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ADDRESS:

Editor
FREE INQUIRY IN CREATIVE SOCIOLOGY
Oklahoma State University
Department of Sociology
006 CLB
Stillwater, OK 74078-4062

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TRENDS IN GENDER AND RACIAL EQUITY IN RETENTION AND PROMOTION OF MILITARY OFFICERS

Juanita M. Firestone, The University of Texas at San Antonio, and
James B. Stewart, The Penn State University

ABSTRACT

This paper builds on our earlier research to investigate the extent to which there is a pattern of increasing or decreasing gender and racial equity in retention and promotion rates over time. Regression analysis techniques are utilized to estimate the normalized year-to-year retention and promotion rates for individual cohorts. Results indicate no significant racial impacts on retention. The differential between the retention rates of men and women is small but statistically significant, with men having higher retention rates than women. Analysis of promotion rates shows that Blacks are promoted at slightly lower rates than Whites. After the fourth year, men have consistently higher promotion rates than women. We hypothesize that lack of internal organizational supports for family roles may lead to the differential in retention and promotion between men and women.

INTRODUCTION

All branches of the military have implemented specific affirmative action programs to increase minority and female representation among officers, in spite of resource constraints experienced in recent years (Department of the Army 1988; Department of the Navy 1988; see Segal 1989 for a history of attempts to eliminate ascriptive criteria as a basis for evaluating personnel). What yet remains unclear is the standard by which social representation should be decided -- the population in general, only comparable age cohorts in the population, the military population, or the military subdivided into officer and enlisted groupings. Conceivably examination of the degree of social representation could be applied at even finer levels of disaggregation, for example, individual occupational classifications or individuals entering a service group in a particular year. With respect to the enlisted force, concern seems to focus on overrepresentation of blacks compared to the general population (Butler 1988). For the officer corps, the standard seems to be the officers currently in the military.

Affirmative action programs implemented by the Army and Navy included procedures for branching of officers to achieve representative minority and female distribution across occupations, and guidance to ensure representative selection for women and minorities for service schools and for postgraduate education. Of course, organizational practices can either overtly or covertly counteract even the best affirmative action programs. In other words, systematic barriers to the entry of minority and women officers into the military may exist in the various accession sources. Additionally, for promotions at the officer level, a photograph is used as part of the assessment. If race/ethnic minorities, or women do not fit the expected image of high ranking officers, this could bias chances of promotion.

For women, family constraints may impinge on women's choices, regardless of concerted attempts to prevent gender from negatively impacting women's military careers. Segal (1988) discusses the "greedy" nature of family/household responsibilities and the equally "greedy" nature of military career demands. When demands of both are incompatible, it may be that socialization of women to meet family demands over career push them out of the military. Since career demands increase as rank increases, this would mean women would be less likely than men to attain higher ranks. Most recently the necessity of downsizing (Kozlowski, Chao, Smith, Hedlund 1993) may have placed what may be competing demands with equal opportunity and affirmative action initiatives on the military organization. These competing requirements may show up in women's lower retention rates.

This study updates our earlier research (Stewart, Firestone 1992) which examined the extent to which differences exist across race/ethnicity, sex and service group in rates of retention and promotion of military officers. The addition of two years of new data to the original data analyzed expands the cross-sectional data base to three points in time, allowing for more reliable predictors. Each additional year permits more robust analyses, particularly with respect to the examination of the aggregate impact of retirement decisions on the demographic profile of the officer corps. Our original research reported that in the early years, retention rate for women officers approximated that for men; however, after the initial service

Table 1: Adjusted Retention Rates by Cohort and Gender All Branches Combined

Accession Date	9/1989		9/1992		9/1993	
Cohort	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1979	0.533	0.338	0.357	0.245		
1980	0.513	0.469	0.384	0.34		
1981	0.55	0.487	0.393	0.348		
1982	0.605	0.517	0.425	0.383		
1983	0.618	0.603	0.45	0.417	0.375	0.336
1984	0.727	0.673	0.478	0.467	0.399	0.426
1985	0.853	0.771	0.548	0.487	0.451	0.431
1986	0.93	0.933	0.608	0.496	0.527	0.45
1987	0.956	0.962	0.682	0.591	0.603	0.497
1988	0.983	0.988	0.709	0.651	0.631	0.576
1989			0.826	0.772	0.635	0.643
1990			0.901	0.916	0.817	0.795
1991			0.966	0.95	0.917	0.898
1992					0.963	0.955

obligation was met, the retention rate of women fell significantly below that for men (Stewart, Firestone 1992). Additionally, race-specific effects were relatively limited, service specific, and to some extent cohort specific. Finally, retention rates for the Air Force were consistently higher than in the Army or Navy.

OBJECTIVES

Building on our original research, this study examines the extent to which there is a pattern of increasing or decreasing gender and racial equity in retention and promotion rates as the number of years since accession for each cohort increases.

DATA AND VARIABLE CONSTRUCTION

The data analyzed in this research were taken from a special Department of Defense tabulation of original accessions and retention of commissioned officers by service group, race, and sex for cohorts at three different points in time: September 1989 (original data), September 1992 and September 1993. The numbers of retainees by grade and the overall retention rate were also provided by cohort. The original tabulations were provided by the Defense Manpower Data Center (DMDC).

Warrant officers and officers of unknown rank were subtracted from the number of original accessions and retainees. This algorithm permitted parallel treatment of each service group given the absence of the rank of warrant officer in the Air Force. The procedure introduced some imprecision because the numbers of original warrant officer accessions were not available. Subtraction of retained warrant officers (and officers of unknown rank) from the original accessions implied de facto a retention rate of 100 percent for these categories of all cohorts. The degree of imprecision introduced is limited by the relatively small number of warrant officers. The small numbers of Native Americans necessitated their exclusion in the analysis, as were individuals classified as "unknown." These exclusions introduced no bias because accession and retention information are tabulated separately for each race/ethnic group. Significant differences in the typical timing of promotion from rank to rank between the Marines and other service groups also required the exclusion of Marine cohorts from the analysis.

Four independent measures were developed from the modified data for each race/ethnic-sex cohort: 1) the retention rate, 2) the proportion of retainees promoted to grade 03 or higher, and 3) the proportion of retainees promoted to grade 04 or higher, and 4) the proportion of retainees promoted to grade 05 or higher. The computation of each measure was straight forward, defined simply as the number of individuals fitting each classification divided by the number of original accessions (adjusted). The adjusted retention rates by cohort and gender for all branches combined are presented in Table 1. Note that the divergence between retention rates for males and females generally increases for individual cohorts over time.

METHODS

Estimates of the normalized year-to-year retention and promotion rates for individual cohorts are constructed using multiple regression techniques. This approach is used to determine whether observed differences in retention and promotion rates are statistically significant. The model used to generate the estimates is a modification of those employed in Stewart and Firestone (1992) that includes controls for race, branch and cohort. There are three principal differences between the methods used in the present investigation and those employed in the earlier analysis. The first change is the weighting of observations based on the size of the original acceding cohort as opposed to the unweighted scheme used in the original study. This procedure controls for large percentages that result in cases where the cohort size is small. The second modification is that direct comparisons between the retention and promotion rates of men and women are generated directly by estimating the model using data for both men and women. In the earlier study retention and promotion patterns for men and women were analyzed separately.

The third modification reflects the availability of three data sets rather than the single source in the earlier study. The original analysis included dummy variables for each cohort-year. The coefficients of those dummy variables provided not only an estimate of differences in retention and promotion among cohorts, but also the year-to-year distribution of retention rates as time since accession increases. In the present investigation it is not possible to use this technique alone to infer information about year-to-year changes in retention rates because there are multiple observations for all cohorts at different periods of time. As a consequence, it was necessary to create a different type of set of dummy variables that equilibrated years since accession across the three samples. Using the cohort of officers acceding in 1988 as an example, the information reported in 1989 would reflect this cohort's experience one year after accession. This experience should be directly comparable to the experience of the cohort of officers acceding in 1992 reported in 1993 (sample 3). In 1993, the information reported for the cohort acceding in 1988 reflects the experience of this cohort five years after accession. This experience should be comparable to the information provided for the cohort acceding in 1984 as reported in 1989.

Table 2: Mean Difference in Retention Rates Between Men and Women

Years Since Accession	Difference Male Ret. Rate - Female Ret. Rate
1	0.002
2	0.006
3	0.016
4	0.081
5	0.113
6	0.171
7	0.116

RESULTS

Retention Rates

The analysis of the combined samples indicates that Blacks have a slightly higher retention rate overall than other racial groups (+.010). This result reflects higher probabilities of retention of Black women officers identified in separate analysis of samples 1 and 2. No other differences in retention rates among racial groups were uncovered.

Table 2 contains the results of the comparison of retention rates by gender. The differential between the retention rates of men and women increases to slightly over .17, seven years after accession and then declines to approximately .10 after thirteen years. Female Navy officers have a retention rate approximately .10 higher than other women officers. Male Army officers are retained at a rate approximately .07 lower than men in other branches. These gender specific differentials are layered on top of an existing pattern of structural retention differentials across branches. Retention rates for Naval officers are .028 below that of Army officers. Retention rates for Air Force officers are .037 higher than Army officers.

Promotion Rates

No differences in promotion rates to rank 03 were found. Women have slightly higher promotion rates up to four years after accession. After the fourth year, men have higher promotion rates with the differential generally tracking with the differential in retention rates. Female Naval officers have a promotion rate approximately .10 higher than women in other branches. Male Army

officers have lower promotion rates than their counterparts in the Navy and Air Force. The promotion rate for Blacks to rank 04 is slightly lower than for Whites (-.013) while the rate for Asians is slightly higher (.003) than for Whites. The differential between the promotion rates of men and women cluster around .01 irrespective of years since accession.

Similar patterns are observed when promotion to ranks 05 are analyzed. Again Blacks are promoted at slightly lower rates (-.003) and Asians are promoted at slightly higher rates (.006) than Whites.

CONCLUSION

Our analyses suggest that the militaries EO and AA initiatives are operating with respect to race/ethnic minorities with the exception of promotions to major. In the latter category Blacks are significantly less likely to be promoted than other groups. Interestingly, when the three data points are analyzed separately, Black women in the first two cohorts (1989 and 1992) have higher retention rates than other groups. With respect to women, our findings indicate that perhaps downsizing may have dampened the effectiveness of EO/AA efforts. Peck (1994) found that military education and WWII commission cohort significantly enhanced the possibility of promotion, especially to field grade ranks (05) in the Army. Women are far less likely to attend military academies, and of course are not able to be part of the WWII commission cohort. With two such important strikes against them, other organizational factors may "push" them out of the military. For example, lack of adequate support for family responsibilities has been a major complaint of women (Segal 1988) in the military. Family responsibilities are probably most strongly felt by women as they move from the rank of captain to major. The lack of institutional support for roles as wives and mothers, along with recognition that they do not have either the WWII or the "academy" advantage (Janowitz 1960; Segal 1967) may offset the attempts of EO/AA efforts to retain and promote women officers.

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GENDER DIFFERENCES IN REASONS FOR DRINKING AND NOT DRINKING: ASSOCIATION WITH DRINKING LEVELS AND ALCOHOL-RELATED CONSEQUENCES

Celia C. Lo, University of Akron, and
Denise L. Bissler, North Carolina State University

ABSTRACT

Fifty-nine male and 65 female high school students were interviewed in the winter of 1995. These students verbally expressed their reasons for drinking or not drinking and shared their experiences with alcohol-related outcomes. The reasons given for drinking were then evaluated to see whether they were associated with a) usual blood-alcohol concentration achieved per typical sitting, and b) alcohol-related consequences typically experienced by the two gender groups. Results indicate that both gender groups very often named as reasons for their drinking such things as fitting in with peers and having fun. Drinking for fun was associated with high blood-alcohol concentrations among both gender groups; drinking to experiment was related to low blood-alcohol concentration among female respondents. Male heavy drinkers said they drank to alleviate boredom. When usual blood-alcohol concentration was controlled, some reasons cited by the respondents predicted particular kinds of alcohol-related problems.

INTRODUCTION

Even though underage drinking is not permitted in this country, many adolescents drink alcoholic beverages. National surveys of drinking among high school students show that four out of five 10th- to 12th-graders (both genders) can be considered drinkers. For the same population, males are more likely than females to consume alcohol in higher quantities. Among 12th-graders, 34.6 percent of males and 20.7 percent of females reported having five or more drinks in a row at least once in the preceding two weeks (Johnston, O'Malley, Bachman 1995). Many researchers have examined different social, psychological, and biological factors to explain this alcohol-using phenomenon among our young people (Thompson, Wilsnack 1984). However, only a limited number of studies (Barnes 1981; Reeves, Draper 1984) have tried to pinpoint adolescents' own subjective reasons for drinking or not drinking. Among these studies, very few started out with open-ended questions asking respondents to express in their own words what prompts them to drink, to abstain from drinking, or to stop drinking (Mulford, Miller 1960; Riley, Marden, Lifshitz 1948).

The present study intended to fill this gap 1) by asking a group of high school students to give oral accounts of their reasons for drinking, if they had consumed alcohol; reasons for not drinking, if they had never consumed alcohol; and reasons for stopping drinking, if they had stopped in the year prior to the study. In addition to exploring adolescents' own reasons given to explain drinking behavior, the goals of this study included 2) to examine whether certain kinds of reasons given for drinking were associated with high blood-alcohol concentration attained in a typical sitting, and 3) to examine whether certain reasons were more likely than others to be associated with certain kinds of alcohol-related consequences. Finally, the present study was intended 4) to discover whether gender differences exist in the aforementioned three areas.

Males and females behave differently because they are socialized to hold certain attitudes and to engage in certain behaviors reflective of their gender roles. Some researchers have long suspected and some studies have suggested that gender differences in deviant behavior in general, and in drinking behavior specifically, can be explained by gender-role orientations (Horwitz, White 1987; Huselid, Cooper 1992). Traditionally, females are assumed to be passionate, dependent, and emotional, whereas males are considered to be more aggressive, independent, and rational. These stereotypical personality traits prompt the different genders to be more responsible for certain kinds of work (household chores versus working in the economic market) and to engage in different kinds of behavior (nurturing versus instrumental). Many "masculine" attributes are considered to be associated with high drinking levels and problems such as risk-taking behavior and physical violence resulting from drinking (Horwitz, White 1987; Huselid, Cooper 1992; Robbins 1989; Robbins, Martin 1993). Although gender norms have become less stringent over the past few decades, females deviating widely from alcohol-related norms frequently experience social sanctioning. Because of norm-based suppression of females'

drinking, males have long been seen as more problematic drinkers, attracting more attention from researchers of alcohol use.

Of course, no problematic behavior exists in a vacuum. Structural and cultural factors strongly affect whether a behavior is considered problematic or not (Becker 1963). Studies have shown that, when teenagers are drinking, males are more likely than females to act out or to cause strain in their relationships, eliciting negative responses from others, while females tend to experience guilt and shame which, unvoiced, attract less attention from others (Lo, Globetti 1998; Robbins 1989; Robbins, Martin 1993). Differential behavioral expression thus makes males the core of concern. Since the first alcohol-use studies were conducted, researchers (who have for the most part been males) have focused largely on male-oriented behavior, neglecting female experiences (Gomberg 1986). Females' drinking has also been neglected through the employment of measurement instruments established by male researchers using mainly male samples to measure male-oriented behaviors without questioning the adequacy of these instruments for measuring females' behavior (Sandmaier 1980).

In order to correct the bias that flaws the established instruments for measuring the critical variables, the present study employed a semistructured interview method to obtain from respondents their perceived reasons for drinking and the alcohol-related consequences they had faced. Only open-ended questions were asked. Answer options were not provided to the respondents because 1) we intended to secure reasons and alcohol-related consequences as they came naturally to respondents' minds; and 2) we wanted both males and females to describe their reasons and alcohol-related consequences in their own, potentially differential (and illuminating) words.

Two additional significant contributions of this study should also be mentioned. First, a modified instrument was employed to estimate respondents' blood-alcohol concentration at typical sittings. This measure takes into account each respondent's, as well as each gender's, differences in physiological and biological dimensions, such as total body water, body weight, and duration of drinking episodes, in addition to quantity of alcohol consumed. We believe this measure is more appropriate for use in a context of searching for gender differences. Second, the present study is one of the very few studies (Klein 1992) to explore whether certain perceived reasons for drinking help predict the consequences of alcohol use among a group of adolescents. The results could indicate ways to control undesirable alcohol-related consequences. Before discussing the methods of the present study, we review results of relevant studies conducted in the field of alcohol use.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Cultural and normative factors help govern whether certain reasons are offered to explain a particular behavior in a particular situation (Mills 1940). Obviously, individuals will offer alcohol's effects on emotions and behavior as reasons for drinking, but reasons should also reflect situational factors, personal values, and norms leading to alcohol use. The perception that alcohol is harmful to health and the expectation of significant others' disapproval have been found to be reasons for an individual's not using alcohol (Reeves, Draper 1984). Asking a group of nondrinkers why they did not drink, Klein (1990) found that the reason most commonly endorsed by his college-student sample was "staying in control," though many respondents also cited not liking the way alcohol makes them feel and disliking the taste of alcohol.

In a nationwide study, Riley and his colleagues (Riley et al 1948) classified verbalized responses regarding reasons for drinking into two basic categories: social and individual reasons. If respondents named certain social situations as their motivation to drink, such as keeping one's spouse company or the need to exhibit sociability, these were considered social reasons. Individual reasons included respondents' anticipation of pleasurable consequences resulting from drinking--for example, "drinking makes me feel good" or "I like it." The results of the study showed that naming individual reasons for drinking was associated with a higher frequency of alcohol consumption. Similar studies conducted decades later show a similar result: heavier drinkers tend to drink for individual consequences, whereas lighter drinkers drink for social purposes (Burns, Carman 1976; Farber, Khavari, Douglass 1980; Mulford, Miller 1960; Schilling, Carman 1978).

A few studies show that individuals are more likely to exhibit a higher drinking level if they perceive more reasons for drinking (Glynn, LoCastro, Hermos, Bosse 1983; Johnson, Schwitters, Wilson, Nagoshi, McClearn 1985; Klein 1992; Ratliff, Burkhart 1984). In addition, the study conducted by Johnson and colleagues (1985) shows that endorsement of pathological reasons (being shy, worried) for drinking is predictive of problematic drinking. On the other hand, endorsement of social reasons is negatively related to problematic alcohol use (Bailly, Carman, Forslund 1991). In the study conducted by Glynn et al (1983), desires to reduce negative affect such as being lonely and bored, and wishes to enhance social life such as enjoying parties, are associated with problem drinking. Heavy drinking is found to be related to reasons for drinking such as engaging the opposite sex and enhancing pleasure (Cutter, O'Farrell 1984; Pang, Wells-Parker, McMillen 1989).

While particular reasons cited have been shown to relate to alcohol-using behavior, the relationships must not be assumed to be identical for the two gender groups. A limited number of studies do show that gender interacts with reasons for drinking (Johnson 1994). Some very recent studies have found that males consistently report more reasons than females (Temple 1986; Bailly et al 1991; Klein 1992). In Newcomb, Fahy, and Skager's (1990) study of adolescents, even though females are in general more likely to endorse five reasons to avoid drugs (addiction, punishment, lose friends, disappoint parents, and disappoint self), stronger relationships between these reasons and alcohol use are found among males. Females are found to be more likely than males to name social reasons for their drinking (Riley et al 1948) and less likely to report escapist reasons for drinking (Ratliff, Burkhart 1984). While drinking for a social reason is associated with light drinking, the relationship is stronger among females than males. A recent study conducted by Bailly et al (1991), however, shows that men chose more social reasons, and that both genders tended to choose individual reasons for drinking.

Sociologists have long been interested in studying motives and how they are related to consequences of behavior (Scully, Marolla 1984). Different reasons are typical and acceptable for different situations and for different behaviors. Motives that individuals are socialized to accept can function to excuse or justify individuals' past or future behavior (Mills 1940; Scott, Lyman 1968). These motives or reasons, therefore, can also be used to predict future conduct.

In the field of alcohol use, the reasons for drinking stated by respondents should not only reflect experiences they have had in the past, but they should also indicate what is anticipated in the future. Certain oral accounts of reasons can be expected to be related to corresponding accounts about consequences resulting from drinking. For example, if the motive for drinking is to get to know people, this reason should be related to an experience of getting to know people as the result of drinking. In light of differential socialization of the different gender groups in this society, attention should be paid to differential reasons endorsed by males and females. In addition, how strongly different reasons affect alcohol-related consequences in different gender groups should also be addressed.

METHODS

Sample

This paper reports the results of a study designed to explore how perspectives on alcohol use might vary between male and female high-school students. The study focused on first-person accounts of drinking given to the researchers by the youths in face-to-face interviews. One hundred twenty-two 10th- to 12th-grade students (plus two ninth-grade students who were interested in the study) from a public high school with an enrollment of 1,100 constituted the sample. The school is situated in a rural county in Michigan, with median household income around $35,000. The school is the only public high school in the city. Most respondents classified themselves as white, with nine reporting they were Native American, Hispanic, or mixed Caucasian/Native American.

The interviews were begun in November and finished in December 1995. Same-sex interviews were conducted by five trained graduate students, based on the observation that students are more relaxed and truthful with people of their own gender and approximate age. Students from the high school were notified about the study by the school counselor through the public address system. The school principal also allowed the first author to discuss the study in a few

Table 1: Reasons for Drinking by Drinking Status

Reasons for Drinking	Nondrinkers		Light Drinkers		Moderate Drinkers		Heavy Drinkers				Chi-
	No Alcohol Past Year		BAC <= .04%		.04% < BAC < .08%		BAC >= .08%		Total		Square
Females	N=11	%	N=19	%	N=5	%	N=17	%	N=52	%	Value
Fitting in with peers	4	19	8	38.1	1	4.8	8	38.1	21	40.4	1.27
Getting high	0	0	2	28.6	0	0	5	71.4	7	13.5	6.34
Boredom relief	2	15.4	4	30.8	1	7.7	6	46.2	13	25	1.46
It is fun	4	16	4	16	5	20	12	48	25	48.1	15.01**
Psychological effects	0	0	7	70	1	10	2	20	10	19.2	7.03
Removal of inhibition	1	12.5	2	25	1	12.5	4	50	8	15.4	1.63
Escapism	2	16.7	5	41.7	1	8.3	4	33.3	12	23.1	0.29
Rebellion	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	----
Experimentation	8	53.3	4	26.7	2	13.3	1	6.7	15	28.8	15.55***
Other	0	0	2	50	0	0	2	50	4	7.7	1.94
Males	N=8	%	N=8	%	N=9	%	N=24	%	N=49	%	
Fitting in with peers	3	13.6	1	4.5	5	22.7	13	59.1	22	44.9	4.82
Getting high	1	9.1	1	9.1	2	18.2	7	63.6	11	22.4	1.53
Boredom relief	0	0	2	13.3	0	0	13	86.7	15	30.6	13.89**
It is fun	0	0	1	4.5	5	22.7	16	72.7	22	44.9	14.92**
Psychological effects	1	11.1	2	22.2	1	11.1	5	55.6	9	18.4	0.83
Removal of inhibition	1	6.3	4	25	4	25	7	43.8	16	32.7	3.27
Escapism	0	0	2	18.2	4	36.4	5	45.5	11	22.4	4.88
Rebellion	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	100	1	2	1.06
Experimentation	1	25	1	25	1	25	1	25	4	8.2	1.02
Other	1	50	0	0	0	0	1	50	2	4.1	2.17

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

social study classes. Students who volunteered to participate in the interviews made appointments with the first author and received a parental consent form. Those who received their parent's permission to participate also signed a consent form. The interview was tape-recorded and required about 20 minutes to complete. The respondent's name was not mentioned during the interview to maintain confidentiality.

Measures

Five major measures (reasons for drinking, reasons for not drinking, reasons for stopping drinking, positive consequences of alcohol use, and negative consequences of alcohol use) were constructed on the basis of inductive categorization of students' responses. All respondents who had had a drink at some time in the past were classified as lifetime drinkers. These lifetime drinkers were asked "What are the reasons that you drink alcohol?" in order to measure reasons for drinking. The lifetime drinkers were later asked to describe their alcohol-related consequences, prompted by the following question: "What were the experiences you encountered as a result of drinking?" When asking this question, interviewers were instructed to make sure interviewees covered both positive and negative experiences.

Lifetime drinkers who reported no alcohol consumption in the twelve months prior to the interview were asked the question, "Why did you stop drinking?" in order to measure reasons for stopping drinking. Respondents who reported never consuming alcohol at all were asked the question "What are the reasons you don't drink alcohol?" to measure their reasons for not drinking. No fixed list of responses was provided to the respondents. Instead, interviewers were instructed to retrieve a complete answer directly from the respondents.

Usual blood-alcohol concentration (defined as the typical blood-alcohol concentration achieved by the respondent during an "average" drinking session) was used to measure adolescent drinking levels in this study. The calculation of blood-alcohol concentration is based on the formula BAC= (AA * .08065)/TBW, where AA is grams of absolute alcohol consumed; .08065 is the water content of whole blood multiplied by .1; and TBW is total body water in liters (Alcohol Research Documentation 1983). Since respondents were not asked what type of alcoholic beverages they usually drank, AA was calculated using the reported number of drinks at a typical drinking sitting multiplied by 13.299, which is the number of grams of absolute alcohol in a can of beer. Individuals' total body water, which takes into account age, height, and body-weight, was based on the different formulas for males and females documented in Watson, Watson, and Batt (1980). Duration of drinking episodes reported by the respondents was used to calculate elimination of alcohol from the body. According to Sutker, Tabakoff, Goist, and Randall (1983) for every hour passed, .015 percent and .018 percent are the rates of men's and women's alcohol metabolism, respectively. Overall, females attained lower blood-alcohol concentrations than males during typical drinking episodes in the year prior to the study (.115% for males and .077% for females).

RESULTS

Of the 124 respondents, 48 percent or 59 respondents were male. Forty-nine of those (83%), and 52 (80%) of the 65 female respondents, had consumed alcohol in the past. Among the 59 males interviewed, 69 percent reported drinking in the year prior to the interview. Females in the group were less likely to have taken a drink than males, with 63 percent reporting at least one drinking episode in the year prior to the interview.

Reasons for Drinking

Ten categories were generated from the oral accounts respondents gave of their drinking. These categories are: fitting in with peers (everyone else does it, to be with friends), getting high (seeking "a buzz"), boredom (something to do), fun (having a good time), psychological effects (want to have different feelings), removal of inhibition (outgoing; joking around with people), escapism (forget about problems), rebellion (people tell me I can't do it), experimentation (curiosity; want to try it), and other (a miscellaneous category). As shown in Table 1, both males and females named certain reasons more often than others. For example, about half of both males and females considered "fitting in with peers" and "it is fun" to be reasons for their drinking. In addition, almost equal percentages of males and females indicated reasons such as drinking in order to get high, relief of boredom, desired

psychological effects, and escape. Very few respondents, male or female, considered rebellion to be a reason for drinking. In our high school sample, females were more likely than males to cite experimentation as a reason for drinking (chi-square=7.06, $p < .01$). Males, however, more often than females named removal of inhibitions as a reason for drinking (chi-square=4.15, $p < .05$).

Reasons for Stopping Drinking

Respondents who did drink in the past but had stopped drinking at least a year prior to the interview were asked to explain their behavior. Among the eight such males in the sample, five said they had developed negative feelings about alcohol (didn't like it anymore). Two out of the eight mentioned concerns about negative physical consequences (it made me dizzy) and about the irresponsibility of drinking (not a good way to spend my time).

Of the eleven females who had stopped drinking, seven mentioned negative feelings about alcohol (didn't like it); three were concerned with negative physical consequences (I passed out the first time I drank); three considered drinking inappropriate--or maybe "dangerous" (too many things can go wrong); one cited her friendships (have to stay sober for my friends); two mentioned school, work, or family commitments (my parents wouldn't trust me if I drink); and one was concerned about her age (shouldn't drink until you are 22 and out of college).

Reasons for Not Drinking

Only six males and 12 females had never taken a drink in their lifetime. Reasons such as disliking the taste, concerns about police, being too young, and believing drinking wrong have been given by respondents in other studies to explain their abstinence (Barnes 1981; Stumphauzer 1983). More females than males in the present study gave the following reasons for not drinking: alcohol is harmful (58% vs 33%, chi-square= 1.00, $p > .05$), potentially negative outcomes of drinking (42% vs 33%, chi-square =.12, $p > .05$), desire not to be a negative model (8% vs 0%, chi-square=.53, $p > .05$), drinking is wrong (58% vs 17%, chi-square= 2.80, $p > .05$), and consideration of parents and friends (25% vs 17%, chi-square= .16, $p > .05$). Males, however, more often than their female counterparts named sports participation (33% vs 0%, chi-square=4.5, $p < .05$), drinking's potential to damage one's future (33% vs 25%, chi-square=.14, $p > .05$), and negative physical effects (17% vs 0%, chi-square=2.12, $p > .05$) as reasons not to drink.

Relationship Between Reasons For Drinking and Blood-Alcohol Concentration

In this study, blood-alcohol concentrations were obtained for respondents who reported having a drink in the year prior to the interview. High-school students who were lifetime drinkers but had stopped drinking at least a year before were classified as non-drinkers (Table 1). Light drinkers usually drank only enough to attain a blood-alcohol concentration of .04 percent or lower. Moderate drinkers reported drinking amounts sufficient to attain more than .04 percent but lower than .08 percent BAC (.08% is the level at which a driver can be charged with DUI in the state of Michigan). Heavy drinkers drank amounts that would classify them as legally drunk (.08% BAC) during each typical drinking sitting.

The values and percentages of Table 1 indicate numbers and proportions of respondents who belonged to a particular drinking status (column labels) and who reported a particular reason for drinking (row labels). A chi-square value was used to indicate whether the relationship between each reason for drinking and the blood-alcohol concentration was or was not significant. Trying to have fun or a good time was associated with heavier drinking for both males and females. Drinking for another personal reason--to relieve boredom--was also positively associated with blood-alcohol concentration among male respondents. For females, drinking simply to satisfy one's curiosity generally prevented the achievement of intoxication. Females who named experimentation as a reason for drinking either had stopped drinking within the year or were drinkers at very low levels.

While it was not a statistically significant relationship, males' motive to fit in with peers seemed to promote heavier drinking. It is obvious that males in this study were more likely than females to submit to peer pressure and drink to attain high blood-alcohol level. Females, too, maintained good relationships with peers by showing willingness to drink.

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Relationship Between Reasons for Drinking and Alcohol-Related Consequences

Five categories were developed to represent positive consequences resulting from drinking: relaxation and physical enhancement, removal of inhibitions, increased confidence/forgetting problems, enlightenment, and other. Negative consequences of drinking were divided into seven categories: physical discomfort, guilt, strain in relationships, irresponsible or inappropriate behavior, escape and dependency, psychological and emotional effects, and getting involved with law enforcement (see Lo and Globetti's 1998 article for details of gender differences in alcohol-related consequences in this sample). In order to explore whether the perception of certain reasons for drinking predicted a particular alcohol-related consequence for different genders, each of the consequences listed above was treated as a dependent variable that was regressed separately on each of the reasons for drinking in a logistic regression context, controlling for blood-alcohol concentration. Because many studies have shown a positive relationship between drinking level and the presence of alcohol-related problems (Gadaleto, Anderson 1986; Haworth-Hoeppner, Globetti, Stem, Marasco 1989; Hughes, Dodder 1983), control of blood-alcohol concentration was necessary to obtain unbiased results. Only respondents who reported drinking in the year prior to the interview and who obtained a score for blood-alcohol concentration were included in the analysis.

Among the 41 male drinkers in the final sample, the reason "relieve boredom" predicted the non-occurrence of the problem "strain in relationships" ($b=-2.38$, $p<.01$), while the reason "to remove inhibition" was associated with getting involved with the law after alcohol use ($b=2.7$, $p<.05$). A few of the reasons given for drinking were predictive of the 41 female drinkers' positive and negative alcohol-related consequences. Both relieving boredom ($b=1.99$, $p<.05$) and escapism ($b=1.99$, $p<.05$) predicted the existence of a positive consequence, removal of inhibitions (more talkative, more social, getting closer to your friends). Females' drinking to obtain psychological effects ($b=1.81$, $p<.05$) was also associated with the positive consequence called "relaxation and physical enhancement" (gives me a buzz). Some of the reasons named by the females were associated with alcohol-related problems. For example, the reason "drinking to escape" indicated a higher likelihood of strain in relationships ($b=1.84$, $p<.05$) and of the experience of negative psychological effects ($b=1.92$, $p<.05$). In addition, females who drank to remove inhibitions also tended to experience negative psychological effects ($b=2.06$, $p<.05$).

Verbalized motives can be seen as rationalizations for experiences consequent to drinking. However, a specific reason for drinking often tended to be associated with quite different consequences for males and females. For example, if males used alcohol to remove inhibitions and promote relaxation, they were more likely to become law violators. Females who drank to remove inhibitions, on the other hand, experienced more negative psychological effects from drinking, such as becoming emotional and feeling depressed. Furthermore, even though less than a quarter of the females named escapism as a reason for drinking, the 12 who did tended to be more likely than males who mentioned escapism to have problems such as disruption in relationships (my parents stopped trusting me) and negative psychological effects (getting emotional, kind of depressing). Yet they were also more likely than "escapist" males to enjoy a positive outcome: the removal of inhibitions (have a good time, feel good).

For both males and females, naming relief from boredom as a reason predicted positive rather than negative outcomes. Females who claimed that boredom was a reason to drink tended to have experienced inhibition removal in past drinking episodes. Males who cited the same reason tended to be less likely to experience strain in relationships consequent to drinking. Drinking to produce psychological effects was also associated with a positive consequence, but only for our female respondents. The 10 females who named this reason tended to discuss the relaxing and physical-enhancing effect of alcohol (it makes me sit down, relax) in their past experience.

DISCUSSION

Researchers have been very interested in understanding antecedents and effects of alcohol consumption among youths. In this study, we examined gender differences in subjective reasons given for drinking and not drinking, and the relationships between

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DISCUSSION

Researchers have been very interested in understanding antecedents and effects of alcohol consumption among youths. In this study, we examined gender differences in subjective reasons given for drinking and not drinking, and the relationships between

these reasons and both blood-alcohol concentration and consequences resulting from drinking among a group of high-school students in a small city in Michigan. It has been documented in the literature that American teenagers seek to fit in with their peer group, with alcohol use seeming to be largely an agent linking young people in a social way (Barnes, Welte 1986; Needle, McCubbin, Wilson, Reineck, Lazar, Mederer 1986). Our study results confirm what we have learned in the literature and show that alcohol is considered by adolescents primarily as a medium to bring fun or personal satisfaction to themselves.

Since our female respondents named experimentation significantly more often than males, it may not be surprising that males started consuming alcohol at a younger age (14.3 years for females and 13.3 years for males). Therefore, females in the present study had relatively little experience using alcohol. The significantly higher number of females than males who mentioned experimentation as the reason for drinking should certainly illuminate prevention policy for adolescents. If drinking is popular among teenagers, even though it is against the law, appropriate advice on how and when to drink, instead of a blind objection, is warranted to guide and safeguard adolescents. Almost one-third of females who mentioned drinking to have fun tended to drink less or to actually stop drinking after trying it; a similar result was not found for males. Future research should evaluate why females stop or drink less after their experimentation, but males apparently do not.

In this study, males more frequently than females said removal of inhibition was one reason for their drinking. While many females drank because they wanted to experiment, males explained their drinking as the result of longing for relaxation and for social interaction. It is also obvious that heavy-drinking males were more likely than light drinkers to cite removal of inhibition as a reason for drinking, even though the statistic did not reach a significant level (Table 1). Males more than females emphasized the importance of relaxation in their leisure time. The desire to "loosen up" sometimes meant a few more drinks for our male respondents.

While drinking is a popular practice in the United States, it is interesting to see that some of our respondents had never picked up a drink in their lifetime and some stopped drinking in the year prior to the interview. Female abstainers, compared with their male counterparts, seemed to be more concerned about their health, image, and morality. Students who stopped drinking were very much concerned with either actual negative consequences associated with alcohol use or with the negative image underage drinking has in this country. Since the average age of the males and females in this study was 16.9 and 16.6 years, respectively, the respondents likely stopped using alcohol just after the experimentation stage. Because of the popularity of alcohol use among teenagers, quite a few of our respondents had tried alcohol, but did not maintain their drinker status.

When the relationship between reasons for drinking and blood-alcohol concentration is a concern, the results show that the reason "drinking is fun" was positively related to blood-alcohol level for both genders. The intention to drink to relieve boredom increased typical blood-alcohol concentration only among male respondents. The two latter reasons (fun and boredom relief) can be considered individual-oriented, representing adolescents' search for adventure and a good time after school. A good time for many of these students means drinking to become intoxicated. This result supports studies conducted several decades ago that found that drinking for personal reasons is related to heavy drinking (Mulford, Miller 1960; Riley et al 1948).

