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BLUNTS AND BLOWTJES: CANNABIS USE PRACTICES IN TWO CULTURAL SETTINGS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR SECONDARY PREVENTION

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores two modes of cannabis preparation and smoking which have manifested within the drug subcultures of the United States and the Netherlands. Smoking "blunts," or hollowed out cigar wrappers filled with marijuana, is a phenomenon which first emerged in New York City in the mid 1980s, and has since spread throughout the United States. A "blowtje," (pronounced "blowt-cha") a modern Dutch style joint which is mixed with tobacco and includes a card-board filter and a longer rolling paper, has become the standard mode of cannabis smoking in the Netherlands as well as much of Europe. Both are considered newer than the more traditional practices of preparing and smoking cannabis, including the traditional filter-less style joint, the pot pipe, and the bong or water pipe. These newer styles of preparation and smoking have implications for secondary prevention efforts with active young cannabis users. On a social and ritualistic level these practices serve as a means of self-regulating cannabis use. Since both smoking modes involve combining cannabis with tobacco, they also increase and compound the health risks posed to the user.

INTRODUCTION

Over the last the ten years the use of cannabis in the United States and the Netherlands has remained consistently more prevalent among youth and young adults than it was throughout the 1980s (Johnston, O'Malley & Bachman 1999; Golub & Johnson 2001; Korf & van der Steenhoven 1993; Cohen & Kaal 2001). National and local government agencies have been addressing this trend with traditional methods of prevention supported by new messages which utilize different forms of media and focus specifically on marijuana. The dangers of marijuana are vigorously highlighted in order to discourage new users and to persuade current users to cease using. "Primary prevention" strategies consistent with the values of a drug-free society continue to characterize the American response (Cohen 1993; Botvin 1990). Scaring youths away from drugs by illustrating their dangers and negative outcomes, and the 'responsible' choice of completely avoiding illicit drugs, are the reoccurring themes in the television and newspaper advertisements developed by the Partnership for a Drug-Free America. The Center for Substance Abuse Prevention (CSAP) articulates "The term 'prevention' is reserved for those interventions that occur before the initial onset of the disorder" (Center for Substance Abuse Prevention 1995). In the Netherlands, where the epidemiological trend regarding marijuana is similar, prevention efforts are consistent with its specific policy on cannabis and its general commitment to harm reduction. Prevention is aimed at tightening up the regulations governing the coffeeshop system-where the retail sales of marijuana and hashish are tolerated and health education efforts targeted at the problematic cannabis use of youth. The intention of separating hard (heroin, cocaine, amphetamine) and soft (marijuana, hashish) drug markets, by tolerating the retail sale of cannabis in coffeeshops is to prevent young cannabis users who are experimenting with cannabis from using more dangerous drugs. In the Netherlands, the harm reduction approach to cannabis can be compared to the work done on controlled drinking and risk reduction among youth in the United States (Marlatt, Baer & Larimer 1995).

This diverse array of prevention efforts, developed in two different cultural and political settings, have been largely uninformed by research of the new and emerging groups of cannabis users which seem to be accounting for the increase in reported prevalence over the last decade. For the most part, cannabis users are typically all lumped into a single youthful category that does not differentiate from the groups that began smoking cannabis more then a generation earlier in the 1960s. American prevention efforts have undervalued the role of changing social meanings of cannabis and related use practices in the groups that are already using it.

This paper analyzes these newly emerged meanings in two contrasting social and policy contexts, the United States (US) and the Netherlands (NL). These analyses are extremely valuable for the development of future prevention strategies. Without a more thorough understanding of these meanings and use practices, it is likely that prevention efforts will be misunderstood, ignored, or even increase use through heightening the anxiety and cognitive dissonance already associated with cannabis. Furthermore, related to these meanings are specific ritualized practices that function to regulate use. Hence, the description and analysis of these rituals can also contribute to "secondary prevention" by identifying naturally occurring customs of social control which create acceptable norms of use and strengthen self-regulation. These practices provide opportunities for prevention work that is not only aimed at abstinence (primary prevention), but, also, secondary prevention, with the intent of reducing the harm associated with the use of cannabis with active users.

Generators of Meaning and Practices: Artistic, Drug, and Sacred Subcultures in the Last 50 Years

One factor for the recent international popularity of cannabis has been the emerging youth subcultures of the 1980s and 1990s which rejected the polarization between "just say no" youth and cocaine using youth. Specifically Hip-Hop and Rastafarianism (re)-emerged embracing cannabis as their primary, and often exclusive, drug of choice, but with meanings and rituals that distinguish them from earlier cannabis using subcultures (Sifaneck & Kaplan 1995). Popular culture is also portraying today's cannabis users as trend setters in the social world of illicit drug taking. A number of cover articles about cannabis users of the 1990s have appeared, including the *New York Times Magazine* (1995), the *Village Voice* (1993), *Paper* (1994), and the *Face* (1994). Feature films including "Friday," (1995) and "Kids" (1995) have illustratively depicted the lifestyles of these new cannabis users. Even though these new cannabis subcultures borrow rituals and technologies from previous drug subcultures, some of the innovations are unique.

The relationship between cannabis use and subcultures has a long tradition in sociological research. In the 1970s focus shifted from subcultures largely defined by specific artistic scenes (Winick 1960; Becker 1963), to subcultures defined by the use and sales of specific drugs (Johnson 1973). Primary deviance like drug experimentation, was hypothesized only to lead to secondary deviance (drug dealing, use of hard drugs) if a person became a participant in a drug using subculture through selling drugs. Users who get involved in heavy use subsequently get involved in dealing to support their habits (Johnson 1973; Wood 1988; Sifaneck 1996). After involvement in drug dealing, users may develop connections with hard drugs. Subcultures and the behavior of drug dealing were theorized to be the intervening variables in the progression of deviant behavior (Johnson 1973). Later in the 1970s, investigations into the subculture of Rastafarianism provided an opportunity to explore a context not only where cannabis is used, but where it is truly sacred and endowed with meaning and significance (Hebdige 1979).

Beck and Rosenbaum's (1994) seminal study of MDMA (ecstasy) use recognized the often blurred lines between drugs defined in subcultures and the relationship of these meanings to the larger popular culture. Beck and Rosenbaum articulate:

> Insulated well-defined subcultures gave way to larger more amorphous "social worlds" of illicit drug users....We now had user populations whose identities were substantially shaped and informed by mass communication and the media. (1994)

In a fast paced, information laden, post-modern world, subcultural practices are co-opted, marketed, and quickly adopted by the popular culture. For instance, Hip-Hop and Rastafarian styles of hair and dress are replicated and adopted by persons who are clearly outside the subculture. This happens when subcultural art forms (rap, graffiti, reggae) get marketed through the mass media to a larger audience. To a lesser extent, this is also true for subcultural drug use practices. This will later be exemplified by the practice of blunt smoking.

METHODS

Ethnographic research is extremely valuable for understanding both the subcultural features, and the ritualized use practices of

cannabis in natural settings. Ethnography is also an important tool for specifying the contexts of illicit drug use. For example, there is a growing tradition of HIV/AIDS-related ethnographic research which has been able to identify practices that both contribute to and impede efforts of a subculture to self-regulate in the interest of harm reduction (Grund, Kaplan & De Vries 1993). By relating cannabis smoking to the broader context of drug use, strategies for secondary prevention and intervention can be identified, developed, and applied. Future research with cannabis smokers should take place in the context of natural settings and most current use practices. This research can only take place after an adequate ethnographic analysis of such subcultural contexts. The following paper utilizes the analysis of both primary and secondary ethnographic data. Sifaneck and Kaplan have undertaken extensive ethnographic research on the cannabis situation in the Netherlands. Sifaneck's dissertation entitled "Regulating Cannabis: An Ethnographic Analysis of the Sale and Use of Cannabis in New York City and Rotterdam" involved extensive participant-observation with users and sellers of cannabis in the United States and the Netherlands. Sifaneck has studied and documented changes in the sale and use of cannabis in New York City over the past ten years. Kaplan has researched the drug scene, taught and lived in the Netherlands since the early 1980s. Both researchers have previous collaborations and are continuously observing developments in the cannabis scenes in both cultural settings.

Secondary ethnographic data was obtained by interviewing practicing ethnographers involved with drug research. These people included Dr. Adrian Jansen, Dr. Ansley Hamid, Dr. Richard Curtis, Errol K. James, Charles Small, and Joseph Richardson. The intention of using such secondary data was to corroborate our own observations, as well as to provide insights on developments not observed during the primary field research. The approach employed is certainly unconventional, but proved to be comprehensive and very fruitful in gathering data. It was a way to overcome generalizations generated through the observations of a single researcher in the field. Through analysis of primary and secondary ethnographic data this paper will explore two more recent modes of cannabis use practices and smoking styles: the American "blunt" and the Dutch "blowtje." A blunt is a hollowed out cheap cigar filled with marijuana, and a blowtje is a modern Dutch style joint which is mixed with tobacco, and is constructed with a large rolling paper and a cardboard filter.

A comprehensive ethnographic approach is an appropriate methodology for this cross-cultural investigation into the subcultural influences which provide contexts for distinct cannabis smoking practices in two different modern Western cultures. Even though the phenomenon of "blunts" has been sporadically mentioned in the drug abuse literature, analysis of the cultural significance, and social and health implications that a relatively novel cannabis use practice presents have been ignored. The Dutch cannabis use practice of the blowtje has been an equally ignored phenomenon. The intention of the following paper is to shed light on these newer drug use phenomena, and discuss their implications for health, prevention, and the reduction of drug related harm.

BLUNTS AND BLOWTJES: A CROSS-CULTURAL ETHNOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF TWO CANNABIS USE PRACTICES

A Common Antecedent: The Rastafarian Spliff

One striking characteristic of the "blunt," and to a lesser extent the "blowtje," is that they both express, in terms of immenseness and design, the look, and "style" of an important symbol of the Rastafarian subculture, the Jamaican "spliff." Jamaica is the sacred center of the Rastafarian movement which has become a worldwide subculture which embraces a pan-African, anti-imperialist, and working-class revolutionary ideology (Hebdige 1979). Reggae music became a predominant vehicle of the subculture to "spread the word," and obtain supporters from a racially and geographically diverse population. Since "ganja" (marijuana) is plentiful in Jamaica, ganja smokers (often Rastafarians) prefer to roll their joints so that they are relatively large. Large rolling papers and "fronto leaves" (broad tobacco leaves) are the norm when rolling spliffs in Jamaica. The name "fronto" is derived from the opposite phonetics expressed in the word "tobacco." Since tobacco contained the sound "back" Rastafarians interpreted this to mean backwards, or non-progressive. Part of the Rastafarian ideology is the promotion of progress, and

the notion never to go backwards, thus the word "fronto" was adopted, containing the sound "front" suggesting a progressive "forwardness" (Small 1996). In Jamaica, locally grown and roughly manicured marijuana is sold by the half (14 grams) or whole (28 grams) ounce to the neophyte tourist consumer. For the American tourist these prices are at least 4-5 times lower than retail market prices in the United States. However, one must keep in mind that tourist prices are super-inflated, although they seem extremely inexpensive to the American or European traveler. For the Jamaican "spliff" smoker, marijuana is plentiful, but generally of a low and unmanicured quality, thus large joints are necessary to obtain a fulfilling high. In a number of Brooklyn neighborhoods during the 1980s fronto leaf was sold in health food stores, owned by and catering to Jamaican and other Caribbean immigrants. Large glass jars of fronto leaf were displayed next to herbal teas and dried fruit. Very often, these stores would also sell marijuana. In the New York setting, spliffs that were rolled with fronto leaf by these new Caribbean immigrants in the late 1970s and early 1980s were the predecessors to the modern blunts. In the Dutch setting, spliff smoking was an influence, spread in part, by immigrants from Suriname and the Dutch Antilles (Curacaos, Aruba, etc.,) and by members of the Rastafarian subculture. These cultural forces would eventually influence the design and style of the modern blowtje.

The Demise of the Trey and the Loose Joint and the Rise of the Blunt: Instabilities of the New York Market

"Blunts" explicitly emerged as a phenomenon in New York City during the mid 1980s, where small groups (3-5) of youth would pool their limited resources to purchase generally a "dime" ($10) or "nickel" ($5) bag of marijuana (James 1994). During the late 1980s, in New York City's inner-city markets, these were relatively small amounts: a nickel consisting of approximately .75 of 1 gram, and a dime averaging slightly more than 1.5 grams. When rolling a traditional marijuana joint, 1 gram may be used to construct 2-3 joints. Joints of this size are meant to be consumed by one or two persons. Blunts are generally shared among larger groups of users. For the original blunt smokers, the blunt smoking phenomenon was born out of the scarce conditions of New York's cannabis market in the mid 1980s. Today single (loose) "joints" and "trey" (3 dollar) bags of marijuana are no longer available in New York's retail market, while cannabis prices throughout the 1990s averaged about four to five times higher than prices in the late 1970s (Small 1996; Sifaneck 1996; Hamid 1995). Throughout the 1980s marijuana prices gradually inflated, and peaked around 1989, while cocaine prices concomitantly plummeted (Rhodes, Hyatt & Scheiman 1994). This unique market condition of abundant and inexpensive cocaine (very often in the form of crack) reinforced the functionality of sharing expensive and often scarce marijuana.

When making a blunt, the user must first purchase an inexpensive, low-quality cigar. "Philly Blunts" from which the blunt label is derived, is a popular "old school" brand, but other cheap cigars ("White Owls," "Dutch Masters," and "Optimos") represent a fair section of this tobacco/paraphernalia market. There exists some urban street mythology concerning the effects of the highs, as well as the burning duration of the different brands. The tobacco inside the cheap cigar is hollowed-out leaving the empty shell. Since the production of these particular cigar brands is low-cost, the shell is not pure broad leaf tobacco, but a tobacco/paper composite. (However, the fronto leaf, used in the traditional spliff making process, is pure broad leaf tobacco.) The cigar is split lengthwise down the center, and the tobacco inside is emptied out. The shell is then reduced or shortened to about two-thirds of the original cigar's length. The cigar-shell is then re-filled with marijuana and rolled-up like a large cigarette. Generally, the whole dime or nickel is used in the construction, and the blunt is shared in a group of three or more users. Since "blunts" have come into fashion, however, personal blunt smoking among wealthier users is not uncommon. The original blunt smokers of the mid 1980s, predominantly African-Caribbean, African-American, and Latino youth residing in the inner-city, saw their new method of preparation as an economical way to consume expensive marijuana, and also a ritual of a group market transaction and preparation process.

The use of blunts is an integral element in the "Hip-Hop" youth subculture which has emerged in most American cities. Other ele-

ments of this subculture include rap music, dance styles, a continuously evolving argot (including unique terms for marijuana,) graffiti art, and styles of dress which include baggy pants, sport team jackets and caps, oversized jewelry, and a changing array of accessories. Hats and shirts with the "Philly Blunt" logo, and other references to blunts and marijuana smoking are common icons which are displayed prominently on "street gear" or the fashions of Hip-Hop. The argot of the Hip-Hop subculture includes many novel and innovative terms for marijuana (chronic, ism, boom, live, lah, dro), and blunts making previous slang obsolete. The new argot serves the function of keeping conversations about marijuana only recognizable to members of the subculture (Kaplan, Kampe, Antonio & Farfan 1990). In short, the social meanings and rituals of marijuana use have changed from previous American generations, as a result of different sentiments, attitudes, and ideologies regarding the drug use of youth subcultures. For example, there are rap songs about how to roll blunts and smoking them. Phallic shaped blunts are also an expression of "phatness," an important concept of the Hip-Hop subculture. "Phat" or "fat" is a term analogous with excellent, and the blunt is one expression of many, including "forties" (40-ounce bottles of beer or malt-liquor), and oversized baggy pants and sweatshirts. "Phat" also means healthy, where many overly thin folks in the inner-city are perceived either as crack smokers or victims of the AIDS epidemic.

The use of blunts may be an indication of a "stepping off" or "maturing out" pattern from using hard drugs to only using marijuana, and also a "keeping off" pattern of abstaining from hard drug use altogether (Winick 1963; Sifaneck & Kaplan 1995). While rap music lyrics are embracing marijuana use and blunt smoking, they are also being critical of cocaine and crack-cocaine use. A special type blunt termed a "wulla" or "whoolie" emerged during the height of the crack epidemic in the late 1980s. The "wulla" not only contained marijuana, but also crack and/or cocaine. Regular "wulla" smokers were predominantly former crack smokers who previously consumed their crack from a "pipe" or a "stem," where a whole "hit" would be smoked at one time. Crack or cocaine in the wulla is crushed and spread on top of the marijuana throughout the blunt shell, and then smoked in a gradual manner, thus, titrating the cocaine dose. Peer pressures within Hip-Hop milieus encouraged wulla smokers eventually to abstain from adding crack and cocaine to their blunts (Curtis 1995). Presently, we observe a low prevalence of wulla use, while blunt use is more popular than ever. A more recent development in blunt construction is evidence to the fact that blunts attempt to replicate the look of "spliffs." A few blunt smokers were observed to place rolling paper around the blunt shell, to give it more of the appearance of a spliff (Richardson 1995). The extra paper does not serve a technical function, rather it is simply stylistic.

From the Stickje and Hippie Joint to the Coffeeshop Blowtje:
The Gradual Evolution and Normalization of the Dutch Cannabis Market and Culture

In contrast to the developments in New York, the Caribbean influence on cannabis smoking practices in the Netherlands seem more limited despite a relatively large population of immigrants from the Antilles, the former Dutch colonies in the Caribbean. Some Jamaican influence on the Dutch cannabis culture did occur in the 1970s with Bob Marley and the worldwide reggae movement. However, well before that time there was already active cannabis and psychedelic subcultures in the Netherlands. In the 1960s an active psychedelic culture sprung up around Jasper Grootveld and the "Magic Center." One of Grootveld's claims to fame was implanting an electrode in his brain to effect "self-stimulation." Young people throughout the Netherlands were experimenting with drugs and other types of "consciousness expansion." Amsterdam was seen as a cosmic center, possessing geodesic conditions, including the ability to contact extra-terrestrials (Bongers, Snelders & Plomp 1995). Grootveld prophesied that "Klaas" was coming, which, in a sense, came true when Princess Beatrix married Prince Klaus ("Klaas" in Dutch) from Germany. This caused much national rumbling, since Dutch-German relationships were still rather uneasy at the time. The Provos, another radical group of the time, threatened to put LSD in the water of the horses of the coronation carriage. Other subcultural groups included the "Pleiners" who hung around the Leidsplein (an urban square) in Amsterdam and were the au-

dience for the new Paradiso and Melkweg youth culture projects. The Paradiso and the Melkweg (translates to Milky Way) were the first environments where the retail sale of cannabis was tolerated by "house dealers" (Jansen 1989).

The considerable Moroccan worker migration in the 1950s provided a bridge for contact with hashish sources, which still provide the most prominent supply in present day coffeeshops (retail establishments which sell cannabis in the Netherlands). Tangier and Marrakesh were popular destinations for international beatnik and hippie travelers in the late 1950s and 1960s, and a stop-over in Amsterdam was often on the itinerary. In the late 1960s, hashish, not marijuana, was the most prominent form of cannabis available in the Netherlands. Only later in the 1970s did the substantial Surinam and Antillian migration occur, which would augment the cannabis scene with marijuana (ganja) and Caribbean influences. The origin of the blowtje was influenced by indigenous tobacco smoking subcultures in the Netherlands. In the late 1960s a trend emerged among youthful tobacco smokers who wished to distinguish themselves from conventional cigarette smokers by rolling their own cigarettes with long-cut "shag" tobacco. This was an old Dutch working class practice, which could also be observed in England, where high tobacco taxes made pre-rolled cigarettes too expensive. Youth subcultures with leftist politics and sympathies perceived the practice of rolling shag tobacco as a symbolic and practical identification with the working class. In the 1970s the practice of rolling shag tobacco was common in the Dutch and German critical intellectual scene. Colorful designer Drum and Samson tobacco cans (shag tobacco brands) were subcultural status symbols.

