices against people with disabilities. While 41 percent felt that the ADA will reduce discriminations, another 41 percent believed that it does not make a significant difference. Thus, some distrust is suggested. This perception may be stemming from the historical knowledge that the United States' antidiscrimination laws have yet to effectively address everyday discriminatory practices. For example, they may be aware that African Americans are still being discriminated against in employment and housing even though such practices became illegal since the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Most of the findings in the scaled responses were corroborated by findings on the respondents' categorized open-ended responses that were related to their organizational and interpersonal level concerns. For example, concerns about discrimination, acceptance by coworkers, lack of acceptance by supervisors, and performance evaluations were found on both measures. However, findings on the personal level suggests important roles for human resources professionals or employee assistance practitioners in organizing and providing social support and counseling

services to this group of employees. A more accepting work environment can help to reduce some self-doubt of workers with disabilities. Findings related to time management problems, worry about health, and reluctance in asking for help, are concerns that could be addressed through counseling services.

This study has some limitations. First, it is limited to a sample of students with disabilities from a single southeastern state university, limiting the generalizability of the findings. Second, some critical domains such as differences in gender and categories of disabilities were not analyzed. For example, respondents with learning disabilities may perceive the workplace issues differently from those with physical disabilities. Third, variations in cultural factors such as ethnicity was not addressed in this study. Therefore, this study is viewed as one that may help to begin to address workplace issues of college educated and professional workers with disabilities. This study's findings may stimulate employers and those responsible for the enforcement of the ADA to seek the opinions of those with disabilities in their decision making process and future research.

The findings from this study delineate challenges for workplace administrators. The challenge is to design an accommodations process that begins by examining the organization itself. Critical areas of evaluation include physical facilities, physical examinations that are non-discriminatory, and job descriptions that indicate how much physical or mental exertion that is required in order to do the jobs competently. It is also essential that non-job related questions about disabilities be eliminated from application forms, interviews, and other pre-employment inquiries in the selection processes. Furthermore, providing training that is necessary for workers to keep their jobs, advancement opportunities, and special equipment training for all employees and especially those with disabilities make good business sense.

Although it has been suggested that employers need to do more to assist individuals with disabilities in securing employment, it is also essential that individuals with disabilities themselves recognize their role in putting employers at ease about their disability. The indicated self-doubt regarding workplace success and lack of optimism about employment opportunities found in this study may have some validity given the declining federal government employment of individuals with disabilities and all others. However, employees with disabilities can smooth the way for others with disabilities by participating in identifying appropriate accommodations and eliminating misconceptions on the job.

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# WAGING THE CONTEST BETWEEN "SAVAGERY" AND "CIVILIZATION": AN EXAMINATION OF THE TENSION BETWEEN ACCULTURATION AND REMOVAL AT THE BRAZOS RESERVATION, 1855–1859

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**ABSTRACT**

The development of the reservation system between 1849 and the Civil War represents a transition in US Indian policy from removal to acculturation. This case study examines the two conflicting and basically incompatible underpinnings of the reservation system: removal (isolation) from the dominant group coupled with a program designed to acculturate Indians to the norms and values of the dominant group. Despite the efforts made by Indians on the Brazos Reservation in Texas to cooperate with the United States government's acculturation program, the reservation was destroyed by white settlers who refused to allow the Indians to live in their midst. The settlers destroyed the reservation even though it was to their economic benefit to keep it open. Thus, the article increases our understanding of the poorly-known formative years of the reservation system as well as the contradictions inherent in an institution that was designed both to isolate a minority group and acculturate it to the norms and values of the majority group.

## INTRODUCTION

Previous studies of the Indian reservation system in the United States have most frequently focused on the post-Civil War period and its assimilation policy (Fritz 1963, Hoxie 1984, Trennert 1988). However, the development of the reservation system between 1849 and the Civil War remains poorly understood (Prucha 1984; Trennert 1975; Wishart 1994). Yet, this period allows one to focus on the tensions engendered by the transition from an Indian policy emphasizing removal to one emphasizing acculturation and eventual assimilation. Exploring this tension between removal and acculturation during the formative years of the reservation period allows one to better understand the enigma posed by the existence of the reservations—physical and social spaces in which American Indians were both separated from the dominant group and encouraged to conform to the norms and values of the dominant group.

In the first years of the nation, an intense debate arose over the fate of the new republic's American Indian inhabitants. The intellectual and political elite of the United States realized that Indians held lands that the European origin people of the United States needed and would eventually claim. Although Indians existed in "savagery," the Enlightenment belief in the perfectibility of humankind led them to hope that they could be "civilized" by their contact with the European world. As a result, they would disappear as Indians. Of course, they could withdraw westward beyond the frontier of European settlement or die out from disease and other natural causes as Anglo-American society and "civilization" approached (Berkhofer 1978; Prucha 1981; Sheehan 1973; Takaki 1979).

However, the westward expansion of the Anglo-American frontier of settlement proved to be much faster than expected, and the Native American response proved to be less tractable than expected. By the 1830s, forced removal of American Indians east of the Mississippi became official policy. By the 1840s, the discourse of savagery versus civilization began to result in the call for extermination or civilization for Indians by many Anglo-Americans (Horsman 1981), though the humanitarian, reformist bent continued to structure official Indian policy in the United States (Prucha 1981). As such, the Indian reservations in the pre-Civil War United States, while rooted in a genuine humanitarian concern for the welfare of American Indians (Prucha 1981), also were influenced by the greater discourse of the contest between savagery and civilization that the West used to frame its imperial expansion and conquest of non-Western people.

Thus, this case study of the Brazos Reservation between 1855 and 1859 goes beyond illuminating a relatively obscure aspect of American Indian–white relations. Rather, it uses historical data, from both secondary sources and primary sources, to focus on a neglected problem in American social science: the development of the Indian reservation as a place where an ethnic minority could be both isolated from the dominant group and encouraged to emulate the norms and values of that group. The Brazos Reservation is particularly well-suited for examination because it was, in the words of Francis Paul Prucha (1984), "strikingly ineffective."

## THE CREATION OF THE BRAZOS RESERVATION

With the annexation of Texas in 1846, the American Indians in the new state became the responsibility of the United States government. In the twenty five years prior to the acquisition of Texas the diverse native peoples of Texas (Newcomb 1961) had been caught in a complex three-way conflict between Anglo-American settlers, Mexico, and the Comanches (Fehrenbach 1968; Reichstein 1989). In addition, new Indian groups entered Texas from the United States during this period as a result of the westward expansion of Anglo-American settlement and Jackson's policy of Indian removal. By 1846, some groups present in 1821, such as the Karankawas of the Gulf Coast, had been virtually exterminated by Anglo-American settler violence (Gatschet 1891; Himmel 1995). Others, such as the Bidais of east central Texas, survived as only a few scattered individuals after being decimated by diseases introduced by the settlers (Sjoberg 1951). The non-agricultural Tonkawas and Lipans sought refuge along the southwestern frontier of Anglo-American settlement (Himmel 1995; Schilz 1987; Sjoberg 1953a, 1953b). Remnants of the Caddo, Hasinai, and Wichita confederacies (Caddos, Anadarkos, Ionis, Keechis, Tawakonis, and Wacos) retreated to the western edge of Anglo-American settlement in north Texas. There, they attempted to rebuild their agricultural and trading economies (Newkumet, Meredith 1988; Smith 1995). In east Texas, only the small immigrant Alabama-Coushatta tribe remained after Republic of Texas President Lamar's wars directed at immigrant Indians in 1839 (Rothe 1963). Farther west, well beyond the line of settlement, the Comanches maintained considerable power. However, the southern "division" of the Comanches, the Penatekas, who occupied central Texas, had come under considerable pressure from Anglo-American settlers (Foster 1991; Schilz, Schilz 1989).

Initially, the United States concluded a treaty at the Council Springs, near present-day Waco, on 15 May 1846, with representatives of the Anadarkos, Caddos, Ionis, Keechis, Lipans, Penateka Comanches, Tawakonis, Tonkawas, Wacos, and Wichitas. By the terms of the treaty, the Indians placed themselves under the protection of the United States and promised to trade only with traders licensed by the United States; to give up prisoners, criminals, and stolen property; and to live in peace with the United States, its citizens, and other Indians who live at peace with the United States. In return, the American Indian nations were to receive additional "presents in goods...to the amount of $10,000" and the "benefits" of blacksmiths, school teachers, and "preachers of the gospel" who might be sent to them "at the discretion of the President of the United States" (Winfrey, Day 1966). The Indians of western Texas received no guarantees that would prevent settlers from taking their lands.

After the conquest of Mexico in the War of 1846–1848 secured United States control over Texas and the Southwest, federal policy aimed to 1) prevent raids into Mexico as required by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, 2) protect travelers and trade between Texas and California, and 3) secure the property of the settlers (Trennert 1977). To achieve these goals, the United States established a chain of military posts on the border with Mexico; another line of forts extended along the frontier of settlement. In addition, the military located other forts beyond the frontier of settlement to protect travelers and traders on the two main routes to California.

By 1850, increased travel across the southern plains, a growing demand for meat and hides, and introduced bovine diseases had begun to severely impact the bison herds (Flores 1991). The decline in the game coincided with an increased demand for captives in New Mexico and for horses throughout the southern plains. This led to an increase in raiding activities in Mexico, Texas, and the Southwest by Apaches, Comanches and their allies, and newcomers from the east (Hall 1989). Mixed ethnicity outlaw gangs that had earlier been found largely between the Nueces and the Rio Grande spread westward (Olmsted 1978).

The push of settlement forced the Caddos, Hasinais (Anadarkos and Ionis), Keechis, Lipans, Penateka Comanches, Tonkawas, and Wichitas (Wacos and Tawakonis) farther and farther west. For the agriculturists, it became impossible to remain in one place long enough to raise a crop, and starvation stalked the children and the aged (Neighbours 1973), and, in Texas, dryland farming, as practiced by the Caddos, Hasinais, and Wichitas, becomes increasingly risky (Webb 1936). For all, unfamiliar hunting territories; competition with outlaws, settlers, soldiers, and travelers for the declining game; and exposure to violence and

disease shattered traditional cultures. The entire area from well below the Rio Grande to the Arkansas River, along and west of the line of settlement, became a haven for lawlessness centered around the stealing of captives and horses (Neighbours 1973).

The creation of a coherent and workable Indian policy in Texas faced additional roadblocks. The state owned the public lands and supported the settlers who saw Indians as nuisances and obstacles to the settlement of these lands. Thus, the United States could not guarantee title to American Indians for lands in Texas (Trennert 1975). Finally, the military tactics used to deal with the massive outlawry on the Texas frontier further contributed to the problem. The military responded with punitive expeditions against the first Indians found (Schilz 1987) and they took no prisoners (Smith 1992).

On 20 March 1847, the United States appointed Robert Neighbors, who had been the Republic of Texas Indian Agent for the Lipans and Tonkawas, as Special Indian Agent for Texas. After his survey of conditions of the Texas Indians, Neighbors recommended the creation of reservations, under federal control, for them. On the reservations, Neighbors hoped the federal government would provide carpenters, blacksmiths, farmers, and teachers to instruct the Indians and furnish livestock, tools, seeds, utensils, clothes, and food until they became self-sustaining (Neighbours 1973).

Neighbors learned upon his arrival in Washington in August 1849, to present his plan, that the change of administration following the election of Zachary Taylor had cost him his job. No longer Special Indian Agent for Texas, Neighbors returned to Texas and found a large body of Indians awaiting his arrival on the Clear Fork of the Brazos. They were eager to "learn of the *wishes and intentions* of the Department in relation to their affairs" and were disappointed that Neighbors was no longer their official intermediary with the United States (Neighbours 1973).

For the next four years, United States Indian policy in Texas floundered as the United States Army pursued its "'no prisoner" policy toward Indians suspected of raiding. Without any decrease in the raids, settlers bombarded the state government with complaints of "Indian depredations" and demands for action. For example, accusations that appeared in the Austin *State Gazette* on 8 September 1849, included the call that "no other alternative remains but to wage war with all our might and carry it into the wigwams and villages of our barbarous foe." Yet, more moderate voices presented the state and the federal governments with a choice. Former Provisional President of the Republic of Texas, David G. Burnet (1849), who had lived among the Comanches as a young man, wrote to Neighbors on 20 August 1847. He called for the removal of the Indians from Texas by the United States as "the only practical substitute for the actual extermination of the Indians."

The reappointment of Neighbors as Special Indian Agent for Texas, following the election of Franklin Pierce as President in 1852, allowed him to pursue his agenda of establishing reservations for the American Indian people of the western frontier of Texas. A pragmatic concern over the persistent violence and a humanitarian concern over the welfare of the "remnant tribes" coalesced. In February 1854, the legislature authorized the creation of reservations from state-owned lands to be placed under federal control, with the stipulation that non-native Indians be removed from Texas and the reservation lands would revert to the state if or when the Indians no longer occupied the reservations.

However, it was to be more than a year before Neighbors and his agents could gather the scattered "remnant tribes" on the Brazos Reservation, located on the Brazos River, below Ft. Belknap, in Young County, Texas, about ninety miles west-northwest of Ft. Worth. The 30 June 1855 Census Roll conducted by Special Indian Agent, G. W. Hill (Indian Office Letters Received, Texas) showed 623 Indians on the Brazos Reservation. The agency personnel settled them into five ethnic groupings—Anadarkos, Caddos, Tawaccaros (Tawakonis), Tonkawas, and Wacos. On 30 August 1855, at the Brazos Agency, representatives of the five "tribes" on the Brazos Reservation and Buffalo Hump's Penateka Comanches from the nearby Clear Fork Reservation signed an amendment to the Treaty of 15 May 1846. They agreed to

> abandon forever a roving and hunting life and...settle down permanently on the lands selected for us...and to devote all of our energies to the cultivation of the Soil and to raising stock as a means of subsistence for ourselves and families. (Indian Office Letters Received, Texas)

In addition, they placed themselves under the authority of the Indian agents at the Brazos and Clear Fork Reservations and "chiefs" appointed by those agents.

In return, the United States agreed:

> ...to protect and maintain all the members of the Tribes...in their lives and property against injury and molestation from citizens of the United States while on said Reservation,...[to provide ] farmers to assist and instruct them...a Blacksmith and tools,...stock cattle and other domestic animals,...and to furnish them regularly with rations...to enable them to support their families, until they can subsist themselves by their own exertions; and the General Government is hereby pledged to pursue that course of policy with the settlers on these reservations, deemed best calculated to advance them as a self-sustaining people. (IOLR, Texas)

At last, many of the surviving Indian people of Texas, in the face of extermination by violence or starvation, relinquished their freedom and accepted the "fruits of civilization" offered by the United States.

With the creation of the reservation system, any Native American off the reservations without a pass became a "hostile", subject to the military's "no prisoner" policy and to settler violence (Klos 1994). Those who chose to live on the reservation and become stock farmers remembered the next three years as a cycle of crop failures due to drought and grasshoppers (Newkumet, Meredith 1988). However, the government rations and protection from settlers, outlaws, and American Indian enemies gave them security and the means for survival.

## THE ACCULTURATION PROJECT AT THE BRAZOS RESERVATION

Visitors to the Brazos Reservation came away enthusiastic about the "progress" being made by the Reserve Indians. They tended fields, gardens, and stock; built "American-style" houses; and went to church and school. The Reserve Indians even planted 800 peach trees given to them by a former Indian agent (Ross to Neighbors, 1/1/1856, IOLR, Texas). On 15 August 1856, Colonel Middleton T. Johnson, reported to the Dallas *Herald:*

> ...the feeding policy of Uncle Sam is succeeding admirably....The Indians in the reservations are becoming sleek and fat, and it is said that the wild Indians from the prairies can be distinguished from the domesticated Indians from his lank and lean appearance. (Dallas *Herald* 1856)

On 4 October 1856, the Dallas *Herald* enthusiastically commented:

> The domestication, civilizing, and evangelizing the wild Indians of Texas...will constitute a not unimportant evidence of progress and onward march of the age of humanity and religion. (Dallas *Herald* 1856)

In the fall of 1857, one of the farmers employed to aid the Reserve Indians, Samuel Church, supplied the following account of the year's harvest to Indian Agent Shapley Ross at the Brazos Agency:

> They have also a very large crop of peas and beans, an abundance of pumpkins and squashes, which they are now engaged in cutting and drying for their winter use. They also raised a large crop of melons....Their stock look very well, and their women milk cows and make butter for their own use....A number of these Indians have purchased themselves hogs and are endeavoring to follow in the footsteps of the white men, and are economical with their crops; and it is believed that they will make breadstuffs enough for their subsistence for the coming year. (Ross to Neighbors, 31/10/1856, IOLR, Texas)

In addition, the Reserve Indians harvested 8,000 bushels of corn and 1,240 bushels of wheat in the summer and fall of 1857 (Neighbors to Denver, 16/9/1857, IOLR, Texas).

The following year, the government established a school on the Brazos Reservation. The teacher, Zachariah Coombes, was so proud of his charges that he took two of his students to Dallas for display. According to the *Herald*:

> The little red-skins learn more readily and more rapidly than one would have supposed, and are altogether tractable and manageable. (12/15/58)

The Reserve Indians seemed to be rapidly making the transition from "savagery to civilization."

Yet, some of the Reserve Indians resisted the demands of "progress" and "the onward march of humanity and religion" more than

others. In his diary, Zachariah Coombes persistently complained of drinking, gambling, and immorality on the reservation by both the Reserve Indians and the white staff.

> To civilize a savage requires a firm and decisive course.... [However] it seems to me that to eat, to sleep, to drink and be merry, also to race, gamble and cheat are the most striking and in fact are the examples which are daily and hourly set before them. And in addition to all this there are continually among the Indians a most degraded set of libertines who make it a boast that there is not nor has been any Indian female on this Reserve with whom they have not had or may not have illicet [*sic*] intercourse, precisely at their own will and pleasure. (1962)

In particular, the Tonkawas, who were hunters and gatherers rather than farmers and who had a reputation among other Indians of the southern plains as vicious and depraved cannibals (Foreman 1968), seemed to resist the advances of "civilization." They frequently disrupted the planned activities of the staff (Coombes 1962). Ford recounted an incident in which the other Indians of the Brazos Reservation accused the Tonkawas of interfering with their rainmaking ceremonies:

> The infernal Tonks, always bent on mischief, had stronger medicine than his [the rain king] and turned the cloud away. The Tonks were the black beasts of the agency and were made responsible for many such happenings. (1963)

In addition, Webb (1965) noted that they were disinclined to farm or garden, attend church, send their children to school, or live in houses because "their religion forbade it."

## THE DESTRUCTION OF THE BRAZOS RESERVATION

However, the civilizing project at the Brazos Reservation came to an early end in conflict with that deep-rooted attitude toward Native Americans—Indian-Hating (Drinnan 1980). Throughout 1857 and 1858, horse stealing and murder plagued the northwest Texas frontier. The settlers, orchestrated by the recently dismissed Indian Agent at the Clear Fork Reservation, John Baylor, blamed the Reserve Indians for the "depredations." This occurred despite strong evidence that the thefts and murders were the work of the mixed ethnicity gangs of outlaws that preyed on residents of the frontier. By 1858, public opinion demanded that Governor Runnels of Texas call up a company of Rangers to defend the frontier settlements. The Ranger company, commanded by Captain John S. (Rip) Ford, accompanied by a number of men from the Brazos Reservation, traveled across the Red River and attacked a large Comanche camp. Despite the decisive victory of the Anglo-Texans, the raiding continued on the frontier of northwest Texas (Klos 1994; McConnell 1933; Neighbours 1973).

However, in the aftermath of the service rendered by the Indian men from the Brazos Reservation, public opinion toward the Reserve Indians softened. The Dallas *Herald* (24/7/58) reported that on 26 May 1858, Gov. Runnels stated that the "brave Indian allies... will be held in grateful remembrance by the people of Texas." The same issue of the *Herald* contained a reprint of an article that had appeared earlier in the Austin *State Gazette* urging the state to reward Placido, a Tonkawa leader who had served Texas militarily for over twenty years, with "a present of a small number of cows" for his invaluable service to the state:

> He is faithful and industrious.... He has done much by his example and by his conversation to encourage his countrymen to abandon their wild pursuits of the chase, and follow those of civilized life, and he has had, and continues to have much to contend against in the indolence and improvidence of the Indian character. (Dallas *Herald* 24/7/58)

Although men from the Brazos Reservation followed the young Sul Ross, son of Shapley Ross, on a second expedition, commanded by Major Van Dorn of the United States Army against the Comanches in the fall of 1858, the "grateful remembrance" did not long persist on the northwest Texas frontier. On 23 December 1858, at least six white settlers, led by Peter Garland, attacked a hunting party of Indian men, women, and children, off the Brazos Reservation with the permission of the agent. They murdered seven people, including three women, in their sleep. In the ensuing fight, two Indians died, a man and a woman, as did one of the settlers (U. S. Bureau of Indian Affairs 1860).