Some of the reasons given for drinking possessed predictive power relative to certain outcomes resulting from alcohol consumption. Drinking to enhance psychological effects and to escape from reality were not related to blood-alcohol concentration among females, but these two reasons were associated with relaxation and feelings of disinhibition after drinking among these young women. Psychological effects prompted ten of the study's female respondents to drink, and these respondents eventually got what they wanted--to gain feelings of physical enhancement from alcohol use.

Drinking to escape was mentioned by about equal proportions of males and females. However, this reason was more likely to be associated with problematic outcomes such as strain in relationships and negative psychological effects--as well as with a positive outcome (removal of

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inhibitions)--only for females. The positive outcome indicated an achievement of these females' aims for their drinking. These results may reflect some females' ambiguity about using alcohol to forget their problems. American culture does not approve of individuals "hiding" from their problems. For females, psychoactive drug use (tranquilizers) rather than alcohol consumption is actually a more acceptable way to forget problems (Ettorre, Riska 1995).

Because of gender role socialization, females tend to be concerned about their social linkage with others (Leigh 1987). In addition, certain behavioral patterns are more likely to be associated with a particular gender group, for instance, "acting-out" behaviors for males and affectionate or passionate behaviors for females. Drinking in order to forget and to avoid reality seems to predict problems for many females, not all of whom are heavy drinkers (Table 1). This is a gender issue that we should look into further. It appears that males may drink to forget their problems, but by forgetting their problems they get into deeper trouble which leads to heavier drinking. On the other hand, females tend to drink to escape their problems but remain at a steady (non-escalating) level of drinking. These patterns are obvious in Table 1, which shows that the percentage of females who give "escapism" as a reason for drinking remains relatively constant across all drinking-level categories while the percentage of males who cite "escapism" as a reason increases in a linear fashion from non-drinkers to heavy drinkers. It is not clear why this gender difference should occur.

Even though drinking to relieve boredom is associated with some positive outcomes, such as decreasing disruption in relationships for males and removal of inhibition for females, this reason seems to be cited most often by heavier drinkers, especially male heavy drinkers. This result provides evidence for the fact that normative and cultural factors are at work, along with the physiological effects of alcohol, in determining behavioral outcomes.

As Mills (1940) believed, verbal motives do not only justify the past, they also predict the future. Drinking to achieve disinhibition is an excuse used by males who had trouble with the law. This reason should alert parents and educators to the possibility of future involvement with law enforcement. Drinking to relax or to loosen up should not justify these males' violation of societal rules and norms. For females, negative psychological effects were associated with drinking to achieve disinhibition. The social control demanded of females by our society is so great that females who drink actually are much more likely to feel depressed than to engage in behavior which will draw attention from law enforcement. No matter how drunk females get, they try to control their behavior to avoid notice by officials. In this society, females have been socialized to behave differently than males, and while drinking has become more acceptable among teenage females, involvement with law enforcement remains too great a stigma.

Some of these results deserve further research for the benefit of future prevention strategies as well as for theoretical enhancement in the field of alcohol-use studies. However, a few limitations to the study should also be mentioned. Only a limited number of respondents were included in this short interview study. This limited number of respondents may be the key to the general absence of statistically significant results in the study. Future research should be based on the inductive categories generated by this study, to expand the scope of subsequent research endeavors.

Since very few respondents were abstainers or had stopped consuming alcohol in the year prior to the study, only very limited responses were obtained concerning reasons for not drinking and reasons for stopping drinking. Because these two variables should indicate why some adolescents choose nonconforming, they should be thoroughly studied in the future (Greenfield, Guydish, Temple 1989; Moore, Weiss 1995).

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THE POLITICS OF TEACHING SOCIOLOGIES OF CRIME

Kenneth D. Tunnell, Eastern Kentucky University

ABSTRACT

The politics, morals, and ethics of teaching sociologies of crime within contemporary university settings are described in this paper. My hope is to cause reflection on teaching sociologies of crime and sociologists' participation in such, the possibilities for critical distancing from current punitive, state-driven policies and mandates, and on advancing vastly different curriculums to impact both education and crime control strategies. Also addressed are moral and political concerns for educators who (although perhaps with good intentions) participate in advancing a crime control industry that remains class and race biased and based on rational-legal logics, force, and repression.

> A good number of those who describe themselves as sociologists or economists are social engineers whose function is to supply recipes to the leaders of private companies and government departments. (Bourdieu 1993)

Given the current state of criminal justice education, Bourdieu's words could not be more appropriate. As a sociologist teaching criminal justice courses, I have written this essay to both raise questions and take positions with the hope of causing reflection and generating debate on ongoing developments within academic departments, curriculums and on the politics and moral implications of teaching courses in the sociology of crime. I especially focus on our roles as educators, the state's subtle and not-so-subtle co-optation of academic criminology and criminal justice, and the (ir)relevance of criminal justice instruction to a social science, liberal arts education and to students' eventual careers. My questions and positions are germane to any critical assessment of criminal justice education (however we may define it) and are especially apropos to the many sociologists teaching sociologies of crime and to their students.

While teaching scholarly, academic issues, educators are regularly confronted with the assumed necessity to placate to policy relevant, applied, useful job skills. As a result, classroom and extra-curricular behaviors, if only subtly, ultimately are affected by changes in administrative and student expectations (reflecting bureaucratic streamlining, consumer demands and the encroachment of the applied world). Nowhere in academics is this more apparent than in business and criminal justice/criminology (excepting, of course, professional vocations such as medicine and law, in the U.S.). Business schools increasingly work with private companies in research, teaching, and in bestowing credentials on the future's profit-driven workers. Business schools are rewarded for their cooperation in the form of endowments and subsidies of various sorts. Likewise, academic criminal justice and criminology increasingly cultivate reciprocal relationships with public (and to a lessor extent private) agencies of various sorts as each plays specific roles in the expansion of crime control policies and practices. This relationship, to some extent, is unfortunate since the many criminal justice and criminology programs had matured beyond their rather unsophisticated Law Enforcement Assistance Administration origins and had periodically critically challenged the status quo. But, given recent encroachments, policy changes, political rhetoric, and swings in public opinion, they seemingly are returning to their earlier roles of supporting state-centered agendas. Criminal justice and criminology, for various reasons (from networking to status and moneys), are crawling deeper into bed with the state, its missions, and its agenda-setting research agencies. T.R. Young (1983) once characterized criminology as a "disreputable discipline on the take from the state" which certainly seems the case if we only slightly peel back the facade and peek into academic funding, affiliations with the crime control industry, and training of students who anticipate playing various roles in containing crime.

THE DISCONCERTING ROLE OF EDUCATION

No matter how we educators may describe our roles, one function of sociologies of crime (or cynically, one objective) is sending workers into the crime control industry, an expanding complexity of industries with increasingly sophisticated technologies and control apparatuses. For many sociologists, this very field that we send our

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graduates into is one characterized as negative rather than positive and for specific groups in society (especially the young, poor and non-white) as a repressive, racist, and brutal system of pain infliction (Christie 1981, 1993; Currie 1996; Gans 1995; Hagan 1994). Although students' objectives and intentions for earning degrees and working within the criminal justice system are in many cases genuinely positive and service-oriented, we undoubtedly are accrediting growing numbers of individuals who nonetheless will function, in one form or another, as agents in an increasingly policed society. These realities likely trouble sociologists teaching criminology courses and are cause for concern as they encroach on our curriculums, missions, and autonomy.

A central concern for contemporary pedagogy is with the contradictory positions that we sociologists of crime share. On the one hand, our purpose is to educate with the freedoms enjoyed in inter-disciplinary academics, while on the other hand our missions are becoming ever more closely affiliated with an increasingly larger crime control machine. My concerns are that we are moving away from educating and toward technical training; away from critical teaching and toward serving as lackeys for the system; that we are becoming not just occasional but permanent bed partners with government agencies. In other words, I fear that we, as Bourdieu cautioned, are supplying recipes to those in positions of power and authority which will be used to cook up state operations against mainly poor, young and non-white individuals. One example among many of these encroachments into education (both in teaching and research), is the inter-dependent functioning of academic criminology/criminal justice and the National Institute of Justice (NIJ), the research branch of the Justice Department. Although criminal justice traditionally has had close connections with applied communities, it seems worthwhile to question if academic research particularly and teaching generally are becoming co-opted by such agenda-setting agencies (Platt 1974). Of course, such relationships are nothing new for criminal justice particularly or academics generally (Hutchins 1936; Platt 1974). Although such funding and academic entrepreneurship have waxed and waned across the years, criminal justice and criminology academics have consistently, and especially in recent years, engaged in research that has dovetailed with the interests and agendas of the state and that nearly always center on the crimes of the powerless rather than the powerful.

Such developments in academics beckon a return to Pirsig's (1974) Phaedrus and his lecture on the Church of Reason, the real university, that struggles in its search for truth as if it doesn't hear the whims of state managers, the cries of legislators, the monetary offers of state agencies, and the demands of administrators and students to increasingly engage in applied research and teaching. State managers, administrators, alumni, trustees, and students, each investing in the university infrastructure, believe that they have direction over the real university. But, the legal corporate university, that rational bureaucracy, is not the real university at all. It is merely the building and not the academic struggle for truth. Failing to hold fast to such positions jeopardizes our freedoms, effects our research, and further politicizes our scholarship and teaching.

We sociologists of crime increasingly are asked to focus on the useful, practical or applied for our students, their career choices, and their situations within the larger criminal justice system. But as Bourdieu (1993) observed, "To ask sociology to be useful for something is always a way of asking it to be useful to those in power." These words--a warning of sorts--seem equally relevant to criminology and criminal justice as appendage academic disciplines of sociology. Educators are faced, then, with the conflicting demands for usefulness all while holding fast to a sense of freedom and separateness from the state and its various missions of control, a freedom that is oftentimes difficult to maintain but one that is solidly located within the realms of the real university.

FROM STUDENTS TO AGENTS

Recently, and especially in the face of swelling criminal justice enrollments, I have contemplated why we recruit students for this discipline. A primary, yet unstated reason is to ensure our own continuance and growth. Yet apart from this cynical response, we must, for our students' and society's sake, look further. Employment placement for prospective graduates is one

oft-given response. Yet, even in the face of national pledges to put "100,000 more police on the streets," is there a real need to create those many additional jobs in the crime control industry? Citizens concerned about increasing powers of the state, disturbing and misplaced spending priorities, and the growing numbers of incarcerated individuals must also question the social necessity of adding those many jobs and positions to the crime control machine. For such expansions translate into increased numbers of controllers, guardians, and experts all working toward propping up, and worse, expanding the scope and power of the crime control industry. Such issues are not solely moral or philosophical, but pecuniary. Regarding outlays of public money, current growth in the U.S. prison industry (due largely to the escalating war on drugs) is unparalleled in the world and is the "second fastest growing item, after Medicaid, among state government expenditures," paradoxically all during a time when trends in index crimes have either declined or remained stable and well below the rates of the 1970s (Christie 1993; Garland 1995; Irwin, Austin 1997; Rothman 1995; Tunnell 1992).

By continuing to recruit students into these disciplines, we may well be dis-serving and deceiving those who ultimately might discover that a college degree does not necessarily guarantee work and especially in their major fields given expectations of surplus numbers of qualified and credentialed crime fighters. Moreover, according to national GRE scores, graduate students whom we recruit into criminal justice programs, compared to graduate students across disciplines, may be the least academically prepared for graduate school. Indeed, their scores are 84, 93, and 76 points below social science students in verbal, quantitative, and analytical measures, respectively (Graduate Record Examination 1993). If indeed their test performance measures preparation, then we are confronted with a frightening scenario since criminal justice graduate students are preparing themselves to manage and administer, rather than staff the front lines of, the crime control industry. By conferring credentials, we teachers are giving them license to do just that. Even with a graduate degree in hand, it is a disconcerting thought that graduates, many of whom are ill-prepared and academically disinterested, will be entrusted with the supervision of a machine with such awesome powers. It's analogous to entrusting a military bomber squadron to a grunt soldier. In both cases, the individual's academic preparation is wanting, the intellectual and critical interest puny, and the power of the machine monstrous. Also, similarly to undergraduates and their job prospects, students earning graduate degrees are having increasing difficulty locating employment (Gilbert 1996).

The market of crime repression and control is drawing greater numbers of students (as would-be agents) into colleges and universities. We, as teachers/trainers then prepare them (by nothing more than according credentials) for inner-city and borderline warfare. Yet, there is little sustained dialogue about this troop preparation or by their swelling numbers. Little concern is voiced over NIJ's central presence within the discipline and at national academic meetings. Often universities organize and sponsor annual Career Days which consists of inviting law enforcement agencies to campus. There educators go arm-in-arm with crime control industry representatives, literally steering them to our students and vice versa. Where is the critical distancing central to academics? Sanctioned by university departments and engaged in by well-meaning faculty, teachers are not only supplying recipes but playing match-maker between our young, credentialed crime fighters and agencies of repression.

As teachers, we no doubt constantly assess and advise our students by learning of their interests, hopes, skills and needs. And although our students express some skepticism about the crime control machine, to work within it those ideas certainly must be suppressed. Their doubts of say, the efficacy of the war on drugs, will be replaced with the more immediate necessity of fighting such a war. For they may discover that one cannot simultaneously oppose and participate. Yet, the majority of criminal justice and criminology undergraduate and graduate students simply accept state missions and seek degrees in order to work within the criminal justice system. Their allegiances already are sworn, ideologically at the least, to the status quo, the expanding crime control machine, and the hope of ever increasing numbers of employment positions within both public and private systems

of domination. Today's students want to be a part of the system for a variety of reasons (e.g., from thrills and violence to genuine desires to help and serve).

Anecdotal evidence of their commitment to crime control, I have collected from junior and senior students' written journal entries on their experiences in field placement, an internship, whereby college credit is earned for working within a criminal justice agency. Evidently, after having spent three or more years in college, having taken academic criminal justice, social science, humanities, and liberal arts classes, these students, upon entering the field placement, seemingly ignore the critical distancing, thinking, and knowledge that they have acquired and are, to some extent, co-opted by and socialized into a system with powerful and firmly entrenched organizational cultures.

For example, one female student, while interning with a small city police department, was asked to address local high school students. Given all the topical possibilities, she chose to speak on offensive and defensive weaponry of policing, of which most students are enamored. Her words follow:

> I spoke with students on being an officer and the various equipment used in law enforcement, specifically the stinger spike system and bulletproof vests.

A male student who interned at a juvenile detention center reported the following about institutional policies, rule infractions, and his tacit support of them, that on their face, at the least, are racist:

> It is against the rules of the facility to let the inmates watch the Black Entertainment Channel on their television. The administration of the facility says it is too influential and causes problems. One kid in one of the cells turned their television to BET and I had to tell him to change the channel. After several times of this, the officer who was helping came over to my area and told them to just turn the tv off.

A female intern's words are illustrative of the organizational culture of policing and the insular interaction among police officers with whom she clearly sympathies.

> In courses that I have taken, I have heard about the stresses continually faced by officers. I believe one way to relieve such stress is to bond with other officers by telling their "war stories" to each other. I don't believe a person in any other occupation would be able to relate or understand, and acknowledge the importance for officers to bond with one another...Police work demands isolation from a large portion of society.

And another, reporting on his experiences with a large city police department, made sweeping generalizations about criminals, crime patterns, and the boredom of policing, all while, paradoxically, aggrandizing the dangers and excitement of police work.

> While patrolling, an officer's activity level depends on the night of the week and the type of weather. On this night the activity level was very low due to the snow and cold temperatures. This type of weather helps keep the criminals indoors. This night I found out that patrolling is not always exciting, but you must keep on your toes and keep your eyes open.

The same intern, during a respite in his patrolling, had the following conversation, which he concluded with a defense of police behavior:

> I asked the officers, "Aren't we supposed to look for crimes being committed and traffic violations?" And the answer was, "No, not when we do not have to." Most of the officers have meeting places where they go to talk and relax. As busy as they usually are, I guess they deserve a little peace and quiet when they can get it.

Another female student who interned with a small city police department described her role in investigating an apparent suicide. Her words indicate the elevated sense of her investigatory powers and social-psychological insights.

> I helped go through evidence from the suicide. I read letters and the scrapbook to determine [the victim's] state of mind.

Such evidence, alas, is only anecdotal, yet it is typical of the 30 or so students' journal entries that I have read over the past four years and similar to that communicated to me by other faculty who administer such

programs. Their words, nonetheless, are illustrative of their commitment to rational-legal crime control systems and strategies.

TEACHING, POLITICS AND ETHICS

What are the ethical and political implications for teachers who train individuals for work in a class-biased, punitive system that continues to operate on fear, misinformation, lies, brutality, sexism, racism, violence, force, and secrecy? We are responsible, at least in part, for both certifying careers and in continuing systems that treat these characteristics as positive, indeed necessary subcultural properties. For our participation in legitimating prospective and current crime control employees promotes, perhaps ensures in some measure, the continuance of such structures. Our brief and limited contact with students cannot possibly offset the powerful subcultural norms, values and role behaviors within crime control industries. Indeed, even with the best of intentions, we may be fooling ourselves in believing that we can affect attitudes of future agents who immediately upon finding employment encounter decades-old organizational cultures.

Our responsibility as educators seemingly extends far beyond those students whom we encounter over two or three decades of teaching. Rather than simply hope that our efforts affect the occasional exceptional students, perhaps we need strategies for addressing these structural, political, and cultural problems specific to crime and justice and to teaching sociologies of crime. For example, what if concerted efforts were made to steer prospective students away from criminal justice education and working toward decreasing enrollments? Or, what if we no longer bestowed credentials on the swelling ranks of criminal justice students and sent no more soldiers to the domestic front, until fundamental and systemic changes were made? While unlikely to materialize, and also perhaps unreasonable, such initiatives might play a small part in stopping wars against the young, the nonwhite, the poor and powerless. However, history advises caution since radical activist politics in academics, in some cases, has resulted in the elimination of entire academic programs and departments (Geis 1995; Platt 1974). But criminal justice programs are growing at unprecedented rates, producing unforeseen revenues through FTEs and research/training grants. Since business is up and demands high, now may be the most advantageous time for concerted action of some sort to slow down, indeed, stop the machine and build something else.

There are less antagonistic measures that we might well consider. For example, re-designing criminology and criminal justice curriculums may prove more advantageous than activist politics. Contemporary curriculums typically require students to take a very few hours in the social sciences, which often are spread across two or three academic departments. My experiences are that students take introductory classes in sociology, political science and psychology. A few seek out another course or two in sociology. We just might better impact our students and the cultural norms of the industry within which they likely will work if we better integrate sociology into criminal justice and criminology curriculums, forcing students to get beyond the narrow strictures of their current curriculums. They deserve exposure to courses in class and stratification, race relations, social problems, gender, community, and on and on. These topics and classes are squarely relevant to crime, justice and contemporary systems of control (Akers 1992). Furthermore, students could well use greater exposure to the social problems of crime and its control from sociological rather than legalistic and punitive perspectives often found in criminal justice curriculums. In the long run, it seems likely that students would be better served if required to take various social science courses rather than the more typical criminology and criminal justice classes. Our graduates will have ample time in their careers to learn such things as police management, laws pertaining to their everyday work, correctional procedures, etc. Classes in these topics, when compared to other broader social science courses, seem trivial to a college education. Changes of this nature, however, undoubtedly are difficult to implement. Academic turf, conflicts over university monies, and not the least of problems, the historical hostilities between sociology and criminal justice/criminology disciplines and departments may impede such innovations. However, academic criminal justice and criminology owe their two most central elements–theory and methods–to sociology, and it may well be that each has something to offer the other (Akers 1992).

Perhaps too we could address the political concerns raised in this paper by implementing an anarchist pedagogy in sociologies of crime. In other words, we could teach against state-organized politics of legislating and controlling behaviors (as we know them). This would mean a change in dialogue from apologist or critical to highlighting anarchism's chief concern for individuals–gaining freedom from the restraints of government (Goldman 1967)–by explicating Thoreau's (1957) thesis that "government is best which governs not at all." Although many academics currently engage in critical pedagogies of crime and justice through teaching from radical or conflict perspectives, that alone may not be enough to impact our students and certainly not enough to effect the cultures of public and private systems of control. Rather than critically assessing current systems and offering one over another as solutions to our crime, justice, and systemic criminal justice problems, perhaps a sociology of crime needs a pedagogy, broadly informed by anarchist perspectives, that speaks against systems of appropriated force, law, and administration and that speaks for a new social order based on freedom from hierarchical and rationalized systems of dominance (Goldman 1967; Tifft, Sullivan 1980).

An anarchist pedagogy would stress the need for dismantling and disrespecting authority rather than reproducing and respecting it. An anarchist pedagogy would look for meaning in the actions of those at the receiving end of authority, that is, those labeled criminal, not necessarily to romanticize or reify crimes and criminals, but to understand the moment of action and conflict with authority, what that means to the actors and how such is politically interpreted and responded to. At the least, it would highlight the dialectic of structure and agency and their interplay with shifting power relations. Such also would emphasize the inequities of the law, the sheer force of the state in organized policing, and the state's persistence resting squarely on organized and legitimized coercion, force and death (Ferrell 1993; Horowitz 1964). Furthermore, an anarchist pedagogy would highlight 1) the war of authority most often waged on the young, the non-white, and the poor, 2) the illogical, immoral, and oft-times hilarious nature of much of crime control and controllers, and 3) the need for countering the various campaigns initiated by moral entrepreneurs. In other words, it would encourage actively making fun of authority with the hope of ultimately negating it all while highlighting the necessity of participating in direct action (Ferrell 1993; Horowitz 1964).

An anarchist pedagogy for a sociology of crime would show the illogics and the unlikelihood of the crime problem being thwarted by a government machine. Indeed, it would turn the tables and demonstrate how the crimes of unbridled force and repression are requisites for the rise and continuation of the machine itself–the state (Tifft, Sullivan 1980). It also would stress that not only have the greatest numbers and most horrific crimes been committed by the state, but it has also failed miserably at controlling what it defines as crime. More specific to the academic discipline, an anarchist sociology of crime would unmask criminology itself by showing it for what it is--an apologist for the state and its agendas--and a discipline that, if at all possible, needs rescuing from the state. Such a pedagogy also would stress the need for separating ourselves from an escalating American style fascism that engages in increasingly punitive policies (Tifft, Sullivan 1980). Needless to say, an anarchist pedagogy would seek ways of dismantling formalized hierarchical structures, including that upon which we teachers are materially dependent–formal education.

Peacemaking criminology and abolitionism would be central to such a pedagogy (van Swaaningen 1997; Ward 1982). Redefinitions of crime rather than explications of current systems of law and domination would also be fundamental. Furthermore, community responses to deviance (short of rationally organized systems of conflict resolution) would replace the typically taught (and dismal failings of) community based policing (Pepinsky 1993; Pepinsky, Quinney 1991; Sullivan 1980). Within an anarchist pedagogy, there would be little need (and then only for comparative purposes) to give attention to the logics of contemporary laws, policing, and control. Rather, by speaking against, we could teach of what could become and hopefully impact our students and their future employers in manners far beyond our current efforts while living our lives as "a counter friction to stop the machine" (Thoreau 1957).

Efforts at negating tensions between sociology and criminal justice are also laudable. Given such efforts, it is essential that our students, many of whom are first generation college students from oppressed and poor communities, be shown respect and understanding as pedagogy meets their lived realities. Furthermore, we must be honest with our students who desire working within the criminal justice system by making them aware that while serving the community, they also will be required to repress it and that laws, whether or not they support them, must be enforced.

These are my experiences of and thoughts on the politics of teaching sociologies of crime and justice. They probably resemble those of some sociologists but not of others. My hope is to spark reflection on these issues and questions about our roles in and indeed about the current state of sociologies of crime, criminology, and criminal justice academic education.

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KILL YOUR DOG, BEAT YOUR WIFE, SCREW YOUR NEIGHBOR'S KIDS, ROB A BANK?: A CURSORY LOOK AT AN INDIVIDUAL'S VAT OF SOCIAL CHAOS RESULTING FROM DEVIANCE

Charisse T.M. Coston and Babette M. Protz,
The University of North Carolina at Charlotte

ABSTRACT

The results of this qualitative research project offer evidence suggesting that forms of animal cruelty may co-exist with other types of criminal offenses. Using archival data describing police incidents in Charlotte/ Mecklenburg, 1000 cases of animal cruelty were cross-referenced with criminally-involved cases. Based upon our results, we conclude several needs: 1) children learn both the role of victim and victimizer in human and non-human criminal cases; 2) adults who engage in human and non-human crime may be subject to the same environmental turmoil; and 3) aside from the similarities across human and non-human victims of crime, there are very important differences, such as the voicelessness of non-human victims.

> Stephen had a history of adjudications, both as a juvenile and as an adult, for status offenses, property offenses, and violent behavior (including animal cruelty). For example, over a three-year time span, Steven was convicted of dog-fighting. Six months later, he was arrested for manufacturing and selling marijuana, opium and heroin, driving while his driver's license was revoked, drunk driving and disorderly conduct. Subsequently, he was arrested for first degree murder and robbery for which he has been convicted and is currently doing time. (An actual case history from the files of the Charlotte/Mecklenburg Police Department.)

Even though there is minimal research (only one known scientific study: Ascione 1992), scientific and anecdotal reports point to a link between cruelty to animals and adult criminal behavior. These descriptions have been illustrated by many dramatic case histories involving animal abuse, the increasing attention being paid to all forms of family violence, and the realization that forms of animal cruelty such as dogfighting co-exist with other types of criminal offenses (Hickey 1991; Lockwood, Church 1996). These acts of omission (deprivation of water, food and/or shelter) and acts of commission (yelling, hitting and/or throwing an animal) are signs of aggression that suggest other deep-rooted problems such as chemical abuse, domestic violence, murder, child abuse and other violent and non-violent acts. (Achenbach, Howell, Quay, Conners 1991; Boat 1995; Gelles, Strauss 1988).

The current analysis is significant for a number of reasons. First, it depicts a connection between the experience of being victimized and subsequent victimization of non-human animals thus adding to the limited literature on the etiology surrounding animals as victims. Until recently, police, courts and other related agencies have ignored the association between cruelty to animals and violence towards humans. Secondly, we offer suggestions for increased and continued cross-reporting of animal cruelty and other crimes, within and between agencies whose responsibility it is to respond to violence. Third, it would be useful for educators to be exposed to this type of study as a way to increase awareness of the potential problems involved which can transfer from animals to people or vice versa. Finally, as a result of this study and others like it, individuals, and their families may be made aware of the patterns, nature and scope of the problems of animal cruelty, particularly, as precursors to a variety of serious crimes and other injurious offenses. Through such educational efforts, intervention and prevention of animal abuse are likely to occur.

BACKGROUND

It is appropriate at this juncture to provide the reader with our working definition of animal cruelty, and the laws that pertain to animal cruelty for our sample.

Animal Cruelty

For the purposes of this research, the following definition of animal cruelty is submitted: behavior that intentionally or negligently and repeatedly causes unnecessary pain, suffering or distress to and/or death to a non-human animal. This definition and versions of it have been used by past scholars (Achenbach et al 1991; Ascione 1992; Felthous, Kellert 1987; Spitzer, Davies, Barkley 1990). Absent from this definition, but no less controversial, are accidental acts and those acts of cruelty which involve the use of animals in laboratory

research, veterinarian practices, livestock production, hunting, and entertainment.

Relevant Laws and Processing

Non-human animals are more oppressed than human animals (Beirne 1995; Berry 1997). Laws protecting non-human animals evolved more slowly than those relevant to human rights. According to Berry, this slower evolution is due to perceptions that deny or minimize the pain experienced by non-human animals. Given the mass of laws we have on the federal, state and local levels (the treatment of humans by other humans), animal abuse has not been a large concern for criminologists, sociologists and other social and behavioral scientists.

Prosecution for animal cruelty falls under North Carolina's General Statue 14-360 (1994). The statute reads:

> If any person shall willfully overdrive, overload, wound, injure, torture, torment, deprive of necessary sustenance, cruelly beat, needlessly mutilate or kill or cause or procure to be overdriven, overloaded, wounded, injured, tortured, tormented deprived of necessary sustenance, cruelly beaten, needlessly mutilated or killed as foresaid, any useful beast, fowl, or animal, every such offender shall for every such offense be guilty of a misdemeanor punishable by a fine of up to $1500.00 and/or imprisonment for up to two years.

This statue includes the injuring or killing of a law enforcement agency animal, animal larceny, instigating or promoting animal cruelty, abandonment of animals, cockfighting, animal fights in general, and animal baiting. The City (Charlotte, North Carolina) and County (Mecklenburg) ordinances (Section 3-15; Article 2-26) only differ from the State in terms of the degree of punishment. The City and County render fines ranging from 25 to 500 dollars for violations of the ordinances.

The processing of suspected cases of animal abuse is initiated by a complaint. Every complaint is investigated by a field officer who decides its validity. The officer will determine if there is compliance with conditions. If there is no compliance the animal(s) can be seized, and a suspect can be arrested and/or cited to court. If someone is arrested, the criminal justice system processing continues with an initial appearance before a judicial officer of the court (a probable cause and bail consideration hearing). Offenders not in compliance may be warned and subjected to an educational course on animal treatment, which will be followed-up with additional investigatory visits.

Theoretical Assumptions

The literature purports that one of the correlates of animal cruelty is what has been defined as conduct disorder (American Psychological Association 1994). *The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM IV; rev. 4th ed.) describes conduct disorder as a feature of an individual who violates the basic rights of others and, including, but not limited to, major societal norms, such as stealing, mugging, purse snatching, murder, rape, and various property offenses. One of the callous behaviors and typical features of this disorder that usually manifests itself in childhood is hurting animals (Borzendowski, Ehrhardt 1993; Deviney, Lockwood 1983; Kazdin 1990). Achenbach et al (1991) found that children with (combined) conduct disorder and incidents of animal cruelty were most often reported by parents who have children in mental health care than by parents of children in their non-clinic sample. Past research indicates that while hurting animals is one of the earliest reported symptoms, not all children with conduct disorder engage in animal cruelty. Additionally, some children who abuse animals show signs of stability and predictability, and demonstrate no signs of human-directed violence. Although we cannot, without caution, predict violence against humans from early incidents of animal cruelty, findings do provide us with a diagnostic window for further investigation and give us further evidence of an apparent link between the two phenomenon (Felthous 1991; Jaffe, Wolfe, Wilson 1990).

Research shows that many criminals who have been violent toward people share a common history of brutal parental punishment and cruelty to animals (Gelles, Strauss 1988; Maurio, Eberle 1989; Mead 1964; Miller, Knutson 1997; Weil 1989). These findings appear to suggest a possible generational problem involving human and non-human violence.

Indeed, some research has shown direct relationships between animal abuse and child abuse (Deviney et al 1983; Kellert, Felthous 1995; Lockwood, Church 1996) such that children who abuse animals are abused by parents and parents who abuse children also abuse animals. These findings suggest a pecking order of aggressive acts, involving a

lack of empathy, being passed down from the head of the household through the child and down to the animals. For example, Deviney et al (1983) found that of 60 percent of families with instances of child abuse also were found to have instances of animal abuse. Perhaps children are imitating parental or guardian interpersonal violent behaviors when they having been victims of abuse themselves, become abusers of animals. In situations such as these, children are learning what it is like to be the scapegoats as well as the perpetrators of violence. These families also reported more turmoil as evidenced by other family conflicts. Domestic and sibling violence, and chemical abuse were the other types of deviancies reported. The torturing and killing of animals, according to some scholars, has been shown to precede a continual pattern of violence against humans and animals by that individual as an adult (Felthous, Bernard 1979). The literature further stresses that in those families where domestic violence is present, 38 percent of those who had pets reported that their husbands had beaten the pets too (Jaffe et al 1990). In studies conducted by Sterba 1935, Weil 1989 and Hindman 1992, researchers found cases of wives being beaten by their husbands, who were then forced to have sexual relations with domestic and farm animals.

Scales have been developed pointing to patterns of both kindness and cruelty to animals, and these scales have been used to assign culpability in some jurisdictions (Ascione 1992). Famous violent criminals, in recent years, have had histories of abusing animals. Several serial killers, including, but not limited to, Jeffrey Dahmer, Theodore Bundy, Albert DeSalvo (The Boston Strangler), Edmund Kemper, III, and David Berkowitz (The Son of Sam) had histories of animal abuse ranging from cruelty to killing – some even used nonhuman animals to control and/or coerce, and used them for sexual interactions and symbolism for their preparation for killing humans.

The literature has demonstrated that nonhuman animal abuse can be a precursory activity of human-directed violence. Carving up stuffed animals is a practice reported by 46 percent of adolescent multiple murderers, according to Maiuro and Eberle 1989. Investigators of animal cruelty find that multiple violent offending is not unusual. These researchers state the obvious (Lockwood, Church 1996; Wax, Haddox 1974) that animal abuse is not a harmless way of venting emotion in a healthy individual; furthermore, that animal abuse should be viewed as a warning sign of destructiveness.

Based on the literature, we compared cases of animal cruelty with cases of violence against humans over an overlapping time frame. We were interested in the nature, scope and patterns of this cross-reporting from police files of rapid responses to calls for service, citizen complaints and arrests.

METHOD

A total population of 958 cases was handdrawn from the Animal Control Bureau's records of animal cruelty investigations for the 1996 fiscal year beginning on July 1. These 958 records were then cross-tabulated by computer, using the perpetrator's name, and his or her address, by the Criminal Records Division's records for the same fiscal year (both are divisions of the Charlotte/Mecklenburg Police Department in Charlotte, North Carolina). This time frame was chosen because it was administratively efficient in terms of money and time, e.g., it was the first year that data could be traversed with the Department's other criminal records because the Animal Control Bureau was funded by the County of Mecklenburg and therefore not under the auspices of the City police department. During fiscal 1996, there were 1016 incidents of the police being called to respond for service (911 calls) to the same address concerning the same suspected perpetrator who had been, either previously or afterwards, investigated based upon a complaint of animal cruelty. Of these, 750 (74%) were determined to be, by the police officer in charge, legitimate complaints. Our results will describe the frequency by type of call, and the final dispositions involving police action as a consequence of our matching cases. In some cases, (2%) the final disposition by the criminal justice system was revealed.

The Instrument

Data describing the 958 complainants of animal abuse only (both founded and unfounded), and sometimes involving multiple incidents at the same locale) were retrieved from the Animal Control Bureau records. These data, in the form of log books and written reports were filed by the investigating officers. Data include the name and address of the perpetrator and, where different, the location of the suspected abuse. The numbers of previous violations of any kind and their type(s) were also noted, as were the

complainant's name, address and phone number. Data on the gender, race and age of the alleged abuser were acquired. Information was gathered on the numbers and types of animal(s) who were abused, and the types of abuse were recorded. Finally, case outcomes of the investigations for the present animal cruelty complaints were recorded.

After the above data were collected, we gathered data from our verified matches i.e., animal and other complaints by one perpetrator. Details on the frequency, types and final dispositions of the 911 calls were accumulated and analyzed.

RESULTS

Descriptive Characteristics of the Sample

Of the 958 cases of animal cruelty investigated, the majority of the suspects were male (59%). The ages of the suspects ranged from one to eighty, and the average age was 36 years. In terms of race, most of the suspects were white (67%).

Most of the reports of animal cruelty were made anonymously (57%). But reports were also made by, in descending order, the police, neighbors, passersby, relatives, household members, and in cases of animal fighting for profit, someone in attendance. Most of the reports were for dogs (70%), cats (8%) and ferrets (5%), however, 17 percent of the reports involved cruelty complaints against farm animals (pigs, chickens, horses, cows, goats and ducks). Among farm animals, those complained about and investigated most often were goats and chickens, 5 percent and 3 percent, respectively. An additional six percent of the cruelty complaints involved skunks, raccoons, insects, and snakes. Snakes (3%) and raccoons (2%) were the types of other wildlife that were complained about and investigated most often.

Most of the complaints reported the lack of food, shelter and water (25%). There were incidents of (in descending order): inadequate shelter (17%), abandonment and injury of a police animal (9% each), unsanitary living conditions (8%), lack of medical care and emotional mistreatment (6% each), animal fighting, animal baiting, being a spectator at animal fights, owning animals used for fighting, and wounds from animal fighting (total 5%), torture (4%), diseased and roaming, and barking (3% each), and sexual assault (2%).