In the 1960s a hashish-tobacco cigarette made with one paper was called a "stickje" (translates small stick). If two small papers were used in the construction it was called a "joint," also referred to as "American hippie style." This linguistic evidence is illustrative of the American influence on the Dutch cannabis culture transplanted by traveling hippies from the United States. As cannabis smoking became more socialized and more public, larger group smoking became a trend among hippies throughout the world. In the Netherlands, the hippie-style joint made with two papers was replaced by the blowtje, originally made with three cigarette rolling papers. When making a blowtje the user must procure a number of things, all of which are available at the "coffeeshop" where the retail sale of small amounts (5 grams or less) of hashish and marijuana to persons over 18 years of age is tolerated. The collection of essentials to construct a blowtje include: 1) a small amount of high-quality marijuana or hashish (usually about .25 of a gram), 2) a large rolling paper (equivalent to the size of 3 shag tobacco cigarette rolling papers), 3) tobacco (shag or from an American cigarette —approximately two-thirds of one cigarette) 4) a cardboard filter tip ("tipje" in Dutch). The construction process in somewhat elaborate. First, the cardboard tip is placed at the end of the large rolling paper—which is not folded in a perpendicular fashion, but at an angle. Then, the tobacco is spread out carefully inside the paper, creating "a bed" where the cannabis will be placed. The user then adds a small amount of marijuana or hashish, placing slightly more in the end opposite the filter. When the blowtje is rolled, the end which is lit is larger in girth than the end with the filter; creating a joint which is shaped liked a baseball bat, and also resembles the shape of a spliff. The inclusion of tobacco in the Dutch blowtje initially served a technical function. Throughout the 1970s, hashish was the most common form of cannabis available, and tobacco was needed in order for the hashish to burn properly in the form of a joint. Modern blowtje smokers who use marijuana instead of hashish also argue that tobacco is needed in order to insure that the blowtje burns properly. Since the locally grown "Nederweit" (translates to Netherlands' weed) is extremely fresh, and often moist, the addition of the tobacco produces a drier smoking mix which burns more evenly. The addition of tobacco in the blowtje also allows users to use a small amount of cannabis in the construction of their blowtjes, which will be further discussed.

As the blowtje became rooted as the predominant smoking mode, changes in the cannabis subculture were taking place. The practice of smoking cannabis in a group lost popularity. This was reinforced by the emergence of the coffeeshops which provided a social context and a form of consumption that encouraged each patron to order and prepare their own cannabis. Smoking one's

own blowtje in the coffeeshop became the norm, and this was supported by the emergence of a new smoking style and related argot. Dutch smokers inhale or "blow" (a term reserved for cocaine in American drug argot) their cannabis in a casual manner like a tobacco cigarette. Unlike American cannabis smokers, who are likely to inhale deeply and hold the smoke in their lungs (sometimes referred to as "holding the hit,") Dutch smokers literally "blow" the smoke in and out of their lungs, avoiding deep inhalation. Thus, the blowtje, and the Dutch cannabis smoking subculture in general, has important roots in tobacco smoking styles as well as international and indigenous subcultural influences. Dutch cannabis smokers distinguish among themselves by the amount and kind of tobacco (shag or American) and cannabis (marijuana or hashish) they prefer. Light processed American tobacco and the darker and heavier less/un-processed Dutch shag tobacco can be widely observed in the blowtje mix. However, there are also a small minority of smokers who do not mix their cannabis with tobacco. Some of these smokers reject the tobacco convention, simply because they do not like the taste and/or the effect of the tobacco. Others may also be concerned about the increased health risks posed by smoking both substances simultaneously. Very often these cannabis users will use a small Moroccan hashish pipe, and avoid the rolling process altogether.

A recently emerged smoking phenomenon in the Dutch cannabis culture is the "blowtje gezond." Its name is derived from the popular Dutch bakery sandwich known as the "broodje gezond," which literally translates to "healthy sandwich." This small bakery bun is filled with cheese, a boiled egg and vegetables—not exactly fat or cholesterol free, but its vegetable laden appearance is its claim of healthfulness. A "blowtje gezond" is simply a Dutch blowtje constructed without the tobacco, and was observed being sold by a few coffeeshops in Rotterdam and Amsterdam. This is an important, although limited development, because it is an indication that the Dutch cannabis culture has come to realize the increased health risks posed by using cannabis and tobacco simultaneously. This may also be an indication of a marketing strategy to encourage smoking without tobacco, which is reinforced by the national campaigns against tobacco use in the Netherlands. Despite these campaigns and new cannabis products, most Dutch cannabis users rarely smoke marijuana and hashish without the tobacco, and when they do, they label the joint as "puur" (pure). "I only smoke pure joints when I am in the sunshine" a young male Rotterdammer commented. "If I see someone smoking a pure joint, I say either he is an American or an old time hippie" responded a young female user in her twenties.

DISCUSSION

Cannabis Market Reinforcements, Self-Regulation and Implications for Secondary Prevention

The ethnographic descriptions in this paper underlie the importance of understanding the specific processes of how these subcultures adapt to market variations. Subcultural drug use practices must adapt themselves to specific market conditions; the subculture and the market reinforce each other in affecting the individual conduct and self-conception of the user. In the field of drug abuse research this process of multiple causality has been described as "causal reinforcement" (Swierstra 1990). Blunts and blowtjes represent two distinct emerging conceptions of cannabis use that serve different self-regulatory functions for the user than their common antecedent the Rastafarian spliff. The blunt is an attempt at economizing an expensive product in a relatively scarce market. The blowtje is the result of the opposite market condition: an abundance of high quality, moderately priced cannabis. In the New York City market, sharing the drug is part of the ritual, in the Dutch market sharing is unnecessary. They are both, however, attempts at self-regulation. In the case of blunts, self regulation takes place collectively inside a group. This also was the case for the prior hippie generation who "could not help but get stoned" through a ritual of sitting in a circle and passing a joint around with each individual taking a turn. However, one essential difference is the self in the group process. The self in "the blunt era" is characterized by the process of trying to deal with threats and insecurity in the market environment; be it crack or law enforcement. This kind of self is evidenced by the rich repertoire of argot terms. A drug argot has been argued to indicate a form of intense social control that maintains in-group cohesion by

hiding the practices which the terms refer to from normal language (Kaplan et al. 1990). The language acts as a means of strengthening the security of the self within the subculture.

In the Dutch context, new cannabis preparations are continually offered in the coffeeshop much like new beers and other alcohol are in an American bar. The individual experiences smoking cannabis from a connoisseur's perspective, not seeking new sensation, but refinements of tried and true products. The lack of drug argot terms is striking when compared to the American context. The old language is maintained with modest addition of innovation. This indicates that the cannabis subculture is being increasingly integrated into normal Dutch society and therefore has no real survival need to hide and promote in-group subcultural cohesion in any form other than a cannabis users association, an interest group protecting the connoisseur consumer self. Part of the preparation ritual in the American context is the "scoring" of the marijuana which is not necessary in the coffeeshop setting. Since generally a five or ten dollar amount is the least one can purchase on the regular retail market, it makes the phenomenon of "going in on" (willing to contribute money towards the purchase of) a function of the ritual. In this sense, the sharing of the cost becomes an integral part of the procurement process. The sharing which ensues when the blunt is smoked is an extension of this functionality. This is a process of group self-regulation, much like the type observed by Grund in his extensive field research with Dutch heroin users, where market scarcity was a determining factor in the sharing process (Grund, Kaplan & De Vries 1993). In the American context, scarcity of injection equipment has demonstrated itself as the most important factor affecting needle sharing among injection drug users (Des Jarlais, Friedman, Sothern & Stoneburner 1988).

The self-regulation practiced by Dutch cannabis users, through the employment of the blowtje, is oriented in individual rather than the collective behavior observed by American blunt smokers. This is a result of the normalized or "pseudo-legal" market which provides the context for cannabis use (Jansen 1989). In such a normalized market, the cannabis offered is high quality, relatively low-priced, and includes a diverse array of types of marijuana and hashish from across the globe. Today's modern Dutch cannabis users do not share joints. Such a practice is perceived by them as anachronistic and subsequently labeled as "hippie-style." "Blowtjes" are truly personal joints, and contain a surprisingly small amount (less than 1/3 of a gram) of cannabis (marijuana or hashish) mixed with about 2/3s of the tobacco in an average cigarette. Blowtjes are not passed in circles, but held personally by each user in the coffeeshop.

The potency of cannabis also effects regulation and consumption. The disparities in the potencies of cannabis available to the average consumer are an indirect result of the market conditions surrounding its use. In the Netherlands, where cultivating marijuana is tolerated, although not officially sanctioned, the most popular marijuana presently sold and consumed is "Skunk"—more formally known as a variety of cannabis -indica. This type of cannabis is generally grown hydroponically indoors throughout the Netherlands, under extremely controlled conditions. The "Nederweit" (translates Netherlands Weed) produced possess a THC content which often approaches 20%. This widely available, high potency cannabis, which most Dutch users choose to consume, allow them to use a very small amount (about .25 of a gram) in their blowtje construction. The self-titrating behavior of using more potent cannabis in lesser amounts, observed during our fieldwork with Dutch users, has also been observed in controlled laboratory settings with American users (Heishman, Stitzer & Yingling 1989).

In the New York City blunt smoking context, the cannabis most widely available is imported from Mexico, and to a lesser extent from Jamaica. These varieties of cannabis which are grown outdoors, have a considerably lower THC content than the Dutch grown Nederweit. This helps to explain why blunt smokers use a relatively large amount of cannabis (from 1-1.5 grams) in the construction of their blunts. It is also evidence to the fact that differences in the criminality of the market (semi-decriminalized vs. pseudo-legal) seem to effect the potency and quality of cannabis normally available at the retail level (Sifaneck 1996). This in turn, has an effect on how and why users choose to self-regulate their use.

Secondary prevention strategies can be

informed by research that identifies the parameters involved in cannabis self-regulation. For instance, in an important experimental psychological study of cannabis and driving, Robbe (1994) concluded that the harm of cannabis is strongly associated with parameters such as the volume of smoke taken into the lungs and the number of puffs or draws in a smoking session in which this volume is regulated. This was also observed by Azorlosa, Heishman, Stitzer and Mahaffey (1992) in similar controlled laboratory settings. These parameters still need to be documented in their natural settings in order to identify the full range of behaviors and constraints that operate to control the volume of smoke and the frequency of puffs. In the Netherlands, courses are being given to problematic cannabis users in order to adjust their use towards a less harmful direction (Bourghuis 1994). These secondary prevention efforts are largely non-existent in the US. However, there is evidence that similar functions are being initiated by organized American groups that promote cannabis and psychedelic drugs (Jenks 1995). These groups do not promote an indiscriminate use of cannabis, but instead offer users social support and accurate information on how to use cannabis in more responsible ways. Both the Dutch courses and the American organizations rely on the experiences of cannabis users. The future development of preventative cannabis education can benefit from the input of ethnographic studies. For instance, Dutch blowtje smokers do not hold smoke in their lungs as long as their American counterparts. American cannabis users generally "hold the hit" in an attempt to economize the smoke. These parameters are in need of future elaboration in natural setting research. The qualitative results of our research provide a basis for looking in more detail at these behavioral parameters.

Clearly more research is needed in understanding how processes such as cultural diffusion apply to the situation of diverse cannabis smoking behaviors and use practices. In the literature on health behavior, there is ample evidence that healthy lifestyles can diffuse over national, class and ethnic boundaries. The same processes can apply for unhealthy lifestyles. Future ethnographic research should not only be advised to search for "common antecedents" of lifestyles and subcultures, but also to look for how current smoking styles are anchored in the specific development of regional subcultural practices (Becker 1970). A "cross-fertilization" of tobacco and cannabis styles, as we have documented in the Netherlands may prove to be a useful hypothesis guiding future research in other settings as well.

Evidence has suggested that smokers of both cannabis and tobacco have increased risks of lung and other cancers, than do sole smokers of tobacco (Tashkin, Coulson, Clark, Simmons, Bourque, Duann, Spivey and Gong 1987). If this evidence is correct, it should call for an intervention with cannabis users by dissemination of accurate information regarding the risks posed by the different methods of consuming the drug. Such a secondary preventative effort would be aimed at current users encouraging them to adjust their practices and patterns in less harmful directions. This should include information on the harms of various use practices, as well as information to guard against harmful chronic use patterns. One suggestion might be to encourage current blunt smokers to replace the blunt shell (made of tobacco, paper, and glue) with a large rolling paper, thus eliminating the health risks posed by consumption of the tobacco. Users would still have the convenience and functionality that the blunt provided: a joint large enough to be shared in a small group. Some Dutch coffeeshops have taken the lead in providing such information aimed at secondary prevention to its consumers. Other coffeeshops are offering the use of bongs (water pipes) and water vaporizers to their customers. Water pipes and vaporizers also offer a tobacco free alternative for blowtje smokers. Previous and ongoing research has determined carcinogens and tars are filtered out through the water inside the bong, making it a safer smoking method (Doblin 1995). This is a particularly important issue for persons with AIDS (PWAs) who are using cannabis to combat the wasting syndrome. Patients with such a compromised immune system have to insure that the safest and most effective way is used to ingest marijuana.

Harm reduction measures must include cannabis users in their efforts; and the medicinal use of cannabis might provide the basis for self-regulatory intervention in the future. Just as a generation has observed the devastating effect of crack-cocaine on

many users, another generation could learn an experience based lesson in self-regulating and modifying its drug consumption (Furst, Johnson, Dunlap & Curtis 1999). While persons who smoke only cannabis seem to experience lung-related health problems infrequently, there may be an increase of health problems among persons who simultaneously smoke cannabis and tobacco. In the light of the new national and local (especially in Mayor Bloomberg's New York City) campaigns against the use of tobacco by young people, similar efforts should educate youth about the harms posed by the different ways of consuming cannabis. Such efforts, however, should not exclude those youth who have already begun experimenting with the drug.

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THE EFFECT OF TRANSFER MECHANISM FROM JUVENILE COURT ON THE LIKELIHOOD OF INCARCERATION IN CRIMINAL COURT

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ABSTRACT

The question of whether juvenile offenders should be handled in criminal court has been addressed by a number of studies. However, few studies have examined the effectiveness of the type of transfer mechanism and how it relates to protecting the public. This article examines whether the mechanism used to transfer juvenile offenders to criminal court has any effect on the likelihood of incarceration in criminal court.

In Pennsylvania, there are two mechanisms for transferring juveniles who commit crime into adult court. The transfer of juvenile offenders to adult court has traditionally been justified on the grounds that the juvenile court is ill equipped to handle two classes of offenders (Bishop & Frazier 2000).

The first mechanism, judicial waiver, targets for removal chronic offenders who have been afforded interventions at the juvenile court level, usually exhausting all available interventions. Judicial waiver occurs when a judge decides (based on information provided by a juvenile probation officer) that the safety of the community would be better served by having a juvenile receive a disposition in criminal court. The traditionally stated purpose of judicial waiver is to permit individualization of the decision whether a particular juvenile is amenable to treatment in the juvenile justice system (Dawson 2000; Feld 1987). Traditionally, judicial waiver was virtually the sole method for transferring juvenile offenders to adult court (Dawson 2000). However, in recent years state legislators have increasingly created alternatives to this mechanism (Dawson 2000; Feld 2000; Zimring 2000).

The second mechanism for transferring juveniles who commit crime to criminal court deals with seriously violent offenders from whom the public demands heavy penalties that are beyond the scope of the juvenile court to administer (Bishop & Frazier 2000). This mechanism is statutory exclusion, where the state legislature sets forth the criteria by which juveniles will be sent directly to criminal court, bypassing juvenile court altogether. Whether these offenders will respond to juvenile court intervention is irrelevant. The community will not tolerate mild responses to violent crimes, and therefore the protection of the community demands that violent juvenile offenders be sent directly to adult court. Each mechanism for transferring juvenile offenders to adult court in Pennsylvania reflects

> different ways of asking and answering similar questions: who are the serious, hard-core youthful offenders; by what criteria should they be identified; which branch of government [judicial or legislative] is best suited to make these sentencing decisions; and how should the juvenile or adult systems respond to them? (Feld 1999b 162)

The criteria for transferring juveniles to adult court through judicial waiver in Pennsylvania are as follows: 1) the child was 14 years of age or older at the time of the alleged conduct, 2) the court has found that there is a prima facia case that the child committed the delinquent act, 3) that the delinquent act would be considered a felony if committed by an adult, 4) that there are reasonable grounds to believe that the public interest is served by the transfer of the case for criminal prosecution. In determining whether the public interest is served, the court must consider the following factors: the impact of the offense on the victim or victims; the impact of the offense on the community; the threat to the safety of the community or any individual posed by the child; the nature and circumstances of the offense allegedly committed by the child; the degree of the child's culpability; the adequacy and duration of dispositional alternatives within the juvenile justice and criminal justice systems; and whether the child is amenable to treatment, supervision, or rehabilitation as a juvenile. The fifth factor in considering whether a juvenile should be judicially waived to criminal court is that there are reasonable grounds to believe that the child is not committable to an institution for the mentally retarded or mentally ill (Pennsylvania Juvenile Court Judges' Commission 2001).

The criteria for transferring juveniles who commit crime to adult court in Pennsylvania

through statutory exclusion are grouped into two tiers. Tier One states that the juvenile in question 1) must be at least 15 years age or older at the time of the alleged conduct, 2) used a deadly weapon as defined in Pa.C.S. §2301[1] and committed one of the following offenses: rape, involuntary deviate sexual intercourse, aggravated assault, robbery, robbery of a motor vehicle, aggravated indecent assault, kidnapping, voluntary manslaughter, or an attempt, conspiracy, or solicitation to commit any of these offenses (Pennsylvania Juvenile Court Judges' Commission 2001).

The second tier (Tier Two) of the statutorily excluded cases in Pennsylvania includes the following: the juvenile in question must 1) be at least 15 years age or older at the time of the alleged conduct, 2) commit one of the following offenses: rape, involuntary deviate sexual intercourse, robbery, robbery of a motor vehicle, aggravated indecent assault, kidnapping, voluntary manslaughter, or an attempt, conspiracy, or solicitation to commit any of these offenses, and 3) the child has been previously adjudicated delinquent of any of the Tier One crimes (Pennsylvania Juvenile Court Judges' Commission 2001). Note that while Tier Two requires a previous adjudication for one of the Tier One offenses, it does not require that the alleged act be committed with a deadly weapon.

During the past thirty years there has been vigorous debate over the juvenile justice system's philosophy and procedures (Myers 2001). While there have been a variety of criticisms, most of them have focused on the juvenile court's lenient treatment of violent and repeat offenders and a lack of direction in dealing with juvenile crime (Feld 1993; Greenwood 1995; Jacobs 1993; Moore & Wakeling 1997; Schwartz 1989). Combined with increases in youth violence, these criticisms have led to a number of states enacting various "get tough" policies in their juvenile courts. At the heart of this issue is transferring juvenile offenders to adult criminal court.

PURPOSE OF STUDY

The purpose of this study is to examine both of the mechanisms in Pennsylvania for transferring juvenile offenders to criminal court to determine which better serves public safety in terms of being incarcerated in an adult facility (i.e. jail or prison). Juveniles who were transferred to criminal court through judicial waiver in 1994 will be compared with juveniles who were transferred to criminal court through statutory exclusion in 1996. This study will examine only those juveniles who were charged with aggravated assault and robbery, to control for type of offense committed. Aggravated assault and robbery were chosen because they make up the bulk of offenses for juveniles transferred to adult court under statutory exclusion and judicial waiver.

Judicial Waiver

Almost all of the states in America have a mechanism for transferring juvenile offenders to criminal court (Dawson 2000; Myers 2001), and judicial waiver is the oldest (Rothman 1980), and most common mechanism (Feld 2000). After the establishment of a prima facie case, a juvenile court judge decides whether the interests of the juvenile and the community would be best served by having the juvenile in question transferred to criminal court for prosecution and (if found guilty) sentencing. A judge's decision is based upon what Dawson (2000 45) calls the "amenability decision". That is, whether the juvenile is amenable to treatment in the juvenile justice system. Factors that can influence such a decision are the juvenile's age, seriousness of the offense, the juvenile's threat to public safety, and their prior record. Judicial waiver reflects the juvenile court's original philosophy of an individualized, offender oriented system (Feld 1999b; Zimring 1991).