After the murders on Keechi Creek, the anti-Indian sentiment on the northwestern frontier of Texas flared in anticipation of Indian

reprisals. For example in a letter to a local newspaper in January of 1859, C.B. Underhill charged the agents and the "rascally reserve Indians" of plotting to kill a delegation of settlers sent to the reservation to resolve the dispute. In addition to the usual complaints of theft, harassment, and murder, Underhill accused the "red and white horse thieves" on the reservation of "debauchery, drunkenness, and abandoned conduct...unfit to be put in print." Finally, playing on settler distrust of and dissatisfaction with the United States government, Underhill decried the government for supplying the Indians with arms, while neglecting frontier defense (USBIA 1860). Despite open acknowledgment of their actions by the murderers, Major Neighbors could not arrest them or indict them in this climate of hatred (Neighbours 1973).

On 5 May 1859, E.J. Gurley, special counsel to prosecute the murderers of the Reserve Indians, disclosed to Neighbors a settler plot to interfere with the possible removal of the Reserve Indians to Indian Territory: "They do not intend that they shall escape; but intend to kill them either at the reservation or before they get to the Red River" (USBIA 1860). Gurley also informed Neighbors that the settlers were planning to exploit the rifts between the Tonkawas and the other groups on the reservation and use them in their plot for a promise of safety (USBIA 1860).

John R. Baylor once more came to the fore as the leader of the anti-Indian faction. On 23 May 1859, Baylor took 250 mounted settlers into the Brazos Reservation, with the purpose of breaking up the reservation and driving out its inmates. A detachment of the United States Army, commanded by Capt. C.C. Gilbert, met Baylor's vigilantes. Baylor and his men retreated, but they murdered two elderly Reserve Indians, including a woman tending her garden, during their foray (Klos 1994; McConnell 1933; Neighbours 1973).

In the aftermath of Baylor's raid, the people on the reservations were in fear of their lives and unable to hunt, roundup their stock, or farm. Neighbors despaired: "The reserves may be considered virtually broken up, all work is suspended. The Indians will not even cultivate their small gardens." With the Native Americans and whites on the reservation confined to close quarters in fear of attack, Neighbors found: "many sick, with three or four deaths per day, and the whole camp, both Indians and whites seriously threatened with an epidemic" (USBIA 1860). Earlier, the tensions engendered by the settler demands of removal and the threat of violence apparently led the acculturated Reserve Indian, Notchicorax, to kill himself and his family (Coombes 1962).

The prospect of armed conflict between the United States Army and Anglo-Texan settlers over the safety of the Indians on the reservations forced Governor Runnels into action. On 6 June 1859, Runnels appointed a board of peace commissioners to investigate the violence (Winfrey, Day 1966). In their report to the Governor, the peace commissioners implicated white accomplices in the raiding, with only a few Reserve Indians involved. Yet, they recommended removal:

> We believe it impracticable, if not impossible, for tribes of American Indians, scarcely advanced one step in civilization, cooped up on a small reservation and surrounded by white settlers, to live in harmony for any length of time. (USBIA 1860)

Governor Runnels called up 100 state troops to be commanded by John Henry Brown to separate the settlers from the Indians on the reservations (Klos 1994; McConnell 1933; Neighbours 1973).

Yet, the fear, hysteria, and anti-Indian rhetoric continued, as the following newspaper account reveals:

> We call upon you fellow citizens, in the name of all that is sacred, in behalf of suffering women and children, whose blood paints afresh, from the Red River to the Rio Grande, day by day, the scalping knife of the savage foe; in the name of mothers whose daughters have been violated by the 'reserve Indians,' and robbed of that virtue which God alone can give—come, come, fellow citizens; arouse, and take action before the deaths of tender infants, mothers, fathers, and aged grandsires is swollen to a more frightful extent by our sluggish action or supine indifference! ("Extra," *Frontier News* 24/6/59, quoted in USBIA 1860)

However, a debate emerged. George B. Erath and Middleton T. Johnson, respected figures on the Anglo-Texan frontier, traveled tirelessly and without regard to threats to their personal safety across northwest Texas to calm the fears of the settlers (Klos 1994; Neighbours 1973). On 12 May 1859, a large group of settlers in Young County gathered at

the courthouse in Belknap to condemn the violence and urge restraint in the confrontation with the Indians on the reservations (Neighbours 1973). The anti-removal argument had centered on concerns that Indian removal would leave the frontier defenseless, if United States troops stationed near the reservations left with their Indian charges (Dallas *Herald* 3/7/58,17/7/58,19/1/59,9/2/59).

In addition, the reservations and the troops furnished a substantial economic boon to the northwest Texas frontier. For example, in a single week, 5 December to 13 December 1857, the United States government bought 11,400 lbs. of beef, 500 lbs. of flour, and 105 lbs of salt at a cost of $570.91 for the use of 1,010 Indians at the Brazos Agency (Statement of Provisions Issued by S.P. Ross, IOLR, Texas). The fact that the Brazos and Clear Fork Reservations and associated military posts underpinned local prosperity was not lost on the people of the area. The Dallas *Herald* (24/7/58, quoted in Neighbours 1973) noted that land in Belknap has "risen 150–200 per cent, and you can hear nothing now but contracts for building houses... *Vive la Belknap*..." As late as 9 February 1859, the Dallas *Herald* argued that if the United States government removed the Indians on the reservations to Indian Territory and closed the associated military posts:

> We lose the large amount of public funds disbursed in maintaining those posts, the money disbursed by the Indian Agents in subsisting the Reserve Indians—an amount in the aggregate that has been sufficient for several years past to furnish a market for surplus produce in the frontier counties that could not have been found elsewhere, and that has put dollars into every man's pocket, who has a bushel of corn, or a bale of oats, a rack of hay or a beef to sell. (Dallas *Herald* 9/2/59)

The pro-Indian argument continued to be advanced along humanitarian lines as well. The *Herald*, on 25 May 1859, described a recent meeting with Placido:

> Placido, the old chief asks, 'Where am I to take my little band! No friends, no money, no home, no hunting grounds: he says his only friends are Texians and that he does not wish to leave the country.' It is painful to hear him talk, he manifests so much feeling, and rarely speaks of the matter without shedding tears. He says that it makes him sorry to hear that the Texans are anxious to murder his little tribe, after they fought so hard for their country. (Dallas *Herald* 25/5/59)

On 11 June 1859, Neighbors received orders from Washington to move the Reserve Indians across the Red River to the Indian Territory. Indian-Hating had triumphed over security, economic, and persisting humanitarian concerns. Despite the feuding between Neighbors and Brown (Winfrey, Day 1966), the state militia maintained order. On 1 August, the Reserve Indians loaded their portable personal property into ox-drawn wagons for the trek north. They were escorted by agency personnel and United States Army troops commanded by Major George Thomas. A week later, they safely crossed the Red River into Indian Territory.

## DISCUSSION

The rapid westward political and economic expansion of the United States in the first half of the nineteenth century overwhelmed Indian peoples beyond the Appalachians. By the late 1840s, the government of the United States and the Anglo-American majority in the United States faced the question of how to deal with its beleaguered American Indian minority. In line with contemporary Western conceptions about savagery and civilization, the choice wavered between a harsh policy of removal or extermination and a more benevolent civilization program. The reservation system inaugurated by the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, after 1849, was to be the cornerstone of the civilization program, while incorporating elements of the removal program by isolating Indians from the dominant group.

Authorities created the Brazos Reservation out of humanitarian concerns that camouflaged the massive seizure of American Indian lands. The acculturation program at the Brazos Reservation failed miserably. Not only did some Indians, particularly the Tonkawas, resist acculturation, but white Americans demanded and achieved the dismantling of the reservation and the removal of its inmates to Indian Territory. They did so in the face of compelling security and economic interests that supported the continued existence of the Brazos Reservation and its acculturation program.

The debacle at the Brazos Reservation

points out the inherent incompatibilities in a program that involves isolation based on race hatred and forced acculturation. On the Brazos Reservation, most of the Indians responded to the demands of the acculturation program by farming, going to school, attending church, and adopting customs of the majority group. Yet, the white settlers refused to accept the Reserve Indians as anything but "savages," in spite of the efforts made by most of them to accommodate to the demands that they live in the same manner as their settler neighbors and compelling security and economic advantages for many of the settlers to support the continued existence of the Brazos Reservation. In addition, even the most ardent and sincere advocates for a humanitarian acculturation program opted for Indian removal once the prospects of violence became real with the attack on the Brazos Reservation.

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# VERSAILLES VILLAGE: THE HISTORY AND STRUCTURE OF A VIETNAMESE COMMUNITY IN NEW ORLEANS

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the history and structure of a Vietnamese community. Drawing on interviews with community members, census data, and information from existing sources, the study demonstrates how social ecology and social policy have together provided a framework for creating a specific economic and geographical structure. It describes the growth of this community from a group of refugees into an interdependent neighborhood characterized by a high degree of institutional completeness.

## INTRODUCTION

A multitude of new ethnic communities have arisen in the United States as a consequence of the increased immigration that followed the liberalization of American immigration policy in 1965. The massive flow of Vietnamese into the country, after the end of the Vietnam war in 1975, produced some of the most culturally distinctive of these communities. The present study is an effort to provide ethnographic insight into the development of a Southeast Asian neighborhood in the United States, and to illustrate the forces that shaped this development. In providing this portrait of a Vietnamese neighborhood, I intend to show how social ecology and social policy have together provided a framework for creating a specific economic and geographical structure. I identify the initial forces in community creation as institutional (refugee resettlement agencies) and ecological (niches created by the economic position of the refugees and by shifts in demands for housing). These initial forces were followed by network contacts that shaped a settlement pattern in southeastern Louisiana. The network contacts formalized into a coherent set of organizations and institutions within the new community.

To draw this portrait, I use information from 135 unstructured interviews that I conducted with community members from 1992 through 1995, census data, and information from existing sources, notably old newspaper reports.

## THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

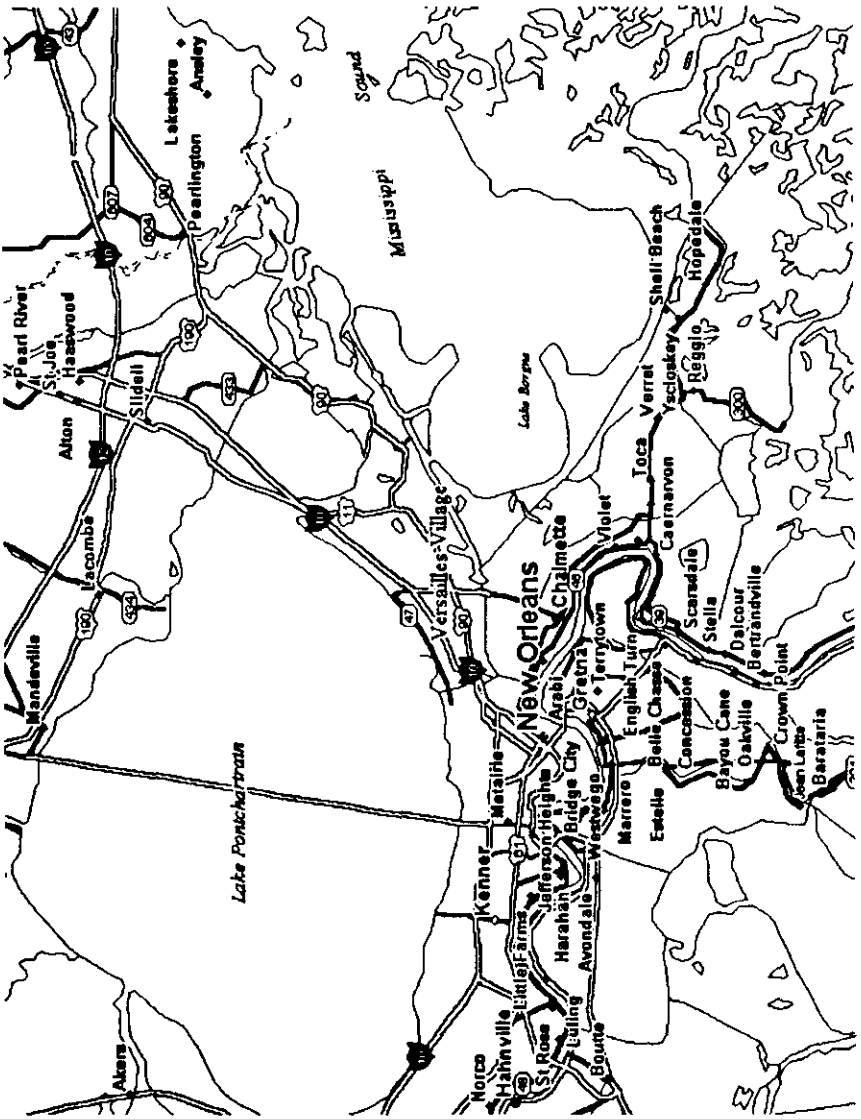
The study of the geographical structure of ethnic communities has played an important part in the development of American sociology. In their classic work *The City* (1967), Park and Burgess drew on ecological concepts to describe the spatial and economic situations of an earlier generation of American immigrants. Park and Burgess saw newly-arrived immigrants as characterized primarily by their disadvantages. Their lack of English language skills, absence of appropriate work and social skills, and relative ignorance of the larger society rendered them unable to compete with natives. As a result, according to Park and Burgess, immigrants tended to settle in undesirable, low-income neighborhoods near city centers where jobs for unskilled laborers were available in nearby industrial sectors. The immigrants' unfamiliarity with their host society and their familiarity with their own language and customs led them to establish their homes in dense ethnic concentrations.

Hawley (1950), following in the ecological tradition, argued that patterns of settlement vary with market fluctuation. More recently, Aldrich and Zimmer (1989) have argued that resource and environmental flows create environments. In other words, people adapt to settlement patterns and to flows of resources among settlement patterns. Housing and jobs are major resources that are increasing in availability in areas outside of large, centralized cities. The suburbanization of housing and jobs produces patterns of settlement different from those seen by Park and Burgess. Contemporary new settlers tend to be drawn to suburban fringe areas. Even when policy makers outside the ethnic group are involved in placing new immigrants, the availability of ecological niches can be critical in establishing immigrant communities.

While the ecological literature provides ideas that are useful for explaining the geography of ethnic communities, investigations of ethnic communities as interrelated systems of economic and social institutions can help us conceptualize the social structures of these communities. The literature on ethnic enclaves is particularly useful. Portes and Manning (1986) and Portes and Jensen (1987) have emphasized the importance of economic differentiation in creating a viable ethnic community. They have maintained that ethnic communities can promote successful adaptation for their members by placing the members in

**Figure 1: Location of Versailles Village**

Source: Delorme Atlas, 1995



interconnected social roles as employers, employees, and consumers. Similarly, Zhou (1992) has argued that New York's Chinatown has been a successful ethnic enclave because of its varied, interdependent institutions.

In this study, I make use of ecological concepts to explain the geographical position and form of a Vietnamese community and I demonstrate how ecological forces interacted with the institutional, political forces. I then show how networks of refugees, channeled by these forces, produced a residential enclave with a high degree of institutional completeness.

## THE FOUNDING OF A VIETNAMESE COMMUNITY IN NEW ORLEANS

Versailles Village began in 1975 when about 1,000 refugees from Vietnam were settled on the eastern edge of New Orleans by Associated Catholic Charities, the primary volunteer agencies in charge of refugee resettlement (Ashton 1985a). Although Vietnamese communities had grown up all around the United States, Versailles Village was one of the first to be intentionally fostered by a resettlement organization. According to Ms. Elise Cerniglia, who was Director of Resettlement and Immigration Services for Associated Catholic Charities in New Orleans when the Vietnamese began arriving, the U.S. Department of State initially pressured her to scatter the Vietnamese among members of other ethnic groups, as was the practice elsewhere in the United States. Ms. Cerniglia, having earlier been in charge of resettlement of Cuban refugees, believed that refugees should be concentrated so that they could help one another.

> I said, 'no, they need one another.' So, I started to resettle them in communities. That's why I looked for housing that could take large numbers of people. The Government saw the success and that's what they started doing elsewhere...New Orleans was a pattern for other places, no doubt about it. (Cerniglia 1994)

Versailles Village is located on the far eastern edge of New Orleans, by the swamps of the Bayou Sauvage Wildlife Refuge (Figure 1). It took root in this geographically marginal location for one reason: cheap, available housing. A New Orleans *Times Picayune* reporter wrote

> These neighborhoods were seeded by chance. Their location reflects the city's rental vacancies a decade ago when Associated Catholic Charities began looking for housing for the refugees. (Ashton 1985a)

The Versailles Arms apartments, near Michoud Boulevard and the Chef Menteur Highway, offered ample room for new residents. The apartments were considered undesirable by most New Orleanians, since they were a long way from the city itself and were provided with inadequate bus service (Ashton 1985b). According to Melanie Ottaway, the manager of Versailles Arms Apartments, the apartment complex had been built in 1970, when the neighborhood of New Orleans East was still expected to expand, along with the local NASA plant (Ottaway 1994). By 1975, however, economic hardship had hit the plant and the management of the apartment complex was eager to find residents.

The initial 1,000 Vietnamese apartment dwellers provided the end link in a system of chain migration. In 1976, another 2,000 Vietnamese arrived on their own. While Associated Catholic Charities continued to settle Vietnamese in the area, many other Vietnamese were drawn by ties to friends, relatives, and former neighbors. This was the second move in the United States for the majority of new arrivals. According to Sister Ann Devaney, head of refugee social services for Catholic Charities, three fifths of those who have settled in the community have been secondary migrants from other states (cited in Ashton 1985a).

The religious and historical backgrounds of those in this neighborhood attest to the importance of established networks in directing living patterns, even among those who have migrated around the world. Eighty percent of the Vietnamese in this community are Catholics (Nash 1992). The late Rev. Michael Viet-Anh, a priest who lived in the Versailles area, has estimated that

> about 60 percent of the Vietnamese in the Versailles community once lived in Bui Chu province in North Vietnam and later moved to Vung Tau [a coastal town in former South Vietnam]. (Ashton 1985b)

Most of the residents of Versailles Village who do not trace their origins back to Bui Chu are from families deriving from Nghe An, another Catholic area that moved south in 1954. The Nghe An people settled on the

**Table 1: Characteristics of Census Tracts Containing Versailles Village**

| | 1970 | 1980 | | 1990 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Census tracts | 17.12* | 17.29 | 17.30 | 17.29 | 17.30 | Vietnamese only |
| Total population | 4945 | 10566 | 89 | 10607 | 1496 | 4640 |
| White | 4877 | 3224 | 58 | 1059 | 443 | --- |
| Black | 22 | 3680 | 31 | 4854 | 960 | --- |
| Vietnamese | 0 | 3352 | 0 | 4566 | 74 | 4640 |
| Other Asian | 0 | 74 | 0 | 89 | 5 | --- |
| All families | 1310 | 2334 | 22 | 2411 | 368 | 898 |
| Female-headed | 80 | 427 | 1 | 614 | 67 | 52 |
| % Males in labor force | 88.8 | 65.2 | 19.8 | 62.5 | 88.8 | 55.5 |
| % Unemployed | 6.7 | 5.7 | 35.3 | 12.8 | 6.3 | 16.2 |
| % Females in labor force | 45.1 | 53.5 | 20.7 | 47.2 | 80.3 | 34.9 |
| % Unemployed | 5.7 | 7.4 | 100** | 11.4 | 5.3 | 8.7 |
| Median family incomes ($) | 11927 | 16560 | 9605 | 17044 | 38864 | 15841 |
| % Families below poverty | 4.5 | 24.9 | 0 | 37.1 | 4.9 | 50.4 |
| % High School Graduate | 78.0 | 63.5 | 31.2 | 60.0 | 93.8 | 36.5 |
| % College Graduate | 23.0 | 12.5 | 0 | 14.4 | 38.3 | 4.0 |

*The areas of Tracts 17.29 and 17.30 together comprised Tract 17.12 in 1970..