Twenty-seven percent of the complaints were unfounded and/or no animal was observed. Of the 73 percent of the grounded complaints, most were resolved as a result of the officer making suggestions, educating the owner and following up with additional post-site visits (37%). Twenty-one percent of the cases involved the issuance of a warning (23%) and/or a criminal summons to appear in court (2%). The police rarely impounded the animal (5%). There were six arrests and referrals to court (6%), and all of these cases involved animal fighting. Only one case resulted in a trial where the defendant was found guilty and received prison time for animal cruelty and assault. The other five cases resulted in guilty pleas, and fines and restitution. Two of these five cases ended with the perpetrators receiving jail time. Seventy-five percent of the animal cruelty cases investigated during this year had received at least one prior complaint of animal cruelty. Fifteen percent of the cases had two prior complaints. There were reports of prior other complaints that ranged from three to nine complaints (10%). One report had received 24 past investigations for animal abuse.

Table 1: Percentages of Types of Requests for Service Involving Individuals Investigated for Animal Cruelty (two years before the study's time period of fiscal year 1996)

Type of Report	Percentage (N=1016)
Sexual assault	40
Mental health	23
Assault	22
Animal cruelty	6
Missing person	5
Domestic violence	4

Cross-Referencing: Animal Cruelty and 911 Calls for Service

All names of those investigated for animal cruelty were entered into the police department's records bureaus' computer for both two years before and one year after the fiscal year under study. Tables 1 and 2 show the types of calls for non-animal cruelty during these two time periods for the same individuals investigated for animal cruelty.

Of the 1016 matches for other crimes, 785 calls for service were for other than animal cruelty for two years before the fiscal year under study offenses. The average number of rapid response for service calls for each of the individuals was two with a range from 1 to 24. An examination of Table 1 reveals that most of the calls are for responses that resulted in

Table 2: Percentages of Types of Requests for Service Involving Individuals Investigated for Animal Cruelty During the 1996 Fiscal Year

Type of Report	Percentage (N=678)
Disturbance	32
Domestic violence	31
Assault	16
Missing person	6
Man with gun	5
Animal cruelty	4
Mental health	2
Sexual assault	2
Drugs	1

written reports for sexual assault followed by mental health requests, assaults, animal cruelty, missing persons and domestic violence. There were past arrests (resulting from the written reports) for crimes other than animal cruelty for this time period (33%). The range for the number of arrests was from one to nine. The average number of arrests was five. The average number of past convictions based upon the arrests was two, and these convictions were for domestic violence and sexual assault.

There were seven hundred and fifty-four matches for other calls for service during the 1996 fiscal year. Again, we use the suspect's name and address from the animal cruelty complaints. During the fiscal year of our study (1996), there were an average of four calls for rapid response for service involving subjects also investigated for animal cruelty. There was a range of between one and fifty-eight calls for each suspect for other crimes during this time period. Table 2 depicts the 678 types of service calls that resulted in written reports. The written reports are for: creating a disturbance, domestic violence, assault, missing person, man with a gun, animal cruelty, mental health, sexual assault, and drugs. Of the written reports taken during this time frame, thirty percent resulted in arrests. Of the 30 percent who were arrested, 10 percent were convicted of assault, domestic violence and drug possession.

DISCUSSION

Implications

It has taken society up until the mid-1980's to realize that domestic violence and child abuse are connected. Perhaps it is now time to realize that aggressive, deviant, criminal behaviors and animal cruelty co-exist. Past and current research and discoveries from the present effort demonstrate that the worst thing that a person can do is to disregard animal cruelty thus allowing the individual (both children and adults) to get away without any castigation. Those who encounter this behavior in others need to stress that this behavior is morally and legally wrong. We, as a society, must as a public, with a conscious, as a social control system establish clear lines of non-destructive/non-harmful acceptable behavior. To do otherwise is to encourage violence. It has already been clearly demonstrated that children imitate both negative and positive behaviors. Therefore, they can be affectionate or train animals to be weapons or products of their aggression or acting out. Historically-speaking, given our adult-oriented culture, guardians and heads of households can play a preventive role as they interact with children at home, in school, and in the community. Teachers, guidance counselors and all auxiliary personnel who work in the school system should be made aware of the link between non-human animal cruelty and other violent and non-violent acts. Then, they can report these behaviors so that social service workers can intervene early.

There are implications for veterinarians as well. They treat animal victims of violence, and can make the problem of animal abuse less prevalent. Veterinarians should report suspected cases of animal abuse to the police.

Other measurable insinuations drawn from our inquiry are for practitioners and policy makers. Federal and State governments should supplement, at least, equal amounts of funds to investigate non-human animal cruelty allegations (equal to the units who investigate crimes against humans) within Counties and Cities whose responsibility it is to help remedy, not pacify, the problems surrounding animal cruelty. The laws against the abuse of animals must be enforced. Law enforcement officials must investigate, and when appropriate, arrest those individuals suspected of animal abuse. Police officers investigating violent crimes involving humans, and police officers investigating cases of non-human animal cruelty may not be mutually exclusive. Investigating and prosecuting crimes against animals may be an important tool for identifying people who may continue to abuse animals or become perpetrators of violent crimes against people. Prosecutors must prosecute individuals for committing crimes against animals. The correctional and social service personnel must

acknowledge the link between animal cruelty and other forms of social disorder (domestic violence, chemical abuse, and murder) and develop quality treatment plans related to each case.

Academic research agendas can include an exploration of animal cruelty. Based upon academic research, practioners on the federal, state and local levels can be better informed about the incidents and prevalence of animal mistreatment. Researchers who study animal cruelty can point to ways of facilitating the prevention and intervention of criminality by examining relationships and correlates of impulsive violence. Researchers can also examine the relationships between people who mistreat animals by assault, murder, or use in controlling or coercing others being having sexual relations with them and/or using them for fantasy play and people who mistreat humans.

All professionals who are involved in rectifying harms resulting from animal brutality should be obligated to cross-report and cross-train within agencies and between agencies. This includes micro-and-macro levels of involvement. The media are also responsible for coverage of animal abuse, and the dissemination of information to the general public.

CONCLUSIONS

Society is slowly beginning to acknowledge that the treatment of non-human animals is not detached from its treatment of human beings. Politically-speaking, we can bring peace home by supporting a more progressive agenda in terms of social issues. As a result, hopefully, people will be more inclined to advocate empathy and benevolence towards all animals: human and non-human. In sum, we share the sentiment of the 18th century philosopher, Immanuel Kant:

> He who is cruel to animals becomes hard also in his dealings with men. We can judge the heart of man by his treatment of animals.

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CONCEPTUALIZING THE IMPACT OF HEALTH CARE CRIMES ON THE POOR

Brian K. Payne, Old Dominion University

ABSTRACT

Past research shows that a small percentage of health care employees commit an assortment of criminal acts while on the job. Missing from previous research, however, is an examination of the effects such acts have on the poor (i.e. the victims). This paper fills this void by considering the effects of three broadly defined health care crimes: Medicaid fraud, elder abuse, and prescription fraud. In addition to the direct victimization experiences of those served by the health care system, the physical, economic, and time losses are also considered. Implications for future research and policy are provided.

INTRODUCTION

The Medicaid and Medicare programs began in 1965 with the aim of expanding health care access for poor and impoverished populations. Medicaid operates at the state level serving the poor, and Medicare operates at the federal level, serving older Americans. Both programs have yielded positive and negative effects for citizens (Jesilow, Pontell, Geis 1985). On the positive side, access to various health care services would be virtually non-existent for the poor without these programs (Ehrenreich, Ehrenreich 1970). Alternatively, there is reason to believe that a small but significant percentage of health care professionals use the systems improperly and illegally, often for their own personal and financial gain (Geis, Jesilow, Pontell, O'Brien 1985; Payne 1995; Pontell, Jesilow, Geis, O'Brien 1985). These deviant acts have substantial financial and emotional costs for society (Pontell, Jesilow, Geis 1982).

Much has been written about the characteristics of and the criminal justice system's response to illicit acts committed by health care employees. For instance, research concurs that practitioners from all of the branches of health care commit a variety of criminal acts during the course of their daily routines (Geis et al 1985; Jesilow et al 1985; Payne, Dabney 1997). Missing from the literature, interestingly, is extensive consideration of the impact that crimes against the Medicaid and Medicare systems have on the individuals that these systems were designed to serve. The purpose of this paper is to address the potential victimization costs of crimes perpetuated against the Medicaid and Medicare programs. Specifically, a typology for recognizing and understanding the effects health care crimes have on the victims (i.e. the clients) of such offenses is presented. The purpose of the typology is twofold. First, by considering the victims of health care offenses and understanding the lack of attention this group has received in the past, the need for future research can be stressed. Second, by recognizing the effects of health care victimization, a starting point from which the needed assistance can be provided to health care crime victims is formed.

While there are many offenses that can be harmful in the health care field, this paper examines the effects of three general Medicaid/Medicare offenses: Medicaid fraud, prescription fraud, and elder abuse[1] in nursing homes. Table 1 defines the specific types of health care offenses as they have been defined in the literature (Dabney 1995; Dabney, Berg 1994; Jesilow, Pontell, Geis 1986; Jesilow et al 1985; Payne, Cikovic 1995; Payne 1995; Taylor 1992). These acts are not mutually exclusive meaning that one person may commit several of them. At the same time, however, these acts are in many ways distinct from one another suggesting that the effects of some of them could be different from the others. Nonetheless, they all occur in the health care system and can have serious effects on the victim. Rather than focusing on the *characteristics* of the acts, it seems more important here to focus on the *effects* of these acts. In order to fully understand these effects, brief attention must be given to the explanations provided for why these acts occur.

EXPLANATIONS FOR FRAUD AND ABUSE

Past research cites four related reasons explaining why crimes in the health care arena occur: training factors, lack of enforcement, structural influences, and victim-centered reasons. Training factors examine the training received by health care professionals and suggest that the offenders learn to commit such acts either during their medical school training (Keenan, Brown, Pontell, Geis 1985) or as a result of a lack

Table 1: Types of Crimes Committed Against Medicare/Medicaid

MEDICAID FRAUD	fraudulent acts committed against the Medicaid system with intent
Fee-for-service reimbursement	provider bills for service not given to client
Pingponging	unnecessary referrals to other practitioners
Ganging	billing for services provided to several patients when services were actually provided to just one person
Upgrading	provider bills for more expensive service than was actually provided
Double-billing	billing more than one agency for the same service
Unnecessary surgery	performing unwarranted operations
Drug theft	stealing drug supplies and billing Medicaid for the missing drugs
PRESCRIPTION FRAUD	fraudulent acts by pharmacists
Generic drug substitution	providing generic drugs but billing more expensive drugs
Short counting	billing for the amount prescribed but providing less medicine than the prescribed amount
Double billing	billing more than one agency for the prescription
Billing for nonexistent prescriptions	billing for prescriptions that were never authorized by doctor
Delivery of controlled substance	providing a controlled substance without authorization
Forgery	altering writing on prescription
Illegally buying prescriptions	buying prescriptions from various individuals and billing for them when they may or may not have been filled
Overbilling	charging more than regulations permit
ELDER ABUSE	broad term describing a host of offenses committed against older persons. In this case refers to offenses committed while in the health care system.
Physical abuse	making physical contact against individual with the intent to cause harm. Includes offensive touching, hitting, slapping, burning & a host of other acts.
Sexual abuse	sexually assaulting the patient
Duty-related abuse	performing health care tasks inappropriately in such a way as to cause harm to a patient. For example, changing a bandage in such a way as to cause harm to the patient.
Monetary abuse	stealing from institutionalized elderly persons

Sources of definitions: Dabney 1995; Dabney, Berg 1994; Jesilow, Pontell, Geis 1985 & 1986; Payne 1995; Payne, Cikovic 1995; Taylor 1992

of training in needed areas (Pavelich 1994; Payne, Cikovic 1995). The central premise underlying training explanations is that the offender's credentials play a role in perpetuating the abuse.

Lack of enforcement explanations suggest that these crimes do not receive enough attention from the justice system. Part of this lack of attention stems from the fact that control agents, whether they are administrative review boards or agencies of the criminal justice system, experience an array of investigatory and administrative dilemmas when dealing with such acts (Ford 1992; Payne, Berg 1997; Tillman, Pontell 1992). For example, the "high level of autonomy" provided to health care providers makes the detection of offenses challenging (Pontell et al 1982). Further, establishing intent with health records as the main type of evidence and convincing a jury to convict doctors is often difficult (Payne, Berg 1997). Making it even more problematic is the fact that "provable guilt" and "large dollar losses"

Table 2: A Typology Describing the Effects of Medical Crimes

DEPRIVATIONAL EFFECTS

A. Physical deprivations
   1. Adequate health care
   2. Lose peace of mind
   3. Loss of physical abilities
   4. Loss of life (suicide & homicide)

B. Time Deprivations
   1. Time spent going to doctor, pharmacist, etc.
   2. Time spent worrying about doctor visit
   3. Time spent testifying against malfeasant doctors
   4. Time spent making up for lost work

C. Individual Economic Deprivations
   1. Manifest monetary losses--as a direct result of offense
   2. Latent monetary losses
      a. Time off from work visiting doctor
      b. Time off from work testifying
   3. Health care recovery losses--seeking additional treatment

EXPERENTIAL EFFECTS

A. Physical Experential Effects
   1. Pain and suffering
      a. From physical abuse
      b. From sexual abuse
   2. Physical harm from faulty drugs
   3. Relatives pain and suffering

B. Mental Experential Effects
   1. Increased stress due to health problems may lead to more health problems
   2. Destroys trust members of society have for health care employees
   3. Mental anguish

C. General Economic Experential Effects
   1. Higher costs of health care for all
   2. Family members will experience economic strain
   3. Civil recovery costs
   4. Economic stress may lead to additional health care needs

are typically needed before criminal charges are filed against a health care provider (Jesilow et al 1986).

Structural explanations focus on the structure of the Medicaid and Medicare systems and propose that something about the way the systems are designed allows these offenses to occur (Ehrenreich, Ehrenreich 1970; Jesilow, Pontell, Geis 1996; Wilson, Geis, Pontell, Jesilow, Chappell 1985). Ehrenreich and Ehrenreich (1970) point to the growing "health care empire" as creating more problems than it solves for the people seeking help. They suggest that "the most obvious function of the American medical system, other than patient care, is profit-making". In a similar fashion, Jesilow et al (1996) suggest that "the fee-for-service nature of Medicaid payments provides dishonest doctors with ample opportunities" to commit various offenses. Further, the structure of the health care system contributes to the way patients (victims) are treated and perceived by the malfeasant health care professionals.

Victim-centered explanations center on the relationship between the criminal and the victim in addressing the existence of these crimes. For example, health care offenses are often ignored by the justice system because of the apparent lack of victims (Jesilow et al 1996). Whether it is a doctor billing for services never provided, an assistant sexually abusing someone who is on anesthesia, or an aide abusing an elderly patient who suffers from dementia, victims simply may not be aware of the crime. Jesilow et al (1996) point out that the provider's

awareness that the victim may not realize that the crime occurred contributes to the existence of these crimes.

More importantly, something about the design of the health care system may increase the vulnerability of the victim. Medicaid patients are often poor and less-educated than others. When searching for health care, they must locate a place where they receive "the appropriate care" (Ehrenreich, Ehrenreich 1970). Likewise, Medicare patients who are in nursing homes are in need of assistance with daily routines. Both groups are somewhat vulnerable to the actions that malfeasant health care providers have been known to commit. As Ehrenreich and Ehrenreich (1970) note: "Health care is scarce and expensive to begin with... For many it is obtained only at the price of humiliation, dependence, or bodily insult".

Unfortunately, the vulnerability is increased by the fact that these victims have largely been ignored by researchers as well. The following typology addresses the "costs of victimization" and is presented as a starting point from which we can begin to understand the experiences of these vulnerable groups.

EFFECTS OF VICTIMIZATION

In this context, victims are those who experience some form of harm or injury as the result of crimes against the Medicare and Medicaid programs. The victims are the individuals the programs were designed to serve, specifically the poor and the elderly but also the general public. The victimization typology outlined in Table 2 shows the victimization costs and losses experienced by the poor, the elderly, and the larger society as a result of medical offenses. These effects can be characterized as either "deprivational effects" or "experential effects." It is important to note that the typology is based solely on the experiences of the victim and has very little to do with the characteristics of the offense or the offender.

Deprivational Effects. The notion of deprivational effects refers to the possibility that certain groups are deprived of certain needs, goods, or services as a result of the offenses committed against the health care system. Of course, all victims encounter certain losses stemming from the criminal act. However, the losses the "medical crime victim" endures are slightly different. These deprivational effects can be characterized as physical deprivations, time deprivations, or economic deprivations.

Criminal acts against the health care recipients may pose certain physical risks for the victims. Pontell et al (1982), for example, cite an opthamologist whose unnecessary surgeries left fourteen people with impaired vision. The loss of physical abilities for these patients is evident as is the losses experienced by some victims of elder abuse. For instance, the *Medicaid Fraud Report*[2] describes an incident involving a nurse's aide who scratched a patient's retina by hitting the patient with an open fist. The fraud report states:

> [A]s a result of this incident, the patient who had previously lost her vision in her right eye due to glaucoma, has also lost vision in her left eye and is now totally blind. (March 1993)

The ancillary losses such as the loss of peace of mind are not as clear as the loss of physical abilities.

Nonetheless, losing peace of mind or emotional stress can be viewed as a physical deprivation associated with certain types of victimization in the health care system. Clearly, one would expect victims of violent abusive acts to experience some of these effects. However, indirectly, victims of many of the other health care offenses that are not necessarily "personal" offenses will also experience similar emotional stresses. Many people become stressed over routine doctor visits (Jackson 1991). Imagine the stress felt by victims of unnecessary surgeries, procedures, and referrals. The irony is that in most cases the patient does not know the procedure was unwarranted (Lanza-Kaduce 1980); yet he or she still experiences the stress that comes along with visits to the doctor (Jackson 1991).

On another level, it is likely that the mental anguish inflicted as a result of some of the abuse cases relates to loss of "peace of mind." Consider, for example, the renowned case involving the doctor from Tampa, Florida who cut off the wrong leg of a diabetes patient (Navarro 1995). This patient undoubtedly felt "mental anguish" as a result of the "mistake." Interestingly, this same doctor later cut off a woman's toe without her permission. In each case, the victims lost a part of their body without their consent. The doctor's license was suspended

after the second incident. The suspension likely did very little to minimize the mental trauma resulting from the acts.

Elder abuse cases reported in the fraud report also seem to support the notion that victims suffer mentally as a result of the victimization. Consider for example two incidents from the fraud report. In one a nurse's aide was prosecuted for

> kicking residents in the buttocks and groin areas, striking residents in the face, twisting a resident's penis, placing a resident in a chokehold, and pointing a handgun at a resident. (*Medicaid Fraud Report* July 1991)

In another, the defendant "was sitting on the patient's lap pulling his ears and blowing in them" (*Medicaid Fraud Report* March 1992). Again, one would expect that these acts must lead to a loss of peace of mind for the victims.

Related to losing peace of mind, health care crimes deprive individuals of the quality of health care they deserve (Pontell et al 1982). Yet another irony: by committing violations such as providing unnecessary services to those who do not need the services, those who actually need certain services are overlooked. Thus, crime in the health care system

> impacts on programs that must go unfunded due to lack of money, such as eye and dental care for the elderly, or programs that must be limited, such as the monthly prescription limit for Medicaid recipients. (Taylor 1992)

The deprivation of adequate health care is difficult to measure. Yet, it is still an important consequence of offenses against the health care system.

Perhaps the most serious physical deprivation resulting from health care violations is the loss of life. The statistical problem that arises centers on ways to determine whether the loss of life was actually caused by the actions of the practitioner or by the impairment of the sufferer. In some cases it may be clear that the provider clearly intended to cause harm to the victim. More often than not, however, cases resulting in death may be the result of inadvertent actions. For example, Cohle, Lang, and Kosek (1986) describe a homicide "brought about by the inadvertent substitution of regular insulin for NPH insulin by a pharmacist." Rosoff, Pontell, and Tillman (1998) cite two separate incidents where two dentists' decisions to give a high level of anesthesia to child Medicaid recipients resulted in the deaths of a 3 year old girl and a 13 month old girl. In the case involving the 13 month old, the dentist "planned to put crowns on four of her eight teeth" (Rosoff et al 1998). While the extent of deaths caused by such actions is debatable, Reiman (1995) estimates that nearly 25,000 individuals die each year as the result of inadequate, inappropriate, or unnecessary medical care.

While physical deprivations are clearly consequences of violations in the health care system, time deprivations are somewhat "latent" consequences of the offenses. On the one hand, the patient must spend his or her time preparing for and visiting the health care provider. This preparation time often includes time worrying about the visit. The irony that once again surfaces is that the time is virtually wasted, particularly for those cases in which services were unneeded. Consider for instance a case involving a gynecologist who billed Medicaid for numerous sonograms for young male children (*Medicaid Fraud Report* February 1991). Obviously, the mothers who visited this particular provider would have had a more valuable use of their time with another provider. Also consider the suggestion that 1 in 6 surgeries is not necessary (*Changing Times* 1985). If this estimate is even close, then a substantial proportion of patients are clearly having their time wasted. Interestingly, Medicaid patients have operation rates two times higher than non-Medicaid patients; suggesting they are more likely to be victims of such practices (Lanza-Kaduce 1980).

The time deprivation is compounded when time waiting for services is considered. Describing waiting, Schwartz writes:

> after a certain point, waiting becomes a source of irritation not only because it may in itself be wearisome, boring, and annoying, but also because it increases the investment a person must make in order to obtain a service...This loss to the waiter is related to the fact that time is a finite resource. (1974)

In fact, waiting only serves to strengthen the power the provider has over the patient who is already vulnerable (Schwartz 1974). Schwartz (1974) goes on to suggest that

those who are able to afford health care are not forced to wait as long as those who rely on governmental forms of assistance.

The time issue gets more complex when one considers that the clients have to alter their work schedule. Most employed Medicaid clients are in low paying jobs needing the entire paycheck simply to make ends meet. When work hours are missed because of health care visits, work schedules must be adjusted accordingly (Moskowitz 1989). Again, the possibility that some of the health care visits are unnecessary or result in violations by the provider is deeply troubling.

When providers are prosecuted, Medicaid recipients will also lose time engaged with the court system (Reid 1992). As Reid points out, time spent talking to law enforcement officers and lawyers, as well as testifying in court, alters work and family schedules drastically. In fact, the National Crime Survey recognizes these effects as some of the reasons that victims in general do not report crimes (Reid 1992). The loss of time spent with the justice system coupled with the fact that some law enforcement officials view Medicaid recipients as "less than ideal witnesses" only adds to the time dilemma (Payne, Berg 1997).

Related to time deprivations are individual economic deprivations which include manifest monetary losses, latent monetary losses, and health care recovery losses. Manifest monetary losses are the clearest economic deprivation. In cases such as these, health care professionals who take property directly from the client or the benefit programs cause the victim to experience a direct monetary loss. Cases where aides steal gifts, checks, and other goods from the elderly have been reported in the media and clearly represent a manifest monetary loss for the individual. In other cases, such as a case involving two doctors who billed Medicaid for more than $1.3 million for "phantom psychotherapy sessions," the victim of the direct monetary loss is the Medicaid system (*Medicaid Fraud Report* December 1990).

Latent monetary losses refer to losses the recipient experiences indirectly. For example, when people have to take off time from work to visit the doctor or to testify against the malfeasant provider, they lose money they otherwise would be making at their job (Reid 1992). Because this is an indirect cost, it has been largely overlooked in past research. Yet it has significant consequences for the victims.

Health care recovery losses, as the third type of economic deprivation, point to yet another irony arising from violations in the health care arena. For some victims of health care violations, whether it is abuse at the hands of a nurse's aide, unnecessary root canals by a fraudulent dentist, sexual abuse committed by a trusted health care practitioner, or any of the other offenses, additional medical services may be needed. The irony is that the patient must then deal with all of the other economic, time, and physical costs on another level. As with the latent monetary costs, although these are indirect and immeasurable effects, they clearly present expensive costs for some victims.

Experiential Effects. Whereas deprivational effects include the physical, time, and economic losses stemming from health care crimes, experential effects are the effects victims actually "experience" physically, mentally, and economically. Briefly, deprivations are things that are lost whereas experiences are things that are incurred. Though offense-based concepts might also be relevant, it is important to reiterate that this typology is based on the experiences of the victim rather than the characteristics of the offender or the offense.

Physical experential effects are those physical effects experienced (or felt) by the victim. For example, cases of abuse and neglect against elderly diabetics have been known to cause gangrene in the victim (Zuzga 1996). In other cases of physical abuse or sexual abuse, the offense obviously will directly lead to pain and suffering on the part of the victim. One doctor, for example, molested nine female patients in a three year time frame (Pristin 1996). Pain and suffering unquestionably was experienced by each of the victims. In another incident, a nurses' aide "repeatedly slapped a 104 year old wheel-chair bound patient across the face, causing bleeding and swelling" (*Medicaid Fraud Report* Feb. 1991), and another "poured ice water on an 87 year old resident's buttocks and private areas" (*Medicaid Fraud Report* March 1990). In each of these cases, as well as other cases of abuse imposed by health care providers, the victims experienced some form of physical harm. Examples such as these lead Reiman (1995) to suggest "Health care may be

Given estimates such as these, it should not be surprising when total losses due to fraud and abuse are estimated at 50 to 100 billion dollars a year—10 percent of the health care budget (Cohen 1996; Ford 1992; Taylor 1992).

Of course, the economic costs resulting from health care offenses relate to many of the effects mentioned earlier. For example, increased costs may translate into less care for the poor and needy. Higher insurance rates for all, including those cut from the health care programs, are linked to fraud and abuse in the health care system (Bomer 1997). Unable to pay for the needed health care, poor individuals are "re-victimized" by the fraudulent providers. For those who remain in the health care programs, fewer types of treatment and services will be covered by the Medicare and Medicaid.

Some victims of fraud and/or abuse will decide to seek damages in civil court. Here again, however, the victim will experience economic effects associated with the victimization. As Hankin (1996) points out

> Abusers and their lawyers are aware of the financial pressures on the [victim] and may take advantage of that by dragging out litigation and making the victim's lawyers... devote more of their costly time to the litigation.

Hence, the victim is again "re-victimized." And another irony arises--the stress accompanying the lawsuit may yield additional health problems.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This paper has considered a typology for examining the effects of health care offenses on the poor. This typology examines what are referred to as "experential effects" and "deprivations." In one sense, "experience" is a misnomer in that deprivations are, at least in a sense, experienced by the victim. Two points should make the distinction clearer. First, "experiential effects" are concerned with what is actually **experienced by** the victim and deprivational effects are concerned with what **is lost** by the victim. Second, victims will almost always recognize that they have lost something (a deprivation) and they will usually know the source of the deprivation. For example, the woman whose toe was cut off without her consent understood that the loss occurred and that it occurred because the doctor did something without her consent. On the other hand, victims may not be aware of the fact that they have experienced the "experiential effects" or they may not know the source of the "experiential effects." For example, one may experience pain and suffering from sexual abuse without understanding the source of the pain.

Three critical points are warranted. First, while there are significant financial and personal costs associated with these offenses, most health care providers do not violate the ethical and legal principles guiding their professional roles (Wilson et al 1985). Second, these offenses considered here vary in seriousness with some being devastating and others perhaps only slightly affecting the victim(s). Combining all of the offenses together conceptually may be flawed, but the cumulative effects are felt by all of the individuals the health care programs were designed to serve. Third, while most of the effects described here are based on previous suggestions in the literature, this typology is based in large part on conjecture and needs to be tested empirically.

Nonetheless, the implications are worthy of consideration. Most importantly, awareness of these offenses and their impact needs to increase among laypersons, legislatures, practitioners, and the academic community. There is a tendency among the medical and academic community to either overlook or look negatively on this group of victims. Rosoff et al (1998) describe one dentist's defense to physically abusing his patients as being that "he never turned away Medicaid patients--even though many of them are 'dirty' and 'smell bad'". Even if these negative views are not held by all, victims of medical offenses are often ignored in research as well as prevention and intervention programs.

Based upon this, more attention needs to be given to the victims of these types of offenses. Due to sampling problems, it would be impossible to assess the effects of each type of crime at once. Rather, specific studies focusing on each type of victim are needed so that a complete understanding of the problems faced by the victims is provided. The biggest problem, that partially explains why these groups have been ignored in the past, is locating individuals who would be capable of and willing to participate in such endeavors. Note that these victims have already been violated by trusted

dangerous to your health".

Victims may also experience physical harm from receiving improper prescriptions (Payne, Dabney 1997). This physical harm ranges from acute allergic reactions to death. In cases such as these, while the health care providers may not intend the results of their actions, they can still be held criminally or civilly liable if the way they provided the medicine was illegal. The difficulty for the victim and justice system is proving that the pain and suffering was caused by the improper and illegal drug prescription rather than the original ailment.

The relatives of the victims of health care offenses will also experience various degrees of pain and suffering. The fraud report describes the effects of one elder abuse case in the following way:

> [A]fter this incident, the victim has been extremely withdrawn and [has] not responded in any fashion to family members. (*Medicaid Fraud Report* May/June 1987)

One can only imagine the pain felt by the relatives who could no longer communicate with their elderly relative as a result of the actions of an abusive health care provider.

In addition to physical experential effects, some victims will experience mental experential effects. On the one hand, the increased stress due to improper treatment could lead to increased health problems which could lead to increased anxiety, depression, or other forms of mental anguish from the offense. One abuse victim was intimidated "into performing the demeaning act of cleaning up his own excrement with his bare hands" (*Medicaid Fraud Report* September 1991). Another was teased as the nurses' aide "plucked" the patient's ears repeatedly (*Medicaid Fraud Report* April 1992).

A case involving a psychiatrist who had his patient give him oral sex as a part of her therapy is described by Jesilow et al (1996). The psychiatrist provided the patient with prescriptions after her first visit. By the third visit, the patient, feeling dependent on the prescriptions, performed fellatio in order to receive a new prescription. This "therapy" continued for seven years. The ensuing investigation revealed that the psychiatrist committed similar assaults against at least two other patients (Jesilow et al 1996). In a similar case, a psychologist billed Medicaid for the time he spent having sex with his patient (*Medicaid Fraud Report* February 1988). While the mental anguish, like the physical pain in the previous acts, is difficult to measure, it will be a consequence experienced by victims of health care offenses such as these.

On another level, violations by health care professionals destroy the trust that members of society have in the health care system (Pontell et al 1982; Wilson et al 1985). In this context, lowering levels of trust is suggested as a mental experiential effect because trust is fundamentally based on mental emotions. Altering levels of trust has in fact been viewed as one of the most significant negative effects of white collar crime in general (Sutherland 1949). This is particularly significant for health care offenses when one considers that health care providers have traditionally been viewed as more honest than other types of employees (Wilson et al 1985). Pharmacists, for example, rate higher on trust scales than the clergy in public opinion polls (Wivell, Wilson 1994). Misdeeds by all health care professionals only lowers the trust the public has in the various health care occupations.

"General economic experential effects" are also felt by victims of health care costs. These effects seem to be those that have received the most attention by the media and academic community, perhaps because they are the easiest to measure. General economic effects include the possibility that health care offenses lead to higher health care costs for all. Consider the following statements:

1. The Rand Corporation estimates quality problems increase health care costs an estimated $75 billion to $200 billion annually (Jasinowski 1991).
2. At least half the thousands of operations on Americans with ruptured discs were unnecessary...Americans spend more than $3 billion annually on [the operations] (Wilstein 1988).
3. As many as 50,000 of the appendectomies that are performed each year are unnecessary...The price of each surgery is roughly $4,700 (*Modern Medicine* 1997).
4. Unnecessary surgery and medication cost the public between $20 and $24 billion annually--far outstripping the $15.1 billion taken by thieves that concern the FBI. (Reiman 1995).

Given estimates such as these, it should not be surprising when total losses due to fraud and abuse are estimated at 50 to 100 billion dollars a year—10 percent of the health care budget (Cohen 1996; Ford 1992; Taylor 1992).

Of course, the economic costs resulting from health care offenses relate to many of the effects mentioned earlier. For example, increased costs may translate into less care for the poor and needy. Higher insurance rates for all, including those cut from the health care programs, are linked to fraud and abuse in the health care system (Bomer 1997). Unable to pay for the needed health care, poor individuals are "re-victimized" by the fraudulent providers. For those who remain in the health care programs, fewer types of treatment and services will be covered by the Medicare and Medicaid.

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figures. Therefore, in using health care crime victims as a source of data, extra caution must be taken so that they are not re-victimized by the research process.

The trend of focusing solely on the monetary costs of fraud and abuse also needs to be questioned. Research should also examine how academicians, legislatures, and health care professionals perceive the actual effects of these offenses. Policies stemming from the increased awareness and understanding will only help in the prevention and detection of these problems in the future. It is only through this increased attention that the "vulnerable" patients will be given the assistance they need to either prevent the offenses or to intervene to help them should they be victimized. In turn, the Medicare and Medicaid programs will be able to better serve those individuals for whom the programs were designed.

ENDNOTES

1. Elder abuse may seem out of place in this context. However, if the abuse is committed in a nursing home which receives support from Medicare or Medicaid, the act falls under the jurisdiction of Medicaid Fraud Control Units. Because the criminal justice system treats such acts as violations against the Medicare/Medicaid systems, I will do likewise.
2. The *Medicaid Fraud Report* describes health care crimes prosecuted by Medicaid Fraud Control Units across the United States.

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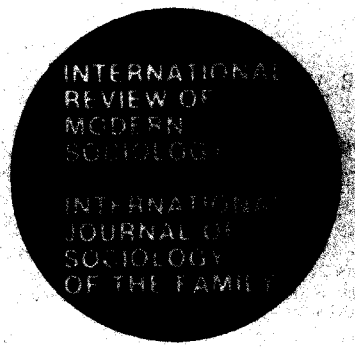

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MEMBERSHIP IN THE NEW AGE GROUP SILVA MIND CONTROL

Brent A. Paterline, North Georgia College & State University, and Annette Heishman, Truett-McConnell College

ABSTRACT

This research reports the findings of an exploratory study of the members of the New Age group Silva Mind Control. To date, there have been few empirical studies of New Age groups, and little is known about what types of people practice New Age beliefs. The findings of this research show that members of this New Age group: tend to be middle to upper-class white females, come from religious backgrounds, and still participate in traditional churches. The research also examines commitment among members of Silva Mind Control and found that social networks were the most important predictors of group commitment. Specifically, those who had friends and family members who were members of Silva Mind Control, were more committed to the group.

INTRODUCTION

Within the last two decades there has been an emergence of a number of very diverse quasi-religious movements. Some of these movements are based on elements borrowed from many ancient beliefs such as astrology or Zen Buddhism; while others are based on concepts from popular psychology and the "human potential movement". In the 1980's the media categorized these movements as part of the "New Age Movement" (McGuire 1987; Melton, Lewis 1992).

The New Age Movement encompasses such a wide variety of beliefs and groups that much of the literature expresses some difficulty in defining it. There are a vast number of practices and beliefs that are associated with the New Age Movement, such as meditation, astrology, tarot card reading, ESP, channeling, and belief in extra-terrestrials. There are also a variety of organizations one can go to practice these beliefs. Defining the movement is further complicated by the manner in which it crosses or infiltrates the boundaries of many religious groups that one might anticipate would be hostile to nontraditional spirituality. There are many members of mainstream religious denominations, for example, who practice meditation, explore alternative healing techniques, or follow astrological advice. These persons often consider themselves to be good Christians, Jews, or whatever, and can be missed in research which classifies populations into mutually exclusive categories. There are others, however, that have left "traditional" religions and have totally immersed themselves into New Age groups and beliefs (Lewis 1992).

Although New Age ideas and practices have become an emerging part of American culture, the New Age Movement has frequently been regarded as a fringe movement and has often been given less attention than a passing fad (Campbell, Brennan 1990). In fact, when examining an overview of the social scientific perspectives of the New Age Movement, Melton and Lewis (1992) found little in the way of empirical research and believe one direction that should be immediately pursued is quantitative research.

This research is concerned with the constituency of the New Age group Silva Mind Control. It is an exploratory analysis and has two purposes. First, the research will attempt to determine the kinds of persons who identify themselves with Silva Mind Control (SMC). This will focus on the respondents' demographic characteristics and religious beliefs. Second, the research will investigate why persons join SMC and what type of persons are most likely to remain committed to the group. This article will describe the findings and assess them in regard to conclusions established in previous research.

SILVA MIND CONTROL

Silva Mind Control (SMC) is one of many New Age groups whose primary focus is self-discovery and self-improvement (Kyle 1993). Such groups are characterized by a convergence of modern Western psychotherapy with many ancient philosophies of Eastern religions. They often attempt to put their members in touch with themselves, with others, and with the universal forces of the cosmos (Kyle 1993; Melton, Lewis 1992). Members of these types of groups resist conceiving their lives as driven by forces against their will, subservient to fate or chance. Rather, they believe that people have the ability to control their own lives and destiny.