From 1966, when the *Kent*[2] case was decided, until the middle of the 1980's, judicial waiver was "largely ignored by the legislatures" (Dawson 2000 58). It existed primarily to handle the occasional violent or serious juvenile crime. Then, an increase in violent juvenile crime by juveniles demanded that more juvenile offenders be transferred to criminal court. As the public's fear of juvenile crime increased, "[l]egislators began to view juvenile justice as a politically fruitful area for exploration" (Dawson 2000 59).

In terms of absolute numbers, there has been a dramatic increase in the number of judicial waivers to criminal court. Nationally in 1985 about 7,200 cases were judicially waived to criminal court, while in 1994 that number had risen to 12,300 (Butts 1997). Prior to 1992, more property offenses than

Table 1: Cases Waived to Adult Court 1985-1995

Year	Total Dispositions	Number Waived	Percent of Total Dispositions
1985	29,137	227	0.7
1986	31,649	247	0.8
1987	29,602	284	1.0
1988	32,173	241	0.7
1989	33,336	339	1.0
1990	35,359	378	1.0
1991	30,836	394	1.2
1992	31,039	332	1.0
1993	32,212	386	1.2
1994	35,531	453	1.3
1995	36,997	533	1.4

Source: Pennsylvania Juvenile Court Judges' Commission (1985-1995). Pennsylvania Juvenile Court Dispositions. Shippensburg, PA: Center for Juvenile Justice Training and Research.

person offenses were waived to adult court, but by 1995 person offenses accounted for 47 percent of the waived cases, while property offenses accounted for 34 percent (Stahl 1999). In Pennsylvania (as indicated by Table 1) the number of juvenile offenders judicially waived to criminal court more than doubled between 1985 and 1995 (227 to 533). However, the 533 juveniles waived in 1995 accounted for only 1.4 percent of the dispositions in Pennsylvania that year.

Prior to 1996 the more commonly used method of transfer in Pennsylvania was judicial waiver. Before any formal determination of guilt, a formal transfer hearing had to be held and a number of criteria had to be met as specified in Section 6355 of the Juvenile Act (Pennsylvania Juvenile Court Judges' Commission 1992), which are the same criteria that are listed in the introduction to this paper.

If the judge decided that the youth was no longer amenable to treatment in the juvenile justice system, the case could be waived to criminal court. Additionally, the judge could waive a case to criminal court at the request of the juvenile. In this case, whether the juvenile was amenable to treatment was the only waiver criterion that was not considered. Under this form of transfer from 1985 through 1995, approximately 1 percent of the total number of juvenile court dispositions in Pennsylvania resulted in judicial waiver. In terms of total number of judicial waivers in the same time period, there was a gradual increase from 227 in 1985 (0.78% of the total dispositions), to 375 in 1990 (1.06% of the total dispositions), to 533 in 1995 (1.44% of the total dispositions).

Statutory Exclusion

Recent changes in Pennsylvania's juvenile laws are typical of the way many states have enacted laws pertaining to juvenile justice issues. An increasing number of states automatically exclude cases from the juvenile court that meet specific age and offense criteria (Sickmund 1994; Snyder & Sickmund 1995; Stahl 1999). The major change came in the mechanisms for transferring juvenile offenders to criminal court. Statutory exclusion of youths to criminal court represents the cornerstone of the "get tough" movement (Feld 1999b).

Prior to March 1996, Pennsylvania's Juvenile Act (Pennsylvania Juvenile Court Judges' Commission 1992) provided that the transfer of juveniles to criminal court could occur through either judicial waiver or legislative (or statutory) exclusion. However, the only crime that fell under legislative exclusion was murder. Also, the statute allowed for excluded youths to be returned to the juvenile court for adjudication, disposition, or both (i.e. reverse waived) at the criminal court's discretion[3].

In 1995, significant changes were made in Pennsylvania's juvenile law, and the Commonwealth's Juvenile Act was modified. There were numerous changes made regarding juvenile offenders[4], but the most significant change concerned the statutory exclusion of juvenile offenders from juvenile court, granting criminal court both original and exclusive jurisdiction for a certain number of juvenile offenders.

The impetus for the changes in Pennsyl-

vania's Juvenile Act came primarily from the Philadelphia District Attorney's Office. Prosecutors were frustrated by the reluctance of Philadelphia Juvenile Court judges to judicially waive violent juvenile offenders to adult court. For example, between 1991 and 1993, Philadelphia Juvenile Court judges only approved about one third of cases motioned for transfer by prosecutors (Sontheimer & Labecki 1996). In a 1992 survey of Pennsylvanians, 63 percent of respondents believed that Pennsylvania judges were "too soft on crime" (Jacobs 1993 11), thus adding impetus to the movement for the decision whether a juvenile offender should be handled in adult court away from judges and into the hands of the state legislatures.

The push for expanding the number of juveniles who can be transferred to adult court received a boost when Tom Ridge was elected Governor in 1994. He immediately convened a special session of the legislature devoted to crime related issues, and Act 33 was passed in 1995.

Pennsylvania's Juvenile Act of 1996 was the first to exclude juvenile offenders who fell under Tier One or Tier Two. Also, the new juvenile code allows for all excluded cases to be transferred back to juvenile court, but it is up to the offender to prove beyond a preponderance of the evidence that they are amenable to treatment in the juvenile court, and that a reverse waiver will serve the public interest (Pennsylvania Juvenile Court Judges' Commission 1996a). The Pennsylvania Juvenile Act of 1996 still allows for juvenile offenders to be transferred to criminal court via judicial waiver. However, through the process of statutory exclusion the "judiciary is totally excluded from participating in the decision-making process" (Dawson 2000 49).

As with the former juvenile code, the new act provides for two mechanisms for removing violent juvenile offenders from juvenile court jurisdiction: judicial waiver and statutory exclusion. Youths between the ages of 15 and 18 who commit a violent offense with a deadly weapon, as well as some repeat offenders, receive "automatic adulthood" (Feld 1993 239). Overall, Pennsylvania's Juvenile Act of 1996 corresponds well with the nationwide shift toward a more retributive model of juvenile justice, which emphasizes protecting the public from violent juvenile offenders. Which mechanism is more effective in reaching this goal has yet to be determined.

INCREASES IN YOUTH VIOLENCE

Between 1965 and 1980, the overall juvenile index for violent crime and homicide rates doubled, followed by a second upsurge between 1986 and 1994 (Appleby Jr 1999; Feld 1999a; Snyder 1999). During this second upsurge, the juvenile crime arrest rate increased by 75 percent (Sickmund, Snyder, & Poe-Yamagata 1997). The number of youths arrested for murder increased 89.9 percent, and the number arrested for violent crimes (rape, robbery, aggravated assault) increased 67.3 percent (Merlo, Benekos, & Cook 1997). The substantial rise in homicide rates (Snyder 1999) and the increasing number of younger juveniles being arrested for committing violent offenses increased the public's fears about youth crime (Blumstein 1995) and began to define the public's image of the crime problem and the political debate over anticrime policy.

Today, a fear of a generation of young Americans is prevalent (Myers 2001). In an age where politicians banter the term "violent juvenile super-predator" about (Dilulio 1995), legislatures in every state have approached public protection from juvenile offenders with a "frenzy" (Dawson 2000 46). Based upon the projected size of the population of children age 14-17 in this country, total juvenile arrests are expected to increase, or at least remain high (Howell, Krisberg, & Jones 1995). Howell and his colleagues suggest that if youth violence rates increase as they did from the mid-1980's through the mid-1990's, "it would not be unreasonable to see juvenile arrests increase more than 100% by the year 2002" (1995 10).

Predictions like these have increased fears of juvenile offenders. Legislators regularly mention the need to "get ready" (Wilson 1995 507) for the juvenile crime wave. This is despite the fact that there has been a recent downturn in the juvenile violent arrest rate (Snyder 1997), and that it is possible that the warnings of juvenile offending could be incorrect (Howell 1997). Nonetheless, within the past decade there has been a desire to "get tough" with juvenile offenders, and this has provided the political impetus to prosecute large numbers of juveniles in criminal court (Feld 1993, 2000; Gordon

1991; Merlo et al 1997; Tonry 1995). Gordon Bazemore (2002 768) states that this ideology gives "priority to punishment" because it places central focus on just deserts as the primary rationale for decision making in the field of juvenile justice.

The increase in homicide rates corresponded with the accumulation of firearms among young offenders (Blumstein 1995; Cook & Laub 1998; Fagan & Wilkinson 1998). In 1990 juvenile arrests for violent crime were up 27.3 percent from 1980, and in 1990 juvenile arrests for weapon law violations were up 62.2 percent from 1980 (Federal Bureau of Investigation 1999). The prevalence of guns, the rise in the prevalence of youth-gang related crime (Huff 1998) and the randomness of juvenile violence inflamed public fear about youth crime. Politicians

> demonized young people in order to muster support for policies to transfer youths to criminal court and to incarcerate them. (Feld 2000 109)

DATA AND METHODS

Subjects

The current study will examine and compare two cohort groups of juvenile offenders. One group consists of juvenile offenders who were judicially transferred to criminal court in 1994. This cohort consists of 138 males who were arrested for robbery, aggravated assault, or both, and a deadly weapon was involved in their offense. These youths were between the ages of 15 and 18 at the time of offense.

The second cohort consists of 530 males[5] who were arrested in 1996 (the first year of Pennsylvania's new legislation) for robbery, aggravated assault, or both. These youths were transferred to criminal court through statutory exclusion.

It should be noted that because of a lack of random sample this study cannot directly confront the problem of selection bias. Those juvenile offenders who were judicially waived to criminal court in 1994 were certified by a juvenile court judge as being not amenable to juvenile court treatment. The juveniles who were transferred to criminal court through statutory exclusion in 1996 were all charged with an excluded offense. Unfortunately, this type of selection bias is unavoidable in transfer research, as random assignments are just not possible.

Data Source

Case information pertaining to the juvenile offenders discussed in the previous section was obtained through The Center for Juvenile Justice Training and Research (CJJT &R) located at Shippensburg University. The Center was established by and is managed by the Juvenile Court Judges' Commission (JCJC), a Commonwealth of Pennsylvania agency within the Governor's Office and its Office of General Counsel. In addition to providing a number of training and educational programs to juvenile justice professionals from across the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, CJJT&R also operates an Information and Technology Division that compiles data and publishes an annual report on the activities of all juvenile courts in Pennsylvania. Because of this latter responsibility, CJJT&R maintains individual county data that will permit testing of the research question.

In order to receive funding from the JCJC, each county in Pennsylvania must submit offender and offense information pertaining to every juvenile court disposition handled within its jurisdiction. Data for this study were taken directly from the database maintained by the CJJT&R and are limited to the information that the agency considers important for its purposes. Consequently, some variables that may be relevant to court processing were not available[6].

Independent Variable

The key independent variable in this study is the mechanism of transfer to criminal court. Juveniles transferred to criminal court through judicial waiver will be coded as 0, and juveniles who were transferred to criminal court via statutory exclusion will be coded as 1. This study will examine what effect each mechanism had on the dependent variable.

Control Variables

Based on the quasi-experimental design of this study, numerous variables will be utilized to control for case outcomes. The first is age. Harsher penalties tend to be associated with older offenders (Podkopackz & Feld 1996). The mean age at the time of referral for both the 1994 and 1996 cohorts is 16.2 years.

Race will also be utilized as an offender characteristic. Past research (see Paternoster & Iovanni 1989) shows that racial characteristics are hypothesized by labeling theory

Table 2: Incarceration in an Adult Facility

Variables	b	(SE)	Exp. B	Sig.
TRANSFER	4.148*	.530	63.335	.000
AGE	-.034	.101	.967	.737
RACE	-.311	.426	.733	.466
COUNTY	2.033*	.355	7.641	.000
JCVIOADJ	-.486	.343	.615	.156
Constant	-.100	1.724	.904	.954

*p<.001

NOTE: TRANSFER=transfer to criminal court mechanism; AGE=age juvenile was transferred to criminal court; RACE=race of juvenile transfered to criminal court; COUNTY=county of jurisdiction where case was prosecuted; JCVIOADJ=prior juvenile court adjudication for a violent offense

to influence judicial outcomes. Race was coded as 0 for white and 1 for nonwhite[7]. In both the 1994 and 1996 cohorts, 78 percent of the judicially waived offenders are nonwhite.

Justice processing and case outcomes often depend upon whether the offender was handled in a rural, suburban, or urban location (Feld 1993). The county of jurisdiction is coded as 0 for suburban/urban and 1 for rural. Of the 1994 cohort, 80 percent of the youths were processed in urban or suburban counties. For the 1996 cohort, sixty-five percent of these cases were processed in an urban or suburban jurisdiction.

Finally, the past delinquent behavior of these youths will be considered. Specifically, since these juveniles were transferred to criminal court due to allegations of violent criminal conduct, their past violent conduct will be controlled for. For both cohorts, a prior juvenile court adjudication for a violent offense was coded as 1, while no prior violent adjudication will be coded as 0. Of the 138 youths who make up the 1994 cohort, 30 percent had a prior juvenile court adjudication for a violent act. Of the 530 youths in the 1996 cohort, 26 percent had a prior juvenile court adjudication for a violent act.

Dependent Variable

The case outcome variable that will be examined in this study is incarceration in an adult facility. The incarceration variable pertains only to those juveniles who were convicted on a target offense in criminal court. This variable was coded as 0 if the sentence did not involve incarceration, and 1 if the juvenile was incarceration in an adult facility (jail or prison). For the youths waived to criminal court in 1994 and convicted on a target offense, 96 percent received a sentence of incarceration in an adult facility. Of the offenders in the 1996 cohort who were convicted on a target offense, 50 percent received a sentence of incarceration in an adult facility.

Statistical Analyses

Bivariate logistic regression will be employed in this study. Since the research variable is dichotomized, it would appear that this would be the appropriate statistical technique. While the coefficients obtained through linear regression indicate the amount of change in the dependent variable that is associated with a one-unit change in the independent variable, logistic regression examines the log odds of an event occurring given a one-unit change in the independent variable.

FINDINGS

Out of the 668 cases that comprise both cohorts, 288 (43.1%) were included in the analysis. This represents the number of juveniles in the cohorts who were convicted on their target offense (robbery or aggravated assault) in criminal court. The logistic regression estimates are presented in Table 2, and the full model was significant (chi-square (5)=122.475, p=.000).

The full model reveals a significant and positive relationship between judicial waiver and conviction on a target offense (b=4.148, p=.000). Of the youths who were convicted in adult court, those who were transferred there through judicial waiver were more likely to be incarcerated in an adult facility than those transferred to criminal court through statutory exclusion.

One other significant effect was revealed in the full model, which was for county of jurisdiction (b=2.033, p=.000). Juveniles judicially waived to criminal court in rural counties were

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END NOTES

[1] Defined by 18 PA C.S. Sec. 2301 as any firearm, whether loaded or unloaded, or any device designed as a weapon and capable or producing death or serious bodily injury, or any other device or instrumentality which, in the manner in which it is used or intended to be used, is calculated or likely to produce death or serious bodily injury.

[2] See *Kent v. U.S.*, 383 US 541 (1966)

[3] This reverse waiver clause is still a part of Pennsylvania's juvenile law.

[4] For example, changes to the purpose clause, the fingerprinting of juveniles, public access to delinquency hearings, and parental responsibility for truancy, just to name a few.

[5] This study is limited to male offenders because of the small number of female offenders who met these offense criteria. Only two female offenders were judicially waived to criminal court in 1994, and the number of female offenders transferred to criminal court through statutory exclusion in 1996 made up less than 15 percent of that sample.

[6] For example, there is no information regarding offender's socio-economic status, or representation at trial (private attorney or public offender).

[7] The nonwhite category in both cohorts is made up of mostly African-Americans.

more likely to receive a sentence of incarceration in an adult facility. Using the following probability equation:

$$y=e^{u}/1+e^{u}$$

the relationship between transfer mechanism and likelihood of incarceration in an adult facility was explored further.

For juveniles who were transferred to criminal court through judicial waiver and were convicted in criminal court in a rural county, the likelihood of incarceration in adult facility was 99 percent (.9977). For juveniles who were transferred to criminal court through statutory exclusion and were convicted in criminal court in a rural county, the likelihood of incarceration in an adult facility was 87 percent (.8711). The method of transfer to criminal court accounted for a 87 percent difference in the incarceration rate.

DISCUSSION

In spite of the limitations in this study, it should be noted that if significant differences exist between juvenile offenders transferred to criminal court through judicial waiver and statutory exclusion in terms of case outcomes, an argument that these differences are due to selection bias rather than a transfer effect may actually be used as a reason for caution with regard to the use of statutory exclusion over legislative waiver. If the juvenile court was successful in waiving the "worst" offenders, a policy of statutorily excluding many more youths does not seem prudent. Past research provides little support for treating large numbers of juveniles in criminal court. Youths in criminal court may be abused by adult inmates, be given a crash course in criminality by adult offenders, may receive inadequate treatment, or all three. Therefore, a policy of statutory exclusion may create a greater number of youths who are deemed a threat to society, but who remain in society.

The juvenile court was founded on the idea of individualization, a concept on which statutory exclusion is not based. In terms of putting the "serious juvenile super-predators" behind bars, it seems that statutory exclusion is a mechanism that is inferior to judicial waiver.

It comes down to a question of who should be making the decision to transfer juvenile offenders to criminal court: juvenile court judges and juvenile probation officers who, through extensive background research, have an intimate knowledge of the juvenile in question; or the state legislature, many of whom may have never even met a delinquent child? Judicial waiver is a mechanism that has evolved over a century in the American juvenile court (Zimring 2000). Political solutions ("adult crime-adult time") reflect criminal sentencing policies that provide no formal recognition of youthfulness as a mitigating factor (Feld 2000) and may actually not be serving the interest of public safety.

RESEARCH IMPLICATIONS

Being incarcerated in an adult facility is only one measure of public safety. Other measures related to protecting the public (i.e. length of time served, recidivism) should be explored as well. The most effective way of doing this would be randomized experiment. However, political opposition may preclude this from happening, so future research will no doubt continue to employ a variety of matching, cohort, and time series designs.

Although no race effect was discovered in this study, minority overrepresentation appears to be an issue. It is interesting to note the equivalent racial make up of both cohorts. Having nearly eighty percent of both cohorts be made up of minorities (primarily African-Americans) is a cause for concern. Although it made no difference in case processing and outcome, the disparity in the cohorts between white and nonwhite youth is an area that should be explored.

One could look at the lack of a race effect as a positive outcome. Maybe justice really is blind, and that is why race did not have an effect on the likelihood of being incarcerated in an adult facility, or incarceration length. However, this would a highly optimistic view of these findings.

In 1994, nonwhites accounted for 46.9 percent of referrals to juvenile courts in Pennsylvania (Pennsylvania Juvenile Court Judges' Commission 1996b), and in 1996 they accounted for 44.6 percent (Pennsylvania Juvenile Court Judges' Commission 1998). The obvious question, and area for further study, is why, then, did non-white (predominantly African-Americans) juveniles comprise about 80 percent of the sample for both the 1994 and 1996 cohorts? This question is especially troubling for the 1994 co-

hort. It would stand to reason that if nonwhites accounted for around 47 percent of all referrals to juvenile court that year, then they should have accounted for the same percentage of judicial waivers.

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Pennsylvania Juvenile Court Judges' Com-

ROLE TAKING AND ROLE MAKING AMONG FEMALE RED CROSS WORKERS IN VIET NAM

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ABSTRACT

This research analyzes responses from in-depth interviews with twenty women who worked for the Red Cross in Viet Nam. Narratives demonstrate role conflict resulting from conflictive expectations for behavior within their role set and between role expectations and identity. A new source of role conflict is identified involving conflict between role and environment. Analysis of responses to role conflict revealed role taking and role making. Variation in these responses was associated with amount and source of conflict, with age while in Viet Nam and with their motivation for going to Viet Nam.