**Only 6 females were listed as being in the labor force in Tract 17.30 in 1980, all unemployed.

Source: U.S. Census of Population and Housing, Summary Tape File 3C

island of Phu Quoc or in the coastal town of Nha Trang. This reconstruction of Vietnamese villages on the banks of the bayous has resulted from channeling by ethnic networks, rather than from official resettlement policy. "Despite the appearances," the *Times Picayune* concluded from an interview with former Associated Catholic Charities head Michael Haddad, "no villages were resettled...in New Orleans by Associated Catholic Charities. The villagers apparently regrouped on their own" (Ashton 1985b).

In interviews that I conducted with Vietnamese residents in the area, I found that the overwhelming majority had been drawn to New Orleans by of some sort of family connection. When I asked, "why did you come to New Orleans?," the most common answers were "because my brother was here" or "because my uncle was here", or because some other relative was already in the New Orleans area. Other answers that were frequently given were, "because I heard the weather was like the weather in Vietnam," or "because I heard there were jobs for fishermen." These answers might, on the face of it, seem to suggest that at least some of the residents of New Orleans East had not migrated along lines provided by family networks. However, when I would ask them, "how did you hear about the weather?" or "how did you hear about the job?" the answers were, invariably, "my wife's uncle, who was already here, told us about it in a letter," or "I heard about it from my cousin." Thus, even those who did not have family reunification as a motivation for moving to New Orleans moved as a result of information provided by family.

According to a 1979 report of the Indochinese Resettlement Task Force appointed by the Mayor of New Orleans to study the impact of the Vietnamese on the city, New Orleans was attractive to the Vietnamese because of a strong Catholic organization funded for resettlement and social services, a Catholic cultural ambience, proximity to fishing opportunities, and climactic similarities with their homeland (Indochinese Resettlement Task Force 1979). However, since Louisiana's services and opportunities are limited compared to many other parts of the country, the Vietnamese community itself appears to have been the biggest draw for secondary migrants. Rhonda Cooperstein, co-author of a federal report on refugee communities in New Orleans, Orange and San Francisco counties in California, Wichita, Kansas, and Rochester and Ithaca, New York, has remarked,

> Refugee communities have built up in areas based on four factors - a good economy, an existing Vietnamese community, higher welfare benefits, and warm weather. Since New Orleans doesn't have particularly high welfare benefits and its economy has been in a slump,

> if people are moving to Louisiana I'd say they are going for the community. (in Ashton 1985b)

Since most of the Vietnamese of New Orleans East come from villages, they are generally of modest socioeconomic backgrounds. The 1979 Task Force described them as "agriculturalists and fishermen" in their native country (Indochinese Resettlement Task Force 1979). The 1990 5 Percent Public Use Microdata Sample of the U.S. Census of Population and Housing indicates that Vietnamese in the New Orleans SMSA continue to work in relatively low-paying, blue-collar occupations. Although the Vietnamese of this area are not concentrated in any one occupational area, the general tenor of their employment is suggested by the few jobs in which more than 3 percent of them are employed: cashiers (4.0%), waiters and waitresses (3.1%), cooks (3.1%), fishers (3.1%), and textile sewing machine operators (4.8%) (U.S. Census Bureau 1992).

## SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF THE COMMUNITY

The neighborhood is primarily located within a single census tract, Tract 17.29, although in recent years it has begun to extend into another, newly designated and wealthier tract, Tract 17.30. Some of the demographic characteristics of this community are provided in Table 1. This table can give an indication of how these characteristics have changed over a relatively short period of time.

In 1970, the two areas that now comprise Tract 17.29 and Tract 17.30 were a single tract, Tract 17.12. The population was small and almost all the inhabits were white. Nearly a quarter of them were college graduates, and only 4.5 percent were below the poverty level. During the 1970's, the area began a major demographic change.

The historical sources of this change are complex, but at the risk of oversimplification we may identify the chief causes as: 1) a decline in employment at the Michoud NASA plant, which was the most important industry in the area; 2) an influx of black families seeking a suburban way of life, which caused those whites who were unwilling to be part of a numerical racial minority to move to Slidell, Mandeville, and other places immediately outside of New Orleans; and 3) the failure of the plans of contractors and developers for the area. In the newspaper article, "Plans for the Model Community Didn't Include Crime, Poverty", *Times-Picayune* staff writer Christopher Cooper described the difficulties that have beset these suburbs, named "Village de l'Est" by developers.

> Designed in the early 1960s, Village de l'Est was a forerunner of a national suburban trend called the 'New City'... The dream began to sour a few years later when the NASA plant lost several contracts and started laying off workers. Then developers who needed to drain the vast marshlands of New Orleans East to complete their plans ran into fierce opposition from environmentalists. By the 1980s, their "New City" had fallen apart. (Cooper 1991)

Because the new suburbs were built on soft swamp land, moreover, subsidence became a serious problem, as houses, garages, and sidewalks began to sink unevenly, causing cracks in floors and sidewalks, and often making it impossible to open garage doors (Cooper 1991).

As the dreams of suburban planners began to fade and the economic base of the community weakened, the nature of construction in the area changed. By the early 1980s, housing construction shifted from single family homes to rental units, bringing in a more transient and poorer population. This new population induced many of the older homeowners to abandon the neighborhood in favor of suburbs across Lake Ponchartrain (Cooper 1991).

As the black population of New Orleans grew as a proportion of all residents, blacks seeking a suburban way of life moved to this new neighborhood in large numbers.

> Between 1970 and 1980, about 30,000 people moved to eastern New Orleans, swelling the population by 73 percent, while the city as a whole lost population. Most of those who moved to eastern New Orleans...were black. (Cooper 1991)

In the absence of a survey on this subject, it is difficult to say how many whites left the area because of reluctance to live in a majority black neighborhood, but this seems to have been one of the factors in this change.

One pocket of this area formed an exception to the general trends in New Orleans East. Between 1980 and 1990, a number of fairly expensive condominiums and apartment complexes were built in Tract 17.30, in the area known as "Oak Island", located along

**Figure 2: Structure of Versailles Village**

Source: Delorme Atlas, 1995

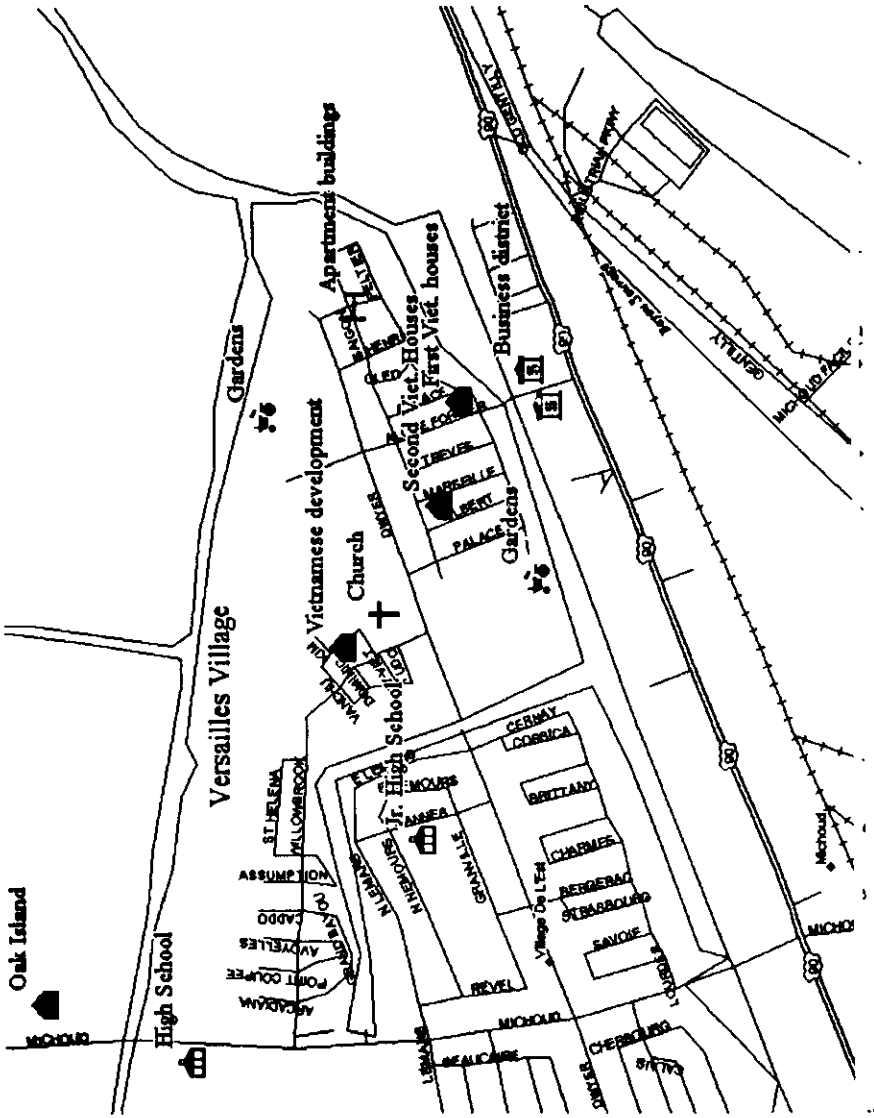


**Table 2: Selected Housing Characteristics of Asians Residing in Tract 17.29 (Versailles Village) in 1980 and in 1990**

| | 1980 | 1990 |
|---|---|---|
| % Units occupied by owner (N) | 14.8 (86) | 37.3 (358) |
| % All owner-occupied units occupied by Asians | 2.8 | 27.8 |
| Median persons per housing unit | 5.96 | 4.78 |
| Median persons per owner-occupied housing unit | 5.71 | 5.67 |
| Median persons per renter-occupied housing unit | 6.01 | 4.17 |
| Median rooms per housing unit | 3.7 | 4.4 |
| Median rooms per owner-occupied housing unit | 4.5 | 4.7 |
| Median rooms per renter-occupied housing unit | 3.6 | 4.2 |

Source: U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 1990

Michoud Boulevard near the interstate highway, which provided convenient access to both New Orleans and Slidell. This new construction transformed Tract 17.30, which had been mostly swamp, into an island of affluence, bordering Tract 17.29, where housing constructed during the heyday of the New Orleans aerospace industry was vacant and available to lower-income people.

By 1980, as we have seen, the Vietnamese community had been established as a result of the cheap, available housing in this area. By this time, the area was almost 1/3 white, 1/3 black, and 1/3 Vietnamese. Although the percentage of males in the labor force who were unemployed had declined slightly since 1970, the percentage of families below the poverty level had risen drastically to nearly a quarter of the population. This may be attributed in part to the increase in female-headed families, which rose from only about 6 percent of all families to over 18 percent.

By 1990, the neighborhood had become almost entirely black and Vietnamese: 46 percent of the total population was black and 43 percent were Vietnamese. To interpret these statistics correctly, it is important to emphasize that they do not mean that blacks and Vietnamese are evenly distributed on every street. While the two racial groups live in close proximity throughout this census tract, the Vietnamese are heavily concentrated along Versailles Avenue and its adjoining streets, and around the Vietnamese Catholic church on Dwyer Boulevard. Many of the newer streets in the vicinity of the church bear Vietnamese names. Over the years, the Vietnamese have tended to move out of the Versailles Arms apartments, initial focal point of their settlement, and into the nearby suburban, free-standing housing.

A map of Versailles Village is presented in Figure 2. Census Tract 17.29 consists of the triangle bordered by the bayou on the north, by Highway 90 on the south, and by Michoud Boulevard on the west. As we see in Figure 2, the first free-standing houses occupied by the Vietnamese were just to the west of the apartment buildings. Through the 1980s, the Vietnamese gradually moved further westward, occupying the houses in the square bounded in the north by Saigon Street, in the South by Peltier, and in the west by Palace.

Despite the move out of the apartments, many of the people in this area were struggling economically: the median family income of census tract 17.29 was only $17,440 in 1990, and 37.1 percent of families were below the poverty level. The Vietnamese in this neighborhood had a median family income of only $15,841 and over half of the Vietnamese families in the tract lived below the poverty level. For the city of New Orleans as a whole, at the same time, the median household income was $18,477 and 27.3 percent of families were below poverty level.

Unemployment among males in the labor force was 12.8 percent and 25.5 percent of all families were headed by females. The Vietnamese showed even higher unemployment than their neighbors of other racial groups, with a male unemployment rate of 16.2 percent. However, they were much less likely to live in female-headed households: only 5.8 percent of Vietnamese families in the tract were headed by females, compared to over one-fourth of all families.

In terms of education, the Vietnamese appear to be at a considerable disadvantage compared to their non-Vietnamese neighbors. While about 60.0 percent of the residents of Tract 17.29 were high school graduates in 1990, only 36.5 percent of adult Vietnamese in the area were high school graduates (Table 1).

In sum, this is a relatively poor neighborhood, and the Vietnamese occupy an even more serious economic situation than their non-Vietnamese neighbors, with several decided disadvantages in human capital endowments.

Despite their socioeconomic disadvantages, however, the Vietnamese have managed to build an interdependent metropolitan village on their bit of wetland in this small bit of the city of New Orleans. The following section examines evidence on the homes, businesses, and community centers established by these members of a new American ethnic group.

## HOUSING, LEADERSHIP, AND BUSINESS IN VERSAILLES

Table 2 contains selected housing characteristics of Asians (as mentioned above, the category "Asians" in this tract is virtually synonymous with "Vietnamese") in Tract 17.29, as shown in the 1980 and 1990 U.S. Census. Although the majority of Asians remain renters, rather than owners, home ownership has increased markedly, from only 15 percent to over 37 percent, a greater than three-fold increase. This is especially impressive when we consider that nearly 30 percent of these Asians arrived in the United States after 1980 and over 10 percent arrived after 1985.

Asians have also increased greatly as a percentage of all home owners in the tract, increasing from 3 percent to 28 percent of all home owners in this ten-year period. Even this figure, however, does not take into account the growth in quality of housing for Vietnamese home owners. A walk or drive down Dwyer Boulevard shows even the casual observer several large, new homes, either recently constructed or in the process of construction. All of these new homes are Vietnamese-owned.

Housing units in this neighborhood are densely occupied, and the owner-occupied units are more densely occupied than the renter-occupied units. In part, the denser occupation of owner-occupied units is a result of the fact that the Versailles Arms Apartment complex, the main source of rental housing, enforces limitations on the number of individuals who can live in each apartment. The density of occupation of renter-occupied units declined from 1980 to 1990 partially because non-Vietnamese moved into the apartments in larger numbers in this period and partially because the apartment complex began enforcing rules regarding persons per room more strictly in this period (Ottaway 1994). On this point, cultural geographers Airiess and Clawson observe,

> When the refugees arrived it was common to have two or three families living in a two-bedroom Versailles Arms apartment. Strictly enforced HUD regulations, however, eventually limited the number of occupants to six, allowing only a small extended family to occupy a single apartment. The duplexes and single family houses permitted a larger extended family to remain intact. (Airriess, Clawson 1991)

The continuing high density of occupation of the owner-occupied units is a reflection of the way in which many people with more limited economic power manage to purchase houses. According to Monsignor Dominic Luong,

> Some Americans were asking me, 'how is it that you people just come to America and almost right away you can buy houses and have all these things?' So I took them out to visit some families to see how we live and how we manage to come up with the money to buy our homes. Two families will move in together and all work and save their money. Or someone who doesn't have a home will move in with a relative who owns one and won't have to pay any rent, so they can save all their money until they can buy a home of their own. (Luong 1993)

By 1980, Vietnamese home-buying in the neighborhood had become so common that a Vietnamese developer, Mr. Hung Van Chu, created several new blocks, giving the streets Vietnamese names, such as *Tu-Do* ("Freedom") and *My-Viet* ("America-Vietnam"). This new housing development represented a move further west and to the north (Figure 2). In September, 1983 the Archdiocese of New Orleans gave permission for the current large Vietnamese church to be built beside this new development. Funds were collected from Vietnamese Catholics throughout New Orleans and the Mary Queen of Vietnam Church was completed in May 1985.

The church has served as a center of both the spiritual and the social life of this little neighborhood. Behind the church, there is a Child Development Center, where nuns teach catechism classes and volunteer teachers teach Vietnamese language skills and enrichment classes in a variety of subjects in the evenings. The majority of junior high and high

**Table 3: Vietnamese-Owned Businesses Located in the Vietnamese Commercial District on Alcee Fortier Boulevard (July 1994)**

| Type of Business | Number |
|---|---|
| Groceries | 7 |
| Restaurants | 7 |
| Night clubs | 4 |
| Retail apparel | 4 |
| Jewelry | 3 |
| Beauty salons | 3 |
| Gift shops | 3 |
| Vietnamese language bookstores | 1 |
| Vietnamese language videos | 3 |
| Legal and business services* | 5 |
| Insurance | 2 |
| Real estate | 1 |
| Engineering and contracting | 1 |
| Car audio | 1 |
| Modern drug stores | 3 |
| Traditional drug stores | 3 |
| Optometry clinic | 1 |
| Dental clinic | 1 |
| Medical clinic | 1 |

*Includes notary services, sale of money orders, translation services, and others.

school students in these evening classes are enrolled at the schools in the neighborhood shown in Figure 2. At the church, also, the Vietnamese American Voters' Association meets to prepare neighborhood people to take the test for U.S. citizenship.

The church, moreover, serves as the center of social organization for the neighborhood. Monsignor Dominic Luong, the pastor quoted above, serves as chief spokesman and recognized leader of both church and neighborhood. He is supported by between one and two dozen influential neighborhood figures. These individuals are all males. A few of these have influence because they have the prestige of high education and they can help people deal with the outside world in financial or legal matters: at least two of them are high school teachers. Others are wealthy shopowners or successful owners of fishing boats who contribute financially to the church and to community projects.

A look at the business district of the Versailles community, shown in Figure 2, provides evidence that the Vietnamese community also provides a protected domestic market for ethnic investors. Although Vietnamese-owned businesses are scattered around the neighborhood, those on Alcee Fortier Boulevard form the central commercial strip of the neighborhood. Table 3 shows a tally of types of businesses located on this strip. All of these buildings were Vietnamese-owned and all of the shop-owners to whom business space was rented were Vietnamese.

The fifty permanent businesses located in this one to two block area are supplemented in the mornings, especially on Saturday mornings, by sidewalk vendors working out of trucks who bring in fresh meat, seafood, live chickens and ducks, fruit, and other perishable goods. Many of the residents of this neighborhood, of course, do not work in the neighborhood. They work as clerks in local groceries stores, as manual laborers, or they commute to work in the Gulf of Mexico, where they are employed by Vietnamese fishing and shrimp boat captains, many of whom also live in the neighborhood. Most families do own cars, and they are economically involved with the world outside their neighborhood, but their economic involvement with the outside world also means they can earn money to bring back and spend in the neighborhood business district.

## THE GARDENS OF VERSAILLES: JOBS FOR ELDERS

While the business district provides Vietnamese people in this area with a commercial center, at the margins of the neighborhood may be found small-scale agricultural areas. Along the northernmost edge of the Vietnamese neighborhood, sandwiched between a levee and a bayou, lies an elaborate complex of fruit and vegetable gardens (Airriess, Clawson 1994; Figure 2). It would be difficult to judge the extent of the contribution these gardens make to the economic life of the community since no records are kept on how much is produced. Since some of the gardeners receive public assistance, and none of them pay taxes on earnings from their products, they are understandably reticent to discuss profits. When outsiders ask them about earnings from gardening, they invariably claim to grow primarily for their use. But while much of the produce is indeed consumed by growers, given away to extended family and neighbors, or bartered, it has apparently also become one important means of bringing capital into the community.

During the Spring and Summer of 1993 and of 1994, I witnessed large produce trucks in the neighborhood. According to one informant, at least two large produce trucks visit the neighborhood every two weeks during harvest

season. These trucks bring the harvest to other Vietnamese communities around the U.S., selling vegetables, produced mainly by older people, for use in Vietnamese dishes, and even supplying restaurants.