> Even should they do this with the aid of someone else–therapist or guru–they try to do so as equal partners in the enterprise, taking sole responsibility for themselves. (Appelbaum 1981)

Silva Mind Control was founded in the late 1960s by Jose Silva who, after several years of

research, developed his own methods to teach people how to reduce stress, improve their memory, and develop psychic clairvoyance. Like many New Age groups, SMC trains its members through lectures and seminars which are offered for a fee. The seminars attempt to teach students certain philosophies of life, improve their psychic abilities, diagnose and heal physical and emotional illnesses, and make use of exercises that promote altered states of consciousness. SMC usually gains members through word of mouth and through free introductory lectures and demonstrations.

The Basic Silva Mind Control instruction series consists of four sequential courses which can be taken individually or as a unit. The entire series is completed through forty-eight hours of intensive instruction. Instructors are trained at the Silva Institute in Laredo, Texas and are chosen for their above average psychic ability and proficient oral skills.

The basic premise of Silva Mind Control is that people create their world through their thoughts and attitudes. People are therefore responsible for what happens in their lives and can get what they want in life by positive thinking and improved psychic ability. Silva Mind Control offers methods and techniques to help people bring out what they want in life. If you want to create a pleasant environment, for example, you should act and think optimistically. If you have negative thoughts you should cancel them out by saying "cancel cancel." If someone asks you how you are doing you should answer by saying "better and better." In this way one can make their world better simply through positive thinking.

The basic technique of instruction for SMC is meditation through "voice programming." Students are talked down and guided into different levels of consciousness by the instructors. The programming is meant to be very soothing and relaxing, and theoretically, lowers one's brain frequency. Students are conscious the entire time and learn to mentally count down and back out of these mental states along with the instructor. The purpose of this programming is to teach students how to get to a level of consciousness where they will be able to release tensions and perform psychic feats such as healing or ESP. By repeating the programming process up to fifty times during the seminar a habit pattern or conditioned response is formed in which students become proficient at the technique. Students are then able to "go to level" by themselves, without the help of the instructor (Appelbaum 1981; Henderson 1975; McGuire 1987).

Visualization is also a key theme in Silva training. As the students meditate, instructors talk them through several visualization techniques. With repetition students improve their visualization skills which theoretically helps them become better psychics because they become better able to visualize a problem, their goals, or future event. For example, if one is over weight, they may visualize many of their favorite unhealthy foods tasting bad. Because students are functioning in a meditative state, their visualization experiences and suggestions become tremendously powerful. Many participants claim that they have lost weight, stopped smoking or eliminated other bad habits by using this technique. Others claim to become so adept at envisioning what they want that they are able to influence future events and mentally alter the course of their lives (Henderson 1975).

After graduating from the Silva Mind Control Basic Lecturer Series students are often encouraged to take the course over again, at no extra cost, as many times as they want to get "reprogrammed." Graduates are also qualified to take the Silva Graduate and Ultra seminars. Only 13 instructors world wide are qualified to teach the graduate seminar, while only someone named Silva (Jose, his son, or daughter) can teach the Ultra seminar. Both the seminars are developed to teach graduates how to tune and refine their skills. There is also more emphasis on learning new healing techniques and reaching deeper states of meditation.

Many Silva graduates are not content with only repeating the courses. Many form their own groups which get together approximately once a week at one another's homes. Such groups usually practice "case healing", but many also practice other techniques such as energy circles. Many of the members of these groups form close friendships while trying to solve each other's problems. It is also within these groups that potential instructors refine their skills and gain experience in working with others.

DATA AND METHODS

The data were collected from a 1994 questionnaire of participates of the Silva Mind Control Ultra and Graduate Seminars. The Ultra and Graduate Seminars are the "upper-level" seminars one can take from Silva after one has completed the Silva Basic Lecture Series. Therefore, participates of these have shown at least some continued commitment to the

Table 1: Demographic Breakdown of SMC Respondents and the Population (in percents) (N=127)

	SMC*		Population	
Sex	%	N	%	N
Female	71	90	58	849
Male	29	37	42	624
Race				
African American	5		13	205
Caucasian	87	111	83	1258
Other	8	10	4	54
Education				
No College	16	20	75	1024
At least some college	68	87	19	257
Holding a Graduate degree	16	20	6	84
Household Income				
$20,000 and under	18	23	29	368
$21,000 to $40,000	34	43	31	403
$41,000 and over	48	61	34	435
Refused/not applicable	--	--	6	75
Marital Status				
Legally married	42	53	60	1805
Living with a partner	8	10	--	--
Single	14	18	20	600
Divorced	29	37	11	326
Widowed	7	9	6	186
Separated	--	--	3	74
Work Status				
Full-time	56	71	50	729
Retired	21	27	13	189
Part-time	13	16	13	194
Keeping house	5	6	17	254
Student	3	4	4	62
Unemployed	2	3	3	39

*No entry suggest the surveys did not ask the same question. Chi-square comparisons of SMC members and general population were all significant at $p > .01$.

group by taking one or more of these upper-level seminars. Surveys were distributed in class at four seminars given in Cleveland and Akron, OH; Las Vegas, NV; and Hollywood, FL. Respondents were assured complete confidentiality and that persons associated with SMC would not have access to the surveys. One hundred and twenty-seven complete surveys were obtained.

In order to make comparisons between responses of the Silva graduates and the general population, data from the 1994 General Social Survey were used. The General Social Survey has been an ongoing survey of social indicators of the American population since 1972. Data for the General Social Survey were collected from a national multistage probability sample of English-speaking persons 18 years of age or over who were living in noninstitutional settings within the continental United States.

Commitment to SMC was measured by creating an Organizational Commitment Index composed of nine items: attendance at seminars, frequency of meditation or "going to level", frequency of using Silva healing techniques, frequency of using other Silva techniques, amount of group literature read, amount of time listening to group tapes, frequency of using Silva techniques to help others, frequency of using Silva methods to solve one's own personal problems, and

Table 2: Religious Demographics and Beliefs of SMC Respondents and the General Population (N=127)

	SMC		Population	
	%	N	%	N
In what religion were you raised?				
Protestant	40	51	61	1809
Catholic	43	55	30	917
Jewish	7	9	2	51
Other/None	10	12	7	205
How often do you attend religious services?				
Never	23	29	19	464
Once or twice a year or less	24	31	17	413
Several times a year	9	11	16	389
About once a month	5	6	9	216
Nearly every week	16	20	6	142
Every week	11	14	24	582
Several times a week	12	15	10	241
How often did your family attend religious services?				
Never	4	5	5	53
Once or twice a year or less	13	17	6	62
Several times a year	7	9	10	113
About once a month	4	5	4	50
Nearly every week	25	32	26	299
Every week	42	53	38	435
Several times a week	5	6	11	124
Rate your church in meeting your spiritual needs				
A	18	23	34	278
B	13	16	35	287
C	26	33	22	182
D	21	27	5	45
F	22	28	4	33
Please circle which statement comes closest to expressing what you believe about God.				
I don't believe in God.	0	0	2	53
I don't know whether there is a God and I don't believe there is anyway to find out.	0	0	4	116
I don't believe in a personal God, but I do believe in a Higher Power of some kind.	25	32	7	209
I find myself believing in God some of the time, but not at others.	1	1	5	134
While I have my doubts, I feel that I do believe in God.	11	14	19	520
I know God really exists and I have no doubts about it.	63	80	63	1773
Which of these statements comes closest to describing your feelings about the Bible?				
The Bible is the actual word of God and it is to be taken literally, word for word.	1	2	36	357
The Bible is the inspired word of God, but not everything should be taken literally.	63	80	49	488
The Bible is an ancient book of fables, legends, history, & moral perceptions recorded by man.	36	45	15	144

Chi-square comparisons of members of SMC and the General Population are all significant at the $p > .01$, except for current church attendance, family's church attendance, and belief in God.

number of times that one participates in activities with other group members other than seminars. The nine items were weighted equally. Reliability as measured by Cronbach's alpha was .75. The mean was 24.94, with a standard deviation of 5.43.

RESULTS

General Demographics

Very few studies have focused on the demographics of persons who practice New Age beliefs. Bird and Reimer (1982) analyzed participation rates in new religious and para-religious movements as indicated by surveys administered in Montreal. In comparison to the population in general, Bird and Reimer (1982) found that participants in para-religious movements were likely to be single, female, and middle-class.

Two other empirical studies concerning New Age believers were done by Wuthnow (1976) and Feher (1992), both of which focused specifically on persons who practiced astrology. From a sample of persons in the San Francisco Bay area, Wuthnow (1976) found that those who believed in astrology were of lower education, black or hispanic, and were more likely to be separated or divorced. In contrast to Wuthnow, Feher (1992) found that those involved in astrology were overwhelmingly white and highly educated. The only similarity between the two studies was that the majority of respondents in both samples were female.

Demographically, the majority of respondents in this study tended to be middle to upper-class white females. A demographic comparison of members of Silva Mind Control with the general population is reported in Table 1. Eighty-seven percent of the members of SMC surveyed were white and 71 percent were female. When compared to the general population, members of SMC had higher incomes and were more highly educated. Over 48 percent of the Silva graduates had a household income greater than $41,000 and 84 percent had completed at least some college. Members of SMC also had higher rates of divorce than the general population. Twenty-nine percent of SMC current marital status was divorced, while 11 percent of those in the general population were divorced. Demographic differences between SMC members and the general population were all significant at the .05 level.

Religious Demographics and Beliefs

The New Age movement can be hard to define for social scientists because it crosses and infiltrates the boundaries of many "traditional" religious groups that one might anticipate would be hostile to nontraditional spirituality (Melton, Lewis 1992). This presumption was explored by Donahue's (1993) research concerning the prevalence of New Age beliefs among American Protestants. When examining a nationwide sample of six Protestant denominations, Donahue (1993) found that endorsement of New Age beliefs such as astrology and reincarnation was infrequent, but attitudinal statements supportive of New Age ideologies were endorsed by nearly a third of the respondents. Donahue (1993) also found that New Age beliefs and attitudes were unrelated to other measures of religiousness, satisfaction with one's present congregation, and most demographic variables. There was evidence, however, that New Age beliefs were more common among theological liberals.

This research examined the religious demographics and beliefs of SMC graduates. The findings are presented in Table 2. In this sample, 43 percent of the respondents were raised as Catholics, 40 percent were raised as Protestants, and 17 percent were raised in other faiths. Members of SMC did not differ significantly in their rates of church attendance compared to the general population. Seventy-two percent of the SMC respondents said that, when growing up, their family went to religious services at least once a week. The results of this research show that members of SMC continue to participate in traditional churches, approximately half (53%) of those SMC members surveyed continue to participate in traditional churches at least several times a year and 38 percent attend church nearly every week. However, members of SMC did differ significantly from the general population in rating their current church. Sixty-nine percent of the SMC members gave their congregation a grade of a C or less in meeting their spiritual needs, compared to 31 percent of the general population.

When compared to the general population, there was not a significant difference in SMC members' conception of God. Over sixty percent of both the general population and members of SMC said that they had no doubt that God exists. Members of SMC, however, were more liberal in their belief in the Bible. Only 1 percent of the members of SMC believed that the Bible should be taken literally, compared to 36 percent of the general population. These differences were significant at the .05 level.

Table 3: Reasons for Joining Silva Mind Control (N=127)

	Percentage
Financial problems	43
Physical illness	40
Problems of interpersonal relationships	32
Did not join in search of a solution to a problem	24
Psychological problems	17
Disenchantment with church or religious group	9
Marital problems	8
Loneliness	8
Distress brought on because of a death	8

Note: Respondents may have given more than one answer.

Membership and Commitment to SMC

The questionnaire asked respondents their reasons or motivations for initially joining SMC. The results are presented in Table 3. The two most common reasons members gave for joining SMC were financial problems (43%) and health problems (40%). Thirty-percent stated that they joined because of problems with interpersonal relationships and 24 percent stated that they did not join in search of a solution to a problem.

Table 4 provides a series of independent variables correlated with the Silva Mind Control Commitment Index. The upper half of Table 4 shows the Pearson correlation coefficients between the motives for joining SMC and continued organizational commitment. None of the initial motives for membership were significant in predicting organizational commitment.

Several demographic variables were significant in predicting organizational commitment. Whites were more committed to SMC than nonwhites (r = -.34). The higher one's income and educational attainment, the less one was committed to SMC (r = -.23 and r = -.25, respectively). Gender (r = -.07), age (r = -.07), and work status (r = -.10) were not significant predictors of commitment to SMC. Protestants did have higher degrees of commitment to SMC than non-protestants (r = -.27). However, other religious variables were not significant in predicting commitment, such as church attendance (r = -.02), childhood church attendance (r = .05), belief in the Bible (r = .13) and belief in God (r = .17). Those who were members of other New Age groups and practiced other types of New Age beliefs did not have a higher degree of commitment toward SMC (r = .08 and r = .11, respectively).

The two strongest predictors of commitment to SMC where number of friends and family members who were members of SMC. The more friends and family a respondent had that were members of SMC, the greater their commitment to SMC (r = .41 and r = .40, respectively).

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

When examining the demographic profiles of adherents to the New Age group Silva Mind Control this research found that members tend to be middle to upper-class white females, come from religious backgrounds, and still participate in traditional churches. One finding that consistently appears in research on New Age and nontraditional religious groups is that women tend to be highly represented. This may be because New Age and nonofficial religions present alternative religious roles for many women. Historically religion has been one of the most important sources of defining male and female gender roles and traditionally most mainstream religions have defined women's place in society as inferior to men's. New Age and nontraditional religious groups, however, are more open to alternative gender roles because they are based upon alternative sources of authority and often provide women with a chance to express their concerns for meaning and belonging. Throughout history women have been prominent as healers, mediums, and midwives and thus, have become leaders in many occult and nontraditional religions. This may explain why many women are attracted to the New Age movement. In the New Age movement women have the chance to develop leadership and power by becoming psychics, channelers, healers, tarot card readers, and astrologers.

This research was also concerned with the traditional religiosity of Silva Mind Control graduates and resulted in a number of interesting findings. The research shows that SMC respondents come from religious backgrounds and tend to continue to participate in many traditional churches. However, the majority of SMC members gave their current church a low rating in meeting their spiritual needs. Compared to the general population, members of SMC were not more liberal in their conception of God, but were more liberal in their belief toward the Bible.

This research also examined members' initial motivations for joining Silva Mind Control and commitment among group members. The

Table 4: Correlations of Independent Variables with Group Commitment (N=127)

Independent Variables	Commitment to Group
Joined because of:	
Financial problems	0.10
Physical illness	-0.04
Problems of interpersonal relationships	0.18
Psychological problems	-0.17
Disenchantment with church or religious group	-0.16
Marital problems	0.09
Loneliness	-0.13
Distress brought on because of a death	-0.18
Did not join in search of a solution to a problem	0.02
Race (2=White, 1=Non-white)	-0.34
Household inccome	-0.17
Years of Education	-.25*
Work Status (1=unemployed, 2=employed)	-0.10
Sex (2=female, 1=male)	-0.07
Religious affliation (2=Protestant, 1=NonProtestant)	-0.27
Marital Status (1=married, 2= other)	0.12
Church attendance	-0.02
Childhood church attendance	0.05
Belief in the Bible	0.13
Belief in God	0.17
Current church rating (A=1, B=2, C=3, D=4, F=5)	-0.06
Participation in other new age groups	0.08
Practice of other new age techniques	0.11
Number of friends who are SMC members	.41*
Number of family who are SMC members	.40*

*p < .05

results showed that SMC members believed that they were motivated by some form of deprivation when joining the group. The two most common reasons members gave for joining SMC were financial problems and health problems. However, when correlated with an organizational commitment index, none of these motivations were significant predictors of group commitment. These contradictory findings may due to the fact that during the course of their participation members of SMC are provided with "reasons" or "justifications" for why they joined and continue their participation. "Vocabularies of motives" are often supplied "after the act" to explain the "underlying causes of the act" even though they may not explain how the act came about (Mills 1940). Thus, the motives or reasons for joining a group or movement may arise out of the interaction with its members and its recruitment agents (Snow, Zurcher, Ekland-Olsen 1980). In this case, SMC seminars are particularly designed to sell new recruits on the benefits of continued commitment to the group. In fact, a large part of the Silva Basic Lecture Series is devoted to case studies in which Silva graduates tell new recruits what Silva Mind control has done for their life and how SMC will benefit the recruits.

Variables measuring social networks were the strongest predictors of commitment to SMC. Those respondents who had friends and family members in SMC, reported higher commitment to the organization. This finding supports several previous studies (Geriach, Hine 1970; Heirich 1977; McAdam 1986; Snow et al 1980) which found that most important factor in predicting group activism is prior contact with another group participant. For example, when examining the process of recruitment among members in several different social movements, Snow et al (1980) found that the majority of recruits were individuals who had previous associations with movement members. While Snow's research focused on the process of recruitment, this research demonstrates the importance of social networks in continued group commitment. Even though it has been recognized that the deprived are

often associated with cults and sects (Lofland 1966); these findings show that continued group commitment did not so much involve feelings of deprivation or other social psychological factors, but may be more related to the influence of family and friends.

In conclusion, the New Age movement can no longer be considered a fringe religious fad, but it has become an emerging part of American culture. However, very few social scientific studies have examined the New Age movement and its followers. Future studies need to explore why persons join New Age groups, members' commitment to New Age groups, women's roles in the movement, as well as examining many of the rituals and beliefs of the New Age Movement.

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ANIMAL RIGHTS LOBBYING: ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN SOLICITATIONS, FUNDING AND EFFECTIVENESS

Robert M. Sanders. State University of West Georgia

ABSTRACT

Some 7,000 animal interest organizations in the U.S. spend approximately $50,000,000 in advocacy of animals' welfare and rights. Organizations seeking to establish beneficial programs or lobby for favorable policy rely heavily on mailing solicitations for adequate funding. Findings indicate that solicitations do not generally translate into higher budgets, holdings and overhead, yet seem to lead toward higher salaries. However, despite some rather high overheads for some associations, most budgets tend to be disbursed toward actual program endeavors.

BACKGROUND: ANIMAL RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS

Societies supporting animal interests fall into four categories, all, however, with the intent of creating enhanced conditions for animals by focusing on and eliminating those elements of society that benefit through the exploitation of non-human beings. The first type of association shall be defined as the *environmental* group, centering on habitat and species protection. The second category encompasses the *education* association, emphasizing the plight of animals and encouraging more humane treatment. Third, the *welfare* organization focuses on issues such as animal adoptions, veterinary care, shelter maintenance, and protective legislation. Finally, there is the *animal rights* organization, whose members support, based on philosophical underpinnings, the belief that animals are sentient beings deserving of basic liberties.

Groups that fall into the animal rights classification are the most diverse and complex. Jasper and Nelkin (1992) provide a typology of animal rights activists, with *pragmatists* arguing for the balance of the interests of humans and animals with an acceptance of the hierarchy in animal and human species, and the more contentious *fundamentalist* espousing full rights for animals with the elimination of distinctions between humans and animals. Groves (1995) indicates that the fundamentalist declares rights for animals from moral contention, not from sympathy or strong love for animals, emotions found frequently among the welfarists. Jasper and Nelkin underscore this rejection of speciesism by demonstrating that pets in fundamentalist households are referred to as "companion animals," implying a relationship based more on equality and friendship than on obedience and authority. Most types of animal groups, however, venture into more than one advocacy venue.

A SOCIAL MOVEMENT AND ITS CONVICTIONS

The earliest activists formed animals rights associations centered mainly in Britain during the Nineteenth Century. These advocates were comprised primarily of the few women physicians in the medical profession, who startled their colleagues by calling for the elimination of vivisection. They often drew comparisons between the abolition movement and the animal rights crusade by supporting their position with relevant Biblical scripture and moral reasonings, such as Bentham's famous excerpt: "The question is not, can the animals reason? Nor can they talk? But, can they *suffer*?" (Singer 1975). Members eschewed the use of animals for labor or consumption.

Contemporary animal rights adherents, still consisting of women as the majority, compare the abuse and exploitation of women and minorities with that of animals. Objectification of animals through experimentation and consumption, as well as destruction of habitat (the latter notion particularly supported by environmentally centered animal support groups and their more focused advocates, ecofeminists), equates the abuse of women through violence and pornography. Activism informs the public, supporters emphasize, to disprove historical Christian humocentric theology, which fosters not only man/woman dominance, but human/animal dualism as well (Adams 1993). Consequently, advocates contend, sexism is behind critics' claims that animal rights activists tend to be too "emotional" or "nonrational" (Groves 1995).

Sperling (1988) indicates that early animal rights activism gained momentum as it expanded into the animal welfare arena. Legislation protecting against the abuse of livestock was adopted in 1822 in England. As the United States became more urbanized and industrialized, animal welfare organizations began to flourish. The American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (ASPCA) was

chartered in 1866 by lawyers and philanthropists concerned over the abuse of horses, still the primary mode of transportation at the time, as well as inhumane methods of slaughter for farm animals. The Society was able to secure cruelty legislation for acts such as the plucking of live chickens, excessive beating of horses, and the inhumane treatment and slaughter of cattle (Adams 1996). It also established more humane shelters for abandoned urban animals (Stevens 1996).

Similar organizations, such as the American Humane Association (AHA) and the National Anti-Vivisection Society, were created during the industrial revolution, seeking to educate society about various animal abuse in farming and industry, and supporting more benevolent alternatives when handling animals. In 1888, Leonard Eaton, President of AHA, stated: "Animals are now regarded as having rights that humans are bound to respect" (Jasper, Nelkin 1992). A small but emerging group of activists in the U.S. seized upon this concept of rights for animals, but criticized the welfarist and education organizations for not fully living up to their ideals of animal protection.

Today, rights advocates still contend that welfare agendas cannot lead to animal liberty. Law Professor Gary Francione has appealed for the entire eradication of the property status of animals, constitutive of larger systematic changes sought. Arguing that modern "new welfarists" cannot bring about an abolition of animal exploitation, he states that animal welfare has strong property notions where animal interests never prevail. Welfarism, Francione adds, is merely a more humane form of exploitation (Swart 1997). Animal rights is a social movement, supporters contend, where people understand that non-animals possess personhood. It is a crusade about empathy, the quest for the elimination of animal pain and the transformation of societal attitudes (Groves 1995).

THE GROWTH OF CONTEMPORARY ACTIVISM

Current activism on behalf of animals is nearly as diverse as the roughly 10 million members of some 7,000 different types of animal advocacy organizations in the U.S. (Williams 1991).

The stage was set for the animals rights movement to expand during the 1960's and 1970's when a generation of Americans came of age having never experienced severe economic hardship or domestic sacrifice during war. Large portions of this generation, however, developed a dissatisfaction with the major societal institutions of the day. A concern was cultivated for environmental quality, workplace justice, and the accountability of governmental institutions.

As political activism increased, social observers labeled the movement the "New Left," which brought attention to the anthropomorphic qualities of nature and its inhabitants. Culture reflected these ideas. Movies of the time such as *Planet of the Apes*, and children's programs such as "Sesame Street," increasingly gave animals human-like qualities. Movements on campus and in major cities emphasized moral values rather than material gains. The New Left's environmentalists, feminists, as well as anti-nuclear and peace activists, attacked traditional political parties' views toward women, minorities and nature, and the notion of progress as the necessary destruction of the earth without regard for the corresponding social and moral consequences. Activists saw nature as a fragile web of interconnections that linked humans to the universe, calling for people to live in harmony with nature.

Within the environmentalist camp, there were further critiques of individual values. Lake (1995) denotes that *nonanthropocentric* proponents criticized environmentalists who advocated protection of the environment and animals simply because of their inherent value to humans, not out of respect for nature/animals' autonomous character. Analogous to the rights argument, nonanthropocentrics advocated protection of animals and nature as a moral consideration, extending from one's self to concern for society, humanity and the ecosystem (Zimmerman 1995). Further rifts occurred between normatives. As animal rightists rejected speciests for being oblivious to the needs and pain of sentient beings, *nonindividualist* environmentalists promoted the protection of the entire system, castigating rights advocates for ignoring nonsentient elements of nature.

Reinforcing the critique of instrumentalism, which set humane against technocratic values, was the burgeoning rhetoric of rights. The civil rights movement inspired many groups as channels of participation were opening. Women, ethnic and racial groups, those mentally and physically challenged, all demanded rights to full economic and political participation. Special and public interest groups flourished, and animal rights advocates seized upon this popular rhetoric to further empower their own crusade.

New Age philosophy ensued, gaining momentum during the 1980's. It continued to support the notion of the interdependence between humans and the natural world. Curiously, in a period of increasing self-interest, many consumers would select products that did not harm the environment or animals (Jasper, Nelkin 1992).

MOVEMENT ACTIVITY

In 1976, knowledge of abuse of animals in the scientific world was not widespread. That year, philosopher Peter Singer was teaching a course on "animal liberation" at New York University, inspiring a group of local advocates. The group soon focused its attention on painful experiments involving cats at the nearby American Museum of Natural History. Studying the neurological bases of the cats' sexual behavior, scientists removed parts of the live subjects' brains while severing several of their nerves. The activists found a popular cause, employing several devices to bring attention to the research. Demonstrations took place in front of the museum. A letter-writing campaign ensued. The museum and the project's funding agency, the National Institute of Health, was inundated with thousands of pieces of correspondence. Scientists and politicians entered the controversy, questioning the validity of the project and its cost. Through mounting bad publicity, officials terminated the program, dismantled the facility, and forfeited the grants (Jasper, Nelkin 1992).

The museum victory set the foundation for further activism. By the late 1970s and early 1980s, animal rights as well as traditional welfare societies began to appear everywhere, using many of the museum protest techniques to bring attention to abuse at such diverse places as corporate and university laboratories, school dissection facilities, factory farms, organized hunts, fishing fleets, fur outlets, and animal exhibits (Fox 1990).

The groups quickly began to realize the importance of publicity. Vivisection was a perfect target, and widespread support for its elimination came swiftly. An association, People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA), became the vanguard of the movement, elevating promotion to a creative enterprise. They focused on the high taxpayer costs of animal testing, cruel procedures, the frivolous nature of some experiments, and unreliable findings evidenced by FDA approvals of drugs such as Thalidomide and Merital (Sapontzis 1987). Through films depicting animal abuse at the University of Pennsylvania and the Silver Springs (MD) Primate facilities, the group utilized commercial media to display images of severely mutilated living subjects amid appalling conditions and indifferent staff. Testimony given by PETA's founder, Alex Pacheco, led to prosecution of Silver Springs Director, Edward Taub, the first scientist to be convicted of animal cruelty (Guillermo 1993).

Other groups joined the conflict. Laboratories around the nation, from UCLA's Brain Institute to LSU's cat research facility, were targets of protest. The public became increasingly aware of painful and questionable procedures (Sharpe 1995). Subsequently, Pennsylvania-based Trans-Species Unlimited challenged the utilization of cats at Cornell University's substance abuse laboratory by presenting photographs of subjects convulsing, trembling and salivating after having been force-fed barbiturates. A local newspaper editorial compared the once respected facility to a concentration camp laboratory. After receiving an enormous amount of letters, Cornell discontinued the research and forfeited an additional $530,000 three-year National Institute on Drug Abuse grant (Williams 1991).

By the late 1980's, membership in all animal support groups doubled, leaning strongly toward the middle class. Participants tended to be in urban or university areas, comprised of over 70 percent women, with over 50 percent possessing college degrees (Jasper, Nelkin 1992).

Membership in more controversial rights organizations also increased. Vandalisms at animal research and dissection facilities, as well as fur outlets, became rather commonplace. In 1992, one of the largest laboratories researching fur-bearing animals was destroyed by a group called the Animal Liberation Front. Vivisection facilities began to experience difficulties hiring researchers and securing subjects. Security and repair costs soared. Laboratory raids were fairly common in the 1980's, with about 52 incidents per year; however, the ensuing decade experienced about eight episodes annually (Holden 1993).

FUNDING SOLICITATIONS

Participation in animal interest groups continues to grow in the U.S., and membership dues are the primary base of operations revenue. Organizations seeking to inform the public and influence lawmakers rely mainly on mailing requests to attain members. Dues paying constitutes the majority of activity for most

Table 1: Mailing Appeals by Organization 1995-1996

Organization	Type	Amount
African Wildlife Foundation	v	2
Alley Cat Allies	w	2
American Anti-Vivisection Society	e, r	10
American Human Association	e, w	10
American Rivers	v	10
ASPCA	e, w	22
Animal Legal Defense Fund	e, r	8
Animal People	e, r, w	2
Best Friends (NE Animal Shelter)	w	2
Defenders of Animal Rights	r, e	8
Defenders of Wildlife	v, e	12
Doris Day Animal League	e, w, r	8
Environmental Defense Fund	v, e	12
Farm Sanctuary	e, r	2
Friends of Animals	e, w, r	10
Fund for Animals	e, r	8
Greenpeace	v, e	12
Humane Farming Association	r, w	12
Humane Society, U.S.	e, w	24
In Defense of Animals	r	10
International Fund For Animal Welfare	r, e	24
International Primate Protection League	v, w	10
Last Chance for Animals	e, w, r	10
National Audubon Society	v	12
National Humane Education Society	e, r, w	30
National Wildlife Federation	v	22
Natural Resources Defense Council	v	18
Nature Conservancy	v	18
North Shore Animal League	w	14
People for Ethical Treatment of Animals	r, e, w	16
Physicians Comm., Responsible Medicine	r, e	8
Sea Shepherd Conservation Society	v	2
Sierra Club	v	16
Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund	v	14
United Animal Nations	w	2
Wilderness Society	v	14
Wildlife Conservation Society	v, e	18
World Wildlife Fund	v	24
Total		682

Mean requests= 17.7; mode= 2 & 10 solicitations (7).

Note: w-animal welfare organization; v-environmental, species, habitat protection; e-education; r-animal rights (organization's primary focus listed first).

Note: Joseph Connelly of Animal People has compiled an exhaustive record of organizational solicitations that covers a five-year period beginning in 1991.

members. Envelopes adorned with "teasers" displaying some form of abuse are a device to evoke interest and support.

Much of the approximately $50 million total budget of animal support societies in this country is utilized for mail solicitations (Williams 1991). Various societies point to achievements on behalf of animals to justify these types of expenditures, emphasizing that donations lead to more than just calendars, greeting cards, and return mailing labels for supporters.

Environmental organizations, for example, indicate that they purchased thousands of acres of habitat and had several more areas declared sanctuaries, saving scores of endangered species in the last two years. In 1995 and 1996, rights and welfare organizations helped legislators establish numerous animal advocacy laws, including increased protections for laboratory, zoo and performance animals. Their investigations led to animal abuse citations at research facilities, farms and animal attractions, while education societies informed the public of issues ranging from shelter care to humane treatment of animals, vegetarianism, and alternatives to fur and vivisection (Farinato 1996; Geatz 1995; McCaffrey 1995).

Is the practice of mail solicitation fruitful? Do increased solicitations generally lead to larger budgets and advocacy programs, or merely expanded organizational overhead, holdings or CEO salaries? Furthermore, do larger organizational budgets usually transcend to program advocacy accomplishments, or only larger overhead, holdings or salaries?

OPERATIONALIZATION AND FINDINGS

In a two-year study tracking mailing solicitations by national animal interest organizations, 12 active members of local groups in five demographically differing states (Georgia, Florida, New Jersey, California, Pennsylvania) received correspondence from 38 societies. Each member made an initial contribution to a particular organization prior to 1995. Additional requests and solicitations from other groups followed.

On average, the National Humane Education Society sent the most requests, 30. The International Fund for Animal Welfare (IFAW), World Wildlife Fund (WWF) and Humane Society of the U.S. (HSUS) had 24 solicitations, while the National Wildlife Federation (NWF) solicited 22 times. The Natural Resources Defense Council, Nature Conservancy, Wildlife Conservation Society (WCS), the Sierra Club and PETA were also among the top 10 solicitors. Additionally, the Sierra Club, Environmental Defense Fund (EDF), the Nature Conservancy, and WWF each mailed over 12 "final notices" for membership renewal. Seven organizations mailed two requests (African Wildlife Foundation, Alley Cat Allies (ACA), Animal People, United Animal Nations (UAN), Farm Sanctuary, Sea Shepherd Conservation Society (SSCS), Best Friends) (Table 1).

The Nature Conservancy had the highest organizational budget ($312,462,000), followed by NWF ($100,653,000) and WCS ($66,299,000). The North Shore Animal League (NSAL) and HSUS held the largest budgets of non-environmentally oriented animal interest organizations, ($31,757,000 and $31,697,000, respectively). On the other end of the scale, two non-environmental groups had the smallest budgets. ACA had $44,000, ensued by UAN ($192,000) and the International Primate Protection League (IPPL) ($324,000).

WCS had the most assets ($103,586,000), with NSAL next ($50,067,000), and then WWF ($44,838,000). Greenpeace's assets ledger showed a negative balance of $7,168, followed by ACA, possessing $8,000, and American Rivers ($10,000).

The Nature Conservancy spent the most on advocacy programs ($261,600,000), with NWF second, spending $62,283,000, and WCS ensuing with an outlay of $55,677,000. NSAL allocated $22,834,000. ACA had the lowest program budget ($36,000), followed by Animal People ($101,000) and IPPL ($200,000).

The Nature Conservancy had the highest overhead ($28,641,000), followed by WCS ($10,622,000) and NWF ($10,573,000). NSAL had an overhead of $8,923,000. ACA had the lowest overhead, spending less than $1,000, followed by Animal People ($18,000) and SSCS ($36,000).

Jay Hair, President of NWF, received the highest annual salary ($336,377). John Stevenson, President of NSAL, earned $287,299. Fred Krupp, Director of EDF, was next, with $254,879. Eight societies did not compensate their chief operating officers. They were American Rivers, ACA, the Doris Day Animal League, the Fund for Animals, IPPL, Last Chance for Animals, Physician's Committee for Responsible Medicine, and SSCS. American Rivers was the only environmental organization not to compensate its chief executive officer (Table 2).

Bivariate analysis examined strength of correlations between organizational solicitations, assets, program advocacy output, society

Table 2: Assets and Expenditures

Organization	Budget	Assets	Program	Overhead	CEO Salary*
African Wildlife Foundation	4,536	3,338	3,526	1,010	138+
Alley Cat Allies	44	8	36	>1	0
American Anti-Vivisection Society	1,045	8,017	853	192	31
American Human Association	6,589	3,022	4,860	1,729	77+
American Rivers	2,868	10	2,339	530	0
ASPCA	18,112	36,371	12,211	5,901	206+
Animal Legal Defense Fund	1,315	656	924	391	52
Animal People	192	33	101	18	14+
Best Friends (NE Animal Shelter)	2,621	3,346	1,633	988	22+
Defenders of Animal Rights	615	1,164	488	127	44
Defenders of Wildlife	6,819	5,401	5,231	1,588	140+
Doris Day Animal League	1,841	592	1,175	667	0
Environmental Defense Fund	24,600	20	19,660	3,504	255+
Farm Sanctuary	853	1,128	710	143	17+
Friends of Animals	4,407	2,929	3,875	532	74+
Fund for Animals	3,390	13,054	2,531	819	0
Greenpeace	24,157	-7,168	16,804	7,353	65+
Humane Farming Association	1,212	1,542	974	243	29+
Humane Society, U.S.	31,697	44,726	20,285	5,163	250+
In Defense of Animals	1,378	374	1,034	345	53
International Fund For Animal Welfare	7,386	2,009	4,488	2,899	202+
International Primate Protection League	324	502	200	123	0
Last Chance for Animals	467	26	278	188	0
National Audubon Society	42,433	39,992	27,213	3,566	206
National Humane Education Society	6,338	1,320	5,056	1,282	70+
National Wildlife Federation	100,635	2,620	62,283	10,573	336+
Natural Resources Defense Council	23,071	19,410	18,699	4,372	187+
Nature Conservancy	312,462	25	261,600	28,641	204
North Shore Animal League	31,757	50,067	22,834	8,923	287+
People for Ethical Treatment of Animals	13,438	4,289	10,937	2,501	62+#
Physicians Comm., Responsible Medicine	1,378	20	1,218	160	0
Sea Shepherd Conservation Society	598	446	562	36	0
Sierra Club	43,996	15,345	36,314	6,356	126+
Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund	11,550	6,829	8,780	2,770	143+~
United Animal Nations	437	44	337	101	36+
Wilderness Society	20,000				unknown
Wildlife Conservation Society	66,299	103,586	55,677	10,622	251+@
World Wildlife Fund	63,597	44,838	54,962	8,635	228+

*All figures rounded in thousands.

+ - Other top officials in the organization earn similar salaries.

- Additional living expenses also included for some personnel.

~ - As of august 1, 1997, officially known as Earthjustice Legal Defense Fund.

@ - WCS, formerly known as the New York Zoological Society, also does business as Wildlife Conservation International.

Sources: Data compiled from the U.S. Internal Revenue Service, fiscal 1996, the Animal People (Clinton, WA) "watchdog" report, Dec. 1996, and organizational annual reports.