INTRODUCTION

Accounts of individuals who work in non-traditional gender settings can inform us of social role behavior that results when expectations are ambiguous, conflictive, or in transition (Silver 1996). This paper builds on previous literature by examining the behavior of women expected to enact a traditionally nurturing, female occupational role in a dangerous, male dominated environment. Specifically, we analyze the retrospective accounts of women who worked for the American National Red Cross in Viet Nam between 1965 and 1972.

All interviews were completed in 1992 meaning that the incidents respondents were recalling occurred between 20 – 27 years earlier. On the one hand we acknowledge that these women's accounts may have been "reconstructed" over the years. On the other hand, while some qualitative researchers argue that the researcher must remain skeptical and constantly worry about deception, others suggest that a "believed" interviewee is more likely to trust the interviewer and relate the "truth" (Abel 1987; Andersen 1987; Reinharz 1992). Furthermore, one of the authors served as a Red Cross worker in South Korea, the insights from her experience provided a basis for assessing the veracity of the women's commentaries. In addition some life events are so salient that memories remain intact over long periods of time. Experiences occurring during wartime seem to fit this category. Finally our study was exploratory in nature and designed to provide a rich, detailed account of the nature of these women's experiences.[1]

In addition to role conflict emanating from conflicting expectations and a self/role misfit, their experiences reflect a previously unexplored source of role conflict, a misfit between formal role expectations and the realities of the work environment. Polarized behavioral expectations according to sex have resulted in certain settings being defined as typically male or typically female, depending on the characteristics and behaviors perceived as appropriate for that setting. Many of these social settings such as fraternities and sororities, are relatively sex segregated. Segregation based on sex is still prevalent and was the norm during the Viet Nam conflict. When enactment of work roles requires that individuals perform traditional gender-typed behaviors in settings typically associated with the opposite sex, the potential for role conflict is heightened (Zurcher 1983). Role conflict arises from the incongruity between gender-based expectations and the behaviors required by the environment. The focus of this paper is role conflict among female Red Cross workers in a traditionally male setting, war, and their responses to the resulting strain. We conclude with a discussion of the implications of our study for individuals whose paid work expectations conflict with the realities of their workplace.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The symbolic interactionist perspective on role behavior as originally presented by Mead (1934) and refined by Blumer (1969), Goffman (1961a, 1961b), Turner (1962, 1968, 1978, 1979-1980, 1985, 1990), and Zurcher (1983), views roles as arising from social interaction and the interpretive process used by individuals. Within this framework, individuals do not just perform roles, but actively adjust them as necessary. Thus if individuals are in situations or organizations where behavioral expectations are ambiguous or conflicting, they may engage in altering or otherwise establishing a workable role.

For example, Zimmer (1986, 1987) distinguished between three different responses of women prison guards to employment in a male occupation. First were those who chose the "institutional role" in an attempt to follow male expectations and insulate themselves from male criticism (Zimmer 1986 110). Second were women who adopted a "modified role" by attempting to limit direct contact with prisoners and rely on male coworkers for support (Zimmer 1986 110-11). Last were women who engaged in "inventive roles" who used stereotypically female defined traits (intuition, superior communication skills) to win the respect of prisoners (Zimmer 1986 111). It appears that gender-based identities and concomitant role behaviors may be both flexible and context related (Moore 1999).

Kanter's examination of role behaviors among token female executives at "Indsco" revealed a variety of responses to performance pressures and boundary heightening experienced in different workplace contexts. She illustrated how a shift in proportions of men and women in a work group influenced the working experience of members, and how women made adjustments to their work role based on their working environment (Kanter 1977: 212). In particular women in groups with a preponderance of men ("tokens") respond to heightened performance pressures by altering their roles to fit their experiences (Kanter 1977: 222; Yoder & Aniakudo 1997). Supporting Kanter's work, Ely (1995) found that women in male-dominated firms chose a variety of ways of enacting roles to resist persistent devaluation of women. Some became accommodators emphasizing stereotypical gender role traits, while others rejected traditional roles, attempting to redefine their roles in a more positive light (Ely 1995).

The experiences of women employed in bureaucratic settings dominated by men fits Goffman's framework (1961a) in which he discriminated between disruptive and contained secondary adjustments to work in formal organizations. The former disrupt the operation of the organization by producing organizational change. The latter can result in the smoother operation of the organization through a better "fit" between the individual and the organization's structure. Goffman noted that secondary adjustments vary by position within the hierarchy of the organization. Those individuals at the bottom have less attachment and commitment to the organization and will engage in a greater number of secondary adjustments. "They have jobs not careers" (Goffman 1961a 201; Ely 1995).

Enactment of roles within ambiguous situations frequently results in role strain. Goode (1960 493) proposed that role strain, "the difficulty of fulfilling role demands," was normal and arose from conflict between or within roles. Role conflict can result from friction associated with two different roles that occur simultaneously, or from conflicting expectations from one particular role. Turner (1990) further conceptualized role conflict as a misfit between expected behaviors and identity. We extend Goode's and Turner's conceptualization of role conflict to include situations in which there is a misfit between role demands and the expectations associated with the setting in which the role is played (see also Spradley & Mann 1975; Kanter 1977; Zurcher 1983; Zimmer 1986; Ely 1995; and Katila & Merilainen 1999). In this situation, role performance is often problematic because expectations for behavior are incongruous or inappropriate to the setting. While there are potential similarities between men and women's experiences in a war setting, women faced unique conflicts by working in a male environment.[2]

As individuals experience role conflict, they will attempt to negotiate their roles to alleviate the strain through a variety of behaviors. Turner (1956, 1962) initially distinguished between role making and role taking. Role taking involves "choosing the institutional role" and meeting the performance expectations of others (Turner 1956, 1962; Kanter 1977 110). On the other hand, role making involves modifying or recreating role expectations to be more consistent with the prevailing social context (Turner 1956, 1962; Kanter 1977; Ely 1995; Moore 1999). Zurcher (1983) further distinguished between attempts to change expectations for existing roles and attempts to create a new role. Another strategy, role distancing, was introduced by Goffman (1961b). If attempts to satisfactorily negotiate roles fail, individuals may simply exit particular roles, physically distancing themselves from the setting (Goode 1960).

Studies that examined role behavior in nontraditional settings describe a variety of responses to role conflict. Spradley and Mann

(1975) examined cocktail waitresses in a bar where patrons were typically male. Conflict between the men and women was diffused through joking. Zurcher's (1983) examination of male "hashers" in a sorority house found that the hashers attempted to alleviate conflict by creating new roles and by role distancing. Zimmer's (1986) study found three adaptations among female prison guards working in a male prison: institutional, modified and inventive roles. Kanter's (1977 230) examination of workers at "Indsco" highlighted how "tokens" engaged in role encapsulation, in which stereotypical gender role assumptions forced women into playing limited and caricatured roles as they became assimilated in the organization. As Zimmer (1987) noted, some of the female prison guards in her study adapted their work roles to include stereotypical feminine traits, and their adaptations proved highly successful. Recent research on women working in male dominated law firms adopted masculine-typed aggressiveness and instrumentality, while others attempted to modify the typical role by attributing success to feminine rather than masculine qualities (Ely 1995).

Clearly both work and gender role behaviors are learned and adapted to new and different environmental and social contexts. We build on this earlier research by examining responses to role conflict among women cast in a nurturing, traditionally female organizational role played out in a dangerous, male-defined environment, war.

METHODOLOGY

The respondents included nineteen white women and one Black woman identified by snowball sampling. One of the authors had served in the Red Cross in Korea and called the local chapter and asked for the name and phone number of a member who had served in Viet Nam. The initial informant then identified someone she knew as did all subsequent respondents.[3] None of the respondents refused to be interviewed. Indeed the women seemed eager to talk about their experiences, perhaps in part because this was the first time they had been asked to talk about their experiences formally.

The ages of the interviewees while in Viet Nam varied from twenty-two to forty-nine with a median age of twenty-five. They were of middle class background, and all but one completed college before joining the Red Cross. The one exception was employed as a secretary during her tour in Viet Nam. With the exception of one divorcee, all others had never been married prior to serving. The majority of our respondents (twelve) were employed in the Supplemental Recreation Activities Overseas (SRAO) program; six were employed in Service to Military Hospitals (SMH); and two in Service to Military Installations (SMI).[4] Two of the women served two tours in Viet Nam.

Open-ended interview schedules allowed respondents to expound freely on their roles in Viet Nam. Interviews were completed in person or on the phone. Topics discussed included official and unofficial duties, relationships with the men and with other women stationed in Viet Nam, and positive and negative aspects of their experiences. All interviews were taped and transcribed. These transcripts were analyzed for patterns of role behavior. Since accounts of the Viet Nam conflict necessitate retrospective accounts of behavior, the fallibility of individual memory may clearly be a limitation in our study. However, because extraordinary events are more likely remembered than ordinary, and because Viet Nam was such an extraordinary experience, it could be less of a problem in this case. We also included a number of prompts specifically intended to elicit remembrances of the ordinary, such as "Describe a typical day."

LEARNING THE ROLE

Socialization for Red Cross workers involved training in organizational structure, rules, as well as skills for job performance. Formal training varied by program.[5] Women in the SMI and SMH programs were sent to Viet Nam after having been employed in the programs stateside. Upon employment, they were required to sign a mobility statement agreeing to be transferred wherever the Red Cross needed them. Thus, once assigned to Viet Nam, they were required to go or risk losing their job. Socialization into their work role occurred in the United States at their first duty station. They received further orientation upon arrival in Viet Nam. Once in Viet Nam, they could not exit for one year unless they quit their jobs, or were fired.

Women employed in the SRAO program were typically recruited directly out of college, specifically for employment in Viet Nam or South Korea, and were thus in Viet Nam vol-

untarily. They spent two weeks in training at the national headquarters of the Red Cross. Instruction in military ranks and protocol was often their first introduction to military life. Many of the Red Cross rules were created to assure workers followed military protocol and regulations. Workers who recently returned from Viet Nam performed a sample recreational program for trainees. Afterward, interaction with these women was part of the informal socialization process. The new recruits participated in workshops to develop skills in creating and executing recreational programs. After arriving in Viet Nam, they were given a short orientation and assigned to their units where socialization specific to their unit occurred.

The three Red Cross programs in Viet Nam were structured differently. In the SMI and SMH programs, supervisors and workers worked in the same field location. A Field Director or a Hospital Field Director headed each unit and was responsible for the conduct of the workers. Supervisors for the SRAO program were located in Saigon. Each unit had a director and a program director who were chosen by the supervisors in Saigon from among the women in their units. The unit directors were responsible for the conduct of the other Red Cross workers. The remoteness of their duty stations resulted in very little direct supervision by supervisors stationed in Saigon.

In all programs, the work role itself was distinctly female. Both official and unofficial expectations required stereotypical feminine behavior. The women described official role expectations such as talking, listening, and smiling as means of providing emotional support and unofficial duties such as serving as female symbols (all American girl, mother, and sister). Both contrasted sharply with the distinctly male environment of war. As one respondent noted:

> You had to be tough—hardened in some ways and yet be soft. There was a fine line —You had to be hard, and you had to be soft.

All of the women who remarked about their preparation for Viet Nam stressed its inadequacy for preparing them for the situations they encountered. This inadequacy is evidenced by the following statements:

> I don't think they gave you any [training]. When I went to Korea I spent two weeks in Washington. When I went to Viet Nam, I only had to spend one [week]...maybe they were naive.

> [I think had I received better preparation they] would have been a lot more honest about the downside of it rather than pretending that everything was "la la land" and, if you had a problem, you were the odd one out.

ROLE CONFLICT AMONG RED CROSS WOMEN IN VIET NAM

Coping with role conflict was a constant part of the interviewee's experiences as Red Cross workers in Viet Nam. All women interviewed reported some role conflict. A higher level of role conflict was experience by SRAO personnel resulting from both role/environment conflict and conflict within the role. Individuals employed in SMI and SMH expressed less role conflict resulting predominantly from role/environment conflict. They experienced little to no conflict within their role.

The women frequently perceived the Red Cross "mission" as conflicting with the realities of their job, and with their own changing expectations for gender roles. Official duties were defined by the "mission" of the Red Cross in Viet Nam: to increase group morale by providing casework and recreation services to military personnel. One respondent's comment is illustrative:

> You upheld the wonderful reputation of the Red Cross no matter what, while they were giving you shit. It made me angry that they were more concerned with us having a drink in uniform than getting shot in uniform.

Workers were considered official Red Cross representatives even when off duty. Turner's (1978) concept of role-person merger seems to capture the expectations that the Red Cross workers adhere to strict guidelines even when off duty. For example, dating married men, taking unauthorized rides, and drinking in uniform were all prohibited. However, difficulties in enforcement of the rules especially in SRAO units depended on commitment to the role and adoption of the role into their identity. Thus, the Red Cross depended on an internalization of norms for strict role performance.

However, difficulties in enforcement

meant the expectations for unofficial duties were often ambiguous and open to differing interpretations. Differing perceptions about the value of Red Cross work was evident in interactions with nurses, with enlisted soldiers, and with officers. Statements made by the women in our sample suggested that these inconsistencies created a misfit between identity and role expectations that was reinforced by the friction between the expectations that they perform traditional roles in a setting that often demanded non-traditional behaviors.

Intra-Role Conflict

Zurcher (1983) distinguished between conflict caused by the differing expectations for two different roles (inter-role conflict) and conflicts between expectations of others and the expectation of self for that role (intra-role conflict). The experiences of our respondents provide interesting examples of intra-role conflict. Unofficial duties included attending formal military functions and parties with officers. Their value at these functions was to serve as symbols, such as a sex object, not as individuals. As one woman commented:

> It used to irritate me that the Colonel would call and say 'I'd like two girls to come for dinner'—like we were some kind of decoration...I didn't like to be treated like that.

Attending the dinner could lead to being defined as a "good girl" or a "bad girl" based on the perspectives of those at the dinner. If objectified as a "bad girl," resulting sexual propositions could lead to conflict with definition of self as a "good girl."

Role conflict also emerged from being caught in the middle of conflict between soldiers. This was exacerbated by status distinctions between enlisted personnel and officers.

> A few times somebody said 'you Red Cross girls only pay attention to the officers.' But I really tried when I was on duty...[not to] pay particular attention to the officers... There were occasionally enlisted personnel who thought you were there to date the officers, and there were a few officers who thought you were there for the sex.

Interactions with other women were often particularly problematic for women employed in SRAO. The distinctly feminine nature of their work role was perceived by other women, especially nurses, as "fluff" and not as important compared to their more onerous work.

> ...the nurses looked down on the rest of us ...they felt like we were not professional, and I resented that...like our being there wasn't as valid.

Conflict also occurred when SMI and SMH workers were compared to SRAO workers. A worker in the SMH program notes:

> It was really important to us at the hospital not to be known as donut dollies. But to the military a Red Cross person was a Red Cross person so obviously you must be a donut dollie.

Faced with conflicting expectations, these women felt they lacked unambiguous guidelines when cases were not clear cut regarding official duties.

> This guy was bearing his soul to me...telling me his friends had been killed...he was going AWOL, and I didn't know how to handle that kind of thing. We were never given guidance for that sort of thing.

The lack of guidelines could specifically result in conflict between supervisors and workers. The following comment was made by a woman confronted by her supervisor over helping the nurses with their work.

> I came head to head with my Field Director because she was one of those people who felt like our job there was to do the Red Cross thing and that was all [of] our job. I didn't feel that way.

Role/Environment Conflict

Both official and unofficial expectations reflected traditional gender role expectations, yet were carried out in a nontraditional gender setting. Official expectations included providing recreation and food as a means of offsetting the stresses of battle. Unofficial expectations, such as serving as female symbols, arose from the war setting itself and extended into off duty hours. Work was a twenty-four hour job in which respondents were never off duty, and they found it difficult

to distance themselves from its expectations. Statements such as "There was no privacy in Viet Nam," and "I remember days when my face hurt from smiling all day long" reflect their experience.

Furthermore, they could not easily get away from their duties by living away from the military compound or interacting socially with individuals not part of the war.

> Even with those who had sexual relationships, there was very little privacy...Everybody shared quarters...There wasn't any soundproofing. It just wasn't a situation nor was there any expectation that there would be privacy. There wasn't anyplace else to go.

The nontraditional environment of the war zone often created the circumstances that led to role conflict. They were in a man's world in which profanity and vulgar jokes were common.

> The guys in most cases didn't clean up their language. You had to respect where they were and what they were doing. We were visitors on their turf...They loved shocking you. That made their day when they shocked a "donut dolly."

The nontraditional environment resulted in women being placed in situations in which they would not normally find themselves. SRAO personnel who were sent to firebases sometimes encountered men urinating or showering in the open.

> You had to realize that you were in a man's world and they couldn't change it even if they wanted to accommodate females. There weren't facilities. So when you were walking on bases, [some] guys purposely waited until you were there to take their showers...At first it was very shocking...but after a while you just walked around with blinders on. You'd yell and scream and say "Hi" even if they were in the shower or in a john [which] didn't have a door. So [you would] see them sitting there doing their thing...conversing with you as you walk by...

Clearly these experiences conflicted with expectations surrounding gender roles of the time.

Another major source of conflict involved the perception by some men that Red Cross women had "loose" morals or were prostitutes.[6] Such beliefs conflicted with the women's identity as patriots with a mission to raise troop morale. The focus on prostitutes seemed especially prevalent during the 1970's.

> The respect level was different [during my second tour of Viet Nam]. I was propositioned considerably more. I defended the Red Cross more...[against things like] 'Well, I know you didn't wear underwear' and 'We paid $15 [for sex with the Red Cross girls].' Bull shit! I knew that wasn't true.

The nature of the environment also resulted in women experiencing environment specific hardships. Heat, insects, lack of supplies and amenities, and, perhaps most problematic for women in a male environment, the lack of sex segregated toilets.

> There weren't a lot of field facilities for women. You thought twice about what you ate or drank before you went someplace. The toilet facilities [were] out in the field or on the side of the road typically...

Being a female in a war zone also did not exempt women from the dangers of war. Sixteen women reported experiencing fear at some point in Viet Nam. One woman reported:

> I was there during the Tet Offensive and that was scary because you didn't really know what was going on. We lived in Bien Hoa, and they evacuated all the Viet Namese women...Every night before I went to bed I set out my loafers. I wanted to know exactly where they were in case we got rocketed at night...Also I was always sleeping in my [day] clothes because if anything happened I wanted to be dressed.

The SRAO personnel sent to firebases could find themselves in particularly dangerous circumstances:

> [During] the Que San offensive...I pushed for clearance to go out and it took two weeks...We took off and got there [the firebase] and fog came in. We couldn't get back and had to spend the night. Then, it was the terror...I remember Que San very vividly be-

> cause of all the battles that had been going on and all the incoming fire. Seeing helicopters down, burned out, guys swimming naked in the water and mud...We spent the night in a Red Cross ambulance. I couldn't sleep. I remember listening to the battle take place...I remember flying home following the river and knowing where the battle had taken place and thinking we'd be shot down ...I knew I was going to die that night.

Women were not only afraid of being injured by the fighting, a few women reported being fearful of the soldiers they were sent to serve. Their fears were realistic as three Red Cross women were murdered while in Viet Nam, and others were raped.[7]

Interestingly, the war itself rather than the danger was viewed as especially problematic. When asked "What was the most negative aspect of your experience in Viet Nam," eight women made a global statement regarding the "senselessness" or "obscenity" of the war and about the "suffering" they witnessed. As one respondent noted:

> It never made sense to me, politically or otherwise...There was no need for anyone to be dying.

Decreased sensitivity to the suffering produced guilt:

> I remember the upside down rifles with helmets on them...I remember seeing Viet Namese POWs and body bags on the helicopter flying back. I remember putting my feet on a body bag and later on realizing what I had done. I was so ashamed.

The lack of congruity between their roles and actual experience of war was expressed by some women as guilt related to having fun in the middle of so much tragedy.

> Yes, it was a horrible place to be, and there were a lot of horrible atrocities...still to this day I am a little uncomfortable with the fact that I was there [and] that I did have a good time. It embarrasses me. I had a great time while so many were killed.

Others made more specific comments on the drugs, the hardships of the situation, and on the deaths of specific men. Others responded that the environment left them feeling helpless. One respondent noted:

> I think the most negative thing in retrospect was the sense of helplessness. That no matter what you did it wasn't going to change the war. These guys were still going to get killed. You could do the best you could but you couldn't make it all better.