According to longtime Versailles Arms manager Melanie Ottaway, the gardens began in the tension between the desires of apartment dwellers to maintain traditional Vietnamese gardens and rules governing use of apartment complex territory. Ms. Ottaway explained

> They always liked to have gardens to grow their vegetables and the spices for their foods. People started planting gardens out in front of their apartments. This was against the rules, but we didn't want to come down too hard, so we overlooked it. But the gardens kept getting bigger and bigger, and eventually the whole apartment complex was going to be one big garden. We had to put an end to it. (Ottaway 1994)

Many apartment dwellers were, understandably, upset at the prospect of being forced to give up their gardens, which probably provided important dietary supplements in quite a few cases. Officials of Versailles Arms Apartments brought the issue to the attention of Catholic Church officials since, as we have seen, Catholic organizations settled the Vietnamese in New Orleans and have been the primary link between the Vietnamese and mainstream American society. In 1978, the Archdiocese of New Orleans contacted the New Orleans East Corporation, one of the land development corporations that had undertaken the creation of new neighborhoods in the wetlands of Eastern New Orleans in the 1960's. This corporation had no immediate plans for the wetlands to the north of the levee and it gave permission, through an agreement with the Archdiocese, for Vietnamese to use it for private gardens. Since 1978, the Vietnamese gardens have continued to grow at the boundaries of the neighborhood. The only threat to this activity occurred after the savings and loan company that owned the New Orleans East Corporation was taken over by the Resolution Trust Corporation of the United States Government in the 1980s and the New Orleans East Corporation ceased to exist. The 25-acre strip of tilled land by the levee, along with about 3,000 acres of additional wetland, was purchased from the RTC by a lawyer, Mr. John Cummings. While the gardeners feared the worst, however, Mr. Cummings allowed continued cultivation.

On Saturday, August 20, 1994, Mr. Cummings met with a group of about 20 gardeners and agreed to lease the land to them for a nominal fee. Mr. Cummings originally wanted to have each gardener sign an individual lease, since Louisiana law could create doubt as to his ownership of the land if he allowed unrestricted squatting, but the gardeners were afraid of complications with their Social Security or Supplementary Security Income if they were to become recognized agriculturalists. Once more, the Vietnamese Catholic Church acted as a center for the community. Monsignor Dominic Luong signed a $1.00 monthly lease with Mr. Cummings on behalf of the gardeners and the landlord stated that it was his intention to donate this nominal rent to the church. The lawyer also expressed enthusiasm for the industry of the Vietnamese and offered to clear 20 additional acres for cultivation and said that he would consider hiring rangers to patrol the land to help prevent damage to the gardens by wild animals and the vandalism of children (Treadway 1994).

## CONCLUSION

The Vietnamese are one of the newest additions to America's ethnic mosaic. In the twenty-year period since their arrival in the United States, they have established distinctive communities in various areas. Here, I have offered a structural and historical portrait of one of these communities, Versailles Village. I have described the growth of this community from a group of refugees into an interdependent neighborhood, with its own social and economic structures. I have used newspaper reports, census data, interviews, and observations to describe the process in which institutional and economic forces initiated the community, in which social networks along extended kinship lines led to its growth, and in which these social networks developed formal economic and social structures.

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# CAUSES OF INFANT MORTALITY IN CHINA: 1988-1990

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**ABSTRACT**

Using the data for infant mortality in China in 1988-1990 from the World Health Organization, this paper offers a preliminary examination of causes of infant mortality in China during the period from 1988 to 1990. The major findings of the study are 1) the pattern of Chinese infant mortality is generally consistent with that of most developing countries; 2) diseases of the respiratory system, perinatal mortality and accidents as well as injuries consist of the 3 major categories which all together account for about 80 to 90 percent of overall infant mortality rates; 3) rural infants still die at a higher rate than urban infants; and 4) no significant gender discrepancy exists between male and female infant deaths the different causes. The study shows although Chinese infant mortality rates have declined dramatically during the last few decades, the infant mortality patterns still resemble those in less developed nations. Hence, there is room for improvement in sanitary conditions and public health measures, for economic development and higher living standards, and for advance in medical technology.

## INTRODUCTION

Since 1960, worldwide infant mortality has fallen from 130 to 60 per 1,000 live births and child mortality has fallen from 180 to 80 per 1,000 live births. The number of countries with an infant mortality rate of below 50 per 1,000 live births has risen from 77 (with a total population of 1.3 billion) in 1980 to 103 (with a total population of 3.2 billion) in 1995 (United Nations World Health Report 1996). In 1978, the Alma Ata Conference declared its goal of "health for all by the year 2000". The conference aroused worldwide interest in primary health care programs and infant and child mortality control programs. Subsequent programs have been developed to emphasize preventive rather than curative health care. Nevertheless, the last decade or so saw stagnation in mortality decline (United Nations 1980). Yaukey (1985) points out that although there was a marked decrease in infant mortality rates over the last few decades, the amount of absolute decrease in the rate was not generally most precipitous where the rate had been the highest.

> In other words, infant mortality may be declining across the board, but gaps in infant mortality among the LDR's [less-developed regions] are not necessarily closing. Indeed, the *percentage* decline of infant mortality generally was less in the highest-mortality areas than it was in either the moderate-mortality LDR's or in the MDR's [more-developed regions]. (Yaukey 1985)

Vast differences which exist between the developed and developing world have been documented. In developed nations the infant mortality rate was only 6.9 per 1,000 live births in 1995, compared to 106.2 infant deaths per 1,000 live births in the developing world. According to the World Health Organization (1996), more than 17 million of the 52 million deaths in 1995 were due to infectious diseases. And of more than 11 million deaths among children under 5 in the developing world, about 9 million were attributed to infectious diseases, 25 percent of them preventable through vaccination. In Africa, more than 40 percent of all deaths were among children under 5.

> Despite the data limitations, it is clear that infectious and parasitic diseases—which have largely been eliminated in the more developed countries—still account for a very large proportion of all deaths in developing countries, especially among the very young (United Nations 1980).

China is a developing country with a per capita income of US $530 in 1994 (Population Reference Bureau 1996). However, China has one of the lowest infant mortality rates among the developing countries in the world. While the average infant mortality rate among the low-income developing countries (excluding China) was 73 deaths per 1,000 live births in 1996, the rate in China was about 44 infant deaths per 1,000 live births (Population Reference Bureau 1996). Clearly China has succeeded in producing a dramatic drop in infant and child mortality rates since 1949.

> Until then [1949] periodic epidemics, including plagues, cholera, and smallpox, raged across the country. Infectious and parasitic diseases such as tetanus and malaria, respiratory diseases like pneumonia and tuberculosis, and gastro-intestinal infections were widespread. As a result of a sustained health campaign that included preventive services—the renowned 'barefoot doctors' scheme—immunization, and nutrition improvement programmes, China has

> been able to register within the short period of thirty years an 'epidemiological revolution'. (D'Souza 1989)

Additionally, according to D'Souza (1989), the large drops in infant and child mortality rates in China have been accompanied by changes in mortality patterns. D'Souza (1989) used data from Beijing to show that during the period 1956-59 respiratory and communicable diseases ranked highest among the causes of death (over 40%), whereas in the period 1974-78 cardiovascular diseases (over 51%) were the most important reported causes of death (World Bank 1984). Looking at the pattern of infant mortality rates in China today, however, one can see that similar to those infants in many other developing countries, Chinese infants still die mainly from infectious and parasitic diseases, perinatal mortality, diseases of the respiratory system, congenital anomalies, and accidents as well as injuries. *In other words, although the level of infant mortality rates has dropped dramatically, the infant mortality patterns in China still resemble those in the less developed nations.*

## RESEARCH ON CAUSE OF DEATH

People die generally from three major causes: 1) they die from degenerate diseases; 2) they die from diseases they contracted from someone else (communicable diseases); and 3) they die from unnatural causes such as accidents, homicides, and natural disasters, all of which are the products of the social, economic and physical environment (Weeks 1992). Degeneration refers to the biological deterioration of a body. Deterioration tends to be a gradual process. Among the three major causes of death, degeneration is the least preventable. Communicable diseases, on the other hand, are preventable to a larger extend. Access to medical technology, good sanitation and personal hygiene can greatly reduce mortality resulting from communicable diseases greatly. Researchers have found that the control of communicable diseases has been the major factor for the declining mortality rates throughout the world. In most low-income developing countries, however, high mortality rates resulting primarily from communicable diseases continue to prevail. And a major factor accounting for these differences in mortality rates is infant mortality. For instance, in India, a child has more than a 10 percent chance of dying in the first year of life, compared with a 4 percent chance in Malaysia (Weeks 1992). Deaths from accidents, suicide and homicide are largely the products of one's social and economic environment. Even deaths due to natural phenomena such as floods, tornadoes, avalanches, earthquakes, and other disasters can be attributed to human risk taking (Weeks 1992). Therefore, deaths that result from both communicable diseases and accidents reflect more than just the immediate—*or proximate*—cause of death. They also reflect the *underlying* social, economic and political conditions of a society. In order to reduce the mortality which result from these above causes, accessibility of preventative methods and changes in social and economic conditions are a must.

> If these diseases deaths [deaths from communicable diseases] are added to the deaths either caused by or associated with nutritional deficiencies, the proportion rises to a sizeable majority of all deaths. The number of deaths from the above causes can be reduced dramatically at relatively modest costs, and most of them must be characterized as preventable. (United Nations 1980)

While access to medical technology, good sanitation and personal hygiene can contribute to the reduction in mortality, the long-term impact of such programs on mortality levels may not be very great without improvements in the social and health environment, rising income levels and higher living standards, and other social reforms such as improving working conditions, reducing child labor, and rising minimum housing standards.

Bourgeois-Pichat (1978) linked mortality levels and causes of death in his study. He proposed two broad classes of causes of death, endogenous and exogenous. He described these two classes as "hard rock" and "soft rock". Bourgeois-Pichat argued that the exogenous causes of death can be controlled by public health measures, immunization, antibiotics, and improved social and physical conditions. This is like erosion of soft rock. The declining percentage of deaths from infectious diseases amongst deaths from all causes provided evidence of this phenomenon. "Hard rock" diseases or endogenous causes of death refer to diseases such as cancer and diseases of the circulatory system, or diseases of degeneration. Reduction in deaths from these diseases require more than just the improvement

in social and physical environment; it also requires advancement in medicine and technology.

Taucher (1978) used a grouping of causes of death by degree of avoidability to investigate the contribution of each group in the period 1955-1956 to 1974-1975 in the case of Chile. She proposed a two-tiered classification of causes of mortality according to their degree of avoidability consistent with current medical technology. Among the avoidable causes, Taucher found that infectious and parasitic diseases were mostly avoidable by the improvement of environmental sanitary conditions; accidents and injuries were most avoidable by mixed actions such as the improvement in social and physical environment, prevention and medical technology; while most non-avoidable deaths were the result of degenerative origin and tumors. However, critics may argue that deaths may be avoidable in one country, but not so in another (D'Souza 1989). D'Souza argued that in many low-income developing countries, preventative means may not be readily available. Hence, absolute criteria for determining preventable deaths do not exist and relative considerations have to be adopted. "Considerations of cost and feasibility of preventing deaths from particular causes within realistic country settings are also important" (D'Souza 1989). It is perhaps more accurate to use the term of "theoretically preventable diseases" (Castillo, Folis, Mardonis 1983).

The analysis of the relation between age-standardized rates by causes and age-standardized mortality rates was first carried out in UN *Population Bulletin*, No. 6 (UN 1963), where the existence of a strong relation between the general level of mortality and the causal structure of mortality was established. Preston (1976) extended the model with the aim of determining typical patterns of mortality structure and explaining regional and temporal differences in the causal structure of mortality. Cause-of-death rates from 165 countries were examined and tabulated. These populations were from Northern and Western Europe, Southern and Eastern Europe, overseas European populations, and Africa, Asia, and Latin America (D'Souza 1989). Death rates were age-standardized on the basis of standard populations. A linear model then was fitted to describe the association between particular causes of death and the overall death rate (Preston 1976). The causes of death were grouped into 11 categories. For each of the 11 causes, Preston proposed the following linear model

$$M_i = a_i + b_i * M$$

where the parameter $b_i$, which represents the slope of the regression line, $M_i$ is the predicted death rate for the *ith* cause, $M$ is the death rate for all causes combined, under the conditions that $a_i = 0$ and $b_i = 1.0$ (Espenshade 1973; Nicholson 1949).

For instance, Preston found that deaths from "influenza, pneumonia, and bronchitis" contribute about 25 percent to the overall mortality rate; those from "other infectious and parasitic diseases" account for 14 percent to the total death rate; those from "respiratory and tuberculosis" and "diarrhoeal" diseases contribute 10 percent to the overall mortality. However, critics have pointed out problems that arise from taking a population with an older age distribution as standard, since the overall mortality rate is dependent on the age structure of the population. Therefore, the use of an older population would imply more deaths from causes prevalent at older ages (Lopez, Hull 1982).

Application of Preston's cause-of-death model was made for Latin America by Palloni and Wyrik (1981), who considered data from 11 countries for several years (49 cases) and the same cause-of-death grouping used by Preston. Their study revealed that values of the regression coefficients $b_i$ are very similar with those of Preston's. However, Palloni and Wyrik warned about the limitations of this kind of methodology: first, the slope of the regression line only considers the influence of a basic cause of death; it does not show the magnitude of its real contribution through its dependency on other causes of deaths. Secondly, only an estimate of the mean level of the contribution of one cause of death is obtained, but the heterogeneity of this process is left obscure (Chapckiel 1990).

Regional and sex differentials in infant mortality have been documented by a number of studies. In less-developed nations, female survivorship is actually superior to male through the first year of life (infancy). It is during the early childhood years (ages one through four) that the gap not only closes but in some countries male survivorship surpasses female. This implies, according to Yaukey (1985), inferior allocation of scarce survival resources

**Table 1: Overall Mean Infant Mortality Rates* in China: 1988-1990**

| Cause of Death | 1988 Mean | 1989 Mean | 1990 Mean |
|---|---|---|---|
| Infectious & Parasitic Diseases | 252.00 | 284.00 | 189.75 |
| Neoplasms | 37.50 | 39.25 | 26.25 |
| Endocrine, Nutritional & Metabolic Diseases | 133.75 | 158.75 | 156.50 |
| Diseases of Blood & Blood Forming Organs | 23.25 | 26.25 | 19.50 |
| Diseases of Nervous System & Sense Organs | 60.25 | 53.25 | 58.75 |
| Diseases of Circulatory System | 19.00 | 25.50 | 15.50 |
| Diseases of Respiratory System | 1916.00 | 2142.50 | 1505.75 |
| Diseases of Digestive System | 320.25 | 326.00 | 252.50 |
| Diseases of Genito-urinary System | 2.00 | 4.00 | 2.75 |
| Congenital Anomalies | 844.75 | 1059.00 | 864.50 |
| Certain Causes of Perinatal Mortality | 2900.25 | 3451.75 | 2984.25 |
| Leukemia | 19.50 | 19.75 | 14.75 |
| Injuries | 628.00 | 679.75 | 507.25 |
| Others | 130.50 | 120.00 | 95.75 |

*The rates refer to number of deaths before age 1 per 100,000 live births.

to girl children. According to United Nations (1973), during the female reproductive ages, the female survivorship superiority again narrows and even reverses in some less-developed nations. The so-called "South Asian pattern" of sex differential in mortality indicates a higher female mortality rate than that of male in many rural places in India and Bangladesh, as well as in some other south Asian countries. Researchers have found that higher female mortality rates in childhood after the neonatal period resulted from preferential treatment of sons by family members in these countries (Basu 1989; Bhatia 1983; Chen, Huq, D'Souza 1981; Das Gupta 1987; Freed, Freed 1989; Miller 1981; Sen, Senqupta 1983). It has been found, for instance, that girls in these countries received less food, less medical care, and less clothing. Although most causes of death in the first year, especially the first month of an infant's life, may be due to either beyond families' immediate control (related to congenital malformation, birth trauma, etc.), or may not be due to sex-specific treatment of children. The exogenous factors that affect infants' survival cannot be underestimated.

This paper will address both the proximate and nonproximate causes of infant death in China during the period of 1988-1990. Then using Preston's linear regression, the relation between deaths from specific causes and the general level of mortality will be studied. Finally, differential mortality rates in terms of sex, urban and rural location during the period from 1988 to 1990 will be examined.

## DATA AND METHODS

In *World Health Statistics Annual 1990* and *World Health Statistics Annual 1993*, the World Health Organization included comprehensive cause-of-death statistics for China (World Health Organization 1990, 1993). The data were compiled according to the ICD-9 and covered about 10 percent of the total Chinese population. Included in the data were 37 cities and 73 counties, most of which are located in the eastern half of the country where the majority of the population is to be found.

Infant deaths were grouped into 14 different categories. They are: 1) infectious and parasitic diseases; 2) neoplasms; 3) endocrine, nutritional and metabolic diseases; 4) diseases of blood and blood-forming organs; 5) diseases of the nervous system and sense organs; 6) diseases of the circulatory system; 7) diseases of the respiratory system; 8) diseases of the digestive system; 9) diseases of the genito-urinary system; 10) congenital anomalies; 11) certain causes of perinatal mortality; 12) leukemia; 13) accidents and injuries; and 14) ill-defined conditions.

In addition, the entire Chinese infant population was divided into four subgroups for each of the three years studied in this paper. They are: 1) urban male infants; 2) urban female infants; 3) rural male infants, and 4) rural female infants. The mean death rates for the four subgroups for each cause of death are presented in Table 1.

**Table 2: Mean Infant Mortality Rates* for the Years from 1988 to 1990 for Male and Female Infants in Urban and Rural Areas in China**

| | Male | | Female | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Cause of Death** | **Urban** | **Rural** | **Urban** | **Rural** |
| Infectious & Parasitic Diseases | 160.67 | 351.33 | 143.67 | 312.00 |
| Neoplasms | 43.33 | 33.33 | 34.33 | 26.33 |
| Endocrine, Nutritional & Metabolic Diseases | 56.67 | 187.33 | 86.67 | 268.00 |
| Diseases of Blood & Blood Forming Organs | 25.33 | 30.33 | 16.00 | 20.33 |
| Diseases of Nervous System & Sense Organs | 67.33 | 58.67 | 56.67 | 47.00 |
| Diseases of Circulatory System | 30.00 | 12.33 | 29.00 | 8.67 |
| Diseases of Respiratory System | 918.67 | 3046.00 | 724.33 | 2730.00 |
| Diseases of Digestive System | 176.33 | 443.67 | 129.00 | 449.33 |
| Diseases of Genito-urinary System | 3.00 | 26.67 | 3.00 | 3.00 |
| Congenital Anomalies | 1068.33 | 912.67 | 952.33 | 757.67 |
| Certain Causes of Perinatal Mortality | 3314.00 | 3990.67 | 2263.00 | 2880.67 |
| Leukemia | 20.00 | 10.00 | 13.33 | 18.67 |
| Injuries & Accidents | 247.67 | 1000.67 | 193.33 | 927.67 |
| Others | 67.67 | 173.00 | 42.00 | 163.33 |

*The rates refer to number of infant deaths per 100,000 live births.

In order to study the extent to which a particular cause contributes to the structure of mortality rates from all causes combined, Preston's linear regression model was used (Preston 1976). Preston's model allows us to choose any value of $M$, insert it into each of the 14 cause-specific equations and produce predicted values of $M_i$ which sum up to the original value of $M$ (Preston 1976). Moreover, since the predicted change in $M_i$ per unit change in $M$ is $b_i$, the predicted death rates summed over all $I$ must equal to 1.000 per unit change in $M$, except for the rounding. In this manner a change in the death rate from all causes can be precisely ascribed to its individual components. The set of $b_i$'s is probably the best single indicator of the cause structure of mortality variation. Of course, it only measures the contribution made by a cause in its "underlying" role. The actual contribution made by a disease to mortality structure includes whatever impact it may have on mortality from other underlying causes (Preston 1976).