Table 3: Correlation Matrix

	Budget	Assets	Program	Overhead	CEO Salary
Assets	0.169				
Programs	0.996	0.163			
Overhead	0.995	0.337	0.948		
CEO Salary	0.486	0.574	0.445	.625	
Solicitations	0.367	0.408	0.345	0.489	0.667

Bivariate analysis. Scores indicate Pearson's product moment correlation coefficients.

overhead and CEO salaries. More frequent solicitations did *not* tend to correlate with higher budgets, overall assets, overhead or program outlay. A disproportionate distribution for salaries, however, was indicated by somewhat strong associations between solicitations and CEO wages (Pearson's r = .667).

Organizations with larger budgets did not commonly have grand asset holdings, nor did their CEO's earn greater wages. They did spend more on programs (a sound correlation of .996), and also spent abundantly on overhead (another powerful relationship, r = .995). There were also robust associations among organizations with large program distributions and higher overhead (r = .948). Societies with large amounts of assets generally allocated *less* for programs and overhead, yet they moderately tended to pay higher CEO salaries (a correlation to r = .574).

Organizations with large program distributions were generally not inclined to spend more on CEO salaries, yet higher overhead tended to correlate toward higher salaries (r = .625) (Table 3).

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The animal defense movement has taken many forms since its more formalized foundation during the Nineteenth Century. While advocating humane treatment, habitat protection, sheltering or fundamental rights for animals, the crusade has been championed by a decidedly female, middle-class core in the last three decades, yet membership in animal advocacy organizations continues to expand to other elements of society.

Organizations employ mail solicitations for their primary base of support. These requests, however, generally did not lead to higher budgets, holdings, program outlay, or overhead. More solicitations did relate to higher CEO salaries. Probably, organizations possessing an established thriving financial base had the means to solicit more often, and expend elevated wages. The substantial and more renowned organizations continued to thrive. The good news is that supporters' financial support for most organizations appeared to be employed in a judicious manner. Societies with larger budgets customarily did not seem to amass grand assets or disburse exorbitant salaries, while expending more on actual programs. Overheads were higher, however, possibly justified by ambitious advocacy projects.

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WORK SCHEDULING AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF FAMILY DISRUPTION

Robert Gramling, George Wooddell, Craig J Forsyth,
University of Southwestern Louisiana

ABSTRACT

Using a unique paired sample we compare two types of non-traditional work scheduling with "standard" work scheduling (approximately eight hours a day during daylight, five or six days a week), in order to evaluate their perceived disruptive effects on family life. We find that one spouse's perception of the disruptiveness of work scheduling is the strongest predictor of the other spouse's perceived disruptiveness of work schedule, far stronger than many of the structural variables that might be thought to mitigate the effects of alternative work scheduling, and far stronger than even the schedule itself. The findings provide strong statistical and conceptual evidence that work scheduling itself is less important than how the marital partners interpret that scheduling, and lend credence to theoretical approaches that conceptualize the family as a microscopic social system where increasingly members must negotiate or construct the rules and roles that define behaviors.

INTRODUCTION

The connection between work scheduling and family life has gained the attention of numerous scholars (Forsyth 1992; Gramling, Forsyth 1987; Hughes, Galinsky, Morris 1992; Kanter 1977; Ladewig, Heath, McGee 1986; Piotrkowski 1979; Pleck, Staines, Lang 1980). The fact that most people in the work force are also married has naturally called attention to the complex work/family interface (Hughes et al 1992), and the difficulties that workers experience managing their dual roles in the work place and the family (Voydanoff 1988). Augmenting this scholarly attention has been the precipitous rise in the number of persons engaged in non-traditional work scheduling (Blair, Johnson 1992; Gramling 1989; Gramling, Forsyth 1987; Presser 1987; Staines, Pleck 1983). This latter body of research has found agreement on at least one issue; nonconventional work scheduling is demanding and potentially problematic for families. Gramling and Forsyth (1987) argued that the best explanation for the disruptiveness of non-traditional work scheduling was to be had within the social construction of reality paradigm first proposed by Berger and Kellner in 1964.

As Berger and Kellner (1964) originally noted:

> The re-construction of the world in marriage occurs principally in the course of conversation, as we have suggested. The implicit problem of this conversation is how to match two individual definitions of reality. By the very logic of the relationship, a common overall definition must be arrived at -otherwise the conversation will become impossible and, ipso facto, the relationship will be endangered.... The longer this conversation goes on, the more massively real do the objectifications become to the partners. In the marital conversation a world is not only built, but it is also kept in a state of repair and ongoingly refurnished. The subjective reality of this world for the two partners is sustained by the same conversation.

Gramling and Forsyth contended that non-traditional work scheduling was problematic in that it not only was the intrafamily "conversation" that Berger and Kellner referred to interrupted, but also that consequently interfamily relationships were affected.

> As alternative work scheduling increases... family members, or portions of the nuclear family, increasingly experience interaction within the family's social network as individuals or as portions of the nuclear family. Because of the indexical and reflexive nature of these experiences, the absent member(s) can never really share, in a total sense, in these experiences, or the constructs that emerge from them. Thus family members' individual biographies and their relationships to the family's social network are different, a situation that further exacerbates the loss of shared meaning. It is very difficult for these losses to be made up, as most members of the family's social network are on traditional schedules, and are thus not available for interaction when the nontraditional schedule individual has leisure time. (Gramling, Forsyth 1987)

The present research uses a unique paired sample of couples to further investigate the relationship between work scheduling and perceptions of family disruption.

We use two types of non-traditional work scheduling: what Gramling (1989) has called "concentrated work scheduling" where one member of the family (usually the male) is gone for extended period of time on the job; and shift work, where the individual works cyclical patterns of employment hours over the 24 hour day. These are contrasted with "standard" work scheduling, approximately eight hours a day during daylight, five or six days a week.

NON-TRADITIONAL WORK SCHEDULING

Concentrated Work Scheduling

Although a great deal of literature has been devoted to the effects of nontraditional work scheduling, only a small portion of this research is concerned with those families in which the father/husband is regularly (or irregularly) absent from the home for extended periods due to his employment.[1] Certain vocations require this type of scheduling and consequently families in which a spouse has a concentrated work schedule are more vulnerable to the problems caused by work/family inter-face (Jones, Butler 1980). Merchant seamen (Forsyth 1988, 1992; Forsyth, Gramling 1990), military personnel (Hunter 1984; Hunter, Nice 1978), fishermen (Maril 1983; Orbach 1977), offshore oil workers (Forsyth, Gauthier 1991; Gauthier, Forsyth, Bankston 1993; Gramling 1989; Morrice, Taylor, Clark, McCann 1985; Storey, Lewis, Shrimpton, Clark 1986; Wooddell, Forsyth, Gramling 1994); long-distance truck drivers, and jet-setting business executives are examples of what Forsyth and Gramling (1987) have termed a "feast or famine" schedule. The present research uses one of these potentially problematic occupations, offshore oil work.

The offshore oil-worker typically goes to the job site and comes back to his residence seven, ten, fourteen, twenty-eight, or sixty days later. Then, after a specified number of days off, stands ready at the dock again.[2] The succession of partings and reunions, which can be as many as 26 a year, has been noted to affect the familial life of the offshore oil worker, however, stressful reactions to it, are not peculiar to offshore work, but rather seem to epitomize what is found in other occupations having similar work patterns (Forsyth, Gramling 1987; Gramling 1989).

Shift Work

Research on shift work indicates that alternative schedules interfere with family life, especially in terms of the time available to spend with spouses and children (Hertz, Charlton 1989). Shift workers report interference between work schedule and the ability to fulfill roles as spouses and parents (Blair, Johnson 1992; Peterson, Gurson 1992; Presser 1980, 1986). When compared to day working families, both working and non-working wives report dissatisfaction with the division of household labor in shift work families. Working long or odd hours limits the extent to which members are physically available for family or school related activities, while evening and week-end work often prevents workers from being available for family activities sporting and/or club events and family gatherings (Hood, Golden 1979; Presser 1984, 1987; Voydanoff 1988). Research has shown that shift workers have a higher prevalence of disrupted social lives than day workers (Gordon, Cleary, Parker, Czeisler 1986).

WORK AND FAMILY DISRUPTION

Level of disruption is a complex issue. The temporal demands of work in some careers are so encompassing that they have been reported to severely curtail family interactions (Jones, Butler 1980). Forsyth and Gramling (1987; 1990) have found the gradual emerging of some very non-traditional familial strategies among families of offshore workers and merchant seamen. Nearly all of these families were thrown into temporary conflict by the husband's schedule, while others remained in conflict permanently. Morrice et al (1985) found the intermittent presence of husbands to be extremely stressful and disruptive to wives. Forsyth (1992) has found that alienation scores were higher among individuals who adapted certain of these strategies. An absent husband means dislocation of the familiar pattern of family interaction. During this absence the wife may experience several stress inducing situations. The level of stress can be mediated by specific family strategies which have been constructed in response to husband/father absence (Forsyth, Gautier 1991; Forsyth, Gramling 1987, 1990).

If the construction of social reality perspective is the most useful in examining family disruption as Gramling and Forsyth

(1987) argue, then what is really of interest is the *construction* of family disruption. Given that some antecedent condition may be present for a mutually agreed upon impact of work scheduling on the family, once that initial condition is present, it may well be that the interactive process becomes more important in the construction of family impacts than the scheduling itself. Similar families where the male works similar schedules may end up with very different decisions concerning how disruptive that scheduling is. Because we have paired data, and because we asked both members of the couple how disruptive the male's schedule was, we can compare the relative effects of various schedules, various intervening factors, and the perception of the spouse. In short, if the best predictor of how disruptive one partner sees the work scheduling is how the other partner sees it, rather than structural factors such as the scheduling itself, then perhaps a much more process oriented approach toward examining the interaction of work and family would be appropriate. Alternatively, if structural factors, such as the scheduling of work, the number and age of children, income and education of the husband and wife, predict the extent of perceived disruption, then the exploration of how these factors line up to maximize or minimize disruption would be appropriate for both research and practical reasons. The data collection procedure described below was designed to address this issue.

METHODOLOGY

The data used in this study were obtained in interviews with an available sample of married couples where the husband was in a variety of work scheduling situations. A structured questionnaire was used in the interviews. This resulted in a final useable sample of 388 families: 121 families in which the husband worked a normal work schedule (approximately 8-5, 5 days a week); 68 families in which the men worked some kind of shift work (swing-shift, graveyards or rotating shifts, eight hours or more a day, 4, 5, or 6 days a week); and 199 families in which the men worked offshore.

The standard sampling procedure of identifying a population, generating a sampling frame and then using a random or pseudo-random sample taken from the population was inappropriate for this research for two reasons. First, for all practical purposes it is impossible to delineate the population of offshore workers. These people are not listed in any publication or directory, and because their concentrated work scheduling means that they only have to commute to work infrequently (e.g. with 14 and 14 scheduling only 13 times a year) they can live considerable distance from where they meet to go offshore. As a result offshore workers live all over Louisiana and Texas, contiguous states and indeed throughout the southern United States. Second, we needed an extreme over sample of offshore and shift work schedules, since these types of schedules are much less frequent in the population (only a tiny fraction in the case of offshore) than is standard work scheduling. Accordingly, the sample was drawn from Louisiana and Texas using a snowball method. Snowball sampling is a method through which the researcher generates an ever-increasing set of sample observations. One respondent in the sample under study is asked to suggest others for interviewing, and each of the succeeding interviewed participants is asked for additional recommendations (Babbie 1992; Glaser, Straus 1967). This type of sampling was the only practical way to obtain sufficient number of shift and offshore workers.

Each family in the sample consisted of at least a husband and wife. While we would expect that non-traditional work scheduling would be even more problematic for single head of household families, at least with offshore work the extremely restrictive scheduling might make it impossible for a single parent to work offshore. In addition the majority of single head of households are female and very few females work offshore, with anecdotal evidence that even fewer married females work offshore. In any event we did not find any single heads of households that were working offshore and for comparability restricted the entire sample to families where the husband and wife were both present. Also because very few females work offshore the husband's work schedule was the variable that divided the families into groups. This is not to say that non-traditional work scheduling by females in the family would not be as problematic, or perhaps more problematic than the males, only that we did not identify any married women who worked offshore to provide for comparison across samples.

Both husbands and wives filled out identical questionnaires. Each questionnaire requested information about the respondent, their spouse, both their own and their spouses work and work scheduling, and the perceived disruptiveness of their own and their spouses work. In this manner we obtain paired data with which we can compare the way in which individuals assess themselves and their work with the way their spouse assesses them and their work. Each couple was considered a single case, with the husband's and wife's questionnaire data entered as a single row in a rectangularized data file. Thus there are actually two of each conceptual variable in each case; one for the men and one for the women. Respondents were asked to not cooperate with each other in filling out questionnaires and in about 90 percent of the cases an investigator or an assistant was present when the questionnaire was filled out. In the other 10 percent of cases the husband was administered the instrument at his work site, on the first day of his shift, in the presence of a research assistant. The wife was mailed her instrument at the same time accompanied by a self addressed stamped envelope for return to the researcher.

In addition to work schedule, an assessment of the perceived disruptiveness of the work schedule and a variety of demographic information, we obtained information on the extent to which respondents embraced traditional family roles. Previous research on merchant seamen has found that wives of seamen generally have traditional outlooks, but that the necessity to undertake virtually all the household responsibilities when their husbands were absent created a conflict with these traditional views (Forsyth 1992; Forsyth, Gramling 1990). Morrice et al (1985) confirmed the same conflict pattern among offshore oil workers. Other researchers (Gauthier et al 1993; Storey et al 1986) have substantiated these dominant patterns among families of offshore oil workers finding that wives develop great proficiency in traditional male tasks while the man is away. When the husband/father returns he realizes and often resents his wife's new capabilities. The literature on occupationally induced father absence among military families and fishermen also supports these findings (Hunter 1984; Hunter, Nice 1978; Maril 1983; Orbach 1977). Thus, traditional/non-traditional attitudes and behavior for either husbands or wives may mitigate or exacerbate the effect of work scheduling on family disruption.

Traditionalism about family matters was measured by the scale developed by Levinson and Huffman (1955). The Family Disruption scales (see Appendix) were developed by the authors on the basis of prior research [identifying references] and are comparable to other similar measures. The appendix contains those questions from that survey that were used in the present paper, along with the Cronbach's Alpha for the scales where appropriate.

We started with the wife's perception of the disruptiveness of the husbands schedule using this as the dependent variable for OLS regression. For independent variables we chose structural variables that could mitigate or exacerbate the effects of work scheduling. For both husbands' and wives' we entered education, traditionalism, friendship network support, and annual income. For the family we entered the age of the youngest child and years married (using the females' answers). To measure scheduling we entered two dummy variables one for shift work and one for concentrated work scheduling with normal scheduling as the excluded category, and the number of years on this scheduling (as reported by the males). Finally we entered the males perceived disruption of his schedule. We then constructed a second equation which used the same variables as in the first equation with two differences. In the first equation wives' perception of the disruptiveness of husbands work scheduling was the dependent variable and husbands' perception of the disruptiveness of his schedule was one of the independent variables. In the second equation husbands' perception of the disruptiveness of his scheduling was the dependent variable, and wife's perception of the disruptiveness of husbands' scheduling was one of the independent variables. We realize that this is not traditionally the way OLS regression is used. However, we have several special considerations that make this use appropriate. First, we would argue that to the extent that the disruptiveness of the husband's schedule is a construct shared by the couple this construct is not *usefully* conceived of as a cause and effect relationship. That is, it does not make sense to conceive of the husband's perception as caused by the wife's or vice versa. We recognize that

Table 1: Standardized OLS Coefficients for Regression of Wives' and Husbands' Perceptions of the Disruptive Effect of the Husband's Work Schedule on the Family

Independent Variable	R-squared	Wives' Perception	Husband's Perception
Wives' Perception of Family Disruption	.37122**	-	.60928**
Husbands' Perception of Family Disruption	.37122**	.50909**	-
Network Disruption	.45672**	.29516**	-
Concentrated Work Scheduling	.48125**	.15913**	-

**p> .005

husbands' perceptions, statements and actions influence wives and vice versa. We also recognize that it is possible to conceive of those influences over time as many (thousands) micro causal relationships, as something he does or says influences her and then her reply influences him. This is the way constructs are created. However, with the exception of a methodology like content analysis, in a laboratory like setting and for very short periods of interaction, it is simply not practical to approach the collection of empirical evidence of this process, and with those limitations the usefulness of the resulting data for our purposes would be questionable. We certainly cannot trace the years of construction that go on in a marriage, nor can we observe the things that were *not* said, or the effect of his *not* being there. Without belaboring the case we are conceiving of the construction process as one of reciprocal influence. Thus, we are using OLS regression as a form of multiple correlation, with regard to the two perception-of-disruption variables (his and hers) and are not trying to firmly establish cause and effect relationships.

Second, we wish to sort out the covariation between husbands' and wives' perceptions of the disruptiveness of his work scheduling from other factors that effect the perceptions of disruptiveness. In order to do this we must alternately use husbands perceptions as the dependent variable and then wives' perceptions as the dependent variable. Thus, while the variance explained will be the same whether using husband's perception alone to predict wife's or vice versa, our procedure allows us to compare that common variance to other factors that might predict either husbands' or wife's perceptions of disruption.

FINDINGS

With the wife's perception of the disruptiveness of the husbands schedule as the dependent variable and the remainder of the variables entered as independent variables in a stepwise fashion, the first variable to enter the equation is husband's perception of the disruptiveness of his schedule, and this accounts for over 37 percent of the variance (Table 1). The second variable to enter the equation is wife's friendship network and it raises the R Square to .456. Finally, the dummy variable associated with concentrated work scheduling enters the equation raising the R Square to .481. No other variables entered at the .05 level.

With the husband's perception of the disruptiveness of his schedule as the dependent variable the first variable to enter the equation was wife's perceptions of the disruptiveness of his schedule, explaining, of course, over 37 percent of the variance, but unlike the equation where the wife's perception of the disruptiveness of the schedule was the dependent variable no other variables entered.

DISCUSSION

The interpretation of these equations is that for both husbands and wives the overwhelming factor in the perception of the disruptiveness of the husband's work schedule is spouse's perception of the disruptiveness of that schedule. Spouse's perception explains *far more variance than the schedule itself*, or the other structural factor (wife's friendship network) that might mitigate or exacerbate the effects of that schedule. For the women in this sample next in importance was whether their friends called or came by less when their husband was home, and finally the type of schedule itself. Since the dummy variable for concentrated work scheduling was the only significant schedule variable, it appears to be this type of work (usually offshore) that is the problem. For men, the schedule itself has *no significant relationship* to the perceived disruptiveness of his work. Overall the strength of

Table 2: Standardized OLS Coefficients for Regression of Friendship Network Disruption and Work Schedule on the Wives' Perceptions of the Disruptive Effect of the Husband's Work Schedule on the Family

Independent Variable	R-squared	Wives' Perception
Network Disruption	.18594**	.412514**
Concentrated Work Scheduling	.24134**	.236098**

**p> .0001

the relationship between husband's perception of the disruptiveness of his work schedule and the wife's perception of the disruptiveness of the husband's schedule, *which is far stronger than the work schedule itself*, provides strong statistical and conceptual evidence that work scheduling itself is less important than how the marital partners interpret that scheduling. This finding supports the idea that research and intervention aimed at addressing the effects of work scheduling on family life should take the construction process into account.

CONCLUSIONS

The data reported in this paper were specifically collected to attempt to test the relationship between work scheduling and family disruption, as reported by the marital partners and, moreover, to do so within the construction of reality perspective. Had we addressed the problem from a more structural approach we might very well have still examined the affects of work scheduling and friendship network support on the wife's reporting of the disruptiveness of the husband's work schedule. Had we done that we might also have entered the offshore dummy and network support as independent variables attempting to explain wife's perception of the disruptiveness of the husband's work scheduling. The results of this equation are reported in Table 2.

Here we find that network support is a much stronger predictor of perceived disruptiveness than concentrated work scheduling itself, initially explaining over 18 percent of the variance (R^2 = .184), and with the addition of the offshore dummy the equation explains almost a quarter of the variance (R^2 of .241). This, we could argue is an important finding, that network support may prove to mitigate the effects of certain types of alternative work scheduling, and certainly findings that explain less variance in the dependant variable are routinely reported in the major sociological journals. We can still make the argument that network support may mitigate the effects of certain types of alternative work scheduling. However because we approached the problem with a data collection procedure that allowed the marital partners to be coded as a single case, and correspondingly to be assessed as a microscopic social system, we can argue that *how marital partners come to define the disruptiveness of a work schedule is more important than network support, and far more important than the schedule itself.*

Caveats are of course in order. First, the empirical associations reported in this paper are preliminary findings, and should be regarded as such until confirmed by additional research. Second, this research is narrow, focusing on the perceived disruptive effects, as we measure them, of specific types of work scheduling, as we sampled them. While we think some useful insights into the link between work scheduling and family interaction emerged from the findings, and suspect that these same findings (i.e. that interactively arrived at definitions of the situation have great explanatory power) would hold for other family, and other micro systems, we recognize the limitations of the current analysis. Third, others more creative than we have been may figure out a way to empirically disassemble the construction process that appears to be present, into its myriad causal elements. To date we have been unable to do so, and accordingly have addressed the consideration through a combination of data collection/coding and a slightly unorthodox use of multiple regression. Finally even though the relationships reported in this paper are strong we are still explaining slightly less than half of the variance in the variable of interest. Other structural variables, constructionist variables or a combination of both may be the key to further understanding the relationship between work scheduling and family interaction.

Without entering into the subtleties of the debates within the assorted micro-theoretical perspectives that lay claim to various

portions of the social construction process, or to the relationships between them (see Gramling 1990 for an overview), suffice it to say that when spouses perception of the disruptiveness of a particular work schedule is a far better predictor of reported disruptiveness than is the schedule itself, something is going on that is unlikely to be explained totally by structural variables. This is especially true since many of these structural variables were entered as controls in our analysis, but dropped out.

We want to be very clear that we are not proposing that structural variables are unimportant. They are significant in the findings reported here. We do feel, however, that it is important that investigators not fall into the trap of measuring variables because they are easy to measure, and perhaps missing important factors that drive human attitudes and behaviors. In the study of what is perhaps the quintessential example of the construction process, the nuclear family, creative ways to empirically address these broad, ongoing constructs are necessary if we are to understand the complex processes at work.

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END NOTES

1. These occupations are almost totally dominated by males, and in our data are *entirely* confined to males. Accordingly we will use masculine gender for simplicity and accuracy, since the literature and our conclusions could not be generalized to females.

2. Most commonly the days off are equivalent to the days at work (e.g. 7 & 7 or 14 & 14). However, some workers have a schedule with twice the number of work days compared to days off (e.g. 14 & 7).

APPENDIX

Network disruption (Wife)

1. My friends call or drop by less when my spouse is home (six point Likert scale)

Disruptiveness of husbands' schedules (Wife) (alpha = .813) (six point Likert scales)

1. My spouse's work prevents us from being together at times that we need to make decisions affecting our lives.
2. My spouse's work creates confusion about who makes the decisions in our family.
3. My spouse's schedule prevents involvement in important aspects in the children's lives such as sports events and holidays.

Disruptiveness of husbands' schedules (husband) (alpha = .791) (six point Likert scales)

1. My work prevents us from being together at times that we need to make decisions affecting our lives.
2. My work creates confusion about who makes the decisions in our family.
3. My schedule prevents involvement in important aspects in the children's lives such as sports events and holidays.

Work schedules (husband)

1. Concentrated work Scheduling: where the male is gone for extended period of time on the job (usually offshore work) (0, 1, dummy).
2. Shift work: where the individual works rotating cyclical patterns of employment hours over the 24 hour day (0,1, dummy).
3. Standard work scheduling: approximately eight hours a day during daylight, five or six days a week (excluded category).

WHAT KEEPS MARRIED PARTNERS ATTRACTED TO EACH OTHER?

Susan Sprecher, Illinois State University

ABSTRACT

This study identifies the factors that contribute to the maintenance of attraction in marital relationships and compares these predictors with the predictors of initial attraction (as recalled for an earlier stage of the relationship). A network sample of 157 married individuals were presented with a list of 17 predictors of attraction and asked to indicate both the level and the importance (as a reason for attraction) of each predictor, for either initial attraction or the maintenance of attraction (randomly assigned). Most of the predictors of attraction were perceived to be somewhat to extremely characteristic of the relationship or the partner, for both the initial attraction period and the current (maintenance) period. Physical attractiveness was judged to be a significantly more important predictor of initial attraction than of the maintenance of attraction. However, Other's liking (reciprocal liking), familiarity, and something special about the setting were all viewed as more important predictors of the maintenance of attraction than of initial attraction.

INTRODUCTION

Considerable research has been conducted to examine what factors lead to initial attraction between previously unacquainted strangers. For example, four factors frequently discussed as determinants of initial attraction are similarity, proximity, physical attractiveness of the other, and reciprocal liking (Berscheid 1985; Brehm 1992). However, a neglected topic on interpersonal attraction is how these four factors and others contribute to the *maintenance* of attraction in long-term (marital) relationships. Attraction and love have been viewed in the U.S. and other western societies as necessary conditions for marriage (Cancian 1987; D'Emilio, Freedman 1988). We know, however, from divorce statistics that attraction erodes over time in many marriages. Thus, an important but neglected research question is: What factors contribute to the maintenance of attraction in marriage or other long-term relationships and how do these factors differ, if at all, from the factors that contribute to initial attraction?

A Theoretical Model of Types of Predictors of Attraction

A number of factors have been identified as determinants of attraction, including the four mentioned above. After reviewing the social psychology literature on attraction, the family sociology literature on mate selection, and the psychology literature on falling in love, Aron, Dutton, Aron, and Iverson (1989) generated a list of 11 determinants of attraction and falling love. These were: similarity, propinquity, desirable characteristics of other, reciprocal liking, social influences, filling needs, arousal/unusualness of the setting, specific cues, readiness for entering a relationship, isolation from others, and mystery. These determinants of attraction and others can be organized according to Kelley, Berscheid, Christensen, Harvey, Huston, Levinger, McClintock, Peplau & Peterson's (1983) model of causal conditions affecting close relationships (Simpson, Harris 1994; Sprecher 1989; Sprecher, Hatfield 1985). *P* variables are attributes the *Person* brings to the relationship (social motives); *O* variables are attributes (physical attractiveness) of the *Other*, the target of P's attraction; *P x O* variables are unique to the association between P and O (similarity); and *E* variables refer to aspects of the social or physical environment (social support for the relationship). Most research on determinants of attraction focuses on *O* variables (what is it about the Other that is attractive?) and *P x O* variables (what is it about the unique relationship between P and O characteristics that leads to attraction? [similarity]). In this research, O, P x O, and E factors are examined as determinants of attraction.

The Maintenance of Attraction in Relationships

Perhaps because change is more interesting than stability, the initiation and termination stages of relationships have been of greater interest to relationship researchers than has the maintenance of relationships. According to Dindia and Canary (1993), there are at least four ways to define relational maintenance:

> 1) to keep a relationship in existence; 2) to keep a relationship in a specified state or condition; 3) to keep a relationship in satisfactory condition and 4) to keep a relationship in repair.

Although there has been research on the routine behaviors that contribute to either the maintenance of the existence of relationships or to the maintenance of relationships at a certain level of satisfaction (Dainton, Stafford

1993; Dindia, Baxter 1987), no research has examined how long-term (marital) partners maintain a level of attraction in their relationship. Simpson and Harris (1994) concluded, based on a review of the interpersonal attraction literature, that little research "has examined how attraction is maintained once a relationship becomes close and committed" and suggested that "Future research should explore how attraction is maintained in long-term relationships".

In response to Simpson and Harris's (1994) call for research on the maintenance of attraction, in an earlier preliminary investigation (Sprecher forthcoming), I used a self-report method (see Aron et al 1989; Sprecher, Aron, Hatfield, Cortese, Potapova, Levitskaya 1994, for examples of the use of this method in studies of attraction) to examine young adults' perceptions of the factors that contributed to either the maintenance of their attraction or to their initial attraction, in either friendship or dating relationships. Other's warmth and kindness, Other's (desirable) personality, something specific about Other, and reciprocal liking (O's liking for P) were rated among the most important predictors of both initial attraction and the maintenance of attraction. Physical attractiveness and proximity were found to be more important determinants of initial attraction than of the maintenance of attraction, whereas familiarity was found to be a more important determinant of the maintenance of attraction. This earlier study, then, suggests that determinants of the maintenance of attraction are very similar but not identical to the determinants of initial attraction, at least in friendship and dating relationships. However, the next step in research is to examine determinants of the maintenance of attraction for individuals in marital relationships.

Purposes of This Investigation

In sum, the general purpose of this investigation was to examine how the determinants of initial attraction, as identified in previous literature (Aron et al 1989; Simpson, Harris 1994), might also lead to the maintenance of attraction in long-term (marital) relationships. A network sample of married individuals provided two types of information about each of 17 predictors of attraction: 1) the *level* of the predictor (the degree to which it was present in the relationship or in the partner); and 2) the *importance* of the predictor as a reason for attraction. Participants were randomly assigned to complete their assessments for either the maintenance of their (current) attraction in marriage or their initial attraction recalled for the premarital stage of their relationship. Based on previous research on attraction conducted with non-marital relationships (Aron et al 1989; Sprecher et al 1994), I expected to find that reciprocal liking and intrinsic desirable characteristics of the other (Other's warmth and kindness) will be described as the most important reasons for attraction and also the most characteristic, both for the premarital (initial attraction) stage and for current (maintenance of) attraction stage. However, it is likely that there will be differences found in the degree to which some predictors of attraction are emphasized as a function of whether the focus is on initial attraction or on the maintenance of attraction. For example, O's physical attractiveness is likely to be described as more important (and more present) in the early attraction stage than in the current (marital) stage. Conversely, factors such as familiarity should be more important and more characteristic as predictors of attraction in the current period.

Gender differences in the ratings of the predictors will also be examined because of considerable research indicating that while men and women become attracted for many of the same reasons, there are differences in the degree to which certain factors are emphasized. For example, in response to mate selection lists, men have been found to express more desire than women for a physically attractive partner, whereas women have expressed more desire than men for a partner with earning potential and social status (Howard, Blumstein, Schwartz 1987; Sprecher, Sullivan, Hatfield 1994). However, the prior research documenting gender differences has been conducted primarily for initial attraction and in the context of hypothetical relationships (participants indicated what they would desire for a hypothetical, future relationship rather than why they are attracted to a specific other in an actual relationship). We do not know whether these same gender differences will be found for the predictors of the maintenance of attraction in marriage.

METHOD

Sample

The sample consisted of 157 married individuals (representing 157 marriages) who were obtained based on a network sampling procedure conducted with a group of

Midwestern University students. Students in a class taught by the author were requested, as part of an optional research assignment, to distribute a questionnaire and conduct a follow-up interview with a married person from their social or kin network (the follow-up interview data were not collected). Many students chose either a sibling, a friend, or a parent. The participants had the option of either returning the questionnaire in a sealed envelope with the student assistant or returning it in campus mail to the investigator. Network sampling procedures conducted as part of a class project have been used successfully in previous research (Feeney 1996).

Thirty-one percent (n = 49) of the sample were men and 69 percent (n = 108) were women. Their ages ranged from 18 to 75, with a mean age of 30 and a median age of 26. Twenty-seven percent were married undergraduate students, thirteen percent were married graduate students, and sixty-one percent were not university students. Most of the participants (94%) were in their first marriage. Forty-five percent had one or more children. The length of the marriages ranged from less than one year to almost 50 years (mean was 7.5 years).

Measurement

The self-administered questionnaire had two major sections: background questions about the participant and his or her marriage and the attraction measures.

Attraction measures. Participants were randomly assigned to either a version of the questionnaire that referred to "Factors Leading to Initial Attraction" or a version that referred to "Factors Leading to the Maintenance of Attraction." The directions the Initial Attraction participants (n = 68; 22 men and 46 women) received were the following:

> Think more specifically about the factors that caused you to become attracted to your spouse in the first place. That is, think about what factors made you want to become close to him/her very early in your relationship. Indicate how important each of the factors below was in your initial attraction for this person.

The Maintenance Attraction participants (n = 89; 27 men and 62 women)[1] received the following directions:

> Think more specifically about the factors that cause you to remain attracted to your spouse over time. That is, think about what factors make you want to remain in a marriage with him/her. Indicate how important each of the factors below is in helping you maintain your attraction for your spouse.

Following these directions were listed 17 predictors of attraction, with each predictor ("The Other's Physical Attractiveness") followed by 12 possible responses that best summarized both the *level* of the factor (extreme amount, moderate amount, none; although the exact wording depended on the items) and its perceived *importance* in leading to (maintaining) attraction for the other (the major reason, somewhat important reason, slightly important reason, not a reason; recoded so that the higher number indicated greater importance). The wording of the items differed slightly for the different time frames.

Four items referred to a type of *similarity*, six items referred to *desirable characteristics* of the other, and the remaining items referred to other predictors of attraction as identified in the literature (Aron et al 1989; Simpson, Harris 1994), including environmental factors (proximity). The full list of items, and in the order in which they were presented in the questionnaire, is:

1) The Other's physical attractiveness
2) Similarity on background characteristics
3) Similarity on attitudes and values
4) Similarity on social skills (how interact)
5) Similarity on interests and leisure activities
6) Complementarity (being opposites) on personality characteristics
7) The Other's desirable personality
8) The Other's intelligence and/or competence
9) The Other's ambition
10) The Other's liking for you
11) Something specific about the other
12) Familiarity of the other
13) The setting in which first became acquainted (or spend time [maintenance condition])
14) Support from significant others for the relationship
15) Proximity of the other
16) The Other's warmth and kindness
17) The Other's money or earning potential

Table 1: Perceived Level (Presence) of the Predictors of Attraction for the Current (Maintenance of Attraction) Period vs. the Initial Attraction Period

Predictors of Attraction	Current Maintenance of Attraction Period: Extreme	Some-what	Low/ None	Initial Attraction Period: Extreme	Some-what	Low/ None	X-squared
Types of Similarity and Other P x O Factors							
Similarity on attitudes & values	50.00	45.50	4.50	50.70	40.30	9.00	1.37
Similarity on social skills	36.40	52.30	11.40	40.30	43.30	16.40	1.50
Similarity on interests and leisure activities	44.30	45.50	10.20	49.30	43.30	7.50	0.57
Similarity on background characteristics	26.10	56.80	17.00	32.40	57.40	10.30	1.79
Complementarity on personality	17.20	71.30	11.50	17.60	61.80	20.60	2.54
O's liking	89.80	9.10	1.10	63.20	35.30	1.50	16.58**
Familiarity of the Other	92.00	8.00	0.00	23.50	42.60	33.80	91.35**
Characteristics of Other (O)							
P's warmth and kindness	81.80	17.00	1.10	82.40	17.60	0.00	1.15
O's (desirable) personality	67.80	32.20	0.00	79.40	19.10	1.50	4.89
Something specific about the other	55.70	32.90	11.40	70.10	22.40	7.50	3.26
O's intelligence & competence	66.70	31.00	2.30	58.80	41.20	0.00	3.78
O's ambition	51.10	44.30	4.50	40.30	53.70	6.00	1.81
O's physical attractiveness	51.10	46.60	2.30	54.40	41.20	4.40	0.88
O's money or earning potential	26.10	58.00	15.90	8.80	67.60	23.50	8.45*
Environmental Factors							
Proximity	58.00	35.20	6.80	48.50	32.40	19.10	5.49
Support from others	58.60	36.80	4.60	47.10	35.30	17.60	7.39
Special setting	37.50	38.60	23.90	13.20	29.40	57.40	21.16**

* $p < .01$; ** $p < .001$

RESULTS

Predictors of Attraction in the Early Attraction Period vs. the Current (Maintenance of) Attraction Period

The first purpose of this research was to compare the level (presence) and importance of each predictor of attraction for early attraction vs. the maintenance of attraction. Because the participants were randomly assigned to the two conditions, they should be similar on all other extraneous factors. However, to be sure, the two groups were compared on age, length of marriage, and the proportion of males vs. females. No significant difference was found between the two groups on any of these variables.

A cross-tabular analysis was conducted to compare the two groups on the degree to which each predictor of attraction was present in the relationship. In addition, the two groups were compared on the importance of each predictor, via t-test analyses. In addition, follow-up analyses, including ANOVAs, were conducted to examine the moderating influence of gender. To control for Type I errors, the significance level was set to $p < .01$.