RESPONSES TO ROLE CONFLICT

Neither multiple roles nor role expectations by themselves guarantee role conflict will occur. Differences in individual values, needs, in their sense of the value and meaning of their roles, in the types of support systems available and copying strategies may all impact responses to multiple role expectations.

Role Taking: Conformity

As discussed earlier, role taking includes accepting the role expectations as defined by others and performing in a manner consistent with those expectations (Turner 1956, 1962). The overwhelming response of our respondents to role conflict in this setting was role taking. All of the women interviewed demonstrated some degree of conformity to their roles. In part this was due to the importance they attached to their experiences in Viet Nam:

> I think by and large most of the girls did their part...most of the girls were pretty much following the program, the guidelines...to project a certain image and help the guys get through this time of their lives.

References to their sense of "mission," their willingness to repeat the experience, and statements declaring their role as the highlight of their life punctuated our interviews.

> I do think that the few of us that were in this profession really did make an impact on people's lives and that's probably why I'm so proud of being there. Outside of the fact that it made an impact on my personal life, I do think there was a reason for me to be there, and I do think I helped people.

Role conformity was sometimes displayed as strict adherence to the rules. Thus conformity was most likely when role expectations were consistent with identity. A respondent who was assigned to a hospital

ship stated:

> I was a rule follower...I found that the military always accepted us as one of them. I do think that whether or not you accepted their rules had a bearing on that...I found that if I cooperated and worked with them as professionals then they cooperated and worked with me. I never had a major problem. I'm the type of person that doesn't like conflict, and I bend over backwards to keep things smooth.

Sometimes conformity involved enduring the situation rather than truly accepting it when expectations were inconsistent with identity:

> [My boyfriend] and I had planned to go to Hong Kong together till [headquarters] heard about it. They sent out a notice that Red Cross women were not supposed to go on leave with men...So I didn't go. I felt I had an obligation to the uniform.

Instances that would today be described as sexual harassment were tolerated as part of role expectations. Often the women literally "grinned and bore it" demonstrating their extreme adherence to the rules:

> I had to let "double entendres" go over my head...they always had to show us about "scout dogs" and how a WAC makes franks, getting out the dog...So we pretended naivete sometimes.

Another respondent explained that:

> You had to be very careful not to insult any GI. If somebody propositioned you, you were supposed to turn them down in a nice way instead of [saying] "buzz off, you creep." There were days you just wanted to look at somebody and say "take a hike" or "blow off." You just couldn't do that.

Role Taking: Distancing

Role distancing implies a separation of the person from the role where the individual may be denying "...not the role but the virtual self that is implied in the role..." (Goffman 1961b 108). Some women recognized the importance of emotional distancing from the setting, and from their role:

> As I think back on it, you had to go in and see these patients with half their body blown away and you couldn't let it affect you. Now, I can't watch a movie about Viet Nam or any kind of violence or blood. So, subconsciously that must have had an effect. While I was there, you couldn't let it affect you.

Distancing from the work role and in particular from Red Cross "lifers" was also manifest through the use of joking:

> They used to call me 'Hannah Heritage' because my mother had been with the Red Cross in World War II. They'd joke that I'd be a lifer.

Humor allowed these women to tolerate negative aspects of their job by distancing themselves from the war.

> We had a Department of Defense Geneva Convention card, and we always laughed and said we hoped we were captured by someone who could read English.

Role Making: Altering Existing Roles

Role making typically involves modifying or altering existing role expectations to create new ones more consistent with personal preferences/inclinations for that role (Turner 1956, 1962). It may be that in circumstances where they have the power to do so, individuals learn to alter role expectations to enable them to fit the unique context of their experiences (Zimmer 1986, 1987; Ely 1995; Moore 1999). There were accounts by nineteen women we interviewed of attempts to change role requirements, most often by breaking rules.

> I never got drunk in uniform but I remember one time we went to some firebase and it was so hot and we were so thirsty and the only thing they had to drink was beer. What were you supposed to do?...They didn't have any potable water. You either drank a beer or you didn't drink.

While using alcohol on duty was rare, many women seemed more relaxed about drinking and drug use than was typical of women who remained in the U.S. during the 1960s. This respondent's comments are illustrative:

> We drank. We did drugs...trying to push the limits a little bit.

Rule breaking was even condoned by some supervisors whose job was to insure conformity to the rules.

> We had places where we were not [supposed] to go. In Viet Nam we were to take no recreational rides...I remember I drove a jeep and was stupid enough to drive it in front of our unit director...I also took an (unauthorized) ride and missed the flight back. That was the day I thought I was going [to be sent] home...[instead] the unit director made it clear to me she thought these were good experiences but she didn't want to know about it. [She explained that] it was okay but don't "put me in a position to have to send you home."

The environment in which they lived and worked led to suspension of stereotypical gender role behaviors. Humor was a tool for altering traditional gender norms:

> We were playing this game, the five senses ...For the sense of touch, the guys would put their hands behind their back and we'd put stuff in their hands and they'd have to guess what it was without seeing it...I gave [name deleted] a plastic bag [with a condom in it] and she stuck it in this guy's hand. Well the guy turned beet red because that many years ago you didn't say the word rubber...It was hilarious.

The setting also created circumstances where well established roles, such as that of friend, were altered. Descriptions of friendships reflected an intensity seldom experienced in a non-war setting and is evidenced by continued commitment to and maintenance of friendships created over twenty years ago. The respondents suggested that these friendships closely resembled sisterhood.

> Your family wasn't there and was not readily accessible by phone or letter. So holidays you spent with your friends, good times and bad times were spent with your friends. [Friendships] were much more intense and lasting.

Often rule breaking involved ignoring regulations about dating and/or having sexual relationships. At times women actively altered such roles as girlfriends. One respondent remarked:

> I lost my virginity in Viet Nam and it was like you had to do it. When you're in a life and death situation, sex is very important. It was something I had to experience—so I did—a brief encounter with a married man. I was breaking all the rules.

Dating married men was strictly prohibited, but marital status was frequently hidden by the men or ignored by the women:

> ...that was a unique time in everyone's life, and there were no rules and regulations over there...Truthfully, once you got over there, there were a lot of rules for a lot of things that we didn't pay any attention to ...You didn't know what was going to happen tomorrow, and people just lived for the day...I'd had no experience with married men prior to going to Viet Nam. They were taboo. Then you got over there, and it just didn't seem to be as important.

Role Making: Creating New Roles

While role making may involve modifying existing role expectations, it is also the case that different environmental contexts may produce the need to invent new role behaviors. Note how some of the women prison guards in Zimmer's works (1986, 1987) invented feminine style interactions to enable them to perform their duties. Self initiated roles, such as scavenger, spectator, and mourner, were created to fit the environment and reduce conflict. The role of scavenger was created to meet needs resulting from shortages and hardships. One woman talked about:

> ...just trying to overcome the situation. Procurement was a problem...there was a lot of time spent trying to figure out the physical obstacles that were in the way...Everybody against the situation. Each day was a challenge.

Prized items included refrigerators, air conditioners, and privacy. Red Cross recreationists often appropriated items intended for other purposes in their recreation programs, such as paint, food and transportation.

Although mourning was not officially part

of the job description, women found themselves mourning individuals as well as the situation:

> The death of one of our dust off pilots...was hard because he was part of our group of friends...I remember one guy who kept sliding down in his bed, and I couldn't figure out why. Then it dawned on me there wasn't anything below his hip. That was awful for me. I also would touch people on their hand or arm as part of nurturing, or hold their hand, and we had patients burned so badly you couldn't touch them anywhere. The burn patients were probably the hardest for me because a lot of them were burned on 75-90% of their body...The whole experience aged all of us.

Conflict between role and setting sometimes resulted in the women feeling more like spectators than participants in the war:

> Sometimes we felt like we were superfluous, and I would get concerned about being in the middle of a tragedy. How could we possible have the luxury of being able to spectate and of being safe while the men had to risk their lives. We could only go so far, we couldn't participate.

Sometimes new roles were imposed on the women by others. Women reported at times feeling that they acted as scapegoats for the conflicts experienced by the men. Red Cross women were victims of robbery, sexual assault and murder. Murder victims included a woman shot by an ex-boyfriend, and another who was stabbed to death by an unknown assailant.[8] Victimization of other Red Cross personnel increased our respondent's sense of vulnerability, as illustrated by this comment:

> I still have a copy of what was posted all over the post, the wanted sign...She was stabbed, had been in country two weeks...it was [lack of] security again...[he] broke into her hooch...[It was difficult] to reopen the unit...I didn't trust [the security] that whole assignment. Her room was still [kept] locked up...I locked my door for the first time.

None of the women we interviewed was raped although they had friends who were:

> ...my friend (was) raped...he broke into the barracks...came into her room...raped her, saw something with her name on it which was his family name and became very upset. She faked a fit and he took her to the first aid station. He ended up reduced in rank and (got) six months.

Imposition of these roles on Red Cross women put them in the position of enacting undesirable roles.

DISCUSSION

The Red Cross organization required a commitment to their work role that was extreme in comparison to typical paid work expectations for women. These standards included rules for conduct even when not actively engaged in the work role. Rules emphasized that employees represented the Red Cross whether on or off duty. The result was a twenty-four hour duty day.

Socialization of Red Cross employees into their work role often resulted in "role-person merger" in which the attitudes and behaviors expected in their work role carried over into non-work situations (Turner 1978). This resulted in the dominance of their work role as a source of identity and self esteem. Thus, professional ethics were absorbed into the self and defined personal expectations. A strong role person merger meant an attack on any Red Cross worker represented an attack on them all.

The experience of enacting a twenty-four hour day produced considerable role conflict; however, we found variation in the amount and source of the role conflict. Role conflict was most likely to come from the conflict between their traditional role expectations and the nontraditional setting in which they enacted their role. Individuals employed in the SRAO program experienced on the whole more role conflict than women employed in SMI or SMH. We partially attribute the amount of role conflict among SRAO personnel to the fact that as "donut dollies" they spent a great deal of the time on firebases where the incongruity between their role and the setting was the highest. This incongruity was apparent in statements related to living and working in a man's world. SRAO personnel were also more likely to experience conflict within their role than SMI or SMH personnel. They were more likely to be treated as sex objects, to have their jobs viewed as

fluff, and to find themselves in situations for which there were no guidelines for job performance or for which guidelines were inadequate.

Two women were exceptions to the tendency for SMI and SMH to report less role conflict. The second and third highest accounts of role conflict came from women employed as Hospital Field Directors for the entire tour of duty.[9] As Hospital Field Directors, they were responsible for the maintenance of the Red Cross program in their hospital as well as for the other Red Cross personnel. Hospital Field Directors lived and worked with their units. We suspect that the structure of the program and the nature of their supervisor roles accounts for the amount of role conflict experienced by these two women. Supervisors of the SRAO program were located in Saigon and as such were far removed from the day to day activities of those units. The only SRAO program supervisor interviewed demonstrated the lowest level of role conflict.

All the women we interviewed demonstrated a high degree of commitment and conformity to their roles. Even in extreme situations of personal assault that today would be perceived as sexual harassment, these women responded to role conflict with the nice, polite behaviors expected by the Red Cross. The majority of women we interviewed engaged in role making when role expectations conflicted with identity or the situations in which they found themselves. Attempts at changing role expectations consisted mainly of breaking the rules in attempts to alter the role to fit the setting. Creation of roles outside official Red Cross expectations, such as spectators and mourners, also reflected role making in response to the setting.

Differences in degree of role person merger may account for changes of some of the women from traditional to more modern gender-based behaviors. These changes were especially noticeable in narratives related to sexual conduct. Some women adhered to Red Cross proscriptions against any sexual relations while others openly engaged in such relationships. Most of the latter agreed that their non-traditional behavior would not have occurred had they remained stateside.

The majority of the women reported a balance of role taking and role making behaviors. Imbalances involved more role taking than role making. The variances may be explained by a combination of age while serving in Viet Nam and motivations for going. Women who did not volunteer for Viet Nam, but were transferred as part of the normal job rotation were older and exhibited less role making behavior. Both women who were over forty during their tour in Viet Nam exhibited more role taking and less role making behavior. We expect that younger women whose motivations for accepting a job in Viet Nam were described as seeking "adventure," a desire for travel, or a belief that women as well as men should serve their country, were more likely to engage in role making perhaps reflecting personal identity or changing gender roles.

No one in our sample rejected their role through quitting, or breaking the rules blatantly enough to get sent home. However, they did report instances of such extreme role rejection by other women.

The women we interviewed could only leave their work environment by exiting their role as Red Cross workers. In other words, they could not leave their roles as Red Cross workers without leaving Viet Nam, nor could they leave Viet Nam before their tour of duty was completed without quitting or being fired. Thus, while engaging in role making and role taking, they continued to fulfill the primary expectations of the Red Cross albeit in innovative ways. This is similar to individuals who exist in "total institutions" (see Goffman 1961a) with an important difference. They were not confined by external controls such as legal or medical decisions. While they could go home, we propose the constraints experienced by the women we interviewed were internal. Leaving Viet Nam was not a viable alternative because it exemplified personal failure. Furthermore, departing could be viewed as abandoning those individuals unable to exit. These women did not want to let their friends, their family, the troops or the country down. Remaining in Viet Nam was necessary for the maintenance of their identity and self esteem. Thus, most of the women never considered going back to the mainland, in spite of the role conflict they encountered.

CONCLUSIONS

Role making among our respondents can be viewed as secondary adjustments to organizational life. The behavior of most of the Red Cross women consisted of contained,

not disruptive, secondary adjustments. Even role making in the form of breaking the rules was often tolerated by supervisors, as long as the behavior did not threaten the reputation of the organization. Creating new roles, such as mourner and spectator, allowed the women to enact their work roles in a way that was more consistent with their experiences, but did not disrupt performance of their primary responsibilities. Furthermore, well established roles such as friend were adjusted to better fit their experiences. Thus, role making resulted in a better "fit" between their definition of self and the work context.

While hierarchical position within the Red Cross alone did not prove to be important, commitment to the organization did. As in most organizations, the longer the tenure, the stronger the commitment. Those women who did not consider themselves to be Red Cross "lifers" and who were in Viet Nam voluntarily were more likely to distance themselves from the Red Cross using secondary adjustments. These individuals were committed to Red Cross goals, but not attached in the form of long-term commitment. Individuals who conformed to work roles and only engaged in role taking tended to be "lifers" whose identity was compatible with that of the Red Cross work role. They were both committed and attached to the organization.

This study has implications for individual behaviors as social change influences both our gender expectations and the organizations in which we work. Recent attention to the topic of sexual harassment in the workplace reflects this intersection. Similarly, changes in the work environment as a result of new technology may alter expectations for work role performance. For example, societal expectations for nurses continue to include nurturance of patients and hands on treatment while the introduction of technology separates the nurse from contact with the patient. The realities of the job now reflect seemingly impersonal technical assistance rather than individual nurturance. Individuals who face the strain of such conflicting expectations and of incongruities between role and setting may engage in the innovative role making we observed in Red Cross workers. Work environments that are difficult or impossible to leave may intensify these efforts.

No matter how unpleasant or dangerous, Red Cross workers in Viet Nam could not go home at the end of their duty day — they were home. This inability to leave the setting heightened their role conflict and the creative role making utilized to cope with the pressures of their environment.

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END NOTES

[1] We also note that while we interpreted some of their experiences as "sexual harassment," none of the respondents did so suggesting that they are not "reinterpreting" their experiences based on current vocabulary.

[2] Recognition of the validity of women's experience with role strain in Viet Nam does not assume that males in this setting did not experience role strain, or that their general responses were different from the women.

[3] While this sampling technique produces a non-probability sample, snowball sampling is appropriate when researchers seek members of a special, difficult to locate population, to collect exploratory information (Babbie 2000: 180).

[4] Women employed in SMI provided casework services to military personnel, predominantly the sending and receiving of messages related to medical conditions and emergency situations back home. Caseworkers employed in SMH delivered casework services to hospitalized service personnel and hospital personnel. SMH recreationists served refreshments and played games with patients or wrote letters dictated by patients who could not write. The duties of women employed in SRAO consisted of delivering recreation programs to service personnel on the firebases and in support units, and maintaining recreational facilities on their home base.

Women employed in SRAO were frequently termed "donut dollies," a term which originated during World War II. All women employed in these programs, with the exception of secretaries, were required to have a college degree.

[5] Informal training/socialization processes were not mentioned by the women in our sample. This illustrates one of the drawbacks associated with retrospective accounts.

[6] How prevalent this view was among the men is uncertain. Women who mentioned it as a source of role conflict did not think it was held by the majority of men; however being confronted by these beliefs caused problems for them.

[7] This information was mentioned by several of the interviewees.

[8] This information was mentioned by several of the interviewees.

[9] One woman who was promoted to Hospital Field Director while in Viet Nam experienced a lower level of role strain.

SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC CORRELATES OF BUSINESS ETHICS, FAMILY VALUES AND PERSONAL BELIEFS AMONG CHINESE ENTREPRENEURS

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ABSTRACT

Based on an interview survey of 146 private business owners in a major city in China, this study investigated the owners' personal values, beliefs, business ethics, and the sociodemographic correlates of such beliefs, values and ethics. Although in most aspects they were not much different from their counterparts in other societies, the emerging Chinese business owners showed uniqueness and ambiguities in some of their values, beliefs, and ethics. They attributed little of their business success to Confucianism or any religious values. The relationship of religion to economy, as espoused by Weber and others, was inapplicable to the Chinese socialist system.

As the world's most populous country, China has achieved one of the fastest growing economies on earth in the past two decades. Since Deng's economic reforms in 1979, the Chinese economy was growing at an average annual rate of 9.8 percent until 1998 (Morrison 1999). Even during the Asian financial crisis of the years of 1998 and 1999, China's growth rate slowed but still maintained the rates 7.8 percent and 7.1 percent, respectively. In the year 2000, the growth rate rose to 8.0 percent (*Beijing Review* 2001). At the current rate of growth, which is estimated to be seven percent for the year of 2001 and projected to be at eight percent annually for the next five years, China's economy will be at year's end 10 times larger than it was in 1979 when the reform formally started. If the current and projected growth rates continue, China will become the world's largest economy - larger than America's in the next century (*U.S. News & World Report* 1995; Morrison 1999). There are several reasons for China's economic success. One of the reasons is the privatization of the economy.

Private enterprise existed before Mao's Communist regime in China. There were millions of private businesses and corporations in operation before and even during the Sino-Japanese War. After the Communist revolution in China in 1949, Chairman Mao started a drastic societal transformation, transforming Chinese society from a capitalist system into a communist system. Private businesses were confiscated by the government and private property system was abolished. During the late 1950s and early 1960s, while the Great Leap Forward was launched and communes were implemented, there was almost no private economy in China. It was only when the Great Leap Forward and commune system proved to be a disaster, that individual economy was allowed to develop on a very limited scale.

The light of private economy was turned on when Deng Xiaoping came into power. Deng took a pragmatic approach to modernizing China. He and his reformists in the Communist government approved individual economic enterprise in 1979. Individual farmers were allowed to sell surplus from their farm products, and some individuals were permitted to operate barber shops, food stands, family-type restaurants, and bicycle repair shops or other small stores. The national policy was made clear that China's economic growth would continue to be public ownership, with proper individual businesses as a supplement to the socialist economy. However, as the economic reform accelerated and expanded, many individual businesses felt the need to hire more workers; thus, in 1987 the Chinese government started to relax its policies and regulations on the employment of individuals in private business. Finally in 1988, it passed legislation and amended the constitution regarding the legal rights of private business throughout the country (*China Today* 1993). The passage of the new legislation opened up the door for private enterprise to spring up rapidly in China. The increase of the number of private businesses has been phenomenal (Yuan 1992; Zhang 1993; Han 1995). The private sector of the economy had been growing faster than any other sectors, and accounted for 13 percent of China's industrial output (Clifford, Robert, Bamathan & Engardio 1997). By 1998, it had grown to about 27 percent of the Gross Domestic Product (Gregory & Tenev 2001). In the present economy, while half of the state enter-

prises are bankrupt or nearly bankrupt, the private businesses have spread like wildfire. Tens of thousands of people open up private businesses every day, and it is estimated that in 1997 13.5 million Chinese were in the private sector. At this time, there were 967,700 private enterprises whose registered capital totaled US $61.9 billion. The newly emerging entrepreneurs are in the process of developing into a new social class and becoming a powerful force in China. Their impact is increasingly felt in every facet of Chinese society. How they conduct their businesses and what business and work ethic they embrace are not only of academic interest but also of practical significance.