## PRELIMINARY RESULTS

Table 1 shows the overall mean infant mortality rates for the years from 1988 to 1990 for both male and female babies in both urban and rural areas combined. In many cases, the rates for 1989 were slightly higher than those for 1988 except the rates for diseases of the nervous system and sense organs. The rates then declined in most cases in 1990. For instance, the death rate from infectious and parasitic diseases was 252 in 1988, 284 in 1989, and in 1990 it was 189.75. Large drops occurred in the rates for deaths of the respiratory and digestive system. In 1988 the death rates from respiratory diseases and from digestive diseases were 1916 and 320.25 respectively. In 1989, they went up to 2142.5 and 326 respectively. In 1990, these rates went down to 1505.75 and 252.5 respectively. Since infectious and parasitic diseases, diseases of respiratory and digestive system, all represent the large bulk of deaths resulting from communicable diseases, significant drops in these death rates in 1990 may suggest a brighter future for Chinese infants.

Table 2 has broken down the overall mean infant mortality rates into separate rates for urban male infants, urban female infants, rural male infants, and rural female infants. It is clear that rural infants for both sexes died at a higher rate than their urban counterparts. Rural infants, both male and female, seem to die at a much higher rate from infectious and parasitic diseases, endocrine, nutritional and metabolic diseases, respiratory system, digestive system, genito-urinary system, perinatal mortality, injuries and accidents. Rural infants also died at a much higher rate than the urban ones in the unspecified category labeled as "others". However, rural infants died at a lower rate from diseases of nervous system and sense organs as well as the circulatory system.

The only type of diseases from which female infants, both urban and rural, died at a

**Table 3: Regression Coefficients of Death Rate Cause: All Causes Combined in China in Urban and Rural Areas (Both Sexes)**

| | 1988 | | | 1989 | | | 1990 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Cause of Death** | **ai** | **bi** | | **ai** | **bi** | | **ai** | **bi** | |
| Infectious & Parasitic Diseases | 311.5553 | 0.0389* | (0.9680) | -111.1116 | 0.0471* | (0.9546) | -71.8038 | 0.0391** | (0.9946) |
| Neoplasms | 38.1073 | -0.0001 | (-0.0081) | 71.3849 | -0.0038 | (-0.7653) | 27.4500 | -0.0002 | (-0.1126) |
| Endocrine, Nutritional & Metabolic Diseases | 167.6534 | 0.0307 | (0.9000) | -169.5837 | 0.0391 | (0.6923) | 40.8907 | 0.0173 | (0.5449) |
| Diseases of Blood & Blood Forming Organs | 11.5623 | 0.0022 | (0.6512) | 17.4680 | 0.0011 | (0.3728) | 6.4546 | 0.0019 | (0.5882) |
| Diseases of Nervous System & Sense Organs | 54.5283 | -0.0016 | (-0.7973) | 55.7305 | -0.0003 | (-0.0417) | 61.8968 | -0.0005 | (-0.1239) |
| Diseases of Circulatory System | 7.9490 | -0.0031 | (-0.7262) | 84.7490 | -0.0071 | (-0.9088) | 27.2718 | -0.0018 | (-0.7652) |
| Diseases of Respiratory System | 250.9372 | 0.4720* | (0.9825) | -2430.9039 | 0.5451 | (0.9419) | -1153.4650 | 0.3973* | (0.9714) |
| Diseases of Digestive System | 369.2305 | 0.0613* | (-0.9734) | -273.4915 | 0.0715 | (0.9135) | -183.3815 | 0.0651* | (0.9500) |
| Diseases of Genito-urinary System | 3.0696 | 0.0002 | (0.2665) | 10.4270 | -0.0008 | (-0.8210) | -0.2993 | 0.0005 | (0.8780) |
| Congenital Anomalies | 830.6586 | -0.107 | (-0.3428) | 1613.3971 | -0.0661 | (0.6139) | 871.4058 | -0.0010 | (-0.0351) |
| Certain Causes of Perinatal Mortality | 2978.0328 | 0.2238 | (0.8524) | 1880.9044 | 0.1872 | (0.5827) | 947.7613 | 0.3042 | (0.8832) |
| Leukemia | 19.4409 | 0.0023 | (0.7360) | 25.3527 | -0.0007 | (-0.4679) | 9.1042 | 0.0008 | (0.5295) |
| Injuries & Accidents | 826.5273 | 0.1612* | (-0.9689) | -714.5021 | 0.1662 | (0.9078) | -499.1133 | 0.1503* | (0.9536) |
| Others | 130.8392 | 0.0230 | (-0.9057) | -59.8209 | 0.0214 | (0.8951) | -84.1723 | 0.0269** | (0.9905) |

*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001

higher rate than male infants is the endocrine, nutritional and metabolic ones. For both male and female infants, perinatal mortality caused the most deaths. For both male and female infants, both urban and rural, the next highest death rate was caused by respiratory diseases. The third highest death for both male and female infants were injuries and accidents. In other words, male and female infant death rates follow a very similar pattern.

Table 3 gives the results of applying Preston's linear regressions, i.e., linear regressions relating mortality rates from each cause to those from all causes combined for both sexes in China from 1988 to 1990. In 1988, deaths from the respiratory system contributed about 47 percent change in the overall mortality rates. Perinatal mortality accounted for about 23 percent and deaths from accidents and injuries accounted for about 16 percent of change in overall mortality rates. Again, deaths from infectious and parasitic diseases accounted for about 4 percent of the change in the total infant mortality rates. Deaths from the leading three causes—respiratory diseases, perinatal mortality, and accidents and injuries together accounted for 86 percent of the total infant mortality rate in 1988. Deaths from infectious and parasitic diseases, respiratory diseases, digestive diseases, and injuries as well as accidents are all significant at least at the 0.05 level.

In 1989, deaths from diseases of the respiratory system accounted for about 55 percent of the total infant mortality rates, while accidents and injuries accounted for another 17 percent. Another 19 percent of the total death rate was due to perinatal mortality. Deaths from the infectious and parasitic diseases remained at about 4 percent of the total infant mortality rates. Deaths from respiratory system, perinatal conditions, and injuries and accidents together accounted for 91 percent of the overall infant mortality rate in 1989. Again, mortality rates resulting from infectious and parasitic diseases are significantly related to the overall infant mortality rate. As a matter of fact, deaths from infectious and parasitic diseases are the only ones that are significant at the 0.05 level.

In 1990, deaths from diseases of the respiratory system accounted for 40 percent of change in the overall infant mortality rates, while perinatal mortality accounted for about 30 percent. Perinatal mortality seems to have increased in 1990 compared to the previous rates. Deaths from injuries and accidents accounted for another 15 percent of the change in the overall infant mortality rates, while infectious and parasitic diseases accounted for about 4 percent. In 1990, deaths from respiratory diseases, perinatal mortality, injuries and accidents together accounted for 85 percent of the overall infant mortality rate. In that year, infant deaths resulting from infectious and parasitic diseases, respiratory and digestive diseases, injuries and accidents, and other unspecified conditions were all significant at least at the 0.05 level.

## CONCLUSION

Although Chinese infant mortality rates have declined greatly in the last few decades, the infant mortality patterns still resemble those of less-developed countries. Communicable diseases such as diseases of the respiratory system, infectious and parasitic diseases, digestive diseases, perinatal conditions as well as deaths from accidents and injuries are among the leading causes of infant mortality in China today. These deaths are largely the "avoidable" ones according to Taucher's grouping (Taucher 1978), or the "soft rock" according to Bourgeois-Pichat (1978) which require mixed actions such as improvement of environmental sanitary conditions and public health measures, economic development and rising income levels, and advance in medical technology. In other words, these deaths reflect not only the *immediate* causes of death, but also the underlying social and economic conditions present in the country. That Chinese infants still die mainly from "avoidable" diseases shows that there is still room for further reduction in infant mortality rates, and consequently for achieving longevity.

The results from Preston's linear regression model confirm that diseases of the respiratory system, perinatal mortality, and deaths from accidents and injuries account for about 85 to 90 percent of overall infant mortality rates. However, although perinatal mortality accounts from 18 to 30 percent of the overall mortality rate, it is not considered statistically significant in all three years. Both deaths from respiratory system and injuries as well as accidents are significantly related to the overall infant mortality rates in 1988 and 1990.

Finally, Chinese infants are much better off in urban areas rather than rural areas. Urban infants, both male and female, have a much

better chance of surviving their first birthday. Overall, gender does not have a significant effect on infant death rates. In other words, there seems to be no evidence to suggest any significant gender discrepancy. Female infants in almost all categories seem to have had lower death rates than their male counterparts. This finding seems to be consistent with that of the United Nations (1973). If the United Nations' (1973) finding is correct, the gender discrepancy may not occur until early childhood. This analysis is unable to draw any conclusion beyond the first year of infants. Further studies with more complete data, especially data which provide information on mortality during the early childhood, are called for.

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# EXAMINING COURTSHIP, DATING, AND FORCED SEXUAL INTERCOURSE: A PRELIMINARY MODEL

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ABSTRACT

A survey research project focusing on violence in intimate relationships, perceptions toward courtship and dating, and perceptions of sexual intercourse found that some women tend to choose to label incidents of forced sexual intercourse in which they have been victims as non-rape. These findings are explored and a tentative model to explain this phenomenon is advanced.

## INTRODUCTION

Forced sexual intercourse has been consistently defined as a social problem over time. Historically, only forced sexual intercourse directed toward an unwilling victim by a relative stranger was defined as rape and subject to control by the justice system. Societal acceptance, or at least lack of regard, for other forms of forced sexual intercourse has changed dramatically during the latter decades of this century. The definition of unacceptable sexual behavior has been expanded to include types of forced sexual intercourse which, in the past, were held to be of no interest to the justice system. Sexual assault, the emerging concept, is broad, has been accepted widely, and specifies degree of offensiveness. There is some recognition that offensive sexual behavior and forced sexual intercourse can be placed on a continuum based on degree of unacceptability of the offensive behavior. The research reported here suggests that the continuum is broader than generally accepted and may include offensive sexual behaviors which are tolerated by the victims. That is, some offensive sexual behavior occurs in the context of courtship and dating and is accepted to some degree by the victims. A preliminary set of propositions that can be used to frame continuing research in this area has been developed.

Courtship as a set of activities in which couples engage as they seek suitable life mates has taken many forms but has been pervasive through time and present in most societies. Dating, a set of activities in which couples engage for recreation, emerged during the late 1800s and initially evolved from courtship rituals. As freedom for women expanded in the 1900s, dating came to be regarded as a social activity. In dating, the emphasis on finding a mate decreased and the emphasis on recreation increased. Today, recreational dating is an activity in its own right, but dating still can lead to courtship or to the development of a relatively permanent relationship (Udry, Bauman, Whyte 1990). The lines between recreational dating and courtship dating have always been blurred.

## HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON COURTSHIP AND DATING

It is difficult to examine historical perspectives in courtship and dating without recognizing that the definitions of appropriate behavior, particularly individual freedom, have changed over the years. While men traditionally have had the freedom to pursue their recreational interests away from the protection of the family, women have been restricted to the family home or to carefully chaperoned social events. It was not until the industrial revolution that women began to work outside of the home and not until the 1900s that women began to associate freely in mixed-sex, unchaperoned groups for recreation.

After 1920, the automobile, close dancing, and moving pictures began to dominate the youth culture. Social control of dating and courtship, which had been family supervised and most rigorous in 1900, was replaced by a less rigorous system of social control maintained by the youth culture itself. Dating and petting became ritualized. This ritualization served to protect young women by providing limits, but it entailed a greater degree of risk by promoting participation in sexually stimulating behavior (Rothman 1984).

The movie theater and the automobile promoted petting. The movie theater provided darkness, some degree of privacy,and some degree of safety while the automobile offered complete privacy and less safety. Petting became relatively common behavior and characteristic of dating couples (Angell 1928; Dell, Burfeind 1930). While petting was popular to the point that petting parties became common, sexual intercourse was not (Fass 1977). This attitude began to decline and by the end of the 1930's, while virginity at marriage was still

desired, pre-marital sexual intercourse was tolerated for those women who were discrete and restrictive/selective in their choice of partners. Virginity as a trait for marriage was modified to include virginity at the time of engagement, a recurrence of standards observed at times in the 1700s and 1800s. While dating and petting were relatively unrestricted, the link between sex and love remained secure. The rules imposed by the young on themselves linked sexual intercourse to true love (Rothman 1984).

Petting waned in the late thirties, however, it remained a popular activity through the forties and fifties. Petting parties disappeared, but petting moved to beaches, parks, and porches and dating as a recreational activity reached full stature. High school students, both men and women, were expected to "play the field" before settling down to a monogamous relationship and marriage. Recreational dating led to going steady or pinning, which led to engagement and marriage, with the degree of commitment increasing as the couple moved through the various stages. Two competing principles appeared to have been at work: 1) everything is all right if you are in love and 2) women must be seen as respectable, particularly to men who are potential marriage partners. Going steady or pinning permitted the reconciliation of these two conflicting principles (Johnson 1959). During the sixties and seventies, the restrictions on premarital sexual intercourse became more liberal, and the number of men and women reporting pre-marital sexual intercourse increased (Morris 1975; Reiss 1966; Udry et al 1990). These standards, attributions of responsibility, and behaviors continue to influence relationships between men and women even though women's rights and privileges have continued to progress in other dimensions of social interaction (Rothman 1984).

## PREVALENCE OF COURTSHIP VIOLENCE

At the same time that attitudes toward sex in intimate non-marital relationships was changing, attitudes toward the use of force in intimate relationships also was changing. As these changes emerged, definitions and justice system orientation toward behaviors labeled as rape and sexual assault changed.

Measuring the incidence of forced sexual intercourse in intimate contexts is difficult for several reasons, most of which are related to the lack of specificity of definitions of rape and date rape, changes in orientation toward forced sexual intercourse between intimates, and self-definition of sexual assault by victims. Much of the impetus toward change in criminalization of rape is attributed to the women's movement and other special interest groups. Beginning in the early 1970's, the National Organization of Women (NOW) and women identified with the feminist movement began producing forums, writing articles, developing rape education and resource programs, and promoting law suits. By the late 1970s, public awareness of rape issues had increased and people were beginning to accept rape as a serious problem (Bourque 1989; Rose 1977). As a result of changing public attitudes, statutory changes that redefined rape and sexual assault were enacted in many states thus creating different degrees of rape (Parrot, Bechhofer 1991). At the same time, pressure was brought to bear on law enforcement and the courts to change the manner in which charges of sexual assault were processed. Prior to this period, charges of sexual assault involving adults who knew each other were discouraged at each point in the process. Convictions were seldom sought and were rarely sustained at trial (Estrich 1987). Reforms in the law coupled with changes in procedures and the development of new victim support programs redirected the orientation of the justice system in the late 1970s and early 1980s (LaFree 1989).

While violence among dating couples has been studied for some time (Kanin 1957), the term date rape did not emerge until the early 1980s. Date rape has been defined as a forced sexual intercourse that occurs either on a date or between individuals who are acquainted or romantically involved (Jenkins, Dambrot 1987).

Poppen and Segal (1988) conducted a survey of 77 male college students and 100 female college students in which the subjects were asked to indicate whether they had ever used physical or verbal coercive strategies to initiate sexual behavior with a partner, or had ever engaged in sexual behavior in response to a partner's coercive initiatives. The results indicated that men are more likely than women to initiate coerced sexual behavior, and "masculine" persons use coercive strategies more than other sex role orientation types. Shotland and Goodstein (1992) found that prior sexual interaction increased the expectation for future sexual compliance. Forced sexual intercourse

was less likely to be labeled as rape if sexual access had been granted frequently in the past.

Studies have indicated that the majority of rapes occur between acquaintances (Koss, Dinero, Seibel, Cox 1988; Rabkin 1979; Russell 1984). Kanin's (1967) study of male undergraduates indicated that 26 percent of the subjects reported having been sexually aggressive on a date in a way that led to the woman's fighting, crying, or screaming. Russell (1984) found that 88 percent of the rape victims identified in her study of 930 San Francisco residents knew their offender. Furthermore, a national survey indicated that 60 percent of the acquaintance-rape victimizations on college campuses occurred with casual or steady dates (Koss et al 1988).

The introduction of the term sexual assault has led to some confusion in the literature (Gilbert, Koss 1992). Sexual assault is, at best, loosely defined and includes behaviors that are less intrusive than intercourse. The lack of specificity that exists in the literature results in rates of behaviors and attitudes which are not comparable but which are compared in subsequent articles (Muehlenhard, Powch, Phelps, Giusti 1992). When applied to a dating or courtship situation, the terms for sexual assault and their definitions vary widely and include sexual aggression (Amick, Calhoun 1987; Kanin 1957; Muehlenhard, Linton 1987), sexual coercion (Fenstermaker 1988), sexual victimization and rape (Koss et al 1988), courtship violence (Makepeace 1981), and unwanted sexual intercourse (Ward, Chapman, Cohn, White, Williams 1991).

In addition to the confusion caused by the differences in terms and definitions, the use of differing time frames (life- time vs. fixed time frame) can cause even more confusion. Reported incident rates demonstrate considerable variation in rates which range from 4.2 percent for unwanted sexual intercourse (12 months) (Doyle 1994), 10 percent for forced sexual intercourse (dates in past 12 months), 15 percent for all forced sexual intercourse (during lifetime) (Sigler, Wenstrom 1993) to 78 percent for sexual aggression (lifetime) (Muehlenhard, Linton 1987). Johnson, Palileo, and Gray (1992) compared their data with national rates reported by Koss, Gidycz, and Wisniewski (1987) and argue that prevalence (number of victims) has been relatively stable over the past six years (15% reported incidents for lifetime for college students).

Limited attention has been directed toward the development of theoretical models to address this phenomena. Most studies with a theoretical base attempt to identify factors which make types of assault or adjustment more or less likely to occur. One recent effort (Shotland 1992) develops a basic typology of date rape. Five different types of date rape are characterized, based on time, courtship violence, and degree of development of a relationship. Felson (1992) has developed a model which seeks to explain sexual assaults in terms of motives and goals. He identifies five paths using factors such as social identity, bodily pleasure, personal justice, domination, sexual relations, and harm to target.

The present study sought to examine the dynamics of courtship, dating, and intimate violence. This analysis focuses on forced sexual intercourse, subjects' sexual behavior, and attitudes toward sexual behavior.

## METHODOLOGY

A semi-structured questionnaire was administered to a random sample of men and women attending classes at a southern university. Fifty classes were selected from the list of 2,615 classes (including all sections of multiple section courses) offered at the university during the spring semester of 1992. Of these classes, two had not made (no students registered for Biology 111 lab or French 490 readings), Music 501 was dropped by the researchers because it is an independent study course taught by multiple instructors (five subjects), and four instructors denied access to their classes—Chinese 402, Statistics 251, Law 645, and Motion Picture History 112. Data were successfully collected from the remaining 43 classes with three approaches. Data were collected during regular class time from 35 of the classes in the classrooms assigned to the courses. In five of the classes the instructors permitted the researchers to deliver the verbal protocol and to distribute the instruments and campus mail envelopes addressed to the researchers. The researchers chose to collect data from students in the remaining three music classes by mail. These were individual instruction classes in which the students worked in studios at different times during the week. The instructors in these classes delivered the instruments along with campus mail envelopes addressed to the researchers.

All in-class data collection was conducted by a male-female pair of researchers. Male

**Table 1: Incidence and Prevalence of Forced Sexual Intercourse**

| Type of Incident | Prevalence | | | | Incidence | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Victims | | Offenders | | Victims | Offenders |
| | n | % | n | % | n | n |
| Total *** | 82 | 18.5 | 33 | 8.8 | 275 (d) | 230 (e) |
| Date 1991 | 16 | 3.6 | 6 | 1.6 | 54 (a) | 32 (b) |
| Non-date 1991 | 5 | 1.1 | 5 | 1.3 | 24 (b) | 29 (b) |
| Date lifetime*** | 59 | 13.3 | 22 | 5.9 | 128 (b) | 122 (c) |
| Non-date lifetime | 33 | 7.5 | 19 | 5.1 | 69 (b) | 47 (b) |
| Spouse | 1 | | 0 | | | |
| Gang rape | 5 | 1.1 | 1 | .3 | | |

*** $p < .001$ Pearson test for chi square prevalence

(a) one subject reported 20 instances

(b) one subject reported 22 instances

(c) one subject reported 20, 22, or 30

(d) one victim reported 20, 29, 37, 66, or 88 instances

(e) one offender reported 22 for each category for a total of 88 incidents

**Table 2: Reasons Given by Victims of Forced Sexual Intercourse for Success of Attempt***

| Reason | 1991 n | 1991 Percent |
|---|---|---|
| He got sexually excited and couldn't control himself. | 10 | 40.0 |
| The victim was biologically aroused and didn't realize that things were getting out of control soon enough. | 9 | 32.1 |
| He was drunk or high. | 9 | 33.3 |
| She was drunk or high. | 8 | 28.6 |
| Trusted the offender and didn't realize she was in trouble soon enough to resist. | 9 | 36.0 |
| Victim wasn't strong enough to resist. | 6 | 23.1 |
| He thought that she didn't really want him to stop. | 8 | 30.8 |
| She was too embarrassed to holler for help. | 4 | 15.4 |
| No one was close enough to help. | 3 | 12.0 |
| She believed that if she didn't submit that she would be badly hurt. | 5 | 19.2 |
| She wants to maintain the relationship. | 7 | 26.9 |
| She sent out the wrong signals. | 4 | 14.8 |

*Subjects could check as many of the items as applied to their experience. Although 14 subjects from 1989 checked items, percentages are computed with a base of 15 for 1989 because of the small n.