Level (presence) of the predictors of attraction. As indicated by cross-tabular analyses of time frame and reported level, a significant difference ($p < .01$) was found between the two groups in the presence of four predictors of attraction. Familiarity of Other, O's liking for P, special setting, and O's money or earning potential were viewed as more present (characteristic) in the current time period than in the initial attraction period. No predictor of attraction was perceived to be more present in the initial attraction period than in

Table 2: Importance of Predictors of Maintenance of Attraction vs. of Initial Attraction

Predictors of Attraction	Total Sample Maint. Attr.	Total Sample Init. Attr.	Maintenance of Attraction Men	Maintenance of Attraction Women	Initial Attraction Men	Initial Attraction Women
Types of Similarity and Other P x O Factors						
Similarity on attitudes & values	3.19	3.24	3.08	3.24	3.38	3.17
Similarity on social skills	2.74	2.79	2.73	2.74	2.81	2.78
Similarity on interests and leisure activities	2.89	3.12	2.88	2.89	3.19	3.09
Similarity on background characteristics	2.74	2.69	2.85	2.69	3.27	2.41
Complementarity on personality personality	2.61	2.75	2.78	2.52	2.68	2.84
O's liking for you	3.60	3.22	3.31	3.73	3.27	3.20
Familiarity of the Other	3.42	2.69	3.23	3.50	2.82	2.63
Characteristics of Other (O)						
O's warmth and kindness	3.60	3.59	3.35	3.71	3.73	3.52
O's (desirable) personality	3.47	3.51	3.56	3.44	3.73	3.41
Something specific about O	3.19	3.30	3.09	3.23	3.50	3.20
O's intelligence & competence	3.06	3.06	2.85	3.15	2.91	3.13
O's ambition	2.81	2.81	2.50	2.94	2.41	3.00
O's physical attractiveness	2.34	2.88	2.50	2.27	3.14	2.76
O's money or earning potential	1.75	1.54	1.31	1.94	1.32	1.65
Environmental Factors						
Proximity	2.35	2.57	2.69	2.21	2.59	2.57
Support from others	2.60	2.50	2.60	2.60	2.50	2.50
Setting	2.40	1.71	2.27	2.45	1.45	1.83

the current period (see Table 1). For both time periods, most predictors of attraction were viewed as either extremely or somewhat present, as shown in Table 1.

Importance of the predictors of attraction. As indicated by t-test analyses, four factors were found to differ in importance as a function of whether the time frame was initial vs. maintenance of attraction (see the means in the first two columns of Table 2). Physical attractiveness was judged to be a significantly more important predictor of initial attraction than of the maintenance of attraction ($t[154] = 3.58$, $p < .001$). Three other factors were viewed as more important predictors of the maintenance of attraction: O's liking for P ($t[154] = -3.08$, $p < .01$), familiarity ($t[154] = -4.88$, $p < .001$), and special setting ($t[154] = -3.95$, $p < .001$). Overall, however, there was considerable similarity between the two conditions in the relative ratings of the predictors of attraction, as shown in Table 2. For example, included among the highest rated predictors of attraction, both initially and currently, were O's warmth and kindness, O's desirable personality, something specific about O, and O's liking for P; and rated as least important as a predictor of both types of attraction was O's money or earning potential.[2]

Gender differences and similarities. Thus far, the analyses have been conducted with men and women combined. However, possible differences and similarities between men and women in their responses were also explored. In the total sample, men and women were found not to differ in their perceptions of the levels (presence) of the predictors of attraction, as indicated by a series of cross-tabular analyses of gender by level of predictor. These analyses were also repeated within each condition (initial attraction vs. maintenance of attraction) separately, and a gender difference was found only for O's money or earning potential in the current time period. A much larger proportion of men (42%) than of women (5%) rated the partner as having "little money or little potential to earn money" in the current (marital) period. However, this same difference was not found for the initial attraction period (23% of the men and 24% of the women recalled their partner was low on money or earning potential).

To examine gender differences in the importance ratings overall and within each time frame, a 2 (gender) x 2 (time frame: Initial attraction vs. Maintenance of Attraction) ANOVA was conducted for the importance rating of each predictor. The main effect of gender was significant ($p < .01$) for three predictors. Similarity on background characteristics was a more important determinant of attraction for men than for women (Ms = 3.04 for men and 2.57 for women; $F[1,152] = 7.94$, $p < .01$). Conversely, O's ambition (Ms = 2.46 for men and 2.96 for women; $F[1,151] = 8.09$, $p < .01$) and O's money or earning potential (Ms = 1.31 for men and 1.81 for women; $F[1,152] = 10.66$, $p < .001$) were rated as more important determinants of attraction for women than for men. No gender x time frame interaction was significant at $p < .01$.

DISCUSSION

This study examined married persons' perceptions of the importance (and level) of several predictors of attraction. A network sample of married individuals responded to a list of predictors of attraction either for the current period (maintenance of attraction) or for the acquaintance period of their premarital relationship (initial attraction). The major goal of the study was to determine whether the predictors of initial attraction identified in previous literature (Aron et al 1989; Simpson, Harris 1994) also contribute to the *maintenance* of attraction in married couples. Strong evidence was found that factors that lead to initial attraction (desirable characteristics of the other, reciprocal liking) also lead to the maintenance of attraction in marriage. These findings contribute to a small body of literature that has examined married individuals' perceptions of what makes their relationship successful (Dickson 1995).

Participants who responded to the predictors of attraction for the current (maintenance) of attraction period perceived four predictors of attraction to be more present than participants who responded to the initial attraction period. These were familiarity of other, O's liking (reciprocal liking), special setting, and O's money or earning potential. These factors are likely to increase with the passage of time in marriage or with increasing age. For example, people generally make more money as they move out of college-age; a partner becomes more familiar with time in the relationship; O's liking [and its expression] is likely to increase over the course of a relationship; and with the passage of time there are more opportunities for a couple to have experiences in special settings. Although some (Hinde 1979) have argued that people become more similar in attitudes, interests, and other dimensions, the longer they have been together, no evidence was found in this study that married individuals perceive themselves to be more similar to their partner in the current period than in the early acquaintance period. Furthermore, O's characteristics (warmth and kindness, physical attractiveness) were perceived to be no more or no less desirable in the current (maintenance) period than in the early acquaintance period.

Three of the attraction predictors that were perceived to be more characteristic of the current period than the initial time period were also perceived to be more important determinants of the maintenance of attraction than of initial attraction. These were O's liking, O's familiarity, and something special about the setting. Thus, not only were these factors more present in the current time period, but they also were judged to be stronger predictors of current (maintenance of) attraction than of initial attraction. Another factor, the physical attractiveness of the partner, was a stronger predictor of initial attraction than of the maintenance of attraction. This difference in the importance of physical attractiveness for initiation vs. maintenance of attraction provides support for Murstein's (1976) Stimulus-Value-Role Theory, which states that stimulus characteristics, such as physical attractiveness, may be more important early in the relationship than later.

Overall, however, the determinants of the maintenance of attraction were very similar to the determinants of initial attraction. These results suggest that theoretical explanations for initial attraction also apply to the maintenance of attraction later in marriage. For example, attraction, regardless of when it is experienced, can probably be explained by reinforcement principles, i.e., attraction is increased when the other provides rewards (Byrne, Clore 1970).

Another purpose of this investigation was to examine whether there were gender differences in the importance of some of the predictors of attraction. For example, prior research (Howard et al 1987; Sprecher et al 1994) suggests that the physical attractiveness of a partner is more important to men than to women, whereas social status variables are more important to women. However,

the prior research was conducted on preferences in the context of initial attraction and not on factors contributing to the maintenance of attraction in marriage. In this research, gender differences were found in the importance ratings for only a few predictors of attraction. Consistent with gender differences found in research using other types of methods (Sprecher et al 1994), women rated partner's ambition and partner's money or earning potential as more important predictors of both initial attraction and the maintenance of attraction than did men. However, contrary to prior research, men did not rate physical attractiveness to be more important than women. It is worth noting that the opposite results were found in an earlier investigation by the author (Sprecher forthcoming), who examined self-reports of predictors of attraction among college students' non-marital relationships. In this earlier study, men rated physical attractiveness to be significantly more important than women, but women did not rate earning potential or money to be significantly more important than did men. Thus, the degree to which these traditional gender differences are found may depend on age group and/or type of relationship (dating vs. married).

Only one other gender difference was found in the importance ratings of predictors. Men rated similarity on background characteristics to be a more important reason for attraction than did women, particularly for initial attraction. Because men still take more initiative in relationships than women in our society, it is possible that men are more aware of and affected by a matching on background characteristics at the time they initiate relationships.

Implications for Practice

The results of this study may have implications for programs designed to help couples before problems develop in the relationship as well as for couples who are seeking help because they are unhappy in their relationships. One finding that has strong implications is the important role of expressed liking and warmth and kindness as reasons for attraction, including the maintenance of attraction. Indeed, O's liking for P was found to be a stronger predictor of the maintenance of attraction than of initial attraction. Programs that emphasize the open expression of positive feelings in the relationship (Miller, Nunnally, Wackman 1976) may help restore, increase, or maintain attraction in long-term relationships.

The results of this study also suggest that focusing on the positive qualities of the relationship and the partner may have positive effects on relationship quality. Cognitive therapy programs involve re-structuring thought patterns to become more positive. Distressed partners may be given guidance for focusing on the positive aspects of the relationship and the partner. Even if these positive impressions are "illusions" to some degree, research suggests that these illusions have positive effects on relationship outcomes (Murray, Holmes 1996).

While attraction is a relationship sentiment often associated with the beginning stages of the relationship (Simpson, Harris 1994), attraction also is important to be maintained in long-term relationships. This research indicates that many of the factors associated with people becoming attracted in the first place also help to maintain their attraction. Thus, the courtship strategies that couples may engage in early in their relationship to emphasize certain qualities ("O" factors) or to emphasize the similarities between the two ("P x O" factors) are important to do later in marriage as well.

Limitations of the Research

As is true of all studies, this study has certain limitations that call for more research to be conducted in the future. A majority of the sample was relatively young (67% were under 30 years of age) and had not been married for many years (65% were married for 5 years or less). Larger and more diverse samples of married couples are needed to examine how maintenance of attraction in marriage may depend on number of years married or the stage of the family lifecyle. More diverse samples would also allow for an examination of how predictors of initial and the maintenance of attraction depend on background characteristics, such as social class, race/ethnicity, and cultural background.

Another limitation of the study is the retrospective nature of the participant reports about initial attraction. For some of the participants, the initial period of acquaintance had been many years (even decades) earlier. Perhaps greater differences would be found between determinants of initial attraction and determinants of the maintenance of attraction with a longitudinal design, in which couples are surveyed early in their courtship and then again later in the marriage.

Despite these limitations, this study yielded

some interesting findings about attraction in marriage, both as recalled for the initial attraction period and as reported for the maintenance of current attraction. Factors that have been identified in prior literature as contributing to initial attraction were also found to be important for the maintenance of attraction in long-term relationships.

ENDNOTES

1 More copies of the Maintenance version were distributed because the primary focus of this research was on the maintenance of attraction.

2 Because of the variation in the age of the participants and in the number of years married, I also examined whether people of different ages or married for different lengths of time rated the predictors of attraction in different ways. To examine this for the level of each predictor, the moderate and low categories were combined and compared to the extreme category, on age and years married, via t-test analyses within each condition separately. Participants viewed the presence of 16 of the 17 predictors of attraction the same regardless of their age or the number of years they were married. However, younger participants and those married for fewer years rated O's personality more desirable than older respondents and those married a greater number of years.

To examine whether age and years married were related to the importance ratings of the predictor variables, age and length of marriage were each correlated with the importance ratings. These analyses were also conducted within each group separately. None of the correlations was significant at $p < .01$. Thus, the reasons judged to be important factors leading to attraction were the same regardless of age or number of years married, both for initial attraction and for maintenance of attraction.

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salient after the "ends"--the *goals*--of the transfer are established.

Clearly, the specification of the goals is one of the most important aspects of the transfer process. After the goals are specified, competent experts--whether financial planners, bank officials, or extension agents --can be retained by the family to develop the technical means to attain those ends.

But exactly what do families want to accomplish with the transfer? Some families do not know. Some families in our study had not yet begun to plan for the transfer precisely because they have not decided on the ends; they do not yet know what they want the transfer process to accomplish.

In this paper, we describe the results of an investigation of the intergenerational transfer of the family farm, focusing on the desired ends of the transfer. Specifically, we describe 1) the goals the participants have for the transfer and 2) the principles the participants use to attain those goals. While we acknowledge that the intergenerational farm transfer involves a complex family decision-making process whereby the family identifies and communicates goals and principles, that process is outside the purview of this paper. It will be explored in later investigations.

THE STUDY

BACKGROUND

Studies of the farm transfer tend to focus on three areas: 1) the study of the transfer as a family stressor, 2) the investigation of the relationships between family characteristics and the transfer process, and 3) the development of models describing stages in the transfer process.

The intergenerational transfer of the family farm has been identified as a potential source of stress for farm families (Anderson, Rosenblatt 1985; Russell et al 1985; Salamon et al 1986; Weigel, Weigel 1990). Reasons for the relationship between stress and the transfer include the shift in control of farm management and the differences in goals for the farm enterprise from one family member to the next (Jonovic, Messick 1991; Keating, Munro 1989).

The impact of family and/or farm characteristics on the transfer process has been the focus of other researchers. These researchers have found that the size of the farming family is important. Apparently, those farming families with a large number of children are more likely to produce an heir willing to take over the farm than those with fewer children (Lancelle, Rodefeld 1980). Other researchers have determined that the history of the family farm plays a part in the transfer. Families that have farmed on their land for a long time seem more intent on maintaining the farm within the family than those with shorter tenure on the land. In addition, farmers with larger farm operations tend to be more likely to plan on their children inheriting or buying the farm (Sharp 1995). Also, the majority of farm operators are recruited from farming families. The next generation is viewed as a critical component in the future of family-based agriculture. The need for extensive on-farm experience and access to land and equipment has helped make intra-family farm succession the predominant form of farm transfer (Lyson 1979). Finally, the family's ethnicity impacts the intergenerational continuity of the family farm. For example, Salamon et al (1986) have shown that farmers in a midwestern community of Swedish descent tend to have a strong commitment to family continuity of farm land which in turn relates to a greater degree of intergenerational harmony leading to very stable Swedish land ownership over the years.

Researchers interested in the transfer process have also attempted to develop models describing the process. For example, Keating and Munro (1989) have identified three stages in the retirement from farming. In the first, the farmer partially retires and begins shifting the field work to his/her children. In the second, the farmer continues partial retirement while transferring increased responsibility for the farm and land management to the children. The third and final stage is complete retirement, represented by complete withdrawal by the farmer from active participation in farming.

In summary, the intergenerational transfer of the family farm is often a long, complex process, potentially leading to internal family conflict. Further, it is affected by factors within, and external to, the family.

METHODS

SELECTION OF THE STUDY PARTICIPANTS AND PROCEDURES

Because of the sensitive nature of the topic, we sought volunteer families to help with our study. This uncovered a divergence

of opinions. While some families refused tersely our request for their assistance (we were not in the position to determine why they refused), others were not only willing to help, they actually thanked us for investigating the topic because of the difficulties they had experienced.

Study participants were located through several sources. Some families had participated in an earlier survey of farming families and volunteered to be interviewed. Other families had been identified by referral from earlier interview participants, and a few others had been identified by county extension agents. Because county extension agents are located in each county and provide educational resources to individuals and families for agriculture and family-related issues, agents are valuable in identifying potential study participants. After names were shared by county agents, a letter of introduction was sent to families, followed by a phone call inquiring as to whether the family was interested in participating in the study. Semi-structured interviews were conducted in the homes of the volunteer families at a time convenient for the families. (To date, the one exception to the home interview policy were interviews with two members of the senior generation of one family conducted at our office.) All interviews were audio taped and then transcribed.

Four different interview guides were developed--one each for the males and females of the two generations--the senior male, the senior female, the junior male, and the junior female. In general, questions were quite similar, yet variations in wording and time frame were added making the interview schedules responsive to the different roles played by the interviewees.

Interviews began with general questions about the history of the farm (e.g., how long had it been in the family and how had it been passed down from one generation to the next). The interviews then proceeded to more focused questions about present day farm operation (e.g., the degree of involvement of the interviewee and other family members). More specific questions were then asked about the current (or future) actual transfer process (e.g., had any plans been made for the transfer and how far along was the transfer process?).

THE GENERATIONS OF THE FARM FAMILIES

Significant participants in the process include the husband and wife of the *senior generation* (our label for the generation of the farm family currently having the responsibility for running and/or managing the farm), all members of the *junior generation* (our label for the generation that will ultimately take over the farm), and the spouses of the junior generation (who were also considered to be members of the junior generation). Given the different perceptions each set of participants might have of the process, we determined it important to interview family members from both generations.

We attempted to interview both members of the senior generation. Sometimes, however, one of the members was deceased or incapacitated. In one family, a member of the senior generation suffered from Alzheimer's disease and was not interviewed. For the junior generation, the family identified the member (or members) of the junior generation who ultimately would take over the family farm. The research team then interviewed that person and his or her spouse. When possible, we interviewed the heir apparent's siblings and their spouses as well.

Thus, for any one farm, there was a wide range of potential interviewees. For the senior generation, the range was from one member to many members. Illustrative of the former were farming families where there was only one surviving parent. Illustrative of the later are families where the parents were both deceased and several siblings (and their families) were controlling (operating and/or renting out) the farm. As with the senior generation, for the junior generation the range of the number interviewed was substantial. In one case, only one person, an unmarried male was interviewed. In another family, three siblings and their spouses were interviewed.

THE FARM FAMILIES STUDIED

The information contained in this report is based on interviews with members of 24 farming families. In all, we interviewed 84 individuals from those 24 families: 36 from the senior generation and 48 from the junior generation. The average age of the senior generation females and males was the same, about 65, while the average age of the junior female was 40 and that of the junior male was 43.

Not surprisingly, most of our respondents grew up on a farm. Only one of the 15 senior males and two of the 16 senior females reported they had not grown up on the farm. Many of our interviewees currently had non-farm jobs. Among the senior generation, five of the 15 males and six of the 16 females worked off the farm. As for the junior generation, six of the 18 males and nine of the 16 females worked off the farm.

As for the farms/ranch operations themselves, the range in size was substantial; the smallest was about 160 acres while the largest was almost 7000 acres. Only one was strictly a ranch. The other 19 combined farming and ranching. Typically, these operations included cattle (and/or hogs or sheep) and some combination of different types of row crops and grain (principally corn, wheat, and soybeans). The one operation that was purely a ranch had, until recently, included both farming and ranching activities. But the operators (a father and son) had decided it was economically advantageous for them to abandon the modest amount of farming in which they were involved and to concentrate solely on livestock production.

RESULTS

As noted above, the primary focus of this paper is on the "ends" component of the intergenerational farm transfer process. Specifically, we are interested in 1) the goals the participants have for the transfer and 2) the principles the participants use to attain those goals. As we describe those goals and principles, we illustrate them using quotes taken from some of the interviews. Where we have felt it necessary to protect the identity of the family members, we have changed their names or *slightly* changed the description of their circumstances.

FAMILY CULTURE: The Context of the Transfer Decision-Making Process

Not surprisingly, the components of the transfer process tend to display consistency from generation to generation. The son or daughter of the senior generation generally shares the basic values and ideals of their parents. In that sense, we can talk of a "family culture." Included within that family culture are the goals and principles guiding the family farm transfer process.

There are two major exceptions to the general tendency of family members to share similar goals and principles. The first involves "outsiders" brought into the family--specifically, the son-in-law or the daughter-in-law--and the second involves situations where circumstances prevent the "family culture" from being sustained.

Sometimes, *outsiders* accept the culture of the family into which they have married. However, there are cases where they seriously disagree with that culture. It is in such cases we have uncovered intense disagreement and dissatisfaction with how the transfer process is proceeding.

An especially telling example of intense outsider dissatisfaction with the transfer process appears in what we call the "daughter-in-law problem." In these relatively infrequent special cases, a woman has married a son who is helping his father run the farm. The father (her father-in-law) is in control. While he relies heavily on his son (or perhaps sons) for labor and advice to run the farm, he clearly has the final say in the day-to-day operations of the farm. Further, he ultimately has the final say in the disposition of the farm. Sometimes--but not invariably--he invites his wife to participate in joint decision-making about the disposition.

Since they have lived within the same family culture, the senior male's wife and son(s) generally accept his definition of the situation. The elder wife knows that her husband makes (sometimes in consultation with his sons) the day-to-day decisions about the operation of the farm. Further, she accepts that he (after talking with her) will make the decisions about the transfer of the farming operation. His sons, almost invariably, feel the same way. About the farm operation, one young farmer said: "We talk about the farm operation, but ultimately it is his farm." About the transfer, a junior generation male stated: "It's their farm. They built it. They can do anything they want to with it" (May 1995, 4:30pm). In other words, when asked specifically about the transfer process, there is a great deal of agreement and comfort among those who have shared the family culture. The father, the mother, and the children insist they know how the transfer will take place, hold consistent goals for the transfer, feel comfortable with the principles that will be used, and are generally satisfied with the process as a whole.

But that leaves the daughter-in-law--the one person who did not grow up with the

family culture shared by the others. And she often feels very differently about what is going on. Sometimes she is expected to contribute in some way to the farm--either through her labor on the farm or perhaps by working off the farm and paying family (or sometimes even farm) bills. But--and here is the problem--she does not feel she is considered a co-equal in the farming operation. She is not granted any decision-making power pertaining to the farm nor, in some cases, even consulted on farming operations. Several daughters-in-law we interviewed expressed tremendous resentment at their situation: they felt they were being "used" as a farm resource but were not considered as part of the farming operation. Not only did they resent their powerlessness, they also expressed resentment at their own vulnerability; they suspected that if something happened to their marriage--a divorce or perhaps the death of their husband--they would be cut out of the farming operation and lose all they had contributed. In a few cases, they *were certain they would lose out* if they lost their husband since that contingency had been built into the inheritance plans. (This sentiment is consistent with prior research on the daughter-in-law (Marotz-Baden, Mattheis 1994).)

Thus, as we discuss the goals and values of the transfer process, the "outsider" can be expected to constitute a "fault-line" in a family culture. Those who are from the same family can be expected to hold much more consistent goals and principles than "outsiders."

The second major exception to the maintenance of the family culture is where circumstances intervene and force the family culture to "give way." Illustrative of such situations are family farms under such severe financial distress that they have had to adopt harsh measures just to survive. The financial distress might be so severe the family must sell out. Our sampling procedure--biased toward interviewing the owners/operators of currently operating farms--did not facilitate interviewing many farming families of "sold out farms." However, those familiar with the "farm crisis" of the early 1980s and with the persistent financial challenges family farms have faced since then know that being forced to sell a family farm because of financial difficulties is not an exceptional occurrence.

In the sample for this project, one family has been facing the issue of selling the farm and provides insight concerning this issue.

> A SENIOR FEMALE STATED:
> They (members of both the senior and junior generation in her family) basically had more than they could handle already, with rented ground and our ground and pigs and cattle. And decided that there's no way that one man can do it, so we sold all the equipment and rented the land, and then this last year we started selling some of the land, because there was still debt there that was not being satisfied, and you can't just keep on having debt and interest mounting, you know it doesn't make sense. And decided to sell the land and kind of clean up that end of it and take our losses and move on. Um, which is really frustrating, because you sell all that, which has been in the family for a long time, and you'd like to keep it in the family. (September 1995, 2:00pm)

The death of a family member sometimes prevents the continuance of the family culture. In one of our case studies, a two-brother team inherited the family farm and ran it for several years. When one of the brothers was killed in a tragic farming accident, the second brother had to sell the family farm since he could no longer operate the farm by himself.

Finally, the farm family culture might not be maintained because the junior generation rejects it. We have interviewed several families for which there is no "farmer" in the junior generation simply because there are no members of the junior generation who want to run/manage the farm. In one family, there are three siblings who could take over the farm. None wants it. The most influential sibling wants his parents to sell the farm and enjoy the proceeds of the sale. He wants his parents to enjoy life now. He indicates that if he ultimately inherits any wealth from his parents, that will be OK. But for him, the enjoyment of life by his parents comes first. He stated:

> I don't have an interest (in operating the family farm), I don't think my sister has an interest, I don't know if my brother has an interest, probably not. None of us three children have an interest in it, sell it. Enjoy the money that you're going to make on the sale. You know, it's sad that it's a century farm, and have to start over, being a century farm with a new

name on it. But I don't have the time, my brother down in (another state) surely doesn't have the time, and I'm not sure what my sister is going to do. She may live out there because, just because of the homestead. I don't think they would start up the tractors and the plows again and start farming. It'd just be for the acreage. (October 1995, 1:00pm)

The following example also illustrates the lack of a junior generation individual or family to take over the farming operation.

A JUNIOR MALE STATED:
I don't think my sister is going to have any interest in maintaining it (the farm) as a family farm. If I do...boy that's going to be a tough decision, when the time comes. I don't know if I want to or could. Most of the time I tell people that I'd like to farm, but I don't think I can. It's too difficult to farm today...I question whether or not I would be personally able to farm. (May 1995, 4:30pm)

THE GOALS AND PRINCIPLES OF THE FARM TRANSFER PROCESS

We asked the farming families what goals they held for the family farm (and thus for the transfer). In their responses to our queries, the families seem to divide into two different camps -- 1) those who had specific goals for the family and were searching for means to attain those goals and 2) those who embraced specific principles they wanted to use to guide the process and who were not overly concerned about goals for the farm. While determining characteristics that distinguish "goals-oriented" families from "principles-oriented" families is a potentially valuable exercise, it is not investigated here. The determination of differences between those two sets of families--if they exist--will be pursued in a later investigation.

GOALS: THE ENDS OF THE TRANSFER PROCESS

In reviewing responses to the questions we posed about the goals family members have for the family farm, we have identified three goals often embraced by these families. They are 1) the preservation of the family farm, 2) the maintenance of the financial viability of the family farm, and 3) the use of the family farm as a retirement package.

Preservation of the Family Farm

For many families, the farm has been in the family for generations and has become part of the family story. Some--but certainly not all--families develop a sense of moral obligation to preserve the family farm. They feel that to allow the ownership of the farm to pass into other hands would be a betrayal of their ancestors. They feel that every effort must be made to ensure the farm always stays in the family.

During our interviews, we were told stories about grandparents who had lost the family farm during the 1930s and felt so bad about the loss that they worked exceptionally hard to buy the farm back and return it to the family. We also interviewed family members who have no interest in operating the farm, but who want the family farm to stay in the family. Finally, we interviewed family members who would be very willing to sell the family farm, but who are reticent to do so because of how the other family members would feel.

A JUNIOR MALE STATED:
It's been in our family since my great grandfather. It's his (the junior male's father) grandfather's homestead. To see that go out of the family may be very, very difficult for my parents. It's kind of a stigma on your name if you broke that tradition. It's like they started it and they expect it to be handed down. And you've worked all this time with the same idea. This is the way it should be, it should stay in the family. (May 1995, 4:30pm)

Maintenance of the Financial Viability of the Family Farm

A second goal clearly articulated by some families is to ensure that the family farm remains a viable financial entity. These families noted the extreme financial difficulties members of the junior generation often face when they receive a family farm that is not profitable. Such families are very sensitive to the difficulties faced by the junior generation and are determined to prevent the struggle. Thus, they search for ways to pass the family farm from the senior generation to the junior generation so that the needs of the senior generation (for example, financial security) are met without sacrificing the economic viability of the farm.

Such families feel the family farm must be passed to the junior generation in sound financial condition. They feel the junior generation must not be so indebted it must labor for years (or, in one of our case stud-

ies, for decades) merely to re-establish the farm as a viable financial enterprise.

A JUNIOR FEMALE STATED:
I think you have to have people like his (her husband's) folks who are really helping. His folks are unselfish enough to say, "Yeah, we'll contract this out, we want you to keep farming, we will help you." They could have easily said, "We're selling everything right now, take whatever profit we have left, invest it, and live off of that and you guys go do something else." I mean, they could have done that. But they were unselfish enough and loved the farm enough to say, "We would love to help you." (September 1995, 2:00pm)

We interviewed one family which had a tradition of having the junior generation buy --through debt financing--the family farm from the senior generation. Of course, that debt financing meant the family farm had to produce an income stream substantial enough to service the debt AND to support the junior generation. It could not. So members of the junior generation had to work off the farm to pay the debt. Bitter at the financial consequences of the transfer pattern, one member of the junior generation asked rhetorically, "How many times does the family have to buy this one farm?" Because of his experiences with the crushing amount of debt this transfer procedure caused, this respondent and his wife were determined to ensure their children will inherit the farm without having to borrow money to buy the farm *again*.

Use of the Family Farm as a Retirement Package

The third major goal identified for the transfer process is the use of the farm as a retirement package for the senior generation. For the families adopting this goal, the aim is to use the wealth built up in the farm to fund the senior generation retirement.

A SENIOR MALE STATED:
I worked for this (his farm). Why should I skimp now so my kids get an inheritance when I worked for it? I didn't inherit anything. I got a good price when I bought the farm, because I took care of my mother for quite a few years--not as long as she lived here but... (pause)...looked after her...(pause)...the rest of my family was all away. So why should I pinch my pennies now in retirement? (September 1995, 7:00pm)

Thus far in our project, we have uncovered two variations in the attempt to accomplish the "farm-as-a-retirement-package" goal. In the first, the senior generation depends on the wealth that has been invested in the farm to provide an income for their retirement years. In some cases, this goal provides no financial strain on anyone since the farm is so successful it can easily maintain two families--both the senior generation family and the one from the junior generation that is taking over the farm.

However, in other cases the income stream is not sufficient to support the two families. In these cases, the only way the senior generation can tap the value of the family farm is to rent or sell the farm either to the junior generation or to some one else. In either renting or buying the farm, the junior generation faces financial challenges.

A SENIOR FEMALE STATED:
He (her husband) basically has a legal agreement that they (her son and his spouse) would take over the father's debt for assets, and then kind of contract-for- deed[1] for the land. It was all just kind of on paper that they would continue the farming operation as is, but they would be paying off the debt that he (her husband) still had. (September 1995, 2:00pm)

The second variation on the farm-as-a-retirement-package establishes a *quid pro quo* "contract" between the two generations. In this arrangement, the farm is turned over to the senior son[2] who understands that he will FOREVER be obligated to care for his mother and father. This belief is reminiscent of the principle of primogeniture, in which the eldest son is identified as the one who should be given his inheritance (the farm). The primogeniture principle was mentioned only by this family and appears to be somewhat of a variation in that the eldest son would receive the farm only in return for caring for his parents.

A SENIOR MALE STATED:
Jess (the son who will get the farm) and I were always together. But Jess's going to take care of me like I took care of my Dad, is the way I think. I don't know what Jess feels. But that's what he's stuck with. (September 1995, 3:00pm)

PRINCIPLES:
THE PROCEDURES OF THE TRANSFER DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

As families face the transfer process, they have to choose principles that will allow them to accomplish whatever goals they have identified. As a result of our review of the responses to the interviews, we have been able to identify six principles used by these farming families to guide the transfer process: 1) control of participation in the decision-making process; 2) equality in the treatment of the members of the junior generation; 3) commitment to the family farm; 4) the provision of choice to the members of the junior generation to allow them to determine their own futures; 5) the allocation of the farm to the most senior male offspring, and 6) protection of the family from itself.

Participants: Who Should Be Involved in the Transfer Process?

Perhaps the first issue a family must address is the question of the inclusiveness of the range of participants in decision making about the transfer process. There are three sets of potentially significant participants, each of which may have a very different perspective on the farm transfer decision-making process: 1) the senior generation; 2) the junior generation; and 3) the spouses of the junior generation. In addition to these three sets of significant participants, there are several other sets of people who could possibly be involved in the decision making. For example, there are the children of the junior generation (who may or not be grandchildren of the senior generation, depending on divorce and remarriage) and miscellaneous other relatives (such as brothers and sisters of the senior generation--the uncles and aunts of the junior generation).

To date, we have found that families tend to embrace one of three different formats guiding the level of involvement in the decision-making. We have labeled them: 1) the senior generation format, 2) the family format, and 3) the inclusive format.

The Senior Generation Format:

Several respondents--from both the senior and junior generations--were emphatic that the only people who should make the decisions were the members of the senior generation.

> A SENIOR MALE STATED:
> I don't know if we told all the girls. It's our decision. We didn't talk it over with them. We know what we wanted to do and we did it. It's our business...and uh, ok, so one kid isn't getting so much, if it weren't for us he wouldn't get nothing. (September 1995, 3:00pm)

When the senior generation insists it alone will make the decisions about the transfer and will then inform the rest of the family about the decision, typically the children feel the same way. Children of such parents routinely said (in effect)

> It's their farm, they worked hard and sacrificed to get where they are. They are the ones who should make the decisions. We will accept their decisions.

The Family Format:

Some families wanted all family members included in the decision making pertaining to the transfer, but felt that "in-laws" should not be included as family members. One junior member--adamantly opposed to including in-laws in the family discussions about the transfer--stated that when the discussions begin, "We will send them [meaning the in-laws] out for pizza."

Another junior member, obviously sensitive to the "fringe" status of the in-laws, indicated that the opinions and ideas of the in-laws could be taken into account because his or her spouse was participating in the discussions. This person suggested that the positions taken by a married family member should represent the position of himself/herself and the spouse since the two should have discussed the issues beforehand and have settled on a collective position.

> A SENIOR FEMALE (an in-law) STATED:
> Well, I still feel, it may not be the way (my spouse) feels, but to let me stay out of it at first, so that they can...brothers and sisters and mother can get together and talk it over, because they're the ones that are directly affected. I'm just kind of along for the ride. (July 1995, 7:30pm)

The Inclusive Format:

Families characterized by the inclusive format include ALL families members--the senior generation, all members of the junior generation, and all spouses of the junior

generation--in the decision-making discussions. Families characterized by this format justify the inclusiveness by asserting that since all family members would be affected by the decisions, all family members should have a say in making the decisions.

A SENIOR FEMALE STATED:
I think husbands and wives should work together on things like that. And I know like Ellen (the senior female's daughter) and Mark (Ellen's husband), they do work together. In order to make things go, I think you have to work together. (August 1995, 10:00am)

Clearly, there should be no assumption that all families accept the format that is used. There are instances of disagreement. Two comments are in order about that disagreement. First, there tends to be agreement within the family about the "appropriate" format. Dissatisfaction with the format often comes from the "outsiders"--the ones who are shut out of the discussions if either the senior generation format or the family format is used. Second, since members of the senior generation own the family farm, they ultimately select the format they want.

Equality of Treatment of Members of the Junior Generation

For some families, the equality of the treatment of each child is of paramount importance. In fact, they are willing to sacrifice other important goals of the transfer process --maintenance of the family farm, for example--to sustain this principle. If necessary, the farm will be sold and the resulting financial assets evenly divided among the children. For such families, all other goals and principles are secondary to the principle of equality.

A SENIOR FEMALE STATED:
As I say, we have a trust. Then we have a residual trust, and it states that everything is divided equally. Now, that may present a problem, as you'll find out from all farm families, I think, in this situation, because of the value of farmland differences. And many factors...(pause)...if there is anybody who wants to remain on the homestead, you know, on the homestead area...(pause)...we probably will not have anybody living there (on the homestead). But we've always said we had four kids and they're each going to share equally. I mean, that is all there is to it. (August 1994, 2:30pm)

Commitment to the Family Farm

For some families, equitable treatment must be earned through a commitment to the operation of the family farm. In their view, equality of treatment would be unfair. Here, to be "fair" means that only those who have shown a commitment to the family farm through their hard work on the farm have any claim to the farm. A family member that has shown no commitment to the family farm cannot expect to be treated in the same way as a family member who has shown such a commitment. If he or she left the farm at some earlier time and has constructed a life apart from the farm, he or she should not expect to be able to come back and have any part of the farm.

A SENIOR MALE STATED:
Steve, the older boy, is real interested in it (the family farm). Scott, the younger boy, we have a hard time getting him just to mow the lawn. So I'm going to lean for that other one. I'm probably going to take care of Scott some other way...(pause)...Steve has always been out there helping, I can depend on him. (September 1994, 1:00pm)

The Provision of Choice to the Junior Generation

One principle which was articulated again and again was the desire on the part of the senior generation to allow their children the opportunity to choose their own future. Several senior generation members said they would like for their children to take over the family farm, but only if they really wanted to. If their children chose not to run the farm, that was fine. They would then select a course of action consistent with their childrens' choice. They might even sell their farm. They felt that while selling the family farm was not desirable, it was *less undesirable* than having their children do something they did not want to do.