DATA AND METHOD

This paper is based on part of the data collected from an interview survey in Wuhan in the summer of 1995. In collaboration with the Department of Sociology of Huazhong University of Science and Technology in Wuhan, the researcher completed personal interviews of 146 private business owners. Of them, 46 were found from the sample of 100 owners (called "old sample") who had been interviewed a year before (Ma 1995). Initially, the researcher intended to reinterview all the 100 owners, but because of business failures, relocation, or other reasons, many of them couldn't be located. As a result, only forty-six owners were interviewed. The same quota and snowball sampling techniques were used to draw a new sample of 100 owners. Specifically, the new sample was drawn as follows. First, a sampling frame was established by compilation of all the names in the directories of private businesses provided by the local district offices of the Industrial and Business Management Bureau of the Wuhan City Government. Second, the sampling frame was classified into nine strata of industries: industrial production, agricultural production and processing, construction, transportation, business sales, food and restaurant services, general services, repairs, and high tech consultation. Then a proportionate number of cases was drawn from each stratum. Third, in case names of the proportionate number of cases in a stratum ran short, additional cases were obtained by referrals at the end of each interview. The targeted sample size was initially 110, but ended with 100 interviews. Thus, altogether 146 interviews of business owners were completed. Since the same interview schedule was used for 46 owners in the old sample and 100 owners in the new sample, the information collected was consistent. However, because the samples were not representative, this research was exploratory for the business owners in Wuhan, not intended to generalize findings to the entire population of private business owners in China.

The interview schedule consisted of three parts of items concerning sociodemographic characteristics of business owners, their business operations and management, and their personal values and beliefs. In the part of personal values and beliefs, items were asked about the owner's work ethics, business ethics, business management, personal character and philosophy, and personal religious beliefs. This paper will focus on the business and work ethics and particularly the sociodemographic correlates of the business and work ethics.

FINDINGS

First the author will sketch the general sociodemographic and business characteristics of the owners; then, he will identify their significant views on family values, work ethics, business ethics, business management and personal beliefs; and finally, he will analyze the sociodemographic correlates of their significant views on family values, work and business ethics, business management, and personal beliefs.

1. Socio-demographic and Business Sketch

What are the general social and demographic characteristics of those private business owners in Wuhan, China? The survey shows that most of the private business owners were male (about 86%) and young middle-aged (about 70% were under age 39). More than three-fourths were married. Thus, single entrepreneurs were uncommon. Most private business owners had slightly higher educational level than their parents. As a group they had above average education by Chinese standard, with more than 80 percent of them having finished senior high, vocation school, or four or more years of college. A relatively high percentage of private business owners in Wuhan had college or higher education (30.8%). In terms of the social classes, as perceived by themselves, nearly 50 percent of the entrepreneurs con-

sidered themselves coming from the middle social class. In view of the fact that only 5.1 percent of the population in the country were Communist party members, private business owners in Wuhan had more than their fair share of Communist party membership (13%) (Pacific Development Inc. 2002). They also came from families with a high proportion of parents who were Communist party members. Nearly 40 percent of their fathers and more than 12 percent of their mothers were Communist party members.

How about the type, scale, and operation of their businesses? The data indicate that most private businesses were found in business sales (more than 40%) and industrial production (nearly 19%). Most businesses were solely owned, but there were signs showing that increasing numbers of businesses were moving toward limited corporations. Most businesses were small, having assets valued less than 100,000 yuan (approximately $1 US = 8.25 yuan) and having hired 25 or fewer employees (more than 75%). Because of Chinese culture, family businesses or family participation in businesses was prevalent. More than half of private businesses interviewed had family members or employees who were relatives. More than half of the businesses were new or relatively new, with fewer than three years in existence. Over 80 percent of business owners had expansion plans and were optimistic about future development.

2. Personal Values and Beliefs

As noted before, most, if not all, businesses surveyed were small by the U.S. standard. Working and living in the cultural, economic, and political environment of the Communist Chinese society, private business owners developed and formed their unique personal values, beliefs on business operations and life in general. There were 32 items pertaining to their personal values and beliefs in the interview schedule. They were lengthy and detailed.

Data in Table 1 show that most business owners were family-oriented, believing that to do good business, one needed to have a happy family. Most business owners were firm believers in the work ethics. Like entrepreneurs in other societies, they didn't believe in luck; instead, they believed in hard work. Although they conceded that hard work might not guarantee success, they held that hard work would improve a person's chance of success. They strongly emphasized the importance of clearly defined goals. Like Western entrepreneurs, they admired and endorsed self-made millionaires more than those born millionaires. In terms of their views on business ethics, most business owners in the survey condemned making profits by any means whatever, including illegal means. The majority of them held that honesty was the best business policy and that one could succeed without cheating, engaging in trickery, or using personal connections. Interestingly, even in this early stage of the development of market economy in China, more than half of the private business owners indicated that if they earned a profit, they would give a portion of their profit back to society for educational and public causes. In terms of business management, similar to their counterparts in other countries, an overwhelming majority of Chinese business owners in the survey believed that long-term planning, clear business philosophy, self-improvement, humanitarian management, technological advancement, quality control, accounting and financial system, delegation of responsibility, esprit de corp, and tough decision making were important ingredients of business successes. Although more than half of the business owners hired family members or relatives, nearly all of them indicated that the hiring should be based on deed, not on favoritism.

In the area of personal character and beliefs, Chinese entrepreneurs were found to be generally different from their counterparts in capitalist societies. Chinese business owners devalued the monetary motivation and risk-taking for running a successful business. An overwhelming majority of them disregarded personal religious beliefs as an important ingredient of entrepreneurship. A majority of them also disregarded Confucianism for achieving entrepreneurship. Apparently this finding is inconsistent with Weber's Theory of Protestantism which holds that the Protestant ethic had a partial influence on the development of the western capitalist economy (Weber 1964). It also contradicts with the theories of modern economic development in Asia. Several scholars attributed the phenomenal growth of East Asian economy to Confucianism and its ethical components (Metzgar 1977; Hefheinz and Calder 1982; King 1984; Hau 1984; Ma 1987;

Table 1 - The Extent of Agreement and Disagreement Shown by Respondents on Each Item of Personal Values and Beliefs

	VOA*	OA	VMA	MA	MD	OMD
1. "To be successful, one must have clearly defined goals."		x				
2. "To have business, one must have a happy family."			x			
3. "Having done one's best often brings one personal satisfaction."			x			
4. "Self-made millionaires often have a stronger moral sense than born millionaires."			x			
5. "Most people cannot succeed becuase they are lazy."				x		
6. "Hard work does not guarantee success."			x			
7. "Anyone who is willing to work hard will have a good chance to suceed."				x		
8. "To be successful, one must have a strong character, persistence, and forwardness."		x				
9. "Only those who love money can run business."						x
10. "Only those who take chances can run business."					x	
11. "One should make a profit by all means."						x
12. "In today's business world, one can still succeed without cheating or playing trickery."			x			
13. "In today's business world, one can still succeed without using personal connections."					x	
14. "One's fortune is often made by luck."					x	
15. "Honesty is the best business policy."			x			
16. "Private businesses should give back some of their profits to society by donating scholarships or public assistance funds."				x		
17. "To do well in business, one must operate gradually with a long-term plan."	x					
18. "An entrepreneur should have a business philosophy"		x				
19. "Harmony is the key to profit-making."		x				
20. "An entrepreneur should keep on reading, absorb new knowledge and improve himself or herself."	x					
21. "An entrepreneur should hire employees by deed, not by favoritism."	x					
22. "An entrepreneur should stress humanitarian management, caring about his employee's welfare."	x					
23. "An entrepreneur should constantly adopt new technology, emphasizing technological advancement."		x				
24. "An entrepreneur should stress quality control."	x					
25. "An entrepreneur should know how to delegate and let employees take their own responsibilities."			x			
26. "An entrepreneur should stress an accounting system and financial planning."	x					
27. "An entrepreneur should care about customers' needs and give the top priority to customer service."	x					
28. "An entrepreneur should stress the development of an espirit de corps among employees."	x					
29. "An entrepreneur should have courage, determination in making his decisions."		x				
30. "An entrepreneur should have a religious belief."						x
31. "An entrepreneur should follow Confucian ethics and live a Confucian way of life."					x	
32. "A man should maintain his thrifty habits even when he has become rich."		x				

***VOA** - Very Overwhemlingly Agree (95% or more either strongly agree or agree); **OA** - Overwhelmingly Agree (85-94% either strongly agree or agree); **VMA** - Very Majority Agree (70-84% either strongly agree or agree); **MA** - Majority Agree (50-69% either strongly agree or agree); **MD** - Majority Disagree - (more than 50% strongly disagree, disagree, or no opinion); **OMD** - Overwhelmingly Majority Disagree - (more than 80% strongly disagree, disagree, or no opinion)

Table 2 - Sociodemographic Correlates of Personal Beliefs and Values

Item Number and Item	Significant Variables	F value
1. To be successful, one must have clearly defined goals.	Father's education	2.62*
	Mother's education	4.81**
2. To have business success, one must have a happy family.	Marital status	8.75**
3. Having done one's best often bring one personal satisfaction.	Father Communist	7.87**
	Mother Communist	8.37**
17. To do well in business, one must operate gradually with a long-term plan.	Element 79	2.87*
23. An entrepreneur should stress technological advancement.	Mother's education	4.73**
25. An entrepreneur should stress delegation of power and responsibility.	Forced farm	11.21**
27. An entrepreneur should care about customer's needs and gives the highest priority to customer service.	Element 79	2.60*
32. A man should maintain his thrifty habits even when he has become rich.	Marital status	9.80**
	Father's education	3.49**
	Served G.I.	9.17**

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

Chen 1987). Despite the theory may be true at the societal level, it seems not true at the personal level. The Chinese business owners saw no relationship between the religious beliefs, including Confucianism, and entrepreneurial growth. However, they did believe that strong character, persistence, and forwardness were necessary personal qualities. The Chinese business owners in the survey emphasized the thrift, even should he or she became rich. Frugality and simplicity in life has always been a virtue. Most business owners who started out from scratch and learned the value of thrift, thus considered it important to business success.

3. Sociodemographic Correlates of Personal Values and Beliefs

What are the social and demographic characteristics that are related to business owners' values and beliefs? One-way ANOVA was computed for each of those value and belief items which received 70 percent or higher endorsement from business owners, by each sociodemographic variable. Table 2 summarizes and shows those significant relationship patterns.

Of the 22 value and belief items examined, only eight were found to have significant sociodemographic correlates. As shown in Table 2, the first value item "To be successful, one must have clearly defined goals" was found to be related to the education of both father and mother. Owners whose fathers had junior high school education supported the statement the strongest (mean= 1.55); whereas those whose fathers had junior college or vocational college education supported the statement the weakest (mean =2.18). The same pattern held for mothers.

The second value item "To have business success, one must have a happy family" was found to be associated with marital status only. Married owners showed support of this statement more strongly than unmarried owners.

The third value item "Having done one's best often brings one personal satisfaction" was related to whether father and mother were Communist party members. Owners whose fathers were Communist Party members embraced this statement more strongly than those whose fathers were not Communist Party members. The same was true for mothers. Parental party membership evidently contributed to this value item.

The fourth item "To do well in business, one must operate gradually with a long-term plan" was found to be related to the political classification of the family before 1980. Owners whose families were classified as landlords, capitalists, and rich farmers showed the strongest support of this statement, whereas those whose families were classified as poor farmers showed the weakest support of this statement. Owners whose families were classified as average farmers, merchants, laborers, intellectuals, and Communist staff members were intermediate supporters. Data suggest that the capi-

talist family background contributed to the value on long-term business plans.

The fifth item "An entrepreneur should stress technological advancement" was related to the education of the mother. Surprisingly, owners whose mothers had vocational or junior college education expressed the strongest support of this statement, followed by those whose mothers had college or post-college education. Owners whose mothers had elementary or less education indicated the least support of the statement. The reason why the mother's, rather than the father's, education had an effect on the support of technological advance is not clear.

The sixth item "An entrepreneur should stress delegation of power and responsibility" was found to be associated with whether the owners were ever sent to do forestry or farming work. Owners who were sent to do forestry or farming work were less likely to believe this statement than those who didn't have such forestry or farming experience. The reason for this pattern may have to do with the nature of forestry and farming work that requires first hand physical labor, hardly involving any delegation of responsibility.

The seventh item "An entrepreneur should care about customers' needs and gives the highest priority to customer service" was related only to the political classification of owners' families before 1980. Owners whose families were classified as intellectuals embraced this statement the strongest, followed by landlords, capitalists and rich farmers. Those whose families were classified as average farmers, merchants, and laborers embraced this statement the least. A white collar, rather than a blue-collar, background appears to favor the priority on customer services.

The eighth item "A man should maintain his thrifty habits even when he has become rich" was related to three variables: marital status, father's education, and military service. In terms of marital status, married owners felt more strongly about this statement than unmarried owners. For fathers' education, owners whose fathers had vocational or junior college education felt the strongest about the statement, followed by those whose fathers had college or more education. Owners whose fathers had junior high school education showed the least agreement with this statement. The reason for this pattern might have to do with the fact that fathers with vocational or junior college education felt more insecure in business and life than fathers of other educational levels and thus stressed the thrift the most in the socialization of their children. In terms of military service, owners who had served in the military agreed less with this statement than those who had not served in the military. The reason for this pattern may have to do with the fact that serving in the military makes people feel more protected and supported, so that thrifty habits are less important in life.

CONCLUSION

After nearly 30 years of hibernation under Mao's rule, private businesses was finally revived in China in the late 1980's. Because of the short history of revival, an overwhelming majority of businesses were small in terms of both the number of employees and company asset values. They were virtually small business owners by Western capitalist standards. They expressed strong support of work and business ethics. They believed in clear business philosophy, long-term business plan and goals, efficient accounting and financial system, humanitarian management, technological advancement, quality control, delegation of power and responsibility, esprit de corp, self-study and self improvement, and making tough decisions when necessary. But because of the economic, legal, social, and cultural context of the Communist political system in China, those emerging entrepreneurs were distinctive in their personal values and beliefs. For example, although the majority of business owners said they believed that honesty was the best policy and that one could succeed without using any illegal means, they conceded that one could hardly succeed without using personal connections. Another example was that more than half of business owners had hired family members or other relatives, but in the meantime they said that hiring should be based on deed, not on personal favoritism. The emerging Chinese entrepreneurs exhibited not only value ambiguities but also a value void. It is not surprising for them to discount religious beliefs for being successful entrepreneurs, as the Chinese people have long been areligious. In fact, in the last four decades under the Communist regime, China has been anti-religion. Furthermore, the Communist Party and its government have also been anti-Con-

fucianism. Contrary to the recent modernization theories that attributed much of the economic success of East Asian Dragons to Confucianism, the new business owners in China believed that Confucianism had nothing to do with business entrepreneurship. The value ambiguities and value void exhibited by the private business owners are perhaps manifestations of the "anomie" in the rapidly changing Chinese society today.

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MIXED BLESSINGS: WOMEN AND BLONDE HAIR

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ABSTRACT

Blonde women constitute a curious and interesting case—in the context of deviance—in that they are to some extent positive deviants, due to the fact that they have been considered as surpassing normative expectations of appearance and have received some positive evaluation and treatment. Yet, they have also been subject to stigmatization, or negative evaluation and treatment. Thus, the reaction has not been consistent. Qualitative research served as the basis for this study; twenty blonde women were interviewed. Firstly, in some respects, blonde women are positive deviants; they have been idealized in Western traditions and thus encounter positive evaluations. The blonde women interviewed for this study were cognizant of this fact and reported that positive attention and positive treatment were common experiences. Nevertheless, blonde women are also recipients of negative evaluations. The blonde women in this sample analyzed the culturally constructed stereotypes that have been applied to them, as follows: innocence, sexy/fun, easy and dumbness/stupidity. They also presented strategies that they had to develop to deal with the last stereotype, which included the following: ignoring the stereotype or joking about it, self-fulfilling the prophecy, overcompensating (including taking on the ice princess role), fighting back, and passing. Also, blonde women felt that their relationships with other women were negatively impacted by their hair color. In essence, blonde women experience mixed evaluations.

Deviance is complex as are reactions to deviance. For example, a new typology of deviance has been developed to integrate and take into account normative and reactivist paradigmatic definitions of deviance (Heckert & Heckert 2002). Negative deviance refers to behaviors or conditions that under conform, or fail to conform, to normative expectations and subsequently receive negative evaluations. Rate-busting indicates behaviors or conditions that over conform to the norms yet produce negative evaluations. Deviance admiration points to behaviors or conditions that do not conform to the norms but elicit positive reactions. Finally, positive deviance denotes behaviors or conditions that both over conform to the norms and are positively appraised. This typology serves to illuminate the complexity, and at times, inconsistent nature of evaluations. Furthermore, due to the contextual nature of deviance, the same behavior (or condition) can produce both positive and negative evaluations. Those contradictory evaluations can occur across time or across cultural or subcultural traditions. Mixed evaluations can also occur contemporaneously regarding the same behavior or condition; thus, that same behavior or condition can simultaneously be placed in more than one category in the aforementioned typology. For example, gifted children are rate-busters to their peers, yet positive deviants to their teachers and parents (Heckert & Heckert 2002). Irwin (2003) has noted that elite tattoo collectors are simultaneously defined as both positive and negative deviants, depending on the audience. I attempt to expand on this point of the complexity of evaluations by analyzing a group that is simultaneously treated as a case of positive deviance, yet still subjected to stigmatization. I conducted a qualitative study in which 20 blonde women were interviewed. The subjective experience of blonde women is portrayed. Blonde women are positive deviants, in that they are positively evaluated for exceeding normative appearance expectations; nevertheless, they are also negatively evaluated and treated as well.

Seemingly an inconsequential variable, hair is part of the connection between appearance and self (Stone 1962). According to Synott (1987:404), "Hair is hair is hair? Not exactly. It is also a powerful symbol of the self." So powerful is that symbol that hair can have political, cultural, and religious connotations (Synott 1987; Banks 2000). Blondes have often been considered the dominant image of idealized beauty in European traditions; nevertheless, natural brunettes constitute the vast numerical majority of Americans. Consequently, fewer socially constructed stereotypes exist about brunettes (Cooper 1971). Natural blondes and natural redheads, on the other hand, compose a small percentage of all Americans. Sixteen percent of American females are born naturally blonde (Loftus 2000) with only five percent remaining naturally blonde as adults (Synott 1987). Another two to three percent of the population is born redheaded (Meyerowitz 1991). For blondes and redheads, stereo-

types abound and differential treatment ensues (Heckert & Best 1997). In a sense, the transparency phenomenon—which suggests that whites are advantaged and privileged in the structural/cultural context of this society and do not have to even consider themselves in terms of race or think about the consequences of race or construct a racial identity—is, perhaps, applicable (Griscom 1992; Flagg 1993; McIntyre 1997). Hair is obviously and emphatically extraordinarily less consequential than race. The analogy is that brunettes are not as likely to have to experience stereotypes about hair color—as opposed to other aspects of hair—and thus are perhaps less cognizant about how it shapes their treatment and sense of self as culture has not created a complex stereotypical construction about their hair color. Blondes and redheads, on the other hand, do have to consider hair color as a variable that significantly impacts their lived reality and consequently becomes a vital part of self-identity. In essence, hair is more complex than could be presumed from a cursory glance. Blonde hair—especially on women—presents a curious case. Blonde women have been simultaneously adulated and marginalized in Western traditions. As such, the case of blonde women highlights the aforementioned contention.