**Table 3: Perceptions of the Incident for Most Recent Incident of Forced Sexual Intercourse**

| Perception | Victims N | Victims Percent | Offenders N | Offenders Percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Subject thinks rape* | 35 | 48.3 | 2 | 8.7 |
| Other thinks rape | 8 | 11.1 | 5 | 20.8 |
| Planned to rape* | 6 | 14.0 | 1 | 10.0 |
| Trust before | 45 | 91.8 | 15 | 88.2 |
| Trust after | 14 | 25.9 | 8 | 44.4 |
| Continue to date | 17 | 32.1 | 10 | 55.6 |
| Force not always rape | 64 | 86.5 | 21 | 84.0 |

*$p < .05$ Pearson's test for chi square

**Table 4: Likelihood of Engaging in Sexual Intercourse by Degree of Intensity of Relationship**

| Relationship | Likelihood of Engaging in Sexual Intercourse | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Would Not | | If things were just right | | Possible | | Probably would | | Definitely would | |
| Intensity | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| On first date**** | | | | | | | | | | |
| Men | 172 | 48.6 | 104 | 29.4 | 70 | 19.8 | 5 | 1.4 | 3 | .8 |
| Women | 378 | 88.5 | 33 | 7.5 | 14 | 3.2 | 0 | 0.0 | 2 | .5 |
| Casual dating**** | | | | | | | | | | |
| Men | 67 | 19.0 | 92 | 26.1 | 141 | 39.9 | 49 | 13.9 | 4 | 1.1 |
| Women | 296 | 68.7 | 59 | 13.7 | 60 | 13.9 | 13 | 3.0 | 3 | .7 |
| Steady dating**** | | | | | | | | | | |
| Men | 15 | 4.2 | 28 | 7.9 | 64 | 18.1 | 190 | 53.7 | 57 | 16.1 |
| Women | 87 | 20.1 | 86 | 19.9 | 83 | 19.2 | 109 | 25.2 | 67 | 15.5 |
| Engaged**** | | | | | | | | | | |
| Men | 9 | 2.4 | 10 | 2.8 | 31 | 8.8 | 148 | 41.8 | 156 | 44.1 |
| Women | 54 | 12.5 | 34 | 7.9 | 52 | 12.0 | 122 | 28.2 | 170 | 39.4 |
| Living together**** | | | | | | | | | | |
| Men | 13 | 3.7 | 4 | 1.1 | 10 | 2.8 | 83 | 23.4 | 245 | 69.0 |
| Women | 52 | 12.1 | 13 | 3.0 | 34 | 7.9 | 99 | 23.1 | 230 | 53.7 |
| Married | | | | | | | | | | |
| Men | 1 | .3 | 3 | .8 | 3 | .8 | 14 | 3.9 | 336 | 89.4 |
| Women | 1 | .2 | 5 | 1.1 | 0 | 0.0 | 10 | 2.3 | 416 | 96.3 |

*** p<.001 for t

****p<.0001 for t

subjects were asked to sit in the front of the room and female subjects were asked to sit in the back of the room in order to reduce stress and anxiety which might have occurred among the women if they had been under the observation of the men while answering the sensitive questions in the instrument. The female researcher gathered data from the female subjects, and the male researcher gathered data from the male subjects. There was one refusal from a female subject and two refusals from male subjects. Ten subjects appeared in more than one class. When the subjects appeared in a second class, they were instructed to return their instruments without completing them. No attempt was made to gather data from students who were absent on the day the instruments were administered. Fifty-one of the one hundred and twelve instruments delivered with campus mail envelopes were returned in usable form. The sample consisted of 442 women and 376 men.

## FINDINGS

The sample appeared to be representative of the population. All demographic measures for the sample were within 4 percent of the population figures, with the exception of class standing. Freshman (13.1% of the sample-21.0% of the population) and sophomores (19.5% of the sample-24.0% of the population) were under-represented in the sample; juniors (32.0% of the sample- 25.0% of the population) and seniors (35.2% of the sample-30.0% of the population) were over-represented. No pattern of significant relationships existed among the demographic variables and the various measures of sexual activity (occasional significant relationships appeared, but the number was less than 5% of the comparisons and no pattern was observed).

While the prevalence of forced sexual intercourse is relatively high, it was less than had been predicted in the popular press (40% to 60%). In this study, 18.5 percent of the women reported that they had been forced to have sex at some point during their lifetime (Table 1). The majority of these incidents had occurred in dating situations both for lifetime victimization (13.3%) and for 1991 (3.6%). Fewer women reported being forced to have sex in a non-date context than in a dating context both for lifetime (7.5%) and for 1991 (1.1%).

Fewer men reported forcing women to have sex (8.8% total) than women reported being forced. Men reported proportionally more forced

sex in a non-date context (5.1% lifetime, 1.3% 1991) than in a date context (5.5% lifetime, 1.6% 1991) when compared with women who reported being forced (Table 1).

Incidence rates were high, with relatively little difference between men and women for reported incidents (women 275, men 230) (Table 1). Most victims report one (61%) or two (22%) incidents in their lifetimes; results are similar for offenders (50% and 19.2%). However, there are more severe offenders than severe victims. One victim accounts for 88 (32%) of the victimizations while three men report more than 20 incidents of the use of force to gain sexual access. Although all three severe offenders reported that their victims used physical force (hitting) to resist them, only one identified himself as a rapist, and all three reported that their victims did not believe that they were being raped. In this sample there was at least one, and probably three, very active predators.

The subjects reported that severe force was not used. The most frequently reported degree of force for both women (54.8%) and men (77.8%) was the man holding the woman down; about 30 percent of the victims reported that no physical force was used. Perhaps as a result, low levels of physical damage were reported by both victims (90%) and offenders (78%); however, both men (53%) and women (72%) reported that relatively high levels of psychological damage occurred.

When asked why they were not successful in resisting the attempt to force them to have sexual intercourse, the most frequently cited causes by victims indicated that the situation had gotten out of control. Biological arousal leading to loss of control is cited by many victims as a cause of their victimization (32% of the women; 40% of the men) and drug and alcohol use (which reduce control) were cited by more than 28 percent of the subjects (Table 2).

This analysis raises the question—is forced sexual intercourse always rape? The contention that forced sexual intercourse is not always rape is supported by the perception of the incidents reported by both the victims and the offenders (Table 3). When asked to characterize their victimization, half of the victims reported that they did not consider the last incident of forced sexual intercourse which they reported to be a case of rape, 88 percent reported that they did not believe that the offender (their date) believed that he was raping them when he forced them to have sex, and only 14 percent believed that their assailant planned to rape them when he made the date. Almost 80 percent of the offenders chose not to characterize their use of force as rape, about 9 percent reported that their dates believed that they had been raped when forced to have sex, and only one reported that he had planned to rape his date at the time he made the date.

The victims were less likely to trust their assailants after the incident (from 92% to 26%), but about a third of the victims continued to date their assailants. Offenders report less loss of trust (from 88% to 44%) than victims and higher rates of continued dating (55%). More victims believed that their assailants planned to rape them than offenders reported planning to rape (Table 3). Both men (84.0%) and women (86.5%) reported that a man could use force and believe that he was not committing rape. Victims were more likely to make positive statements (48.9%) when describing their assailants than negative statements (17.8%) or negative and mixed statements (26.7%). Men's statements describing their victims tended to be predominately positive (64.3% made only positive statements).

More than 70 percent of the subjects reported that they are currently sexually active, with more men (78.7%) reporting that they are sexually active than women (71.7%; Pearsons for Chi Square P=.029). Men report more partners (mean=2.7) than women (mean= 1.7; p for t < .001), engaging more frequently in sex each month (mean= 9.4) than women (mean= 6.6; p for t <.001), and knowing their partners a shorter amount of time (mean=10.3 months) than women ( mean=14.5 months; p for t= .003). Although the difference is significant, both men and women overwhelmingly indicate that sexual intercourse is something they do for mutual pleasure rather than something one partner does for the other.

Men and women differ significantly in perceptions of the point in the relationship at which sexual intercourse is likely to occur for all degrees of intensity of the relationship (Table 4). Men are consistently more likely to anticipate the possibility of sexual interaction earlier in the relationship than women, but the number of both men and women who endorse sexual intercourse at each level tends to increase as intensity increases.

Women control sexual access in our society. Therefore, an understanding of perceptions of women's motivation and behaviors

**Table 5: Factors Which Women Consider Before Agreeing to Engage in Sexual Intercourse**

| | Men | | | Women | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Ss Endorsing | | Degree of Influence | Ss Endorsing | | Degree of Influence |
| **Reasons Given** | **N** | **%** | **%** | **N** | **%** | **%** |
| Enjoy sex*** | 331 | 88.0 | 28.2 | 326 | 73.7 | 24.9 |
| Make partner happy | 290 | 77.1 | 14.7 | 286 | 64.7 | 15.9 |
| In love with partner*** | 309 | 82.1 | 28.1 | 351 | 89.4 | 44.8 |
| Help develop a relationship | 197 | 52.4 | 10.8 | 174 | 39.4 | 12.7 |
| Keep a relationship from ending*** | 168 | 44.6 | 9.5 | 55 | 12.4 | 9.3 |
| Don't want to appear immoral | 91 | 24.2 | 9.6 | 53 | 12.0 | 15.1 |
| Attractiveness of date *** | 229 | 60.9 | 12.2 | 144 | 32.5 | 9.8 |
| Personality of date | 181 | 48.1 | 9.7 | 149 | 33.7 | 11.3 |
| The situation | 201 | 53.5 | 10.7 | 142 | 32.1 | 13.3 |
| Other* | 17 | 4.6 | 22.2 | 32 | 16.2 | 36.3 |

*p<.05 for t for degree of influence
***p<.001 for t for degree of influence

**Table 6: Effect of Anticipated Respect on the Woman's Decision to Participate in Sexual Intercourse**

| | Men | | | Women | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Ss Endorsing | | Degree of Influence | Ss Endorsing | | Degree of Influence |
| **Type of Respect** | **N** | **%** | **%** | **N** | **%** | **%** |
| Maintain self respect*** | 301 | 80.1 | 52.6 | 374 | 85.6 | 58.2 |
| Maintain man's respect | 257 | 68.4 | 43.7 | 331 | 74.9 | 39.3 |
| Maintain peers' respect*** | 207 | 55.1 | 41.0 | 232 | 52.5 | 29.8 |
| Other | 128 | 34.0 | 69.6 | 124 | 28.1 | 64.4 |

***p<.001 for t

is central to an understanding of dating, courtship, and the use of force in intimate relationships.

Enjoys sex, make partner happy, and in love with partner have been selected most frequently by both men and women as reasons why women agree to engage in sexual intercourse (Table 5). Of these reasons, women believe that love has a greater degree of influence. More men than women believe that enjoys sex has a greater degree of influence. It should be noted that men appear to believe that love and enjoys sex exert about the same amount of influence in a woman's decision to be sexually active.

When the issue of respect is considered, more than 80 percent of both men and women tend to endorse maintaining her self respect. Women believe that this factor is more influential than men (Table 6). Maintaining the man's respect is seen as more important and as having more influence than peers' respect by both men and women. Men see the influence of maintaining peers' respect in determining participation in sexual intercourse as more important than women.

Women frequently agree to engage in sexual intercourse when they don't want to do so. Both men (52.1%) and women (65.2) recognize that at times women agree when they would rather not or because they feel threatened (men 16.2%, women 20.4) or coerced (men 15.7%, women 17,9%) (Table 7).

The most common reason for a woman to agree to unwanted sexual intercourse given by both men and women is a desire to make her date or boyfriend happy (Table 8). The second most common reason given by men was the woman's desire to maintain the relationship. For women, the second most frequent reason was things got out of control. Both men and women selected there was no good reason not to engage in sex as the third most frequent reason for a woman to agree to sexual intercourse when she didn't want to. Coercive strategies were the least frequently selected reasons of those available to the subjects. Both men and women appear to believe that

**Table 7: Willingness of Women to Engage in Sexual Intercourse**

| | Men | | | Women | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Ss Endorsing | | Degree of Influence | Ss Endorsing | | Degree of Influence |
| **Degree of Willingness** | **N** | **%** | **%** | **N** | **%** | **%** |
| She wanted to*** | 313 | 83.2 | 88.2 | 359 | 81.2 | 82.6 |
| Didn't want to but agreed*** | 196 | 52.1 | 37.9 | 288 | 65.2 | 42.1 |
| Didn't want to but felt threatened | 61 | 16.2 | 79.4 | 90 | 20.4 | 75.0 |
| Didn't want to but felt forced | 59 | 15.7 | 83.0 | 79 | 17.9 | 85.3 |

***p<.001 for t for degree of influence

**Table 8: Reasons Why Women Agree to Have Sexual Intercourse When They Don't Really Want To**

| | Men | | Women | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Ss Endorsing | | Ss Endorsing | |
| **Reason Given** | **N** | **%** | **N** | **%** |
| Make date/friend happy | 125 | 44.3 | 161 | 45.1 |
| Keep man as boyfriend*** | 67 | 23.6 | 44 | 12.3 |
| Date had shown her a good time**** | 43 | 15.2 | 22 | 6.1 |
| Date had spent a lot of money** | 25 | 8.9 | 11 | 3.1 |
| Things got out of control | 40 | 14.1 | 67 | 18.6 |
| She thought something was wrong with her | 13 | 4.6 | 21 | 5.8 |
| No good reason not to | 48 | 16.9 | 61 | 16.9 |
| Date threatened to leave and not date again | 6 | 2.1 | 6 | 1.7 |
| Man wanted her to prove her love | 11 | 3.9 | 24 | 6.7 |
| She didn't want to be labeled frigid | 7 | 2.5 | 16 | 4.4 |
| Other | 37 | 13.1 | 46 | 12.7 |

**p < .01 for t
***p < .001 for t
****p < .0001 for t

women do agree to have sex when they don't want to, but this agreement is caused by a willingness to please rather then because of coercion.

## DISCUSSION

These findings indicate that forced sexual intercourse occurs frequently enough to warrant continued and increased attention. About 18.5 percent of the women in this study reported that they had been forced to have sex by a stranger or on a date in their lifetime. The reported rates for the year prior to the collection of data were lower, with about 4.7 percent of the women reporting victimizations (3.6% on a date). The numbers of victims and offenders with severe patterns of experience were relatively small. There does appear to be a small number of male predators in this sample, only one of whom identifies himself as a rapist.

About half of the victims (80% of the offenders) did not define their victimization as rape. That is, these women said that they have been forced to have sex but the use of force in their case was not rape, and 80 percent of the victims and one offender stated that they did not believe that assailant intended to rape them. In about half of these incidents the degree of force used was holding the woman down; in about 30 percent of the cases the force was not physical. Almost half of the women described their assailant in positive terms and an additional 26 percent used both positive and negative characteristics to define their assailant.

The subjects in this study reported a relatively high level of sexual activity. Both men and women reported that sex is an activity engaged in by both men and women for mutual pleasure. Both men and women recognized that, at times, women participate in sexual intercourse when they really don't want to do so, a decision often influenced by a desire to make their partner happy and/or to maintain a relationship which is pleasurable/beneficial for them.

Historically, rape has been a crime which has been condemned, if not effectively prosecuted. Reforms in the past decade have introduced changes in the law that create different levels of sexual assault and that make cases of sexual assault easier to prosecute successfully. Social concern that accompanied reform efforts on intimate violence as well as on forced sexual intercourse has focused attention on the prevalence and nature of forced sexual intercourse. Research accompanying reform movements frequently is not accurately focused, producing results that introduce confusion.

This study sought data that would clarify the nature of forced sexual assault in dating and courtship. While the dynamics of the situation are not clear, sufficient information has been gleaned to suggest that the development of a tentative model which can be used to guide further research is warranted. The model presented here extends beyond the data reported in this article and only addresses behavior which is generally characterized as date or acquaintance rape and does not address stranger rape or blitz/predatory rape. This rudimentary model can be expressed best as a series of propositions some of which are drawn from the data gathered in this study:

1. Participation in sexual intercourse is fairly common.
2. Women occasionally consent to sexual intercourse when they would prefer to abstain.
3. Men know that women occasionally consent to sexual intercourse when they would prefer to abstain.
4. The decision to engage in sexual intercourse is something women control.
5. Sexual intercourse is something men seek to gain from women.
6. Men are expected to actively pursue women's consent to sexual intercourse.
7. Women are expected to resist the efforts of men to gain sexual access until specific individual conditions exist, even though they plan to consent at some point in the relationship.
8. The presence and nature of these conditions is usually not explicit.
9. In the process of developing a relationship, men and women engage in exploratory sexual behavior.
10. Gaining/granting sexual access is an interactive process involving some degree of trial and error.
11. On occasion the trial and error process produces an out-of-control situation that leads to forced sexual intercourse.
12. If both actors anticipate sexual access, the question is one of timing, and they engage in some exploratory sexual behavior leading to an out-of-control situation, neither the man nor the woman will define the incident as rape.
13. If the woman does not anticipate sexual access at that point in the relationship but engages in some exploratory sexual activity leading to an out of control situation, the woman and the man may or may not define the incident as rape.
14. If the women chooses not to engage in sexual intercourse but engages in some exploratory sexual behavior in the process of seeking a relationship and the situation gets out of control, she will define the incident as rape and the man may or may not define the incident as rape.

The first three propositions address the prevalence of sexual intercourse and the willingness of some women to engage in sexually intimacy when they don't really want to. These three propositions appear to be supported by the data from the present study.

Propositions 4 through 10 address the nature of the interaction between men and women as a relationship becomes more sexually intimate. Responsibility for control of the relationship, expectations for male and female objectives in the process, presence of conditions held by women, awareness of conditions held by women, and the nature of exploratory sexual behavior as a relationship progresses were not measured in this study.

Proposition 11 address the trial and error nature of a developing relationship and the potential for the situation to get out of control in preliminary stages. Victim and offenders report that incidents of forced sexual intercourse result from loss of control for various reasons.

While data are not available to test propositions 12 through 14 directly, data are available to assess two of the three assumptions underlying the model proposed. These propositions assume that forced sexual intercourse is not always perceived as rape by the offender and or the victim; that men and women engage in exploratory sexual behavior less than intercourse as a relationship develops; and that both men and women anticipate that sexual

intercourse will occur at some point as a rela-tionship develops and that there is some difference of opinion as to when this degree of intimacy will occur.

This model suggests that the development of an agreement to engage in sexual intercourse is a negotiated process in which the women grants sexual access to the man when specific personal conditions (personal standards) are met. It is acceptable for men to actively pursue sexual intercourse, and this pursuit is not channeled by the woman's conditions for agreeing to sexual intercourse as these conditions (woman's expectations) frequently are not clear.

The process of moving forward in a relationship involves exploratory sexual behavior in which the couple approaches but does not necessarily engage in sexual intercourse. If this process gets out of control, forced sexual intercourse may occur because the man is larger and stronger and/or because the woman can not manage to withdraw without permanently damaging a relationship she may want to preserve. When forced sexual intercourse occurs in this context, the woman may accept responsibility for the outcome, and the man may see this as an acceptable/anticipated outcome.

This model is a simplification of a very complex system of interactions which comprise dating and courtship. There is a need for further research, and this rudimentary model can provide a focus for part of this research.