A SENIOR MALE STATED:
I said, "Go to school and get an education and come back and be a bank president or work some place where you are close to town, get a good job and stuff. Then do a little farming on the side." Or if he showed a real desire in this place, and if I think he could handle it, I'll go to town, pump gas at a filling station or something and let him have it (the

farm). See, I'm not going to put that (the obligation to maintain the family farm) on them and tell them that they should (maintain the family farm) because it was a homestead and a family farm and all that. I'm not going to put that on them. (September 1994, 1:00pm)

One Child Will Inherit the Family Farm But Will Take Care of the Parents

One family had developed over several generations[3] a very specific inheritance principle encompassing both the inheritance of the family farm and the care of the parents. In this family, the eldest son would receive--with very few exceptions--the entire farming operation (the land, livestock, and equipment). Other brothers MIGHT receive small pieces of land, and sisters MIGHT receive some money in the inheritance. But the eldest son received the lion's share of the farm family wealth. In return for that wealth, the senior son was obligated FOREVER to take care of his parents. Since he received the family resources from his parents, it was his moral obligation (and his wife's, if he was married) to care for his parents.

PROTECTION OF THE FAMILY FROM ITSELF

Among some families, there was a concern over the possibility of disruptive behavior on the part of other family members. Some family members were concerned about the behavior of "blood relatives," others were concerned about the behavior of in-laws, still others were concerned about the behavior of both.

Protection of the Family from "Blood" Relatives

Some families--watching the conflict that sometimes erupts among family members as they divide up family resources--have come to fear the outbreak of such conflict in their own families. They worry that the self-interested behavior of one or several family members could be so injurious that it could threaten the welfare of the family.

Families concerned about such behavior responded in different ways. One ranch family incorporated the farm family enterprise under a special legal arrangement explicitly to head off internal family conflict. By incorporating as a "limited liability company," the members of the senior and junior generation operating the ranch ensured that the non-ranching members of the family (some of the cousins owned part of the land but were not involved in the ranching operation) could never (at least for the 30-year duration of the limited liability company) interfere in managing the ranch.

A second family used a different tactic. The senior generation inserted a provision in their respective wills that mandated unanimity among the children in all decisions pertaining to the disposition of the farm; no major decision concerning the farm could take place without unanimous agreement among all the siblings.

Protection of the Family from In-Laws

Some families were concerned about what in-laws--current and future--might want to do with respect to the farm. In some cases, the potential for disruption is realized --at least, as viewed from the perspective of some family members. In one case, the senior generation was so upset at the behavior of the daughter-in-law that they did not want us talking with her. In their view, she was a total drain on the family; they felt she took family resources but never contributed to the family at all. It turned out that we were never able to interview the daughter-in-law because she never lived in South Dakota during the study, and left the family through a divorce very early in the study.[4]

In another case--albeit an extreme case--a senior generation male was so embittered with what the second wife of his father had done he had decided that he would never remarry unless both he and his future wife signed prenuptial agreements forswearing ANY claim to either's possessions. He stated that no matter what future in-laws said before marrying into the family, they could always change. Apparently, his step-mother had claimed *before she married his father* she wanted nothing from his father. But on his father's death, she ended up with an indivisible one-half of the father's property. In order to consolidate the farm, the senior generation male in this case had to buy from his step-mother the land she had previously claimed she did not want. Clearly, his insistence on signing a prenuptial agreement was a defensive measure to protect the family from the potential disruptive behavior of in-laws.

POTENTIAL CONFLICT BETWEEN GOALS AND PRINCIPLES

As many of our interviewees have noted,

the potential for conflict between and among the goals and principles of the transfer process is substantial. It is very possible--in fact, very likely--that adherence to certain goals will preclude adherence to other goals. For example, trying to accommodate the goals of passing on a financially viable family farm while using the family farm as a retirement package might in fact be an impossible task (as the junior generation members of one of our farm families forcefully and bitterly pointed out).

It is also possible that adherence to some goals might prevent the adoption of certain principles. For example, the attempt to accomplish the goal of passing on a financially viable farm while maintaining the principle of equitable treatment among the members of the junior generation is simply impossible for some families. The maintenance of the family farm as a financially viable operation sometimes REQUIRES that the farm remain intact--that it not be divided up and allocated to the members of the junior generation. But keeping the farm intact may mean that some members of the junior generation (the ones that inherit the farm) receive far more of the family resources than do other family members.

CONCLUSION

Agriculture is an important component of the economy and the character of the United States. The continuation of farming as a viable means of support for families and communities in rural America is in part contingent on the successful transfer of the farm from one generation to the next. For many young people who hope to farm or ranch, the only way to get into farming is through support from parents who are on the farm.

Clearly, farms have been, and will continue to be, successfully passed from one generation to the next. Yet this process is not without challenges.

For many families and professionals involved with facilitating farm transfers, the focus of the intergenerational transfer is on the financial and legal components. While these factors are critical to the process by which a farm is transferred, farm management specialists (bankers, accountants, attorneys) must also acknowledge the role of familial aspects. Most families are concerned about family harmony as well as economic well-being. The cost-benefit analysis needs to include not only economic assets and liabilities, but family strengths and challenges as well.

The challenges can be financial, legal, or familial. Moreover, the process and outcomes of the transfer of the family farm can be a potential sources of stress for individuals and families (Anderson, Rosenblatt 1985; Russell et al 1985). Professionals working with farm families need to acknowledge that the transfer may be a source of stress and encourage families to discuss the transfer process and outcomes. An important component of the intergenerational transfer of the family farm is the selection and adoption of the goals and guiding principles of the transfer process. They are the ends that must be accommodated. It is only after the family--through its own unique decision-making process--selects the ends of the process that the means become important. And it is only then that the techniques for the transfer process can be selected.

ENDNOTES

1 A contract for deed is a type of financial arrangement often used to buy land that allows the purchaser to spread out the payments over many years.

2 In the one family we have identified that employs this variation, the farm is always--generation after generation--turned over to the senior male of the junior generation.

3 In our interviews with the family, we were able to document this principle had been in effect for at least three generations.

4 We have endeavored several times to interview her during one of her infrequent visits to her husband's farm (she was in graduate school at the time), but we were never able to make contact with her. A year into the study, we were told about the divorce.

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VEGETARIANISM: IDENTITY AND EXPERIENCES AS FACTORS IN FOOD SELECTION

Beverly L. Stiles, Texas A&M University

ABSTRACT

Vegetarianism is increasing in worldwide popularity. While there is an abundance of literature on the nutritional aspects of vegetarianism there remains a paucity of research by social scientists on vegetarian beliefs, motives and experiences. This paper reports an exploratory study to examine how the identity and experiences of being vegetarian affected food selection. This entailed the examination of the motives for converting to vegetarianism as well as motives over time. Also examined were the social constraints and social supports present for vegetarians in terms of social relationships, availability of preferred food items, and supportive media items. Seventy-nine vegetarians responded to a self-administered questionnaire submitted to two vegetarian listservs on the internet (electronic mail). Many of the questions were open-ended to permit a qualitative approach to analysis. Findings suggest that a "Vegetarian" identity has a variety of meanings to individuals. Individuals may be motivated by a variety of causes or issues to convert to vegetarianism, but over time will likely incorporate or assimilate other motives. Vegetarians find both criticism and support for their foodways. Social constraints are present to maintain the centrality of meat in the structure of meals. Moreover, vegetarianism affects social relationships.

INTRODUCTION

While there is recognized variability in food selection in the U.S., there remains normative consistency in other respects to meal cycles, in the structure of menus, etc. (Goode, Curtis, Theophano 1981). Although we recognize the variability in food selection, there remains a consistency in the selection of meat as central to meals in the U.S., as well as in many other countries.

Food selection is not arbitrary, but is constrained by numerous factors, including those that are social. Social constraints function in several ways. First, food selection is patterned and structured by group membership (Goode et al 1981). For example, one's ethnic group or culture operates to determine what is normative and preferred (Rozin 1981). Moreover, within one's family group it is usually the mother or adult female who determines that which is selected for the family (Devault 1991; Rozin 1981). Second, the social nature of food intake results in food choices that are constrained by social norms. Third, in our industrialized society, food availability is often determined by others in the market system (Goode et al 1981).

Vegetarianism is increasing in worldwide popularity. According to Maurer (1995), there are between 8.5 and 12.4 million self-defined vegetarians in the U.S. The number of vegetarians in the U.S. has increased by five million since 1980, and is reported to be increasing by 500,000 annually (Obis 1986a, 1986b, 1987). This may partially be due to the increasing endorsement from the scientific community (*Journal of the American Dietetic Association* 1988, 1993; Moll 1987). Britain has also witnessed an increase in vegetarianism over the past decade. According to the Vegetarian Society, there are 4 million vegetarians in Britain, with 200,000 of them members of the society (*The Economist* 1994).

Beardsworth and Keil (1992) have acknowledged the abundance of literature on the nutritional aspects of vegetarianism while at the same time recognizing the paucity of research by social scientists on vegetarian beliefs, motives and experiences. Their research addresses both the negative and positive social experiences of vegetarians, thus, providing information about the importance of food choices for social relationships as well as the normative constraints that may guide food selection.

Other research on vegetarians has addressed the motives provided for becoming vegetarian (Amato, Partridge 1989; Beardsworth, Keil 1992; Scott 1991). Except for those who are vegetarian as a result of custom or religion (Hindu), vegetarianism usually involves motivations to adopt an alternative eating pattern from that which is normative. The research focusing on motives has provided information about the factors governing food choice. A focus on motives has led to the recognition of the role played by the media in causing individuals to convert to vegetarianism (by exposing the exploitive nature of meat production, etc.). Maurer (1995) also contends that the media plays a prominent role, both in inspiring converts, but also in providing justification for decisions to change one's eating pattern. However, Maurer recognizes the inability of her research to provide a clear causal link

between justifications and motives in vegetarian literature and the reasons vegetarians give for converting.

The present study builds on previous research in several ways. First, this study does provide evidence of the link between vegetarian literature and the reasons individuals give for converting. Second, this research examines motives or causes for altering one's diet within the framework of identity construction. Food and identity have been linked in a national, symbolic context (Ohnuki-Tierney 1993), but as is recognized within ethnic groups, food selection also says much about who we are as individuals and as part of groups (Falk 1994; Goode et al 1981). Furthermore, an identity construction framework provides an alternative perspective for explaining the purpose that motives serve in formulating and relating who we are, and who we want to be (Coyle 1992). Third, the identity framework also focuses on the change over time that may occur in one's motives for converting to vegetarianism. Previous research focused primarily on initial motives with little attention given to how motives may change over time. Fourth, this research taps into both support and criticism from family, friends, acquaintances, and partners. Fifth, I examine the difficulty individuals experience in altering entrenched foodways, both in terms of the speed with which one was able to make the conversion and the difficulty experienced in changing routines and cooking practices. This may provide information about other social constraints affecting food selection. Sixth, the unique methodology employed for recruitment of respondents allows for a more diverse sample than that permitted with snowball sampling techniques, due to the particular geographical limitations of using snowball sampling.

METHODOLOGY

Beardsworth and Keil (1992) recognized that the ability to draw a simple random sample of self-defined vegetarians is highly improbable due to the inability to enumerate them. Because the internet is fast becoming a versatile tool for communication and the sharing of information (Hart 1993), it was decided that the use of the internet (electronic mail) was a more efficient method than the snowball sampling technique used by Beardsworth and Keil (1992). This method has numerous advantages. First, electronic mail permits the gathering of information from vegetarians from diverse settings (from various countries). Second, respondents can respond at their convenience. Third, the self-administered questionnaire may enable individuals to provide more candid responses. Fourth, electronic mail enables the researcher to encourage respondents to reply in a nonthreatening, inexpensive manner through prompts, feedback, and positive reinforcement. The internet also provides an inexpensive means to get clarification when explanations are unclear, thus improving validity. A recognized limitation to using the internet is that there remain many people who do not have access. A limitation of the present sample is the low response rate of 26 percent. Although the response rate is low and thus limits the representativeness of the sample, a "lack of response bias is more important than a high response rate" (Babbie 1992). The present sample is more likely, than a sample produced through a geographically-limited snowball sample, to lack response bias due to the geographical diversity it provides.

The survey questionnaire (see Appendix) was posted to two vegetarian listservs. A listserv is an electronic mailing list used to disseminate information and/or facilitate discussion among people interested in a topic. One listserv was global and the other was local and university based. The latter primarily served faculty and students at a large southwestern university in the US. Although the number of subscribers to listservs may fluctuate, when the surveys were posted the global listserv had 259 subscribers and the regional listserv had 47 subscribers.

Although the survey was by standardized questionnaire, due to the qualitative approach the questions were primarily open-ended. To further tap into concerns and topics of interest, daily conversations were analyzed from one week prior and for one week after posting the questionnaire. Although daily discussions were not included as part of the text, this provided supportive material for that which was asked in the survey. Although posted discussions become public information once they are posted, and thus freely usable, I informed subscribers that unless anyone objected I would like to use the daily discussions to ensure that I had accurately analyzed the survey responses. No one posted any messages

opposing my usage of the posted discussions.

RESULTS

Sample

There were seventy-nine usable responses of which forty-six were from females and thirty-three were from males. There were sixty-four responses of a possible 259 from the global listserv. Of these, ten responses were international (non-American), from such countries as New Zealand, Australia, Finland, Norway, etc. There were fifteen respondents of a possible forty-seven from the local listserv. The age distribution of the sample is as follows: under 20 years (7 respondents); 21-25 years (16 respondents); 26-30 years (20 respondents); 31-35 years (9 respondents); 36-40 years (4 respondents); 41 and over (22 respondents). The age distribution indicates that while a larger percentage (54%) of respondents are 30 and under, the largest category of respondents is 41 and over. The majority of respondents (fifty-five) have a spouse or partner. Of those with a spouse or partner, twenty-two have a spouse or partner who is also vegetarian. Only sixteen respondents have children. Of those with children, only six have at least one child that is also vegetarian. Of the seven respondents under 20 years old, two live with parents. One of the individuals lives with parents who are also vegetarian.

Categories of Vegetarians

"By definition, a vegetarian is someone who does not eat meat. Meat, according to traditionalists, includes poultry and fish" (Obis 1986c). Still, a vegetarian identity takes on various meanings for different individuals.

Beardsworth and Keil (1992) provided a typology of vegetarianism consisting of six categories ranging on a continuum from least restrictive vegetarian diet (some meat eaten) to most restrictive vegetarian diet (no meat or meat by-products eaten). Within the Beardsworth and Keil (1992) typology, those individuals within each of the six categories are assumed to exclude foods within the lower categories (those at a lower level of dietary strictness). Likewise, those within each category are assumed to incorporate foods within the higher categories (those at a more extreme level of dietary strictness).

Like Beardsworth and Keil (1992), the present study finds a variety of forms of vegetarianism. Unlike Beardsworth and Keil, this study does not find the same continuum typology of the purported forms of vegetarians for several reasons. First, the Beardsworth and Keil (1992) typology places those who occasionally consume meat at the least strict end of the continuum. This places those who consume fish on a regular basis in a more strict vegetarian diet category than those who only consume meat very rarely. In addition, the present study indicates that the majority of vegetarians who consume meat (or fish), do so only rarely, and all but three of these individuals consume meat as an alternative to going hungry, or when socially obliged to do so. Furthermore, this study indicates that the majority of vegetarians who feel it necessary to eat nonvegetarian food generally choose fish rather than actual "meat." The following are responses to the question asking if one occasionally eats meat. These responses are indicative of those who feel it necessary to eat nonvegetarian food as an alternative to going hungry, or when socially obliged to do so:

> Not meat but fish. Sometimes I have been taken to a restaurant (usually by my father) that does not have a veggie alternative. I'll usually eat shrimp or something like that to avoid insulting him. (female, vegetarian 2 yrs.)

> I occasionally eat non-veg cheese, cakes or even very occasionally fish, if I am out and it is served to me. (female, vegetarian 5 yrs.)

> On very rare occasions. For instance traveling in northern California on business with a friend a couple of years ago, we stopped at a restaurant he really liked, nothing veg., so ate some seafood. Similarly, at a banquet at a German restaurant when I'd forgotten to request a veg. meal, ate fish. (male, vegetarian 5 yrs.)

Second, the present study finds that many vegetarians consume both eggs and dairy (milk and/or butter, etc.). This is often referred to as a "lacto/ovo" vegetarian. However, other vegetarians are either ovo (consume eggs, but not dairy), or are lacto (those who consume diary products, but not eggs). According to the Beardsworth and Keil continuum typology, egg eaters and

Table 1: Categories of Vegetarians

Types of Vegetarians	Total
Vegan	12
Pesco	5
Lacto/Ovo	41
Lacto	18
Ovo	3

dairy eaters are in separate categories rather than placed in one category. Thus, by virtue of their place in the ranking, those who are in the category of egg consumers are assumed to consume dairy while those who consume dairy are assumed to avoid egg consumption. Furthermore, one may argue that it is incorrect to assume, as Beardsworth and Keil suggest, that consuming dairy products, but not eggs, should be considered a stricter vegetarian diet than the diet in which eggs are consumed, but dairy is avoided.

While this study does not recognize the Beardsworth and Keil continuum typology for types of vegetarians, within the present study there remain several different types of vegetarians.

Moreover, while no continuum of least strict to most strict diet is recognized as incorporating all types of vegetarians, "vegans" (those who do not consume meat or meat by-products) are commonly recognized as the strictest of vegetarians. Similarly, many individuals do not consider those who eat fish as actual vegetarians (Obis 1986c).

The present study relies on self-definition of a vegetarian identity. This seems most useful in understanding motives for food selection and how they may change over time. Furthermore, it seems somewhat counterintuitive to place individuals in a category other than that which they have placed themselves. Furthermore, according to Deaux (1992), social identities are meaningless unless one understands the personal meanings attached to them. Like all social categories (vegetarian) there is much variation in personal meaning associated with them. Table 1 presents the number of respondents in each vegetarian category identified by those in the present sample.

The following definitions delineate the degree to which individuals follow a vegetarian diet:

Vegan vegetarian - The defining characteristic of vegan vegetarians is that their diet includes only vegetable products. They avoid meat, fish, or animal by-products such as milk, eggs, or cheese. Many even remove such products as wool, honey, etc.

Pesco vegetarian - The defining characteristic of pesco vegetarians is that they permit the consumption of fish, and typically do not avoid eggs or dairy products. Thus, essentially they avoid only actual meat.

Lacto/Ovo vegetarian - The defining characteristic of Lacto/Ovo vegetarians is that they permit the consumption of both dairy products and eggs in their diet, but avoid the consumption of meat and fish.

Lacto vegetarian - The defining characteristic of Lacto vegetarians is that they permit the consumption of some or all dairy products in their diet, but avoid the consumption of meat, fish and eggs.

Ovo vegetarian - The defining characteristic of an Ovo vegetarian is that they permit the consumption of eggs in their diet, but avoid the consumption of meat, fish and dairy.

As previously discussed, many vegetarians indicate that they may consume meat/fish on rare occasions. The present sample consists of fifteen individuals who, on rare occasions, acknowledge the consumption of meat. This includes fish also, which is consumed on rare occasions by vegetarians, other than those vegetarians who already identify themselves as Pesco vegetarians. This does not warrant a separate category as a "vegetarian form," as specified by Beardsworth and Keil. The separate category is avoided as this is not normative or routine behavior for this sample (nor was it for the Beardsworth and Keil sample). Moreover, these individuals do not identify themselves as "vegetarians who occasionally eat meat/fish." It is only after inquiry, that the consumption of meat is addressed. However, it must be recognized that some individuals, although none in the present sample, do call themselves "semi-vegetarians." Usually these are individuals who perhaps avoid the consumption of all meat except, for example, chicken.

Although only a small number of the present sample of vegetarians identify

Table 2: Motivations for Vegetarianism

Motivations	Total
Health	28
Animal Rights	11
Ethics	12
Environment	4
Religion	8
Other	9
No Ranking/tie	7
Total	79

themselves as vegan vegetarians, a number of the other vegetarians claim to aspire to the vegan ideal of not only eliminating meat from their diets, but also that of eliminating meat by-products. Whit (1995) recognized the tendency to move toward a more strict vegetarian identity than one's initial commitment.

MOTIVES

Identities are the self-categories people use to define who they are (Burke, Tully 1977; Stryker 1968). Individuals and groups have a need to specify who they are and to locate who they are relative to other individuals. Individuals are motivated to plan and to perform roles or behaviors that will confirm and reinforce the identities one claims as their own (Foote 1951; Hull, Levy 1979). The varying motives for converting to vegetarianism indicate the significance of one's vegetarian identity. While Ohnuki-Tierney (1993) examines rice as a food symbol of national character for Japan, it should be a given that food can become a symbol for individuals as well. Declaring oneself to be a vegetarian provides a significant distinctive identity for the individual. However, according to Gatther (1995) "identity is never just about itself". People engage in activities that support their identities to the degree of their commitment to the identity (Burke, Reitzes 1991). This is evident in the vegetarian responses and in posted messages. A vegetarian identity for some is more a private aspect of their identity, but for others it is a means to assert the legitimacy of their claims against the exploits of meat production in society, exploitation of the environment and waste of its resources, as well as to declare one's health consciousness. Perhaps this gives new meaning to "you are what you eat."

The survey requested that respondents provide their motivation for converting to vegetarianism: "Of the following, what motivated you to convert to vegetarianism?" Response categories were "health", "animal rights," "ethics," "environment," "religion," or "other." Table 2 indicates the number of respondents within each category of reasons for conversion to a vegetarian diet.

Of the sixty-eight individuals in the present study who made a conversion to vegetarianism, as opposed to those raised vegetarian as a result of one's religion or dislike of meat from infancy, the majority of respondents report their primary motivation to convert is health related. In the Beardsworth and Keil sample, moral motivations were the primary motives for conversion to vegetarianism. However, Whit (1995) also reports that most individuals convert to vegetarianism for some health related concern. In the present study, twenty-eight respondents indicated that their primary motivation to become vegetarian was health related as opposed to only thirteen in the Beardsworth and Keil study.

While moral concerns may be embedded within either animal rights, ethics, environmental concerns, or religious motives, and, thus, cause some overlap, simply placing these concerns into a broad "moral" category provides little in delineating what differences are involved and more precise meanings attached to each category.

There were only four respondents who specifically said that they could not rank the items because "ethics" was the same for them as either "environmental," "animal rights," or motivations related to "religion." Several others stated there were similarities between ethics and one of the other categories. This was clearly dependent upon their particular stance on ethical considerations. Two individuals simply said they were unable to rank a primary motivation because several motivations were equally important in becoming vegetarian.

Those individuals whose motivation to become vegetarian was health related can be categorized into four types: 1) those who became vegetarian in response to some sort of individual health problem or concern; 2) those who became vegetarian as a measure in reducing fat intake/a preventive measure against future illnesses; 3) those who believe that a vegetarian diet is more nutritious because meat has too many added chemicals; and 4) those whose initial motivation in becoming vegetarian revolved

around athletic performance. This typology permits a thorough examination of the health related issues that motivate individuals to become vegetarian. Nonetheless, subsumed under these typologies are individuals whose vegetarian identity is based initially on declaring one's awareness and concern for their health/body.

The following are comments representative of those who were motivated to become vegetarian in response to a health problem or concern:

> I have hypoglycemia, and a veggie diet seems to help me regulate my blood sugar level better. (male, vegetarian 3 yrs.)

> My cholesterol level was sky high. I cut out all meat and many fats. I discovered that I felt much better without the meat. Another bonus of being a vegetarian: my iron deficiency anemia disappeared after I dropped meat. (female, vegetarian 2 yrs.)

> I had a chronic post-nasal drip for most of my life; at the urging of friends in the natural foods industry, I tried giving up dairy products to cut down on mucus production in the body. What a difference!...First, I gave up diary, then beef then chicken, still eat fish. (male, vegetarian 2 1/2 yrs.)

> I have had endometriosis since I was 10. While I was in college a few years ago, it reached a turning point in the rupture of a cyst and several tumors, giving me peritonitis ...Following a very tough surgery and during an even tougher recovery, I realized I could no longer keep down any meal containing meat. The vomiting became a serious problem. At about the same time I came across an article...on the effects of animal protein on the accelerated growth of uterine cysts/ tumors...I was majoring in Pathophysiology at the time, so I had one of those "thunderclap" moments and knew I would be a vegetarian for the rest of my life. (female, vegetarian 5 yrs.)

The following are comments representative of those who were motivated to become vegetarian as means to reduce their fat intake/a preventive measure against future illnesses:

> Cutting out meat right away reduced the amount of fat in my diet. I lost weight, and I feel better. After having done some research, I also discovered that being a vegetarian reduced my risk for developing serious medical problems, such as cancer or heart disease. (male, vegetarian 1 year)

> [I'm] trying to reduce my chances of cancer (colon especially), and heart disease. I want to live to be 120 or at least extend my productive years so that I can accomplish more things. (male, vegetarian 4 months)

> Concerns over breast cancer...I felt it was something I needed to do for myself. (female, vegetarian 4 1/2 yrs.)

> It's easier to eat a healthy, low-fat diet as a vegetarian. (male, vegetarian 3 yrs.)

The following are comments from the two individuals who were motivated to become vegetarian due to the health concern that meat has too many added chemicals:

> In terms of health, I feel our health can be improved by eliminating the hormones (consumed through injections in the meat). (female, vegetarian 4 yrs.)

> Concerns about nutrition, amounts of added chemicals in meats. (female, vegetarian 13 years)

The following are comments from the two individuals who were motivated to become vegetarian for reasons due to athletic performance:

> As a competitive cyclist, the high carbohydrate diet that vegetarianism provided helped my performance and provided a more stable form of energy for competition. (male, vegetarian 1 yr.)

> Health was a motivation--I was involved in Triathlons at the national level. (male, vegetarian 5 yrs.)

Those who indicated that animal rights issues motivated them to become vegetarian focused on the inability to be responsible for the killing of animals to feed themselves, and an awareness that animals feel pain just as humans do. A focus strictly on the killing of animals and the pain inflicted to slaughter another living creature, may explain why these individuals are concerned

primarily with omitting meat and fish from their diet, but are not concerned with following a vegan diet which, in addition to the exclusion of meat/fish, forbids the intake or use of meat by-products such as milk, eggs, honey or wool. Still, several individuals who are vegetarian because of animal rights issues have omitted eggs or eat them only when dining out. In addition, one individual includes fish in her diet. The following are comments representative of the eleven individuals who were initially motivated to become vegetarian as a result of animal rights issues:

> I was motivated strictly because of the animals. I couldn't be responsible for the killing of animals for my "dining pleasure." (female, vegetarian 6 yrs.)

> I feel that animal rights is believing that animals should be treated the same as humans. You wouldn't eat or harm another human, so you wouldn't eat animals either. (Male, vegetarian 2 yrs.)

> I don't believe that animals should be tortured and murdered in order for me to eat and survive, when it's perfectly realistic to live on a meat free diet. I felt like a better person after I became a veggie. It was like a burden was lifted off my shoulders. I felt bad about eating animals since I was a young child. (female, vegetarian 6 1/2 yrs.)

> I rehab wild animals and cannot say no to strays. I don't eat what I cuddle and care for. (female, vegetarian 1 yr.)

While in some instances individuals discussed similar ideas within the "ethical" category as others discussed in either the "animal rights," or "religion" category, the importance lies in the distinctions made between these categories by other respondents. Although most of the individuals claiming "ethics" as their motivating force for conversion also mentioned their opposition to killing animals, as did those claiming "animal rights," a distinguishing characteristic is that "ethical" considerations more often promoted the notion of the "immorality" of killing. Nonetheless, it is apparent that there is considerable overlap in individual definitions/motivations for converting to vegetarianism. The following are comments representative of the twelve individuals who reported their initial motivation for becoming vegetarian was due to ethical concerns:

> By ethics, I mean that I considered it immoral to kill an animal and eat it. (male, vegetarian 25 yrs.)

> Motivated by ethics. What motivated us was the wastefulness of resources in producing meat and our concern for world hunger. (male, vegetarian 8-10 yrs.)

> Ethics--the belief that sentient creatures should not have to live out their lives in constant pain, discomfort, fear and ultimate death in the way the meat/chicken/fish industries figure is best for their bottom line. (female, vegetarian 1 1/2 yrs.)

> Two and a half years ago my younger stepson was reading aloud to me...On this occasion it was an SAS-style survival manual [Special Air Service survival manual for the British Royal Air-Force], and he read me the section on foods for survival in the wild. Not all about the roots, berries etc. that you might find, but how to snare and prepare various animals, and which bits were the best eating. The list of internal organs of these animals sounded very much like a list of my own internal organs, and I started to wonder where you draw the line between animals you eat and animals you don't eat. I still wonder about that one, and frequently ask my son and husband what the difference is between eating the chickens, ducks and geese we raise, and our pet dog and cat. Their answers still don't satisfy me. I'm not vociferously animal rights, because I don't believe animals have rights like we do. But I see us in a role of stewardship. My definition of ethics in terms of vegetarianism is a question: "where do you draw the line between friends you eat and friends you don't eat?" (female, vegetarian 2 1/2 yrs.)

The following are the responses of the four individuals who reported their initial motivation for becoming vegetarian was due to environmental concerns:

> I try to be Green and I hate waste. (female, vegetarian over 10 yrs.)

> I believe in eating as low on the food chain as possible to conserve food resources for everyone. (female, vegetarian 3 yrs.)

> Specifically world hunger and the allocation of the world's physical resources. (male, vegetarian over 18 yrs.)

> The environmental arguments I was exposed to through coworkers when working with an NGO (non-governmental organization in Canada), things like vegetable protein availability also my own experimentation with a plant based diet to see if I would suffer any serious side effects, of which I have experienced none. (male, vegetarian 11 mos.)

Seven of the eight individuals who indicated that they were vegetarian due to religion were raised vegetarian. The only individual that was actually motivated to "convert" to vegetarian within this category became vegetarian through involvement with Yogis and Zen Buddhists. She stated the following motivation for becoming vegetarian:

> Initially I became vegetarian through practicing the regimens set forth by various Yogis and Zen Buddhist teachers (tassajara) which prescribed a vegetarian diet as part of the path for spiritual growth, enlightenment. This is still part of my commitment. (female, vegetarian 12 to 15 yrs.)

Similar to the findings of Beardsworth and Keil, the present sample evidenced individuals who were repulsed by meat. This was a primary motivation for becoming vegetarian for those who were in the "other" category. Three of the individuals reported a dislike of the taste and or texture of meat since infancy/childhood. One individual simply never liked the handling of meat. Two individuals stated that they never really ate much meat anyway. One said it simply seemed so gross to her that she hadn't eaten if for a long time. She finally decided to officially identify herself as a vegetarian. The other individual said that she woke up one morning and knew she would never eat any meat again. Another individual felt a severe revulsion after reading of the unsanitary meat processing conditions.

Of the seven individuals who did not provide a primary motivation for becoming vegetarian, four of them stated that several of the categories were of equal motivational importance in their conversion to vegetarianism. Clearly, the specified categories have different meanings for individuals. Ethics seems to have overlapping meanings for many individuals. Three individuals believed that ethics was synonymous with another category. The individual that believed ethics to be synonymous with religion stated the following:

> Ethics and religion are pretty much the same. Although I do not belong to any particular religion, I have been strongly influenced by Buddhist/Hindu thought, particularly in regards to the need for a respect for all life. (male, vegetarian 3 1/2 yrs.)

One of the two individuals who believed ethics to be synonymous with religious and/or environmental concerns expressed how she perceives the interrelationships:

> My motivation was economic justice, and a concern for the environment - and that is a faith, religion, ethics reason. (female, vegetarian 2 yrs.)

ASSIMILATION OF MOTIVATIONS

While previous research on vegetarian foodways primarily examined motives for conversion, there has been little attention to how individual motives change or broaden over time. The importance of being a vegetarian has not been sufficiently addressed in terms of changing motives, only initial motives. Yet, the process whereby individual's gradually incorporate other motives for maintaining behaviors (such as foodways) is important for understanding the factors that govern food selection. In addition, this lends some understanding of how social constraints that govern food choices may be weakened or strengthened over time. Furthermore, a focus only on initial motives for acquisition of a vegetarian identity denies the full process involved in the development of identities. In response to the question concerning a change in motives over time, respondents suggest that motives for acquiring and maintaining a vegetarian identity are likely to change over time. Findings indicate that seldom are one's initial motivations for conversion to vegetarianism totally replaced by the acquisition of more important motivations, but instead are incorporated as other issues of which one was previously unaware. The incorporation of other motivations did not differ according to type of vegetarian. Incorporating these other motives seems to serve to strengthen one's

identity as a "vegetarian." Findings suggest that often motivations for converting to vegetarianism broaden over time to incorporate other motivations for maintaining and broadening one's identity as a vegetarian.

Whit (1995) contends that individuals incorporate more and more reasons for becoming vegetarian into their value system as one progresses along the continuum of least strict to a more strict vegetarian diet. That is, on the road to becoming vegan. My findings suggest that it is not necessary to be a strict vegetarian or to be in the process of becoming one to have incorporated other reasons or motivations for maintaining a vegetarian identity. Thirty-eight individuals indicated that their motivations for being vegetarian had changed over time. For 37 of the 38 individuals this change in motivations consisted of incorporating additional motivations. Only two individuals indicated that an earlier motivation had decreased in importance. One individual, who since infancy had never liked the taste of meat, said that animal rights had at one time been more important than it was at the present time. Another individual stated that the order of importance of motivations had changed in that animal rights issues had become more important than the health issues that initially had been of prime importance in the conversion to vegetarianism.

While it is true that a number of individuals did indicate the desire to one day be a vegan vegetarian, the majority of the 37 individuals who indicated that they had incorporated other reasons for maintaining a vegetarian identity to those initial motivations, did not express any desire to progress to a stricter level of vegetarianism or to become any other type of vegetarian than the type of vegetarian with which they presently identified themselves. The following are representative comments of those who acknowledged that over time their reasons for declaring a vegetarian identity had broadened:

> First, I was motivated by the desire to feel better and eat healthier. I am now motivated by concern over resources as well as health. (male, pesco vegetarian for 1 year)

> Initially I simply didn't like handling meat though I didn't know why. All of the above, except religion, became issues as I explored the topic. (male, vegan vegetarian for 2 1/2 years)

> Environment was the initial motivator. When I learned of the enormous waste inherent in our food production system that motivated me to pursue vegetarianism seriously. [Now] I have learned much more about both the environmental issues of our way of eating, and of the brutality of modern animal husbandry. This has deepened my commitment to eating low on the food chain. Also, I have become interested in the health issues related to a vegetarian diet, and in diet and nutrition in general. This had no influence on my original decision, but is a factor now. (male, lacto-ovo vegetarian for 15 years.)

In addition to the 37 individuals who acknowledged that they had incorporated other motivations or reasons for maintaining their vegetarian identity, 7 individuals stated that although they had not incorporated other motivations, their motivations had strengthened over time. In addition, several of these individuals stated that although their motives had not changed over time, they were happy to enjoy the added benefits to health, the environment, their soul, etc. that came along with being a vegetarian. Thus, while there were other recognized positive aspects to being vegetarian than those that these individuals found personally motivating, these other aspects were apparently not central to their vegetarian identity.

According to Breakwell (1986) identity formation involves a process of "assimilation-accommodation." This provides some understanding for the process of change that occurs with the personal meanings attached to identities. Breakwell contends that new situations may be assimilated as a component of one's identity because they are considered relevant to one's identity, they enhance one's self-esteem, or because they are perceived as a logical continuation of an identity and thus provide for a sense of continuity. Perhaps all three account for the incorporation of other motivations or reasons for maintaining an individual's vegetarian identity. Indeed, an assimilation of other pertinent reasons for one's vegetarian identity does provide for a logical continuation or even an enhancement of an identity already in place. Moreover, the incorporation of these additional reasons/motivations serves to strengthen or broaden the personal meanings attached to one's vegetarian identity. In addition, the incorporation or assimilation of additional motives may serve to

increase the situations in which one can engage in role performances to sustain and support one's identity. According to Stryker and Serpe (1982), commitment is related to the salience of one's identities and to the frequency with which one seeks to perform roles congruent with one's identity.

In terms of assimilating "situations," many individuals acknowledged that reading vegetarian literature (Lappe's 1991 *Diet For A Small Planet*) and watching television programming extolling the virtues of a vegetarian lifestyle and/or lambasting the waste inherent in the production of meat, were factors that either inspired them to convert to vegetarianism or furthered their awareness and provided additional reasons/motivations for maintaining a vegetarian identity. This provides support for Maurer's (1995) contention that the media plays a prominent role in inspiring converts as well as providing justification for decisions to change one's eating patterns. The media's role in inspiring converts may be the influence it has as a "transformative experience" that impacts individuals to the point of changing one's concept of self (Pestello 1995). Denzin (1989) terms these transformative experiences as "epiphany" experiences. The following is an exemplary transformative experience:

> I have always loved animals, and have always felt guilty for consuming and wearing them. I always figured that eventually I would become a vegetarian and then I could feel better about it.....later. But I was watching a documentary, on preparation. I was driven to tears by the treatment the furry little creatures were getting. Just as I was sitting there, glad that I had never consumed cat flesh, the program showed how cattle, pigs, chickens, and other animals were slaughtered in the good old USA. I was stunned, and extremely saddened. I had prepared for myself, and was eating a tuna salad sandwich. I felt suddenly sickened. I threw the tuna away, and vowed never to eat or wear or otherwise utilize anything that was once a living, breathing creature. I will never touch animal flesh again, unless I am petting the animal (male, ovo-lacto vegetarian, 3 mos.)