METHODOLOGY

Qualitative methodology served as the basis for this study. Twenty blonde women were interviewed. Nonprobability sampling was utilized—both convenience sampling (Nachmias & Nachmias 1996) and snowball sampling (Babbie 1995). A major limitation of nonprobability sampling is that generalizations cannot be made about the population under examination (Babbie 1995). Nevertheless, nonprobability sampling is often used when populations cannot be delineated (Miller 1986; Schneider & Conrad 1993; Weitz 1993). The author conducted the face-to-face interviews, which were structured; open-ended questions served as the basis for the interview schedule (Nachmias & Nachmias 1996). The same questions were asked to redheads, blondes, and brunettes as part of a larger study and involved the following areas: experience of the hair as a child, adolescent and adult; perceived stereotypes of society; positive aspects of the hair color; negative aspects of the hair color; perceived understandings of the cultural definition of the attractiveness of the hair; perceived reactions of men to the hair; perceived reactions of women to the hair; perceived positive and negative consequences of the hair; perceived commonality with other women with the hair color; and overall reaction to the hair. All in all, the questions were developed to focus on the subjective understanding of hair color and how it impacts life experiences. While further quantitative research on this topic would be important in providing empirical refutation or support of this research, qualitative research of this type is quite common—for creating the sociological patterns or categories—within the substantive area of deviance (Nack 2003; Miller 2003; Degher & Hughes 2003; Sandstrom 2003). A descriptive and exploratory explanation of the experience of blonde women is the intent of this study.

The sample was limited to blonde women. In the case of blondes, societal/cultural stereotypes seem to proliferate about blonde women to a far greater extent than about blonde men. This situation is different from the case of redheads, where stereotypes proliferate fairly equally among men (wimps, hotheads, clowns) and women (seductresses, hotheads, clowns) (Heckert & Best 1997). As such, the focus of this study is on women and their experience of being blondes; nevertheless, a study of blonde men would further refine the understanding of hair color. The other major restriction in this study was that the respondents had to be natural blondes in order to provide a basis for examining the entire life experience—including the pivotal youthful socialization experience—of blondes. Clearly, a study of women who have dyed their hair would create another interesting study. While utilizing cues such as eyebrow color and roots, I did find myself in the awkward situation of asking a natural brunette—with an excellent hairdresser—if she were a natural blonde. Nevertheless, all the blondes interviewed in this study were natural blondes through adulthood (although some had dyed their hair even lighter shades of blonde or other colors at various points in their life). While perhaps it would have been useful in further delineating the experiences of blonde women and whether or not light blondes have different experiences than dark blondes, the shade of blonde was not noted at the time of the collection of the data. The

researcher purposefully chose to include women from various age groups to ascertain if blondeness was differentially experienced across the life course. The age range of this study was from 12 to 66; the only way that age appeared to impact the experiences of the sample was that blonde youth were more likely to emphasize the social advantages; blonde adults were especially prone to analyze the drawbacks of being accepted as competent and professional women. Eight of the respondents lived in the South; twelve resided in the Northeast. The women were either in professional or white-collar positions (if adults), in college, or in junior high or high school (with the intention of attending college). Consequently, they may have emphasized the drawbacks of the negative aspersions regarding intelligence. A sample of women in occupations where appearance is more emphasized would further enhance the understanding of blonde women. All in all, the sample was limited on several criteria but varied on others.

BLONDE WOMEN AS POSITIVE DEVIANTS

Positive Deviance

Previously, positive deviance has been defined from various points of view. For example, several theorists—even if not employing the term—have suggested that positive deviance occurs when norms are exceeded (Sorokin 1950; Wilkins 1965; Winslow 1970) and thus posit a norm-violation definition of positive deviance. Other theorists have also proffered a definition of positive deviance from a labeling perspective (Freedman & Doob 1968; Hawkins & Tiedeman 1975; Scarpitti & McFarlane 1975; Steffensmeier & Terry 1975; Norland, Hepburn & Monette 1976). From this point of view, positive deviance suggests those behaviors that are positively labeled. According to Norland et al.,

> We prefer to theoretically conceptualize the moral dimensions of human behavior as a continuum including both negatively evaluated behaviors and attributes as well as positively evaluated behaviors or attributes. (1976:84)

Further, various theorists have advanced other, more specific, definitions of positive deviance that adhere to neither the normative nor reactivist perspective (Buffalo & Rodgers 1971; Palmer & Humphrey 1990; Ewald & Jiobu 1985). Heckert and Heckert (2002) subsumed normative and reactivist theoretical perspectives and defined positive deviance as those behaviors and conditions that over conform to the norms and also receive positive evaluations. Blondes are positive deviants in that they surpass cultural norms of attractiveness and are treated positively; nevertheless, they are also negatively evaluated.

Appearance and Positive Deviance

Based on examples, cited within the existing literature on positive deviance, Heckert (1998) created the following typology of positive deviance: altruism, charisma, innovation, supra-conformity, innate characteristics, and ex-deviants. Innate characteristics are a type of positive deviance and according to Heckert,

> The use of the terminology, innate characteristics, is actually not the best choice to describe this type of positive deviance. These traits (e.g., beauty, intelligence, talent), are innate to a certain, as to yet, unspecifiable extent, and to a certain, as to yet, unspecifiable extent, are modified by environmental conditions. (1998:27)

The physically attractive are treated as positive deviants in that physical appearance is an innate characteristic that is differentially treated and acted upon. Byrne argued:

> It would seem safe to propose that in our society, physical attractiveness is a positively valued attribute. That is, both males and females would prefer to be attractive rather than unattractive, to have attractive friends, to marry an attractive spouse, and to produce attractive offspring. Such concerns seem both arbitrary and petty in the abstract...Clearly the proposition that members of our culture attach meaning to physical attractiveness is supported. (1971:127, 131)

The appreciation of appearance obviously can be quite idiosyncratic; nevertheless, cultures create idealized versions and features that lead to the attribution (at a societal and interpersonal level) of attractiveness. While these icons vary through time and are differentially perceived in various cultures and subcultures, Berscheid and Walster maintained,

> It appears, however, that culture transmits effectively, and fairly uniformly, criteria for labeling others as physically 'attractive' and 'unattractive.' (1964:181)

Appearance is a powerful variable in that those culturally construed as attractive by dominant constructs are provided opportunities and advantages across the spectrum of life experiences (Byrne 1971; Dion 1972; Landy & Sigall 1974; Krebs & Adinolfi 1975; Reis, Wheeler & Nezlik 1980; Reis, Wheeler, Spiegel, Kerns, Nezlik & Perry 1982; Zebrowitz, Collins & Dutta 1998; Bull & Rumsey 1988). Empirical evidence suggests that the attractive are positively labeled and evaluated.

Attractive women have been variously advanced as a form of positive deviance (Lemert 1951; Hawkins & Tiedeman 1975) as have been beauty pageant winners (Scarpitti & McFarlane 1975). Additionally, King and Clayson (1988) refer to the attractive as "nontraditional deviants." While they do include attractive males, perhaps reflecting shifting gender roles, the other examples were only of attractive females. Women have been more likely to be evaluated on their appearance than men (Schur 1983; Mazur 1986).

Blonde Women as Positive Deviants

Blonde women are positive deviants in that they over conform to appearance norms of European traditions and have been positively evaluated. Beginning with an assumption of relativity, Western societies and Western cultures have viewed blondes as over conforming to appearance norms and positively evaluated them. This elevation of blondes has persisted across time, through various centuries. The reason that blond hair is defined as attractive in Western cultures is not clear and some of the blonde women interviewed did not view it as necessarily good. One respondent commented

> ...I'm Jewish...When I see blonde guys, I get a Nazi image, a shaven head, Aryan Nazi image, so get hair.

Furthermore, one respondent noted the discriminatory nature of this image when she plainly stated,

> It's Eurocentric or Anglocentric. Blonde hair means you're more likely to be European or WASP, just racism.

Still, this paradigm has lasted over time within Western traditions.

In fact, substantial evidence does suggest that all things being equal, blondes have traditionally been granted a cultural advantage in relation to definitions of appearance. While various criteria are utilized to culturally establish notions of attractiveness, hair has been an important component of the conception of attractiveness (Cooper 1971; Synnott 1987; Alexander & Schouten 1989; Cahill 1989). Additionally, while hair can be assessed on various factors (e.g., texture, length, style and sheen), hair color has been one of the primary features on which hair has been judged. In reference to hair color, blonde hair has been a standard of beauty in Western culture. According to Rich and Cash,

> In Western, Caucasian society, there seems to be a popular image of beautiful women as having a fair complexion, light eye color, and light hair color in contrast to an ideal image of men as having darker features. (1993:115)

Further Lawson (1971:312) noted, "Some have the blonde (female) as the cultural ideal of the beautiful, pure woman." According to Cooper,

> Fair hair has constantly held its place in the European ideal of feminine beauty. For long periods, the woman with blonde hair has been the object of European male's desire. (1971:75)

In Western literary tradition, Goethe mythologized the powers of blonde hair as follows,

> Beware of her fair hair for she excels
> All the women in the magic of her locks;
> And when she winds them round a young man's neck
> She will not ever let them free again.
> (as quoted in Cooper 1971:76)

While some evidence suggests that, in a more contemporary sense, gentlemen (i.e., New York college students) prefer brunettes (Lawson 1971) and other evidence suggests that blonde hair (in the form of a wig) does not create a situation of eliciting more help from a stranger (Juni & Roth 1985), most

evidence maintains that blondes have been the recipients of a culturally constructed notion of beauty. Synott (1987) observed that empirical evidence substantiates a continued pattern in this direction in that men are two to three times more likely to admire blonde hair than any other hair color and furthermore, when asked to describe blonde women refer to them as "beautiful, rich, and extremely feminine." Ironically, blonde hair does not benefit males, as women are two times more likely to prefer dark hair on men. Feinman and Gill (1978) concluded that generally, culture still shapes a male preference for fair females and a female preference for dark males. In conjunction with this cultural preference for blondes, blonde women disproportionately dominate in the various entertainment industries, serving as symbolic representations of beauty. Consequently, when women color their hair, blonde is the color most often chosen. In a nutshell, as Synott (1987:388) posited, "Blonde perhaps is seen as an essentially female colour, like pink; with dark hair as primarily a male colour." According to Clayson and Maughan (1986:815), blonde women are viewed as "beautiful, pleasant, pleasing, and extremely feminine" and Clayson and Klassen (1989: 199) contended, "blondes are generally perceived as more attractive." Rich and Cash (1993) reviewed the hair color of cover models—in two magazines targeted to women (*Ladies Home Journal* and *Vogue*) and one magazine targeted to men (Playboy)—from the 1950's through the 1990's. They concluded that blondes are significantly over represented in all three magazines, but most over represented in the magazine designed to appeal to men. In a survey of college students, Jacobi and Cash (1992) found that 22 percent of their particular sample were naturally blonde, 39 percent wished that they were blonde and 84 percent felt that men preferred blondes (actually more males reported a preference for the more numerically common brunettes); in many respects, blonde becomes an iconic or idealized image in society and it is held up as a standard of beauty. Impressionistically, it would appear that culture has become more inclusive and less hegemonic in creating imagery of female beauty—at least as represented by the iconic image of the model—in terms of certain criteria, such as ethnicity, than on others, such as body type or facial disfigurement. Nevertheless, some evidence still suggests a cultural image that favors blondes. An analysis of 907 full page advertisements featuring a single woman—of four issues (March, June, September and December) in 2002 of the top ten leading women's magazines—still continued to show that blonde women were over represented in terms of their percentage of the population. Of those ads, 33.1 percent featured a blonde woman (as opposed to 5 percent of the U.S. adult population); furthermore, blondes were the most likely to be portrayed as glamorous (i.e., the ad featured some aspect of the woman's appearance as critical in selling the product). In these ads, women were portrayed as glamorous in the following descending order: blonde (86.3%), brunette (77.4%), redhead (69.7%) and gray (33.3%) (Heckert, Heckert & Heckert 2003). Old adage suggests that the more things change, the more they stay the same. For example, Armentor (2003) notes that in the context of virtual romance, appearance remains a critical variable. The medium has changed but cultural emphasis on appearance has not. The same would seemingly be true about blondes. Clearly, the media and society have moved toward fairer and greater inclusiveness of various looks; yet, current evidence would tend to suggest that while it can vary by decade (Rich & Cash 1993), blondes still have not fallen into disfavor as an image. As Rich and Cash note,

> This image delivers a message to society that blonde is a prominent ideal of feminine beauty. This message may have contributed to our cultural preoccupation with blondeness. (1993:120)

All in all, cultures create images of beauty. As with other unfairly constructed norms of attractiveness, such as a preference for a thin body type over an obese body type (Cahnman 1968; DeJong 1980; Crandall & Biernat 1990), blonde hair has been viewed as over conforming to appearance norms. In certain ways, blondes have also been positively evaluated.

The women interviewed were quite cognizant and acutely aware—even if their responses might sound self-serving—that blondes are the recipients of a cultural advantage in relationship to their hair color. They virtually all mentioned that a cultural image associated with blondeness is that blondes

are attractive or sexy. Overwhelmingly, the respondents expressed their belief that being a blonde was more advantageous than being a brunette or a redhead. Some women stated this opinion overtly; other women expressed it in a subtler manner. A 20-year-old female simply stated,

> The blonde is the ideal woman in our society.

As a 12-year-old noted, the portrayal of blondes in the media is

> ...sort of like, more like, sexy, because they are pretty.

Another young woman noted,

> Just generally, blondes are defined as more attractive.

Another respondent hypothesized,

> People always think of blondes as more beautiful, more sexy, Barbie doll look. Big breasts, blonde hair, thin, dominate our society.

One woman explained the phenomenon, accounting for individual differences in attractiveness, as follows,

> If you had three women all with the same facial features, just change the hair color, and ask people which is most attractive; people would be drawn to the blonde. If you notice, watching Miss America, even my nephew at age ten picks the winner, always the blonde. At a very young age, kids are taught that blondes are preferable.

Another typical response was that of a woman who stated,

> Oh, the first instinct is a blonde is defined as more attractive.

Another commented,

> They're more attractive; the blonde bombshell.

Another stated,

> Just generally, blondes are defined as more attractive.

A few did preface their comments by suggesting that the imagery of blondes was a cultural construction that included other features in its idealized version; thus, some respondents felt that this ideal image excluded them and made it difficult for them as they were blonde but not quite the whole culturally created package of a blonde. Other attributes variously mentioned in this hypothesized ideal image were figure, hair length, and eye color. As a 20-year-old related,

> I've always had short hair. I never thought of myself as one of those beautiful women; even though recognizing blonde is the look.

Another respondent said the ideal image is a tall, blue-eyed blonde and regarding blonde women,

> I would say it's only sexy if the woman who has it fits the stereotype, five-feet, seven-inches, thin, not just any woman.

She noted, however, that all other attributes being equal, blonde was still more sexy than any other hair color and in her opinion, blondes were vastly over represented in appearance-based occupations, such as modeling. Another respondent suggested,

> It's the physical characteristics, big bust, small waist. I think it has to do with body shape, but blonde adds to it.

Another woman stated,

> I had an image to live up to [as a blonde], I wanted to be there, but was not.

Another stated that compared to the blonde standard, she defined herself as "athletic, stumpy" and never felt completely like a blonde.

POSITIVE EVALUATIONS OF BLONDE WOMEN

As positive deviants, positive consequences emerge for blonde women. Labeling theory provides a lens from which to observe those consequences. A significant element of labeling theory is the contention that the labeling of individuals critically impacts the lives of those labeled. In the case

of deviants, the direction of this impact has usually been described as negative; Tannenbaum (1980) analyzed the dramatization of evil, Schur (1971) suggested role engulfment, Lemert (1972) observed the transformation from primary to secondary deviance, and Erikson (1964) proposed that the labeling can produce a self-fulfilling prophecy. In the case of positive deviants, the labeling will be positive and it can be assumed then that the role engulfment will be in a positive direction. While it might seem self-centered, the blonde women interviewed seemed cognizant of the positive spin placed on their hair.

Positive Attention

Overwhelmingly, as previously mentioned, the respondents felt that being a blonde provided them with privilege. Various women also related that on a more personal level they had experienced the advantage that accompanies that status. As one blonde noted regarding the benefits of blonde hair,

> The advantage is attractiveness and what advantages attractiveness leads to.

As one woman explained,

> I can't remember not knowing I would be considered more attractive because of blonde hair.

As another related,

> If a brunette is standing next to me, I would get more attention.

One woman described her understanding of blonde hair as follows:

> I like it. Maybe just because I was born with it...It's kind of light. It's the color of gold—a commodity that people value. In terms of your complexion, it brightens it up. I once read a magazine article; there are certain features in any culture that are valued in a woman, like big eyes. It tends to be those physical features associated with children like wide eyes...True blondes are children. You can preserve the quality of the innocence of youth.

A 21-year-old respondent noted,

> It stands out; catches men's eyes. I think blondes and redheads might be assumed to be more sexy. It's the first thing somebody will notice.

Clearly, from the viewpoint of women in this sample, blonde hair is an advantage in relation to cultural notions of attractiveness and interpersonal experiences of attractiveness.

The women interviewed also hypothesized that positive attention was a constant throughout the life course. For most, the attention was bestowed upon them from an early point in their lives and was consistently positive. The interviewed women noted that while other children did not make comments —either positive or negative—about their hair, adults lavished them with praise. As one young woman explained about her childhood,

> They usually react to your hair, you're so beautiful, so cute, little princess. You get told, 'You're very pretty.'

Another commented,

> I had almost white hair, very unusual. Everybody thought it was beautiful. A lot of comments; just how cute you were and how pretty your hair was.

A 62-year-old woman revealed that adults would react positively,

> They'd say, 'You're beautiful.' I had long blonde ringlets. I looked like Shirley Temple with blonde hair. Adults always commented; all positive.

Another woman related an instance of what she felt was a consistent pattern of positive reinforcement,

> They [adults] liked it. I remember one time I was on the bus with my mother...I can remember the people in the back pointing and saying wasn't her hair pretty. I never saw hair that color. It's beautiful. It probably spoiled me. I got a lot of attention...When I was growing up, it was the color; nobody ever said anything negative, it was always positive attention. People talk to little kids more because they're blonde; I don't know, is that possible?"

One young woman noted about adult reaction,

> They definitely liked it or were attracted to it, because it was so light it catches your eye.

Another respondent noted, that as a child, friends, parents, and teachers, would say,

> You're beautiful—blonde hair; it still happens.

A 24-year-old commented,

> Mom said when I was little everyone loved it, wanted to touch it, platinum blonde hair. She wanted to put me in a hair show; she was so scared somebody would want to take me.

An adolescent respondent described the attention,

> It makes you feel special that they recognize you. When I was younger, it caused a positive self-esteem.

An adolescent blonde remembered a story from her childhood featuring a brunette, *Sarah, Plain and Tall* (Maclachlan 1985) and commented,

> They [brunettes] don't stand out as much as little blondes and red-haired kids. They [blondes and redheads] get more comments. It's a different color, not brunette.

She often received compliments referring to her pretty hair. Another stated,

> Culturally, it is considered positive. I received constant positive comments—what beautiful hair, the color of wheat, the color of sun shining in something, spun gold.

All in all, blondes felt that their blondeness elicited much positive attention as children.

The attention, which started in childhood, continued through the life course, even if it was not always desired. As an example, one woman, who described herself as shy, related an adolescent desire to darken her hair as a way to lessen some of the attention directed at her,

> When I was a teenager, I wanted dark highlights; I still wanted it blonde. I felt that it was so light, so blonde, it stood out. If I dyed it, it wouldn't have caught people's eyes. People wouldn't be attracted as quick. People wouldn't have treated me differently. I was a very shy person; the fact that people were caught by it, I didn't like it. No, I didn't.

Additionally, another woman stated,

> I think maybe I get more attention. If a brunette is standing next to me, I would get more attention and it's more noticeable—not a lot of blondes. I get more attention because of my blonde hair than a brunette.

One woman noted that she received more compliments on hair than anything else. She also noticed then when she is out with a group of friends, she is always the first one noticed in the group. An adolescent respondent suggested,

> Blondes naturally get more attention (good or bad); it's different. People say look at the blonde; no one says look at the brunette.