## SUMMARY

All forms of forced sexual intercourse have been defined as parts of a social problem which has emerged because changing social values regarding the roles of women and men in society and in intimate settings have created a change in the orientation toward the degree of public interest in women's victimization. As the value system has changed, the social institutions that are responsible for dealing with pathology have had to adapt, frequently while under attack for being insensitive, ineffective, and possibly guilty of misfeasance. The resulting response has been somewhat unfocused, because these agencies have moved to satisfy the critics and complete their assigned tasks.

Before effective responses to all forms of forced sexual intercourse can be developed, this phenomena must be understood. A first step in increasing understanding of the phenomena is to recognize that some forms of forced sexual intercourse occur between relatively intimate partners and that this form of forced sexual intercourse might be substantially different from other forms of rape. That is, types of forced sexual intercourse must be examined in the social context in which they occur.

A tentative model for one of these sets—the use of force in intimate sexual encounters in the context of courtship is being advanced which can serve as a basis for further research. This model assumes that the process of establishing a relatively permanent or long-term relationship involves progressively more intimate interaction as the relationship matures with sexual intercourse anticipated at some point in the relationship. The point at with sexual intercourse becomes a part of the relationship and the conditions which must be met before this level of commitment to the relationship is accepted is determined by the woman. The likelihood that the woman will define the use of force in sexual intercourse as rape or criminal, the likelihood that the woman will continue the relationship, and the degree of psychological damage which occurs will vary according to the manner in which the woman defines the situation.

The evaluation of the model was based on prior data is incomplete. Support was found in the data for propositions which stated that sexual intercourse is fairly common, women occasionally agree to sexual intimacy when they don't really want to, men believe that women consent to sexual intimacy when they don't want to, at times intimate exchanges get out of control producing forced sexual intercourse, and for the assumptions underlying the final propositions which specify conditions under which victims and offenders will label an incident of forced sexual intercourse as rape. Data were not available to assess the interactional propositions or the specific labeling functions of the final propositions.

Further research is needed so that a complete evaluation of this preliminary model can be made. This model is a beginning point. A great deal of work is needed to develop an effective empirical base in an area which has been characterized by a restricted focus and heated controversy. More elaborate and accurate models will be developed as rudimentary models are developed and an expanded empirical base emerges.

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# THE POWER OF MOTHERHOOD: A CONTEXTUAL EVALUATION OF FAMILY RESOURCES

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**ABSTRACT**

Motherhood is considered a liability to women's socioeconomic status and marital power. However, by examining only married couples in conventional families, child care provider, gender, and low status have been confounded in previous research. Using data from a nationwide survey, we investigate couples for whom socioeconomic status and hierarchical gender relations are muted in order to separate these effects. The results show that being the primary caretaker of children can be a source of relationship power under certain conditions. These findings suggest a transformation in the meaning and value of child care with the structural and ideological advancement of women.

## INTRODUCTION

Family resource theory proposes that husbands and wives gain and lose power in their marriage depending on the resources they have available to them. The theory, as put forth by Blood and Wolfe (1960), however, has been found to be an incomplete explanation of family power (Hesse-Biber, Williamson 1984; Katz, Peres 1985; Mizan 1994; Steil, Weltman 1991; Szinovacz 1987; Warner, Lee, Lee 1986). As a consequence, resource theory has been largely cast away and at best lumbers along as a residual explanatory category. We believe the theory may be useful with some serious modifications. First, the very idea of what could be a resource was so narrowly conceived and so biased in favor of traditional male resources that other resources which might give women power were not entered into the equation (Safilios-Rothschild 1976 is one notable exception). Second, the relevance of a given resource tended to be seen as stable rather than changing as society changed, varying under different situational exigencies and ideological conditions (Befu 1980; McDonald 1980; Szinovacz 1987). Thus, research has tended not to take into account the possibility that different kinds of couples, in different kinds of circumstances, might have a special hierarchy of desires and needs that give certain resources great importance. In this paper, we examine one potential resource, caring for children, and show how, under the right circumstances, being the primary caretaker of children can be a source of power for a parent. While having and caring for children are typically associated with a loss of relationship power for women, we show how understanding resources contextually creates a new view of resource theory and a different list of what resources can give power.

In recent research on power within marriage, child care is not considered a source of power for women (Ball, Cowan, Cowan 1995; Hendrix, Pearson 1995; Vogler, Pahl 1994). Of course, we understand why child care is considered a cost rather than a benefit in a relationship. Child care is notorious for time consuming and repetitive tasks. Most of these tasks fall completely or mostly to a woman in the household and take away from the amount of discretionary time she has available, including of course, the ability to invest herself in labor force participation (Ericksen, Yancy, Ericksen 1979; Ross 1987; Waite, Haggstrom, Kanouse 1986). Additionally, despite the output of time, emotions and psychological expertise, few material rewards are associated with child care. Researchers have detailed the detrimental effects on the primary female parent, including a loss of relationship power and less acquisition of education, income and occupational prestige (Blood, Wolfe 1960; Centers, Raven, Rodrigues 1971; Chafetz 1988; Hewlett 1986; Michel 1967; Rindfuss, Bumpass, St. John 1980; Sweet 1982; Waite et al 1986; White, Kim 1987). As a result, in terms of resource theory, motherhood has been viewed primarily as an obstacle to socioeconomic progress and relationship power (Hesse-Biber, Williamson 1984; Scanzoni 1979).

Certainly, the burdens of motherhood are real, but this picture of motherhood is incomplete. The intensity and commitment of the bond between mother and child may give psychic benefits to the mother that go beyond the pleasure of the family environment. Women may gain self esteem, confidence and interactional skills; each of which is likely to enhance work and relationships outside the home. Given the benefits of attachments and bonds associated with primary child care, it is illogical to assume that there are no conditions under

which having children and controlling child care could be a powerful personal resource. In this paper, we seek to rectify this limited vision. Why should we have assumed that these skills and ego enhancement would be encapsulated and not have any interpersonal outcomes?

One answer may lie in the fact that researchers have only considered one kind of couple, married heterosexuals, primarily in conventional families. Under these conditions, child care correlates with marital dependence. But since it is also true that being a woman correlates with dependent marital status, it becomes hard to disentangle the effects of female status and child care provider. What is really undermining the caretaker's power? Looking at it in causal terms, it is not clear if it is child care itself that results in a loss of power or the fact that the less powerful tend to be the primary caretakers of children. Caring for children may not be compensated in terms of relationship power or social recognition because of the powerlessness of those who engage in child care. Motherhood is inextricably intertwined with the structure of patriarchy in previous research.

This paper examines how power and parenthood operate when hierarchical gender relations, characteristic of traditional marriages, are muted. It may be that caring for children can act as a resource and thereby give power, but is a coinage that can only be utilized when one is not on the short end of a substantial, preexisting power imbalance. Under present gender inheritances it may be that children have a peculiarly costly impact on wives because child care, gender and low status are symbolically fused. It may be that when gender-related advantages are diminished, children and child care actually give power to the primary parent since they are a "good" to the individual and the relationship, and the person who "owns" that good has a positive resource and basis of power.

For example, imagine a truly egalitarian marriage where the advantages of gender would be muted or even more dramatic, a lesbian relationship where gender privilege would be irrelevant and indeed where women's values concerning children might be more emphasized in the relationship. Under these conditions, might it not be possible that children and child rearing could enhance power? The person who is the closest to the children would accumulate "emotional capital" for herself. Moreover, by controlling the children's relationships, she would control to a certain extent the amount of emotional capital in the relationship that is available for others. In this scenario, the caretaker's emotional dependence on her partner is lessened by virtue of the unique emotional rewards in her relations with her children. Her reduced emotional dependence, in turn, is her power resource (Emerson 1962). In our hypothesized lesbian couple, other sources of power, those associated with hierarchical gender relations and implicit in most formulations of resource theory, would be rendered inoperative by being equal. So if the caretaker is not dependent on her partner for income (could afford her present way of life on her own) then children might not be a cost. In sum, we propose that when gender and socioeconomic inequalities are removed and non-traditional values can emerge, child care may become a coveted and empowering activity.

To test this proposition, we separate financial dependence and gender related inequalities from the role of caretaker. We do this by examining lesbian couples in which gender inequalities are essentially controlled and values about children are expected to be more or less shared. In addition, for most of the couples in this sample, income and education differences between partners are minimal. For these couples, child care is separated from standard structural sources of power such as gender and socioeconomic status. Here, the effect of child care on power should be most clear.

## METHOD

The data used in this analysis are taken from a larger study of interpersonal relationships (Blumstein, Schwartz 1983). Couples were sought in extensive media campaigns in Atlanta, Dayton, Chicago, Los Angeles, New York, the San Francisco Bay Area, Seattle, Washington, D.C. and Wichita, in addition to national media exposure. Although self-selected, substantial efforts were made to get as diverse a sample as possible and to avoid systematic biases. These efforts included recruiting participants from a wide variety of political, religious, social and service organizations. Nevertheless, we have a non-probability sample. We use this data because it includes couples who meet our unique criteria, and allows us to begin to investigation our proposition.

Each partner from all couples

**Table 1: Means for Division of Child Care, Resources, Dependence and Relationship Power for Mothers and Their Partners**

| | Mothers (N=76) | | Partners (N=76) | | t-value |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Division of Child Care Labor** | | | | | |
| Ave. of child care tasks | 6.30 | (1.30) | 3.81 | (1.30) | 11.69** |
| Punishes children | 6.40 | (1.78) | 3.93 | (2.08) | 7.71** |
| Takes children to activities | 6.82 | (1.79) | 3.56 | (1.85) | 10.82** |
| Plays with children | 5.60 | (1.47) | 4.10 | (1.60) | 5.89** |
| **Resources** | | | | | |
| Education | 14.80 | (1.99) | 14.78 | (2.11) | -0.08 |
| Income | 5.99 | (2.55) | 6.05 | (2.20) | 0.17 |
| Age | 34.21 | (4.68) | 31.61 | (6.70) | -2.78* |
| **Dependence** | | | | | |
| Commitment | 4.75 | (1.00) | 5.11 | (1.07) | -2.13* |
| Loneliness | 6.99 | (2.59) | 7.64 | (1.79 | -1.83 |
| **Power** | | | | | |
| Global power | 5.31 | (1.29) | 4.76 | (0.96) | 2.93* |
| Change | 4.09 | (1.86) | 5.68 | (1.60) | -5.66** |
| **Decisions** | | | | | |
| Groceries | 5.62 | (1.89) | 4.55 | (1.70) | 3.76** |
| Decorate | 5.31 | (1.70) | 4.66 | (1.87) | 2.21* |
| Vacation | 4.94 | (1.04) | 5.04 | (1.03) | -0.57 |
| Eat | 5.18 | (1.09) | 5.04 | (0.99) | 0.86 |
| Move | 5.03 | (1.16) | 4.94 | (1.21) | 0.45 |
| Go out | 4.97 | (1.05) | 4.91 | (0.93) | 0.41 |
| Invite to home | 5.07 | (0.82) | 4.78 | (0.81) | 2.19* |
| $ on groceries | 5.47 | (1.81) | 4.55 | (1.86) | 3.00* |
| $ on entertainment | 4.92 | (1.24) | 4.87 | (1.24) | 0.21 |
| $ on clothes | 7.25 | (2.07) | 7.21 | (1.94) | 0.10 |
| $ on furniture | 5.38 | (1.55) | 4.56 | (1.59) | 3.15* |

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

Note: Standard deviations are in parentheses. Higher means on division of child care labor indicate greater contribution by the respondent. Higher means on the dependence and power measures indicate more dependence or more power (more change) than their partners.

independently completed a questionnaire of considerable length, concerning a wide variety of relationship issues, including measures of power and decision making within the relationship. For a couple to be included in the study, each partner had to complete and return a questionnaire, and the couple had to live together, consider themselves a couple and have been involved sexually at some point in their relationship. The study included 788 lesbian couples, of which 76 couples in which one and only one partner brought dependent children into the relationship are included in the present analysis. The presence of children is determined by individual responses to questions about whether the respondent has children, the ages of any children and the children's present living arrangements.

The division of child care labor is measured as the difference between partners' responses to each of three nine-point items asking which partner punishes the children, plays with the children and takes the children to their appointments and activities more often (1="I do this all of the time," 9="She does this all of the time"). These items have been reverse coded so that higher values mean the respondent has done more of the activity. These three items are also averaged for an overall measure of the division of child care labor. Measures of traditional resources include each partner's annual income (1=no income, 2=less than $2,500, 3=$2,500 to $4,999, 4=$5,000 to $7,499, 5=$7,500 to $9,999, 6=$10,000 to $12,499,

**Table 2: Regressions of Dependence and Power on Motherhood, Status and Personal Qualities for Lesbian Couples (N=76 couples)**

| | Dependence | | Power | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Commitment | Loneliness | Global Power | Change |
| Mother or not | -.681* | -.800 | .914** | -2.83** |
| Education | -.022 | .043 | -.094 | -.138 |
| Income | .096 | .093 | .153** | -.069 |
| Age | -.004 | -.069 | .018 | -.053 |
| Aggressiveness | .029 | -.459** | .070 | -.060 |
| Forcefulness | -.121 | .275 | .020 | -.006 |

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

Note: A positive coefficient indicates that the mother is more committed, would be more lonely, has more power, or has changed more for the relationship than her partner.

7=$12,500 to $14,999, 8=$15,000 to $19,999, 9=$20,000 to $24,999, 10=$25,000 to $29,999, 11= $30,000 to $49,999, 12=$50,000 or more), years of education, and age.

Relationship power is generally defined as being able to carry out one's will when confronted with resistance from the other. Such power is most often measured as influence in decision making, in particular, power is thought to belong to the partner who has the most or final say in "important" decisions. Global decision making power is computed as the difference between partners' responses to a single nine-point item which asks who has the most say in important decisions affecting the relationship (1="I much more," 9="She much more"). However, decisions are often labeled "important" in an ad-hoc, arbitrary fashion. Everyday decisions may be more vital for family functioning. Like a football game, one needs to keep an eye on the yardage gained. If a person has only rare veto power or makes only a few decisions every so often, and if those decisions are largely undisputed, that person may enjoy only symbolic power. Consequently, we also include the difference between partners' scores on eleven more specific, nine-point items asking which partner has the most influence in certain decisions that couples typically face (1="I much more," 9="She much more"). These decisions include what groceries to buy, how to decorate your home, where to go on vacation, where to go to eat, whether or not to move, where to go out, whom to invite to your home, and the amount of money spent on groceries, entertainment, clothes and furniture. These items have been reverse coded so that higher values mean the respondent has more power.

Moreover, power as ability or potential cannot be measured directly, and methodological studies indicate that a variety of distinct measures capture unique dimensions of the distribution of power in a relationship (See McDonald 1980 for a review of these studies). Thus, multidimensional indicators of this ability are desirous (Blumberg, Coleman 1989). Therefore, we also include a measure of change for the relationship, and we measure dependence on the relationship. Change is measured as the difference between partner's scores on a nine-point item asking who has changed more for the relationship (1="I much more," 9="She much more"). Dependence on the relationship is assessed as differences in partners' scores on two nine-point items asking who is more committed to the relationship and who would be more likely to be lonely if the relationship should end (1="I much more," 9="She much more"). Personal qualities of aggressiveness and forcefulness, other potentially confounding variables, are measured as self report ratings on nine-point scales (1="extremely," 9="not at all").

## RESULTS

This lesbian sample is uniquely suited to this task because, besides controlling for gender, the partner who brings children into the relationship (referred to here as "biological mother" to differentiate her from her partner) is also overwhelmingly the primary caretaker of the children (Table 1). Four couples for whom this was not true were excluded from the analyses. Moreover, these biological mothers do not differ significantly from their partners in terms of income or education, two traditional resources (Table 1). For 45 percent of these couples, partners report the same or just one year difference in number of years of education, and 87 percent of these couples report that they differ by three years or less in years

of education. Likewise, 59 percent of these couples are in the same or an adjacent income category, and there is no difference in income means between biological mothers and their partners (Table 1). Partners differ significantly only in age, with biological mothers being on average slightly older than their partners (Table 1).

Thus, except for age, we have a naturally occurring situation in which the distinguishing feature between partners is that one partner brought children into the relationship and is the primary caretaker of them. For these couples, the biological mother is consistently the more powerful partner (Table 1). These couples tend to be egalitarian on many measures with means from both partners falling in the middle of the scales. However, there are several significant differences in power and in all cases, biological mothers have the advantage. The overall means for the biological mothers suggest that they tend to feel that they have more decision making power than their partners and that they have changed less for the relationship than their partners have (larger means indicate more power for or change by the respondent). Their partners confirm this picture as the overall means for this group indicate that they tend to feel that they have less decision making power and have changed more for the relationship than the biological mothers have. In addition, the means for both groups indicate that biological mothers tend to be less committed to the relationship. Finally, of the eleven variables measuring the influence each partner has in making specific decisions, five are significantly different between groups, and each indicate more influence by the biological mother.

Partner differences in power and dependence on the relationship are regressed on partner differences in standard structural resources and being the biological mother or not in Table 2. When controlling for partner differences in the traditional status based resources of education and income, along with age and self ratings of aggressiveness and forcefulness, all significant effects suggest that being the biological mother means having more power and less dependence on the relationship (Table 2). Being the biological mother is predictive of more influence in important decisions (global power) and relatively less commitment to and change for the relationship. An alternative explanation for the effect of children and child care on power for lesbian couples is that the partner with children brought some personal, power related quality into the relationship, which, for example, enabled her to establish a committed relationship even though children are a potential disadvantage in attracting a partner. To test this, partner differences in aggressiveness and forcefulness were included in the regression analyses. These variables do not preclude the significant effects of having and caring for children on power and dependence (Table 2). All of these analyses suggest that the biological mother, the partner who has and cares for children in these lesbian couples, is more powerful and less dependent on the relationship than her partner.

## DISCUSSION

These data indicate that where structural sources of power are not operating, caring for children may enhance one's relative power. Indeed, these lesbian couples, though comparable in socioeconomic status, face a markedly inequitable arrangement. The biological mother has several primary relationships, with her partner and her children, while her partner has just one. Of course, either partner may have other significant relationships in their lives, but the biological mother has an immediate and permanent emotional, psychological, and practical commitment to her children. Consequently, the childless partner is more dependent on their relationship because the biological mother has alternative options in her children for significant interpersonal relationships. In addition, in the event that the couple's relationship dissolves, the partner's relationship with the children is likely to be severed or at the discretion of the biological mother. The partner in these couples has limited legal recourse in terms of custody or even visitation of her partner's children. The childless partner's greater dependence on the relationship then is reflected in the power disadvantage. She has to change more for the relationship, and she is more committed to it. If the couple separates, the biological mother still has her children, but her partner is alone. For these couples, having and caring for children means power. This is not purely a least interest interpretation. It is not just that one has additional significant relationships; it is the nature and extent of those relationships. A special bond is created between primary caretaker and children.

**Relevance To Resource Theory**

In a society where sources of power are uncritically seen as the only resources available, the value of relating to and taking care of children has been under analyzed and not fully comprehended. It is as if child care could only be a burden imposed on those of lesser status. But, far from being unwillingly saddled with child care, many mothers seek parenthood. They generally find it empowering personally, and intuitively, they know they corner the market on a valuable resource. We add that child care provides a source of relationship power which can be activated under certain conditions.

Research on family power has been inadequate because these permutations of power have been ignored, thus leaving our knowledge of power under conceptualized. Understanding power is complicated. Power belongs to the person who can carry out her or his will, but the full range and value of wills have not been explored. In addition, the value of resources depends not only on the power of the holder of those resources, but also on the values of those judging the resource. In fact, Kranichfeld (1987) argues that women are much more powerful in the family than men because of their roles as nurturers and kin keepers and their entrenchment in an extensive and supportive intergenerational network, whereas men tend to have weak cross-generational ties. England and Farkas (1986) though add that women's sources of power, emotional and instrumental investments in the relationship, are not transferable to future relationships. Men, on the other hand, who cultivate earning power, can transport this resource to another relationship. This dynamic may not operate for lesbian couples. Without more complete knowledge about what men and women value, when goods become resources, and what allows this transition to take place, we cannot fully understand power in a relationship.