DIFFICULTY OF CHANGING ENTRENCHED FOODWAYS

In response to the question concerning routines and cooking practices found to be most difficult to change when converting to vegetarianism, it is clear that there are difficulties experienced in altering a meat-based diet. Findings also support the notion that there are many constraints operating to pattern food selection. Fifty-four of the seventy individuals who had at one time lived on a meat-based diet expressed some difficulties in altering entrenched foodways. Surprisingly, the number one difficulty expressed by the individuals in the present sample is not related to any difficulties in adjusting to a meatless diet, but rather the relative lack of good vegetarian fast/convenient food sources. Twenty-three of the 54 individuals mention this as their primary or sole problem in eating vegetarian meals. The emphasis on fast/convenience foods is understandable given our reliance on these quick sources for food. The second difficulty in feeding oneself is experienced when eating in the homes of others (social occasions or family dinners, especially holiday meals) who are perhaps not considerate or do not understand the foodways of the vegetarian. Sometimes, hosts simply believe that their vegetarian guest or family member can eat just "a little" meat or that "fish" is suitable. In other situations, hosts, coworkers, or family members simply do not make attempts to accommodate the vegetarian's food needs. Several vegetarians state that they often have to carry their own food along or always need to have a supply of granola bars, etc., handy.

Still others mention specific routines and cooking practices that are difficult to alter as they became vegetarian. A common complaint is that it is difficult to overcome the idea that a meal could consist of something other than that which is centered around a hunk of meat. Similarly, one individual states that initially he wanted his vegetarian foods to be "like meat." Thus, he purchased canned items that simulated roast beef, chicken, etc. He overcame this and learned to cook his own food from scratch only after moving to Israel for a year where there were none of these prepackaged wonders.

Another common difficulty for many women was that they are either partnered to men or had children who are not vegetarian and subsequently are burdened with cooking two or three separate meals to please the palates of everyone. Although Devault (1991) suggests that it is usually the mother or adult female who determines that

which the family eats, I would argue that this is most likely true only until she decides to alter that which has already become a normative eating pattern within the family. Once eating patterns are established within the family, family members exert a powerful influence that might remove or lessen the adult female's prominence in making such decisions.

Difficulties experienced by vegan vegetarians seem to center around ensuring that the food products being used did not have hidden animal products in them. Others express difficulty in giving up certain foods that they found particularly tasty (cheese).

These vegetarians have chosen to maintain their food choices and thus their vegetarian identities in spite of constraints. Still, a number of vegetarians (sixteen) do not report difficulties in routines or cooking practices. In fact, they report positive aspects to changing their cooking and eating habits. For example, many state that they enjoyed the necessity of becoming more creative in the kitchen. Others enjoy exploring ethnic vegetarian cooking (Indian, Middle Eastern, Asian, etc.). Others report that cooking vegetarian foods is simpler than cooking with meat.

Not surprisingly, given the difficulties experienced in changing the predominantly meat-based diet, the majority of the present sample state that their route to vegetarianism was gradual. Some started by first reducing the amount of meat eaten or by removing red meat from their diets first, then chicken, etc. Others report that becoming vegetarian is something they thought about doing for a long time before finally making a commitment. Several individuals who state that their route to vegetarianism was abrupt, immediately became vegetarian upon viewing television programming that exposed the exploits of the meat/dairy industry or after reading some convincing vegetarian literature (*Diet For a Small Planet, Diet For a New America*).

SOCIAL SUPPORT AND CRITICISM

Like Beardsworth and Keil (1992) individuals in the present sample report that their social relationships are affected by their dietary choices. Response to the question concerning acceptance and/or criticism of one's vegetarian diet by friends, acquaintances and family indicates that friends and acquaintances have mixed reactions. Some do not attempt to accommodate the vegetarian's food needs at social functions, some are critical, some are supportive, while others are merely inquisitive. Many report that others wonder how an individual can possibly live without the taste of meat. Others query the ability to be nourished and receive sufficient amounts of protein. One informant typified the feelings of many when he said:

> I have heard all the standard remarks over the years: How do you get enough protein, calcium, etc.? Don't you feel weak? How can you live without hamburgers? It's un-American. What's wrong with you? (Male, vegetarian 15 yrs.)

Still, others report that their friends respect them for the ability to refrain from eating meat. Many report that although their friends often tease it is understood to be in good humor rather than hostile. For those raised vegetarian, due to cultural/religious beliefs, all report acceptance from friends and acquaintances. Thus, for these individuals vegetarianism is accepted as normative.

As expected, disruptions in family relationships are somewhat more predictable. Only a few individuals report that their families (parents) are totally accepting and supportive. However, most report that disruptions in relationships with family members (primarily parents) are only initially problematic. Most report that parents are initially skeptical/apprehensive, critical, concerned and even hostile. Many report the source of their parents' reactions are fears that their son/daughter will be malnourished and sickly without meat in their diets. However, most report that with the passage of time, they are accepted or tolerated as vegetarians and permitted to eat as they please. The following is a quote indicative of this acceptance as time passes:

> My family, especially my father, was initially skeptical. They were worried that I would be malnourished and sickly...now my father will brag to me that he's tried veggie food. (female, vegetarian 3 yrs.)

Interestingly, many report that their parents believed that it's merely a phase that their son/daughter is going through. Many parents frequently ask if they are "still not

eating meat." Although several report that their parents have grown to accept their vegetarianism, many report the lack of a willingness of parents to provide vegetarian food when they visit:

> My family was very much opposed to my choice at first, but now they have pretty much accepted it, although they don't like providing vegetarian food for me when I visit. (male, vegetarian 25 yrs.)

"Acceptance" often means that parents have simply stopped nagging or inquiring about their son/daughter's diet.

A few female vegetarians do not speak as positively about their in-laws. Many express the total disregard on the part of in-laws to accommodate their daughter-in-law's food preferences. Instead, women express the feeling that their in-laws act as if vegetarianism is a terrible inconvenience at meal times:

> All I ask for when we go to a family members house is maybe one vegetable and a salad. I often hear 'are you still a vegetarian?' Once my mother in law, who had just asked that, said 'well then I guess you are SOL [s--- out of luck]!' They all act like I am inconveniencing them. (female, vegetarian 2 yrs.)

For a very few individuals these types of sanctions as attempts to maintain social norms, serve as social constraints that do guide food selection. A few individuals adapt by occasionally eating a "little" meat/fish when they feel socially obliged to do so. Others alter the visibility of their identities by simply attempting to keep their dietary preferences hidden by quietly just avoiding eating meat at social functions, without making it an issue. For these individuals, being vegetarian is a personal matter that they feel no need to proselytize about. Others are adamant that they are vegetarian and would not succumb to eating meat at whatever the cost. One individual responded to the question of whether he ever eats meat to avoid embarrassment, "I'm a vegetarian, I would be 'embarrassed' to eat meat."

CONCLUSION

The present study suggests that claiming "vegetarian" as an aspect of who one is, is a significant aspect of one's identity for many individuals. Findings suggest that individuals may be motivated by a variety of causes or issues to convert to vegetarianism, but over time will likely incorporate or assimilate other motives. This probably occurs for several reasons. First, the process of assimilation of other motives may be perceived relevant for the person's identity and thus enhances one's self-esteem. Second, these new reasons may be perceived as a logical continuation of one's present identity and thus provides for a sense of continuity for how one sees him/herself. Third, the incorporation or assimilation of additional motives may serve to increase one's commitment to one's vegetarian identity and, therefore, the salience of one's vegetarian identity. According to Stryker and Serpe (1982), commitment is related to the salience of one's identities and to the frequency with which one seeks to perform roles congruent with one's identity.

Vegetarianism is important to a sizable number of individuals, and is growing. The importance associated with being vegetarian is clearer when one considers the social constraints present to maintain the centrality of meat in the structure of meals. Vegetarian food availability in restaurants and convenience foods is a constraint. In addition, social relationships may serve as constraints; social relationships are highly affected, primarily in the initial stages of conversion to vegetarianism.

Although there are social constraints present to maintain normative or meat-based foodways, individuals report support in maintenance of their vegetarian identity. That is, the present study finds support for Maurer's (1995) contention that through the media individuals have been able to find justifications for changing their eating patterns. The media's role in inspiring converts may be the influence it has as a transformative or "epiphany" experience that impacts individuals to the point of changing their concept of self to that of one who is vegetarian and therefore unwilling to kill animals for food (Denzin 1989).

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APPENDIX:
QUESTIONNAIRE
1. Age? (check one)
   a) under 20
   b) 21-25
   c) 26-30
   d) 31-35
   e) 36-40
   f) 41 and over
2. Are you male or female?
3. To what extent do you follow a vegetarian diet? (vegan vs. lacto-ovo, etc.)
4. Do you occasionally eat meat to avoid embarrassment? (explain)
5. How long have you been vegetarian?
6. Is your spouse or partner also vegetarian?
7. Are many of your friends vegetarian?
8. Did you become vegetarian through interaction or involvement with someone already committed to vegetarianism? (explain)
9. Of the following, what motivated you to convert to vegetarianism? (If you were motivated by more than one reason to convert please tell me the order of importance) (if you were raised veg. from birth, tell me about your parents decision).
   a) health
   b) animal rights
   c) ethics
   d) environment
   e) religion
   f) other (specify)
10. Using the above categories that you have indicated motivated you, please explain what you mean by each. (this is necessary as people differ by what they mean within each category).
11. Have your motives changed over time? (explain)
12. Was your route to vegetarianism gradual or abrupt? (explain)
13. For those of you who converted to vegetarianism (rather than those raised vegetarian), tell me about the routines and cooking practices you found most difficult to change.
14. How has your vegetarian diet been accepted and/or criticized by your FRIENDS and ACQUAINTANCES?
15. How has your vegetarian diet been accepted and/or criticized by your FAMILY?
16. For those of you with children, are they vegetarian?
17. Tell me the difficulties experienced in raising children who are vegetarian.
18. Do you have any recommendations as to how vegetarianism can become more the norm and more acceptable?
19. Anything else you wish to tell me that is important, but that I didn't ask?

THE ACCEPTANCE OF SMOKING AS OTHER-REGARDING BEHAVIOR IN AMERICAN SOCIETY

Carla J. Glover, Texas A&M University

ABSTRACT

Cigarette smoking is becoming a deviant behavior, especially when one engages in this behavior in the presence of others. No longer is it a behavior that only concerns the smoker and his/her health. It is now acknowledged as harmful to nonsmokers through the dangers of secondary smoke. Since smokers and nonsmokers are starting to recognize this potential danger of cigarette smoking, exposure to this harm for nonsmokers can be regulated. This recognition of smoking as a problem for nonsmokers changes the behavior from simply self-regarding behavior, where the smoker is only making decisions about the potential dangers of smoking for him/herself to other-regarding behavior, where the smoker must acknowledge the behavior's impact on and potential danger to others. Through the use of opinion polls, this paper attempts to show how smoking is being redefined and is now seen as other-regarding behavior by both smokers and nonsmokers.

INTRODUCTION

Social regulations are increasing for cigarette smoking in American society. New laws and rules are regulating this behavior and are restricting or banning smoking in a variety of areas. This paper will address why these new social regulations have become necessary by exploring the changing beliefs and norms about cigarette smoking. At one time, cigarette smoking belonged in the realm of self-regarding behavior and was not a problem for anyone, but the smoker. John Stuart Mill (1975) discusses self-regarding behavior. He states

> In the part which merely concerns himself, his independence is, of right, absolute. Over himself, over his own body and mind, the individual is sovereign.

As discussed within this paper, smoking was once considered the individual's concern and it was not necessary to consider how it influenced others. The behavior was self-regarding.

With the increasing medical information on secondary/passive smoke, smoking is now being redefined as other-regarding behavior that has the potential for harm to someone beyond the individual.

> As soon as any part of a person's conduct affects prejudicially the interest of others, society has jurisdiction over it, and the question whether the general welfare will or will not be promoted by interfering with it, becomes open to discussion. (Mill 1975)

The behavior, because of its potential harm to others, is redefined as other-regarding and has the potential to be regulated at that point. This regulation takes the form of new laws and rules that will help the smokers and nonsmokers to form new norms that define their obligations to each other. These new laws and rules are efforts to provide social controls that will ensure that smokers develop other-regarding behavior. According to Selznick,

> To be effectively other-regarding we must, at some crucial point, where the fate of the person is decided, directly perceive and appreciate them. (1992)

There exists no normative base for defining smoking in this way; therefore, smokers are having to change their attitudes about where and when they should smoke. Due to the change in definition, the individual's behavior cannot be considered only his/her own concern and new laws and norms reinforce this change. Below, a short explanation describes why cigarette smoking is a unique behavior to regulate. A discussion of the data to support the argument that smoking is being redefined as other-regarding behavior will follow. Included in that data is information pertaining to the existence of new regulations and the belief of Americans that these new regulations are justifiable and necessary.

REGULATING SMOKING BEHAVIOR

For many years, Americans believed that smoking was a behavior that only affected the individual. In fact, it was important within society.

> Cigarette smoking during wartime and depressions was not merely approved as a pleasure but viewed almost as a duty that owed to the principle of camaraderie and to the requirements of consolation in the face of tragedy. It was also recognized as an index of one's adult reliability. In these periods,

> smoking was admired, praised, and encouraged. (Klein 1993)

The definition of smoking is changing, but it is doing so slowly. The problem of regulating smoking is due to the fact that it is part of American culture. Klein (1993) discusses the importance of smoking and how it is part of the American ideology. Rabin and Sugarman (1993) agree with Klein (1993).

> As long as smoker's cough, tobacco aftertaste, and smoke-filled rooms and sporting arenas were regarded at most as minor annoyances and only vaguely perceived as posing health concerns--annoyances and concerns that far out-weighed by the perceived pleasures of smoking--tobacco use was a highly unlikely candidate for regulatory sanctions. (Rabin, Sugarman 1993)

It took several years for Americans to acknowledge that smoking was harmful for the smoker. Currently, laws are successful at suppressing smoking, at least in certain areas and for the protection of nonsmokers.

During and after World War II, smoking was an acceptable behavior, according to Jacobson, Wasserman, and Anderson (1997), Rabin and Sugarman (1993), and Sobel (1978). This acceptance was slow to change. During the 1950s, research was available on the health effects of smoking, but very little of this evidence reached the public (Sobel 1978). The release of the Surgeon General's Report on smoking in 1964 established for the public the link between cancer and smoking. Instead of greatly reducing smoking, "The impact of the health scare seemed to be lessening, in large part as a result of the growth of filter smoking" (Sobel 1978). Even the anti-smoking groups found encouragement in the promise of the reduced health hazards due to the use of filtered cigarettes. They "...turned to methods by which cigarette users could minimize harmful effects" (Sobel 1978). These efforts were concentrated on the smoker and his or her health.

The first reports of social regulation attempts occurred during the early 1970s (for a review of smoking regulations, litigation, and policies see Jacobson et al 1997, Kagan, Vogel 1993, Kelder, Daynard 1997). The anti-smoking groups did not attempt to ban smoking, but to restrict it to specific areas, away from nonsmokers (Sobel 1978). Troyer and Markle (1979) emphasize that "Official actions against individual smokers appear to have occurred only after a majority of the public defined smoking as undesirable". Once the public knew of the dangers and had proof of the harm to the smoker, social regulations were possible. Despite the anti-smoking group's efforts, "Smoking was on an increase in 1972 and afterward..." (Sobel 1978). Smoking was still regarded as a person's individual choice and as self-regarding behavior. In addition, America was involved in the Vietnam war during these years and, as noted by Klein (1993), smoking is encouraged during wartime. According to Myers and Arnold (1988), the National Research Council and the Surgeon General's reports on secondary smoking, released in 1986, will impact how individuals view smoking in this nation. Once these reports reached the public, attitudes changed since, based on "...the best scientific evidence available, smoking has long ago ceased to be a private-regarding device best treated as such" (Goodin 1989). Since there are new medical findings that now show smoking to be dangerous to other people in the community, there is a renewed effort to regulate smoking behavior. Rabin and Sugarman note,

> ...from a perspective that views smokers as injuring innocent third parties, the tables are turned: smokers must be made to stop their wrongdoing. (1993)

The conflict over these new regulations and the extent of them revolves around two issues. First, as Wolfe (1989) states

> When capitalism and liberal democracy combine, people are given the potential to determine for themselves what their obligations to others ought to be, but are then given few satisfactory guidelines on how to fulfill them.

Previously, there were no obligations attached to the act of smoking. Now that there is evidence of that obligation to others, due to the harm of secondary smoke, it is necessary to provide the guidelines through official means to regulate the behavior. Smokers and nonsmokers are allowing "...authority structures to formulate rules of social interaction for them..." (Wolfe 1989).

The second problem is what Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, and Tipton (1991)

claim to occur in arguments of other social questions. The discussion of rights "...tends ...to prevent precisely the consideration of how one choice is interdependent with other choices" (Bellah et al 1991). Opponents on either side of the smoking issue argue about rights and fail to emphasize the common good for the community. To achieve the common good, a better solution might include returning the emphasis to encouraging smokers to quit rather than trying to regulate smoking. Hardin (1988) also argues that rights are unimportant, if there is a lack of consideration for the common good. In addition, he points to the fact that "'Traditional rights'...are institutional devices for reducing the burden of gathering information and calculating consequences of actions" (Hardin 1988). Traditional rights do not define smoking as harmful to others, so the argument over smoking has become an issue about individual rights. What results is a conflict of rights

> ...in which the protected actions of one party coincidentally bring harm to another party typically because of external effects of the actions. (Hardin 1988)

Secondary smoke is a harmful external effect that needs regulation, despite the rights of the individual smoker.

Moreno and Bayer (1985) discuss smoking as one example of the use of public policies to promote health. They include the problems listed above in their analysis of the situation. According to this article, one side of the argument over state regulation of behaviors involves "...the claim that competent adults have the right to engage in foolish and even self-destructive 'self-regarding' practices" (Moreno, Bayer 1985). Individuals who use this argument are referring to Mill's (1975) work for the ideological base and stick to their belief in individual rights. Mill did qualify this argument by stating that individual rights end when there is a potential to harm others (Mill 1975). Since medical evidence shows that secondary smoking is harmful to others, the argument over smoker's rights loses its force.

Goodin (1989) notes that it is no longer an individual right for the smoker, since smoking is an addiction. Starting from Mill's (1975) argument, Goodin emphasizes

> If it is autonomy that we are trying to protect in opposing paternalistic legislation in general, then the same values that lead us to oppose such legislation in general will lead us to welcome it in those particular cases where what we are being protected from is something that would deprive us from the capacity for autonomous choice. (1989)

This interpretation of Mill changes the argument that smoking is a right. If the smoker agrees that nicotine is addictive, then he or she is no longer making an autonomous choice to smoke. If one interprets Mill's (1975) work in this way, it does not seem to support the smoker's argument for a right to smoke. A second argument, discussed by Moreno and Bayer (1985) centers on "...the economic costs for society of risky personal behavior [which] warrants state intervention". This utilitarian argument ignores the importance of achieving a common good, except in a monetary sense. These authors claim that

> ...there has been little public discussion about the potential social benefits of aggressive effort to alter patterns of smoking and drinking. (Moreno, Bayer 1985)

This article does not refer to social regulation of secondary smoke as a social benefit that is non-monetary. Goodin (1989) does discuss the need to use utilitarian calculus when discussing social regulation of smoking. He discusses the difficulty in using this type of approach because both smokers and nonsmokers experience costs. His solution is to use different social regulations to accommodate the costs in different situations.

> Overall utility for the whole society might be better promoted by a more flexible, localized policy, wherein smoking rules for each subpopulation are set according to the distribution of smokers and nonsmokers within them. (Goodin 1989)

This solution would accommodate the rights of smokers and nonsmokers and provide a community solution that has the potential to emphasize the common good.

As this short review of smoking in American society illustrates, perceptions about smoking do appear to be changing. Below is an attempt to document this change through newspaper articles and opinion polls. It is possible to show that the anti-smoking

campaign is becoming more effective, especially after the publication of the dangers of secondary smoke.

DISCUSSION OF THE DATA

In this section, two research methods help to determine the change in the public's perceptions of smoking and its regulation. The first method includes evidence retrieved through the Newsbank Electronic Information System. This database includes newspaper articles from all over the country and since it is selective in which articles it provides, it is not a random sampling. Due to the source bias, any consideration attached to the conclusions should be tentative. Two separate year groupings will help show the increase of articles on secondary smoking. During 1981-1983, there were twenty-two articles discussing the health hazards from smoking. Four of these articles discussed secondary smoke. For the second group of years, 1991-1993, there was an increase to forty-eight articles on health hazards that included seventeen articles about secondary smoke. This change in media coverage and the new medical findings about secondary smoke helped to change the perception of smoking within society. Individuals now had proof to use which would encourage the use of social regulation. Social regulation was possible since there was scientific evidence that smoking was no longer self-regarding behavior.

This change in public perception receives additional documentation by noting the changes in laws and rules concerning smoking allowed in government buildings and public places. During 1981-1983, there were twenty-one articles dealing with the restriction or banning of smoking in public places and there were no articles dealing with these issues within government buildings. During the 1991-1993 years, articles discussing restrictions or bans of smoking in public places increased to ninety. Articles about the restriction and banning of smoking within government buildings increased to nine. The increase in social regulations for smoking occurred after the public had received information about the effects of secondary smoke. This increase is important to note since it documents the shift in defining smoking as other-regarding behavior. Social regulations are appropriate when there is evidence of the damage that smoking may cause to others within the community.

Table 1: "Do You Think Cigarette Smoking Is Harmful or Not?" (Percentages)

Year		Smokers	Nonsmokers
1949	Yes	52	66
	No	45	24
1977	Yes	83	95
	No	13	2
		All Respondents	
1984	Yes	93	
	No	3	

Despite the possible bias of this data, it is evident that there has been a shift in media coverage of smoking. Whether this shift is a response to the public's growing concern over smoking or whether the change in media coverage caused the growing concern is not clear. What is significant is that increased media coverage of secondary smoking and of social regulations does bring these issues into the public forum. By informing the public, there is a potential to increase the public's concern and to allow for continued changes in public perceptions about smoking and about social regulations of this behavior.

The second method used includes a review of opinion polls to determine if the public is viewing smoking differently. Shephard (1982) states that "Opinions in the US were strongly influenced by a series of well-documented reports on Smoking and Health from the Surgeon General." To determine the accuracy of this statement, several opinion polls provided the data for this discussion. The Gallup poll publishes polls annually. It also completed polls for the American Lung Association. Both of these surveys draw their samples from the national population. Data from the Hollander Cohen Associates' survey was also used. This questionnaire only surveys people within the state of Maryland. Another opinion poll includes the data produced by Talmey Research and Strategy, Incorporated which surveys a random sample of Colorado residents. The American Public Opinion Data provides a catalog for these and other opinion polls. The use of these polls will help to show if smokers and nonsmokers are changing their opinions about the harm caused by smoking. If there is a change in this direction, then there is some truth to the argument that smoking is becoming other-regarding behavior. Opinions regarding the acceptance of social regulations will show

Table 2: "In General, How Harmful Do You Feel Second-Hand Smoke Is To Adults?"

	1994	1996
Very Harmful	36	48
Somewhat Harmful	42	36
Not too harmful	12	9
No harm at all	6	5
It depends	1	--
No opinion	3	2

Table 3: "Smokers Should Refrain From Smoking in the Presence of Non-Smokers."

	1983	1987	1989
Strongly agree	31	33	53
Agree	38	42	29
Disagree	22	16	13
Strongly disagree	3	3	2

Table 4: "Do You Think There Should or Should Not Be a Complete Ban on Cigarette Advertising?" (Percentages)

Year		Smokers	Nonsmokers
1977	Should	28	41
	Should Not	65	47
	No Opinion	7	12
1988	Should	34	64
	Should Not	61	31
	No Opinion	5	5
1994	Should	40	51
	Should Not	56	45
	No Opinion	4	4

that nonsmokers' rights are becoming more important.

According to the 1987 Gallup poll, the rate of smoking is decreasing. In 1944, forty-one percent of the population smoked; this rate increased to forty-five percent in 1954. The rate decreased until it reached a low of thirty percent in 1987. Prior to 1950, Americans were unlikely to define smoking as harmful, but that is changing (Table 1). According to the Gallup poll in 1949 and 1977 and the Hollander Cohen Associates' survey in 1984[1], people are defining smoking as more harmful. The medical findings on the dangers of cigarette smoking, as reported in the 1964 Surgeon General's Report, appear to have convinced the vast majority of people about the dangers for smokers. Table 2 includes data from the Gallup poll (1994 and 1996). This table shows the change in opinions about the harm of

Table 5: "Do You Think Federal and State Taxes on Cigarettes Should or Should Not Be Increased?" (Percentages)

	1977		1993
	Smokers	Nonsmokers	All
Should	17	52	67
Should Not	75	35	33
No Opinion	2	13	1

Table 6: "Do You Think the Sale of Cigarettes Should or Should Not Be Banned Completely?" (Percentages)

	1977	1988	1994
Should	19	13	11
Should Not	75	85	86
No Opinion	6	2	3

secondary smoke. The majority in each of these groups agrees that smoking is harmful. This table also shows the increase in the belief that secondary smoke is "very harmful." The agreement that smoking is harmful to others and not to the smoker alone indicates that smoking is becoming other-regarding behavior. It is necessary to determine if the data in Table 2 indicates what is hypothesized. The data in Table 3 was part of the Gallup poll survey in 1989. This table offers some assistance in determining if smoking is becoming other-regarding behavior. The respondents do agree that smokers should refrain from smoking in the presence of nonsmokers in 1983, but strong agreement occurs in the 1989 poll. Since the majority of respondents agree that smokers should refrain from smoking in the presence of nonsmokers, this data indicates that smokers and nonsmokers do not consider smoking to be self-regarding behavior. The norms surrounding smoking are changing and smokers and nonsmokers are increasingly accepting this change. Goodin (1989), in his argument over rights, states that "...nonsmokers should have a right to veto others' smoking in the airspace that they must share". From this data, it is obvious that public opinion offers support for this contention.

Smoking is considered other-regarding behavior, according to the data presented. Since there is such strong agreement about the potential for harm, social regulation of this behavior becomes necessary. Social regulations have been placed on smoking and respondents to these surveys agree with the need for laws and rules concerning

Table 7: "Which Statement on This Card Best Describes Your Opinion Regarding Smoking in Each of the Following Places?" (Percentages)

Hotels, Motels	1983	1987	1989	1992	1994
No restrictions	30	20	19	12	10
Areas set aside	54	67	63	69	68
No smoking	12	10	12	17	20
Don't know	4	3	6	2	2
Restaurants					
No restrictions	10	8	8	4	4
Areas set aside	69	74	66	62	57
No smoking	19	17	23	33	38
Don't know	2	1	3	1	1
Workplaces					
No restrictions	15	11	10	5	4
Areas set aside	64	70	65	64	63
No smoking	17	17	21	30	32
Don't know	4	2	4	1	1

smoking. The banning of some cigarette advertising is already in place, for example, television commercials. The data in Table 4 is part of the 1977, 1988, and 1994 Gallup surveys. Nonsmokers are more likely to agree with banning cigarette advertisement in 1988 than in 1977. In 1994, nonsmokers were less likely to want banning. An explanation for this drop in agreement may be that there was little media attention given to the need for advertising bans, but it is difficult to tell from the data in this table. There is less agreement among the smokers, but there exists a consistent increase in agreement from 1977 to 1994. This type of social regulation is constraining the behavior of the cigarette companies, but the increasing agreement helps to show the concern of smokers for the need to provide some social regulation.

Another possibility for social regulation is to raise taxes to increase the costs for smokers. The majority of the individuals surveyed in 1993 agreed with this statement (Table 5[2]). President Clinton has argued for an increase on cigarette taxes to help pay for the health care reform. His rationale for doing so is that smokers increase the costs of health care due to their habit. Since Clinton discussed this fact on television and the newspapers reported his arguments, the increase from 1977 to 1993 may be strictly due to increased publicity of this information. The result of this increased information is that the surveyed population appears to support this method of social regulation.

There seems to be little agreement over the complete ban of smoking. Table 6[3] shows the results over time and there is a decrease in the opinion that smoking should be banned completely. Apparently, the public still does not want to fully restrict behavior that involves individual choice. Banning of cigarettes is an extreme response. Complete bans would involve paternalistic legislation and smoking, despite its harm to the individual, is still considered an individual right. As stated earlier Goodin (1989) argues that since smoking is addictive, the individual is unable to choose freely whether to smoke or not.

There is also a concern over the costs to society, if smoking is completely banned (Goodin 1989). Not only will it influence the economy through farming of tobacco and production of cigarettes, but it may also cause illegal trade in cigarettes. Due to this argument and the apparent lack of agreement in the opinion polls, banning the sale of cigarettes does not appear to be an appropriate social regulation, at this time.

Table 7 includes opinions about specific types of social situations, comparing hotels, restaurants, and the workplace. The Gallup poll surveyed individuals for the American Lung Association in the years indicated. These opinions are changing to support the social regulation of smoking. Since these questions refer to public places, the support for social regulation indicates that smoking is other-regarding behavior. The largest group prefers smoking areas within public places, rather than banning or having no restrictions for smoking at all. The increase in

the percentage of people who want to ban or restrict smoking and the decrease in opinions that there should be no restrictions indicates that nonsmokers' rights are becoming more important. Opinion regarding smoking in restaurants is similar to the one for smoking in hotels and motels, but there is more interest in banning smoking. Opinions about regulating workplace smoking also emphasize the changing beliefs about whose rights are most important. The pattern is the same; the preference is for smoking areas and few people want no regulations on smoking. The opinions about social regulations indicate that smokers and nonsmokers want smoking regulated and few people want no restrictions. There is a difference in opinion for hotels and motels and the other two places. There is less agreement that smoking should be banned in hotels and motels. It is difficult to determine what the reasons are for this difference and future research should attempt to address this problem. Even so, it can be suggested that the difference may be due to the separation of space that is found in hotels and motels and also, out of respect for a guest's right to privacy in his/her own rental space. This separation provides for private, rather than public, areas and less chance for the nonsmoker to be near a smoking individual. When there exists a difference in agreement about social regulations, it can be assumed that, as Goodin (1989) suggests, there is some consideration for both smokers' and nonsmokers' rights.

Since there are a variety of regulations and opinions about where smoking should and should not be banned, the smoker must consider others. As Jacobson et al point out,

> Tobacco control legislation also shifts control from the smoker to the nonsmoker and places the burden of showing that smoking is permitted on the smoker. (1997)

Smokers are forced to regard others. The need for official regulations may still be necessary in a modern society, but they are more likely to be accepted and followed if the norms surrounding smoking support the redefinition and social regulation of this behavior. These surveys show a changing attitude toward smoking and the social regulation of this behavior. The harm of smoking to nonsmokers is increasing the acceptance of social regulations and encouraging the acceptance of this behavior as other-regarding.

CONCLUSIONS

The argument over smoking has gained new force because of the information on secondary smoke. The utilitarian argument did not carry as much force in encouraging smokers to quit or in obtaining regulations on individual behavior. As noted above (Moreno, Bayer 1985), the argument over individual rights to smoke was too persuasive. Since the new information about the dangers of cigarette smoking includes the data of how this behavior affects others, there is less power to the argument of individual rights. As Gibson (1997) argues, "...smokers have become a stigmatized outgroup." Attempts to suppress cigarette smoking are more likely now because smoking is no longer a self-regarding behavior. It is becoming a deviant behavior (Kluger 1996).

This research showed the changing opinions about smoking and the regulation of this behavior. Individuals are acknowledging the dangers of smoking to others and there is a change in opinion about applying social regulations. Even though there is little agreement to ban smoking, there is still a concern for others who might experience harm due to the behavior of smokers. Interpretation of the data in this paper shows that smoking is becoming other-regarding behavior and deviant in the presence of others. To determine why opinions are changing, other research should focus on why people believe that these social regulations are appropriate. This information would be useful for expanding the argument that smoking is becoming an other-regarding behavior. A more complete survey of newspaper articles will also help to solve the problem of determining when changes in opinions occurred. It may also highlight when controversies about social regulations occurred and for what reasons. These factors need to be researched to offer more knowledge about social regulations and the change in this behavior within society.

ENDNOTES

[1] The 1984 Hollander Cohen Associates survey question was different from the Gallup poll question. The actual question asked was "Do you think smoking is or is not harmful to health?"

[2] Both sets of data are from the Gallup poll. The 1993 Gallup poll question was "The Clinton health-care reform bill increases federal tax on a

pack of cigarettes by 75 cents to help pay for the plan. Do you favor or oppose this proposal?"

[3] The Gallup poll provided the 1977 and 1994 data. The 1988 data came from Talmey Research and Strategy, Inc. poll. The actual statement used on this survey was "It should be illegal to sell tobacco to anyone regardless of age. Agree, Disagree, Not Sure."

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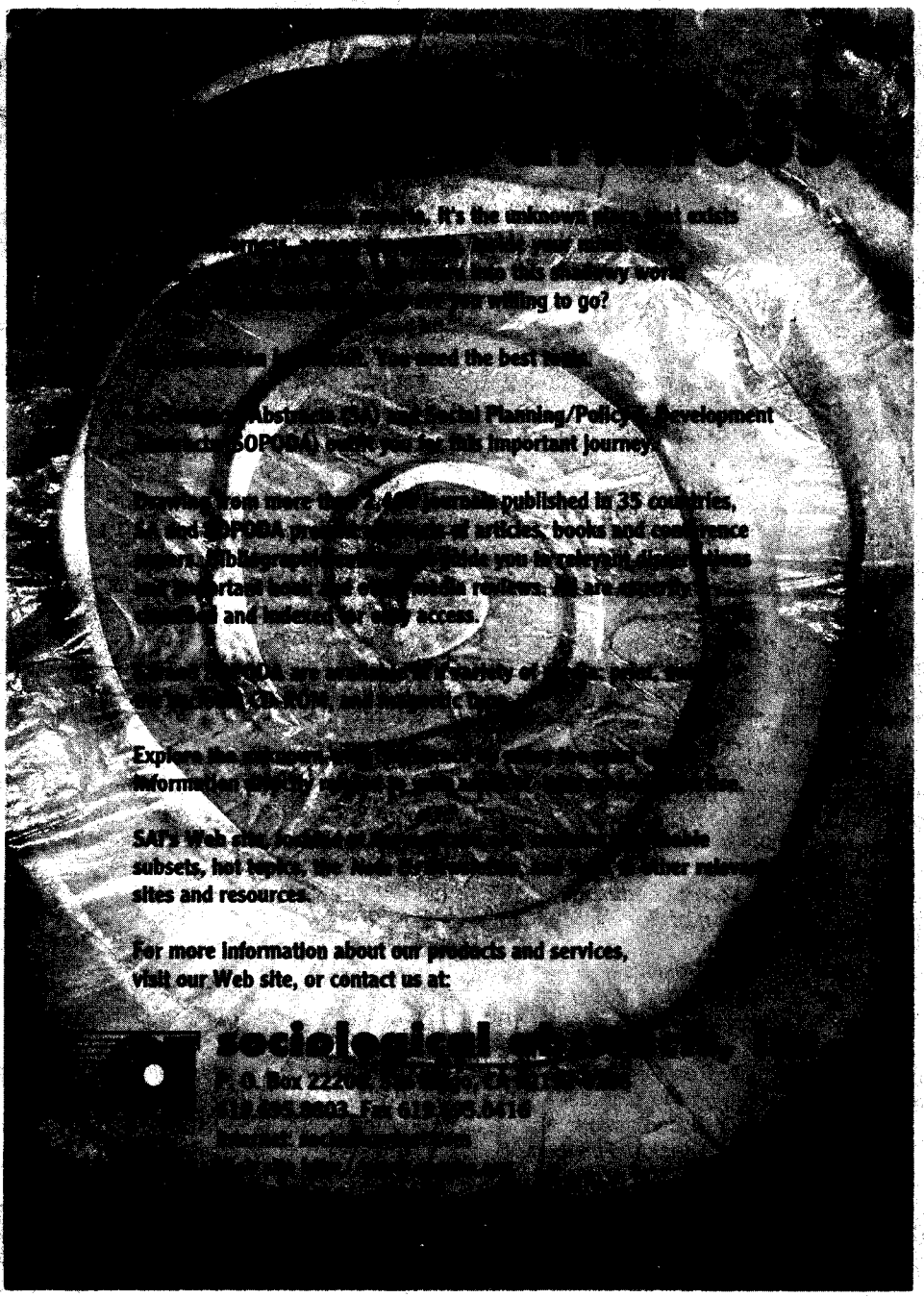
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