We are not suggesting that men do not continue to be generally more powerful than women as power is traditionally measured or that there are no structural constraints that are maintained in most marriages; we are proposing however, that relationships change, that power can fluctuate and that women can hold specific kinds of power that have not been well tapped by standard power measures. Certainly, as exchange principles proffer, all resources are not equally valued, and one's dependence on specific resources varies with the availability of alternative means for acquiring those resources and one's need (Blau 1964; Emerson 1962). In this case, without independent socioeconomic means and supportive ideology, the impact of any resource women control is likely to be limited at least in terms of relationship power. Conversely, with such means and ideology, resources controlled by women may be sufficient to instigate a new power structure. This research shows that one source of women's power, once economic security is established and hierarchical gender relations are removed, may be the continuing companionship that children provide. We propose that it is not that women's attachment to child care is inherent and inevitable, rather, child care is attractive work, which yields an array of valuable benefits, that are just beginning to be appreciated with women's greater status. That, as women come into power, child care gains social respect and translates into even more power for women, is no small matter.

**Prospects For Future Research**

These data were not collected to examine the division of child care labor or to test our specific hypothesis. As a consequence, these results are exploratory and presented with the expectation that they will generate future research. While the findings for these couples are clear, qualitative work is needed to flush out the dynamics of this effect. Moreover, we have examined only lesbian couples in a unique set of social circumstances; that is, where one and only one partner brings children into the relationship and is the primary caretaker of them. While this allows us to isolate the consequences of having and caring for children, other lesbian couples share caretaking to a greater extent, both partners bring children into the relationship, or children are acquired during the course of the relationship (Flaks, Ficher, Masterpasqua, Joseph 1995; Patterson 1995). Examining gay men in circumstances similar to this sample would also be valuable, especially in ascertaining gender related effects. Of course, it may not be necessary to create a gender undifferentiated world, or a world where children are more likely to be equally treasured by both partners, for caretaking to enhance power in the relationship. Women in heterosexual relationships may reap power benefits from primary child care when other structural resources, such as

socioeconomic independence, are secured. Finally, men in heterosexual relationships who are primary caretakers of children may reap gains in relationship power as a result of their caretaking activities. It has already been demonstrated that men who "mother" acquire skills and pleasures from the activities associated with child care similar to those reported by female caretakers (Risman 1987). An examination of these structural arrangements, not possible with this dataset, would contribute to our understanding of the role of children and child care in evolving relationships.

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Philip Blumstein died after this research project was started.

# MODELING COGNITIVE REPERCUSSIONS OF EDUCATION AMONG FILIPINO WOMEN*

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**ABSTRACT**

Through structural equation modeling, this study demonstrated that high educational attainment resulted in perceptions of self-efficacy, high self-esteem, high success expectations, strong motivation for self-improvement, and favorable attitudes toward achievement among 620 Filipino women. Findings underscore the importance of continued support for educational programs in developing countries.

## STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM AND LITERATURE REVIEW

What are the cognitive consequences of educational attainment among Filipino women? In addressing this question, I formulated a causal model containing structural and cognitive components. The structural component of the model was based on the sociological literature on the relationship between education and self-efficacy. Low educational levels have been associated with personal powerlessness or the perception that outcomes are determined by external and uncontrollable forces (Coady 1950; Ferguson, Johnson 1990; Jessor, Graves, Hanson, Jessor 1968; Livingstone 1945; Vann 1948). Conversely, high educational attainment correlated with perceptions of self-efficacy or personal control (Coady 1950). Self-efficacy is the belief that outcomes are contingent upon one's actions (Mirowsky, Ross 1983).

The model's cognitive component tapped attribution theory's emphasis on people's attributions or causal explanations of events. This theory clarifies the relationship between phenomena (effects) and the reasons (responsible agents) behind events (Weiner 1972). Attribution theory further contends that people develop consistencies or attributional styles in explaining to themselves why events happen (Gardner, Holzman, Klein, Linton, Spence 1959). Personal powerlessness constitutes an example of an attributional style (Abramson, Seligman, Teasdale 1978) characterized by an external locus of control (Rotter 1966) and the perception of uncontrollability.

People's attributional styles can have significant cognitive consequences (Taylor 1989). An internal locus of control has been linked with high achievement, controlling for IQ and cognitive impulsivity (Lefcourt 1976), high self-esteem (Beckmam 1970; Lanzetta, Hannah 1969; Weiner, Kukla 1970), high expectations (Phares 1957; Rotter 1966), greater persistence and a strong drive for self-improvement (Feather 1966; Marone 1992; Seeman 1983; Seeman 1972; Taylor 1989).

The foregoing findings can be viewed within an integrated and causal perspective through the attributional model of achievement motivation and general attributional model of action postulated by Atkinson (1964) and Weiner (1972), respectively. Atkinson argued that people with high achievement needs attribute success to ability and effort. This particular kind of attribution yields a more positive affect for success. In turn, positive affect increases success expectancies and the probability of achievement behavior. Weiner (1972), for his part, proposed that attributions determine achievement-related affects (pride or shame) and expectancies of success. The level of expectations, in turn, determines the subsequent response.

Guided by the sociological and psychological literature, I constructed a causal model positing that educational attainment generates sequelae of cognitions, namely, self-efficacy, favorable attitudes toward achievement, high self-esteem, high success expectancies, and a strong motivation for self-improvement.

## CULTURAL CONTEXT

A fragmented gender construction characterizes the Philippine cultural landscape (Blanc-Szanton 1989). On one hand, tradition places Filipino women on a pedestal (Fox 1965). On the other hand, patriarchy perpetuates stereotypes of women as "homemakers" and "emotional." Sustained by Spanish and American colonialism (Sobritchea 1990), this clash of ideologies has impacted Filipino women's societal status.

While 54 percent of all Filipino college students and 65 percent of postgraduates are women, this high level of educational attainment has not translated into high labor force participation and economic advantages (Licuanan 1991). While 87 percent of Filipino

men are economically active, only slightly more than half of the Filipinas aged 15 or older are so (Licuanan 1991). In 1986, Filipinas earned 37 centavos for every peso their male counterparts earned.

Even when employed, Filipinas constitute a mere 25 percent of managerial positions. The clerical, sales, and domestic service sectors register a disproportionate percentage of Filipinas (Licuanan 1991). Although prominent in appointive offices in the diplomatic corps, career services, and the judiciary, Filipinas have yet to establish significant visibility in elective offices (Rodriguez 1990). Poverty-stricken, many Filipinas migrate to urban centers or foreign countries in search of a better life. Unfortunately, many become victims of exploitation and abuse by their partners or employers (Aguilar 1987).

Bicolanas, residents of the Bicol Peninsula and respondents of this study, share the paradoxical status of their Filipina sisters. Bicolanas have become successful engineers, bank managers, military officers, technicians, high-level politicians, university presidents, bar topnotchers, lawyers, accountants, entrepreneurs, surgeons, dentists, and professors.

Filipinos respect the Bicolanas' strength of character, leadership skills, sense of responsibility, and entrepreneurial talent (Mercado 1966; Polotan 1967). However, 70 percent of Bicolanas fall below the poverty line (Bicol University Development Foundation, Inc. 1992). They also show a deep streak of conservatism (Mercado 1966). Ethnographic vignettes characterize Bicolanas as tradition-bound women who perform role of dutiful wives, solicitous partners, and devoted housewives (Polotan 1967).

## METHODOLOGY

### The Setting

The Bicol Region is in the southeastern part of Luzon Island. It has a poverty incidence of 72.3 percent compared with the national poverty rate of 55 percent. It also holds the record for the highest population growth (2.8%), malnutrition rate (44%), and emigration rate (2.8%) among the 12 regions in the Philippines (National Economic and Development Authority 1990). Located along the Philippine typhoon belt, the region experiences an average of four typhoons annually.

### Measurement

The following instruments measured the cognitive variables in the model: Culture-Sensitive Personal Powerlessness Scale (CSPPS; Cronbach's alpha=0.82), the Valuation of Achievement Scale (VAS; Cronbach's alpha= 0.87), the Success Expectancies Index (SCXI; Cronbach's alpha=0.67), the Self-Esteem Scale (SES; Cronbach's alpha=0.81), and the Propensity for Self-Improvement Scale (PSIS; Cronbach's alpha=0.88). The CSPPS, VAS, and SES were based on Rotter's (1966) Internal-External Locus of Control Scale, DeCharms' (1955) v-Achievement construct, and Rosenberg's (1965) Self-Esteem Scale, respectively.

The SCXI and PSIS were original scales designed specifically for this investigation. Preliminary indications of the convergent validity of the SCXI and the PSIS can be noted in their significant correlations with the CSPPS ($r=0.30; p<.05$ and $r=0.47; p<.01$, respectively).

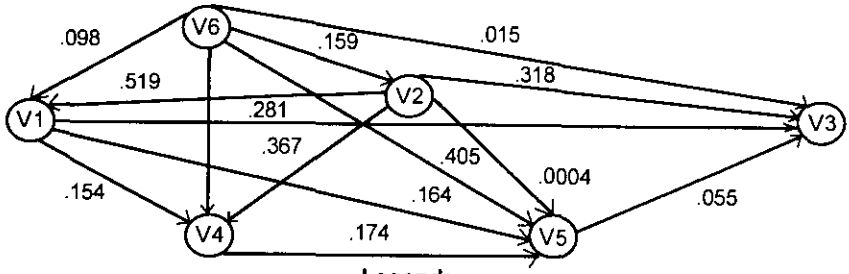
An ordinal scale consisting of different educational levels measured the respondents' educational attainment. A questionnaire in both English and Bicol (native language of the women) contained the scales and indices along with questions on demographic characteristics. Research assistants either self-administered the questionnaires or conducted face-to-face interviews, depending upon the respondent's degree of literacy.

### Sampling

Aiming to capture the widest range of socioeconomic conditions possible, I chose the province of Albay among the six constituent provinces of the Bicol Region. This province shows marked differences in poverty incidence (BUDFI 1992). Among 17 towns in Albay, I chose the municipalities of Polangui, Guinobatan, and Camalig. Polangui represented low poverty incidence while Guinobatan and Camalig represented a high degree of poverty (BUDFI 1992).

A multistage sampling strategy generated the sample of 620 women. Initially, barangays (villages) in each of the three municipalities were categorized into low- and high-poverty groups. I randomly selected two villages from each category, making for 12 clusters. Using the most recent roster of qualified voters in each village, I prepared an alphabetical list of 2,322 female residents aged 18 years or older. Applying the interval sampling technique, I selected 51 to 52 names from each cluster, yielding 620 respondents as the sample for the research. Field interviewers conducted house

**Figure 1 - The Hypothesized Model (Chi-Square=0.256, df=1, p=0.613**




**Legend:**

V1 = Personal Powerlessness
V2 = Valuation of Achievement
V3 = Propensity for Self-Improvement
V4 = Self-Esteem
V5 = Success Expectancies
V6 = Educational Attainment

visits to personally obtain the consent of the women to participate in the study.

The respondents' ages ranged from 18 to 72 with an average of 36. Seventy percent were married. Seventy-five percent fell below the poverty line set by the National Economic and Development Authority, the Philippines' economic policy-making agency. A high school education was the modal educational attainment. Ninety-seven percent went through elementary school while 40 percent had some college education.

## FINDINGS

### Cognitive Profile of Respondents

On the average, the respondents showed self-efficacy rather than personal powerlessness (an average category score of 4.37 out of 5.00 as the most self-efficacious). Respondents indicated strong agreement to these representative statements: "People succeed because of hard work, not because of luck" and "I have the power to change my life for the better." Furthermore, the women demonstrated a strong desire for self-improvement (average score of 4.25 out of 5.00) by expressing agreement to the following typical scale statements: "I owe it to myself to improve my present situation" and "I am willing to devote effort in improving my current conditions." Respondents demonstrated favorable attitudes toward achievement (average score of 4.32) as indicated by strong agreement to the following representative scale items: "I would rather work than remain idle" and "Accomplishments increase my self-respect." An average score of 3.87 indicated a relatively high self-esteem as measured by these two sample scale items: "I believe I can contribute something valuable to society" and "I feel that I have more strengths than weaknesses." Success expectancies, however, were relatively low (2.02). The majority felt that their situation three years from now would be the same or even worse than the present. The women also expressed pessimism about the outcomes of poverty alleviation programs.

### Support for Hypothesized Model

The proposed causal relationships between education and cognitions found support in several statistical indicators. The EQS estimation of the model (Figure 1) yielded an excellent fit indicated by the chi-square probability value of 0.61 (df=1), and a fit index of 1.00.

To better appreciate fitness indicators, a brief introduction to causal models is appropriate. Structural equation models attempt to capture in equation structure some causal process that explains the data, especially the interrelations among variables (Bentler 1992). The adequacy with which a model truly mirrors a causal sequence cannot be done on the basis of empirical results. Instead, a model must be guided by a prior theoretical framework that contains the essential variables of a particular structural system. The model builder must ensure that no key variables are omitted. Attention must also be given to the correct specification of conditions and times of measurement (Gollob, Reichardt 1987). Statistical indicators, such as probability values for chi-square statistics and fit indices, measure how closely a proposed model reproduces the observed covariances of variables. A good model results in probability value that exceeds the

**Table 1: Decomposition of Effects**

| | Dependent Variable: Motivation for Self-Improvement Effects | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Predictors** | **Direct** | **Indirect** | **Total** |
| Achievement valuation | .319 | .165 | .484 |
| Self-Efficacy | .282 | .015 | .297 |
| Educational attainment | .015 | .127 | .142 |
| Success expectancies | .062 | .000 | .062 |

standard 0.05 cutoff probability used for model rejection. For instance, a probability less than 0.001 indicates that if the model were correct in the population, then sample data obtained in a study would be extremely unlikely to be observed (Bentler 1992). Fit indices close to 1.00 also indicate a good fit.

It must be pointed out that the negative impact of the respondents' low success expectancies on the motivation for self-improvement was outweighed by the greater magnitude of effects produced by self-efficacy, achievement valuation, and educational attainment (Table 1) as revealed by decomposition of effects analysis.

In decomposition analysis, a variable can have both direct and indirect effects. For instance, in Figure 1, V2 has direct and indirect effects on V3. The magnitude of the direct effect is simply 0.318. Total indirect effects summarize how one variable influences another regardless of the particular paths chosen to trace from one variable to another (Bentler 1992). The indirect effect is given by the product of the standardized coefficients represented by the arrows. Thus, the total indirect effects of V2 on V3 is computed through the following paths: V2 via V5 (.0004 x .055= .000022); V2 via V1, V4, and V5 (.519 x .154 x .174 x .055=.00076); and V2 via V4 and V5 (.367 x .174 x .055=.0035). The total indirect effect is .004282 (that is, the sum of .000022, .00076, and .0035.

## DISCUSSION

This study demonstrated the positive effects resulting from Filipino women's high regard for education. Like most Filipinos, Bicolanas view education as the "royal road" to upward social mobility. Poor parents, in particular, consider education as the only legacy they can leave their children. Hence, poor parents forego luxuries and engage in backbreaking labor in order to invest in their children's education. Such efforts, this investigation revealed, have not been in vain. Forty percent of the respondents went to college. An impressive 97 percent had at least an elementary education. Further, 94 percent possessed knowledge of different crafts and marketable skills.

The Bicolanas' noteworthy educational achievements have resulted in strong perceptions of self-efficacy or personal control. This finding is significant because it contradicts the well-established link between poverty and powerlessness (Lefcourt 1976; Lewis 1959). Apparently, the relatively high educational attainment of the respondents served to negate the powerlessness experienced by people who live in adverse daily circumstances. The respondents have lent further credence to the adage that knowledge is power. As educators have always believed, learning makes people "masters of their own destiny" (Coady 1950). Indeed, even if people choose to control their environment or even if others grant them control, individuals cannot experience mastery if they lack the skills and knowledge required in a given situation. As Ferguson and Johnson (1990) noted, choice without knowledge, information, or consciousness is not really choice.

Aside from enhancing self-efficacy, education has developed favorable attitudes toward achievement among the respondents. This finding supports the argument that education provides drive, direction, and purpose (Livingstone 1945). Education, indeed, produces "makers" who think of life "as something to be created by their efforts" (Vann 1948).

Equipped with a perception of personal control and positive definitions of achievement, the Filipino women in this study showed high self-esteem. This result corroborates studies demonstrating the maximization of affective reactions among achievement-oriented people (Fish, Karabenick 1971) and those who believe that outcomes are attributed to controllable factors (Beckman 1970; Kaufman 1989). On the other hand, powerless individuals are burdened by a belief that they are helpless victims of fate. Therefore, they feel useless and develop a shaky confidence in their abilities (Ferguson , Johnson 1990).

Consistent with the hypothesized sequelae, findings further demonstrated that high self-esteem leads to high success expectancies. Success expectancies rise when outcomes

are seen as responsive to manipulation. Conversely, if a successful outcome is attributed to an uncontrollable external element such as luck, success expectancies fall because of expected randomness and uncertainty (Phares 1957; Rotter 1966).

Success expectancies, in turn, determine the motivation for self-improvement. Persons with high success expectations undertake self-improvement efforts vigorously (Taylor 1989). Optimism, when combined with personal control, enables people to attempt tasks they might otherwise avoid and motivates them to persist at these tasks (Seligman 1991). This combination of constructive cognitions also heightens the resolve to improve one's life by acting on the environment (Seeman 1972). On the other hand, the pessimistic and the powerless face obstacles and challenges with negative self-talk, decreased effort, and haphazard planning (Marone 1992).

The positive portrait of the Bicolanas' perceptions constructed thus far should be tempered by the observation that the Bicolanas reported low success expectancies. This finding contradicts what might have been predicted by the proposed model. As hypothesized, the respondents' self-efficacy, high educational attainment, high achievement valuation, and high self-esteem should have raised the women's average success expectancies level. However, it must be recalled that the women were overwhelmingly of a low socioeconomic status. This relationship corroborates observations of pervasive cynicism and hopelessness common among the poor (Lewis 1959; Gonzalez 1977). Moreover, the respondents' pessimism could be symptomatic of a highly educated group's unfulfilled dreams and potentials. Recall that while the average educational attainment of the women was a high school diploma and that 40 percent of them went to college, only 25 percent made it above the poverty line. This finding brings to mind Licuanan's (1991) observation that the Filipinas' achievements in education have not been effectively translated into economic advantages.

While the women's success expectations were low, their motivation for self-improvement was not adversely affected because of the stronger compensatory influences of high educational attainment, favorable attitudes toward achievement, and self-efficacy (Table 1). The strong desire for self-improvement was explicitly manifested in 90 percent of the women stating that they read frequently and monitored self-help programs over the radio or television. Eighty percent expressed their willingness to participate in skills training programs and seminars designed to enhance their present capabilities. About 60 percent signified their intentions to pursue further formal education. These observations suggest the survival mechanisms of a subordinated group. Confronted by hostile structural and natural forces, Bicolanas have maintained a belief in self-efficacy which is largely reinforced by impressive educational accomplishments.

## IMPLICATIONS

Encouraging educational ambition among young Filipino women must continue to be a key strategy in poverty alleviation. The pursuit of education fends off apathy and powerlessness among the poor who might look at life in this manner:

> To me, one's destiny is controlled by a mysterious hand that moves all things. Only for the select do things turn out as planned; to those of us who are born to be *tamale* eaters, heaven sends only *tamales*. We plan and plan and some little thing happens to wash it all away (Lewis 1959).

The educated individual, in contrast, will respond to the vagaries of existence with positive self-talk, greater optimism, self-confidence, and persistence even in the face of repeated failures (Phares 1957; Rotter 1966). A positive mindset and tenacity are necessary for women situated in cultures where sexism and discrimination continue to deny women their rightful place in society. Filipino women, for instance, will have to contend with the push-and-pull forces in a society which encourages women's accomplishments but imposes limits if such achievements threaten the status quo (Licuanan 1991; Blanc-Szanton 1990).

Moreover, the constructive cognitions that result from education will be critical factors in the success of continuing education programs. Without positive attitudes toward achievement, feelings of personal control, high self-esteem, and high success expectations, women may not be motivated to pursue lifelong educational opportunities. Even granting the possibility that an unmotivated and pessimistic woman will initially participate in a skills training program, she is not likely to persist at

learning new competencies (Seligman 1991). Thus, adult education programs which do not emphasize the cognitive readiness of participants are likely to be exercises in futility. Paradoxically, however, in a society where poverty constantly threatens the dignity and sanity of its constituents, avenues for continuing education remain a viable mechanism for survival.

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