Another respondent commented,

> It boosted my self-confidence, it's the sense of a self-fulfilling prophecy—you think how others perceive you is how you are—exterior things. On the interior I wanted to work on [myself]. I have changed over the years. It made me scared of getting older, losing my hair color, my complexion, looking like everyone else or no one special.

Blonde women, numerically less common in society than brunettes, noted a sustained pattern of attention.

Positive Treatment

Most of the women felt that considerable opportunities materialized in their lives due to hair color. Many felt that being blonde expanded their dating opportunities. One young woman attributed her dating popularity in high school to her hair color. She explained,

> Because you get more attention, you have more experiences, more chances to do things. You get asked on more dates.

A young adult offered,

> A lot of men I date are attracted to blondes, they just like the color, they just like the hair.

> One of my boyfriends stated, 'If you didn't have blonde hair, I wouldn't have wanted to date you.'

Another respondent suggested,

> I've had a lot of guys always say I like to date blondes, I don't really know why.

Another blonde stated,

> My boyfriend said the first thing he noticed is the hair.

One respondent—acknowledging that it is all in good humor—stated,

> My husband says he was looking for a blue-eyed blonde who could sing and settled for one of the three because I can't sing and I don't have blue eyes.

Various blonde women did feel that their hair was advantageous in securing—at least at the initial stage—male interest.

While most felt that "dumb blonde" syndrome was a serious burden in educational and work settings, ironically, at the same time, many felt that blondeness did positively shape employment opportunities, especially in occupations where appearance is an advantage. As an example, one woman hypothesized that as a waitress her tips were substantially better as a blonde than when she had dyed her hair brunette. Another woman explained her view that blondes had certain opportunities afforded to them, as follows:

> I think it might depend on the occupation. In certain occupations, it is a distinct advantage. Any occupation where there is a certain kind of glitter—a high profile job in an upscale firm will have a blonde secretary—it is the image they are trying to project. If they're trying to project an image, they want a blonde. In terms of actresses, the fashion industry, public relations firms, or any job where the first person a client meets is the secretary, blondes are preferred. Being a blonde is a distinct advantage in getting the job, especially if it is a glitzy job.

Blonde women felt that opportunities in life surface solely based on their hair color.

Overall Perceptions and Self-Esteem of Blonde Women

Krebs and Adinolfi analyzed the relationship between physical appearance and self as follows:

> The causal sequence that seems most plausible is as follows; early in life physical attractiveness affects social realities, which in turn affects the development of personality. The physically attractive are admired and pursued. Because they are pursued, they develop a high level of self-esteem, which mediates the development of personality dispositions oriented toward ambition and success. (1975:252)

All in all, considering the advantages as well as the disadvantages, most blondes were content to be blonde, conceptualizing that it contributed to their sense of self. Cooley (1902) theorized that humans garner a sense of self based on their imagination of their appearance to others, their imagination of the judgment of others, and the feelings of self that subsequently arise. As many had received consistent positive attention and positive treatment from childhood through adulthood, many women maintained that blonde hair had contributed to their self-esteem, even if their self-esteem was not as high as it could have been due to the negative stereotypes of blonde women. Perhaps, that positive self-esteem mediated their ability to deal with the negativity. As one young woman said about the attention,

> It was mostly positive; you're so beautiful. I had more confidence in my looks. You're so pretty. I wish I had your hair.

A blonde commented that her blondeness,

> Makes me individual. I kind of stick out. I always thought of being individual as part of being special. I've always been a blonde and it's part of my identity. If I wasn't a blonde, it would be boring. I couldn't look at myself the same way. I might even act differently.

As another woman stated,

> Starting as an adolescent, it was positive in feeling attractive.

One woman added,

> Blonde, I like it. Maybe just because I was born with it. I like it. It's kind of light; there is a luster or radiance, the sunny quality, the lightening effect; the aura around your face.

Additionally, for many, their sense of self was correlated with being blonde and consequently, they were content with their hair color. As one woman noted,

> I wouldn't feel like me if I dyed my hair brunette. I wouldn't feel my same vivacious self as a brunette that I do as a blonde.

She also added,

> I'm happy with it. I like it. I like the attention, plus I think there are fewer blondes than brunettes—you're a smaller category, especially as adults. That is part of the attention. I like the attention. Who doesn't? It builds up your ego.

Another suggested,

> I like the way people react to my hair and the way blondes are defined as attractive.

One young woman responded,

> Blonde—that's what I am. Probably just because you know it's the beauty of society. You get the attention; it's a kind of challenge to make people see who you are. It's the challenge.

Finally, another stated simply and succinctly,

> It's what God gave me.

All in all, the blonde women were content with their hair and usually developed a positive self-esteem in relation to their hair.

Blonde women are positive deviants. Blonde hair, on women, has culturally been defined as attractive and thus surpasses normative expectations in society. Also, blonde women are positively evaluated in that they receive positive attention and treatment because of their hair. Consequently, the women interviewed felt that blonde hair had contributed to positive self-esteem.

STIGMATIZATION OF BLONDE WOMEN

Negative Reactions to Non-Conforming Attributes or Behaviors

Positive deviants are not always uniformly treated in a positive manner; at times, they are stigmatized. As an example, Heckert & Heckert (2002) have suggested that rate-busting refers to over conformity that is negatively evaluated. An example would be a gifted child labeled as a nerd by peers. The process of stigmatization has previously been conceptualized in relation to differential evaluations over time; in other words, those presently deemed positive deviants have often been stigmatized and negatively evaluated in their own historical moment. As Heckert noted in relation to the relativity of positive deviance,

> An action or behavior that is so defined in one era, society, or group, is often defined as a normative behavior (i.e., in a neutral manner) or even as negative deviance by another era, society, or group. (1989:136)

Thus, the French Impressionists were treated abysmally in their time and only later elevated to their current status. Geniuses were once defined as mad (Becker 1978). Merton (1968) hypothesized that rebels, revolutionaries, and nonconformists—maladapted to their times—often become the heroic figures of subsequent generations. Their heroism is rooted in their sagacious deviation. Coser (1967) suggested the same about innovators. Thus, deviance is clearly contextualized.

Furthermore, the application of positive and negative evaluations can often occur contemporaneously (Irwin 2003). Thus, over conformity is often subjected to stigmatization. Posner (1976:141) characterized excellence as a "mixed blessing" in that it is admired and stigmatized, at the same time. Wilkins also proposed the similarity between positive and negative deviants, in that positive deviants are often treated as if they were negative deviants,

> All societies tend to reject deviants. Both saints and criminals have been excluded from the cultures into which they were born, and the majority of saints have suffered exactly similar fates to deviant sinners. (1965:171)

Scarpitti and McFarlane (1975) explained that beauty pageant winners are often treated with

both awe and jealousy. Freedman and Doob (1968) noted that highly intelligent people are often subjected to positive and negative evaluations; the appellations of "geek" and "nerd" attest to this treatment. Huryn (1986) found that gifted students were negatively evaluated by their peers with such stereotypes as unattractive and antisocial. Nevertheless, at the same time, their parents and teachers positively evaluated them. Steffensmeier and Terry (1975) posited the same point about the negative reaction to positive deviants in the case of a highly honored Congressional Medal of Honor winner who returned to the military after an unbearable visit to his hometown. Thus, attributes or behaviors are often simultaneously positively evaluated and negatively evaluated. Irwin (2003) noted that elite tattoo collectors are viewed as negative deviants to some and positive deviants to others. The same is true with blonde women. They have been elevated as emblems of beauty; they have also been subjected to negative evaluations, such as the societal view of their intelligence. A similar case exists with accomplished athletes, especially in relation to some sports, such as football (which can perhaps be partially accounted for by racism, as well), more than others. As athletes they are highly lauded and admired by a great portion of society; they have also been stereotyped (and stigmatized) as stupid.

Blonde Women and Negative Evaluations and Treatment

One method of examining the negative evaluations that transpire is through the reactivist, or labeling, paradigm. According to Schur (1971), stereotyping is one of the major processes by which deviants are labeled. Stereotyping constitutes the most significant feature of labeling and refers to the imputation of a constellation of images to the stereotyped. As in the case of a model minority (Fong 2002), where stereotypes are mixed but still serve to reinforce minority status, blondes too have been subject to mixed stereotypes. Nonetheless, the overall impact of mixed stereotyping is still to highlight the difference of the stereotyped group. These stereotypes constitute the core of negative attributions and thus, partial stigmatization, of blonde women.

Stereotypes of Blonde Women

Blonde women are very aware of the existence of stereotypes in society. Indeed, these stereotypes, created at a cultural level and acted on by individuals, have shaped some of their life experiences. The respondents analyzed various stereotypes. As many of these stereotypes simply had no relation to hair color, blonde haired women confront their hair as a master status (Hughes 1945).

Innocence

The image of blondes as pure or innocent is common. According to Juni and Roth (1985), blondes are over represented in the mythological/ethereal realm (princesses and fairies) and in the religious/spiritual realm (angels and saints). Synott (1987) noted that many blondes lose the intensity of their blondeness in the maturation process and that only an extraordinarily small percentage remains blonde as adults; thus, blonde locks are often associated with young children and the innocence of young children. Cooper (1971) maintained that innocence is a key stereotype of blondes and Ilyin (2000) argued that the innocent blonde is an archetype blonde, rooted in ancient mythology, and represented in the modern era by Princess Diana.

Various respondents also felt that a primary image of blondes is that of the innocent. As one respondent described her understanding of this image,

> When I was little, they called me towhead. I thought they expected me to be good and sweet, that I was supposed to be a good girl. Also, that I was pretty.

A 62-year-old respondent noted about blonde hair,

> It's fresh and young.

An adolescent described what she believed to be the expectations put on her blondeness,

> I always thought that brown hair is sexy and blonde is angelic, the innocent type, good girl...feminine is powerless, blonde is more angelic. Brunettes are taken more seriously.

Another respondent stated

> The girl next door type in World War II was portrayed as a blonde.

Another blonde young woman described her perceptions as follows,

> Most adults think blonde little girls are associated with the perfect little girl, behave and act cute and smile. I received a lot of attention from my distant family. I put on a little show. Every angel, even dolls, are portrayed as blondes.

She felt Shirley Temple provided the quintessential portrayal of this image of blondes. Thus, various respondents felt that innocence is an image constructed by society about blondes.

Sexy/Fun

The imagery of blonde hair is complicated and even somewhat contradictory at times (Cooper 1971; Synott 1987). Thus, while blonde women have been portrayed as innocents, they have simultaneously been imagined to be sexier than other women. Mass media has further enhanced this image in that entertainment sex symbols throughout the twentieth century were vastly and disproportionately blonde (Synott 1987). Synott further notes

> Blonde and dark hair are polarized as socially opposite, fun and power, and they evoke startlingly different aesthetic and stereotypical reactions. (1987:388)

Blonde women in this sample also felt that an image of blonde women is that blondes are sexier and because of that social construction, blondes have more fun. As one respondent explained,

> Blondes have more fun. I think it relates to the fact that blondes are seen as more sexy or attractive; their self-esteem allows them to have more fun, they have a better feeling about themselves.

Another woman suggested,

> I like the way people react to my hair and the way blondes are defined as attractive. I think a lot has to do with the media. Blondes have more fun, Marilyn Monroe, in that era... all the movie stars are blonde. The image of the blonde as a sex goddess seems to hang on.

Another commented,

> I associate blonde with the beach type that likes to play.

Another stated,

> Blondes are more fun, have a good time, don't care about anything; just out to have fun.

One respondent explained

> A myth is that blondes have more fun. It is from that expression blonde bombshell.

Another related,

> That's how a guy describes a nice-looking sexually attractive woman. Blonde is defined as the sexiest. It just seems like that's the norm, that's the way. Men say this.

Another respondent commented that an advertising campaign in the 1960's had utilized the slogan "blondes have more fun" and the idea became commonly accepted in the United States. The respondents universally felt that this was a predominant image of blondes.

Easy

Because the image that blondes have more fun and are sexier is common in society, some blondes felt that society also constructed a stereotype of blondes as easy. As one respondent connected this stereotype with the previous one,

> Blondes are more sexy and this leads to the idea in men's heads, that blondes are more fun in bed.

One woman simply stated that an image of blondes is that of "trashy." A respondent simply stated,

> I think I get more advances for one-night stands than a brunette.

Not liking that type of attention, she added,

> It's always nice for a guy to come and ap-

> proach you...but the end result, I'm so afraid I put off that bad vibe, I want people to approach me, but I don't want them to approach because you know what is going to happen.

Another proffered that the image of blondes is

> Sexy, dumb, little slow in understanding concepts, easy in bed and to get in the sack.

Another noted that the image of a blonde is that of a "sex kitten." A respondent commented:

> Yes, when I met my first husband, it was beatnik culture, where blondes were stereotyped as dumber and more money grubbing and disgusting than most women. Blonde women were treated as sex things. If a beatnik was going to get involved for a long period of time, it would be a brunette, not a blonde. I was treated like a bubble-headed blonde by friends of my first husband. All his friends freaked out, couldn't understand why he was involved with [me] ...[they] said it was the hair color. I dyed my hair medium-deep brown and they treated me differently. They labeled me as stupid, not labeled as sexually loose—everyone was in this culture—blondes were for temporary sexual use, brunettes for long-term sexual use.

Another respondent suggested that an image of the blonde is a woman who is

> Putting out, not a seductress, easy for being too stupid to get themselves out of situations.

She remembered a man offering to escort her to a submarine base at a landlocked university town, which she felt was indicative of and based on this stereotype. Another respondent commented,

> Men have told me, 'If I didn't know you, I would think you're easy because you have blonde hair.'

All in all, many blondes feel that an image constructed of them in society is easy sexual availability; paradoxically, blondes are also assumed to be innocent.

Dumbness/Stupidity

Blonde hair has been severely stigmatized in that the negative stereotype of stupidity has been attached to blonde women. According to Synott,

> Blonde and dark hair are polarized as socially opposite, fun and power...Indeed they are the symbolic equivalent of the gender colours of pink and blue. (1987:388)

Part of this cultural designation of femininity for blonde women has been the connotation of purity (artistically and symbolically presented by an over representation of blonde angels), which is perhaps the basis of the negative aspersions cast on the intelligence of blonde women. Cooper commented,

> The aesthetic quality of fair hair or something shining and pure like a flame, or precious like gold...It is possible to argue that purity implies innocence, innocence may mean ignorance and ignorance denotes stupidity. (1971:76)

The dumb blonde thus emerged and is strongly rooted in modern culture. Various entertainment figures have claimed the role of the dumb blonde (Goldie Hawn, Suzanne Somers, Lisa Kudrow) and popularized the notion in popular culture. Certainly this stereotype looms large as is evidenced by the popularity of dumb blonde jokes. On web sites (Funny Jokes.Com 2002), hundreds of dumb blonde jokes are offered to the public, including the following:

> Why do blondes drive BMWs? It's the only car name they can spell. What do you call a blonde between two brunettes? A mental block. How do you make a blonde's eyes light up? Shine a flashlight in their ear. Why should blondes not be given coffee breaks? It takes too long to retrain them. Why don't blondes eat Jello? They can't figure out how to get two cups of water into those little packages. How do blonde brain cells die? Alone. What do you call a blonde with half a brain? Gifted.

The ubiquitousness and popularity of these jokes attest to the strength of this particular stereotype.

Gendered relations must be considered in that the creation of the stereotype of the

dumb blonde exists in the context of a more neutral conceptualization of the intelligence of blonde men. As Brownmiller (1984:71) concludes, "dumb blonde is practically one word on the lips of some people." In a culture where—according to Synott (1987)—dark hair is viewed as masculine (and powerful) and blonde hair is constructed as feminine (and fun), blonde women thus become even less symbolic of the characteristic of intelligence which was already presumed by sexism—under traditional gender definitions—to be more consistent with masculinity.

The blondes in this sample were quite cognizant of this cultural stereotype. This imagery permeates societal perceptions of blondes; obviously, blondes feel shaped by this stereotype. Blondes confront this image early in life and certainly prior to adulthood. As a 12-year-old explained,

> They think that blondes are dumb, because there are so many brunettes and hardly any redheads, so they pick on blondes. They [brunettes and redheads] are taken more seriously and if they make a dumb mistake, they don't make fun of you, but if you're a blonde, they like to do that.

She stated that many dumb blonde jokes had been directed her way, including the following,

> If a brunette and a blonde jumped off the Empire State Building, who would get there first? The brunette, the blonde would have to stop and ask directions.

Referring specifically to brunettes, she further defined her experiences,

> Well, they don't have to put up with dumb blonde jokes when they make a dumb mistake. It's sort of bothersome. I would like people to make dumb brunette jokes. They like to pick on someone and it is easy [i.e., to single out the blondes].

An adolescent respondent noted that she dealt with the stereotype every day of her life, through various actions and attitudes of her boss, friends, brother, and boyfriend. Other blondes variously expressed their understanding of the imagery of blondes in relation to intelligence. One woman felt that perhaps it was rooted in other assumptions about blondes,

> Flighty...we're all superficial and only care about our looks and we don't have any brains.

Another adolescent related that others would say to her, "You're trying to be all ditzy and you're definitely blonde" or in response to certain situations, "That was a blonde statement." One respondent noted the fact that she was "outgoing, bubbly, and friendly" and was often considered ditzy based solely on her blondeness. She recounted an incident in a barbeque restaurant when she was in a vivacious mood but simply could not decide what to order. At that particular point, her son concluded she was behaving in a "ditzy" manner. She believed that a brunette acting in the same fashion would have been differentially interpreted—and assumptions about intelligence would not have been made—and she observed,

> A brunette would not be considered ditzy—how often do you hear that ditzy brunette—always a ditzy blonde.

One young woman stated,

> I definitely think they're not seen as smart or as having much common sense, ditzy, with their head in the clouds. I don't know who started it. I'd like to have a talk with that person. It was just passed along.

As a 66-year-old woman explained:

> You have the dumb blonde thing. Some people stereotype that all blondes are dumb. Perhaps from Marilyn Monroe, I don't know. I never heard it when I was a kid. They often portray secretaries as dumb blondes, that the bosses pick their secretaries for their looks and they're actually dumb. I don't think it is true in real life, just a portrayal; a myth.

Thus, all of the blondes in this sample had encountered this particular stereotype.

The women interviewed in this sample conceptualized the "dumb blonde" as a complex construction in that it includes dizziness—or ditziness—and mental lack of intelligence. One aspect of the "dumb blonde" is that of dizziness. As one respondent ex-

pressed the stereotype, blondes are perceived as

> ...flighty, not really dumb, but more air headed.

In an analysis of how men responded to her in high school, a young adult respondent explained,

> They saw me as attractive. But if you make a silly comment, it is easy for them to say that's a ditzy blonde comment. It was just supposed to be funny.

Noting that she was actually shy, she further noted about her adult experiences,

> I hate to think that I act ditzy. I don't even think I even have that ditzy side of me. But it has been attributed to me.

A 24-year-old stated that the cultural image is that

> They [blondes] don't have an attention span longer than a second.

Another young woman commented,

> Bubble-headed blonde says it all. People think blondes are stupid, not intellectual stupidity, but too stupid to flush the toilet, daily life stupidity.

As another woman expressed this phenomenon in relation to media portrayals,

> When I was growing up, the stars I wanted to pattern my life after were Doris Day—the ditzy blonde, the girl next door, light hearted, very gay, always seeming to be needing male guidance because she had to be saved from herself and her ditziness—and Katherine Hepburn, as a lawyer in one movie.

Another young respondent stated that the dumb blonde was one who

> can't concentrate, no goals, floats around in the world.

One respondent further clarified her understanding of what society meant by the dumb blonde when she hypothesized the following typology; ditzy, as personified by Goldie Hawn or Suzanne Somers, refers to a "behavior, a way of acting" and an air head, as metaphorically represented by Lisa Kudrow, points to a smart woman and "a lack of acting." In other words, the air head (like the quintessential "absent-minded professor") is perhaps contemplating quantum mechanics and is simply distracted. Nevertheless, this myth, or cultural construction, permeates society and blonde women understand the inherent difficulties they confront because of it. Clearly, an important aspect of the social construction of the "dumb blonde" as perceived by blondes is the light, ditzy quality.

However, the "ditzy" aspect of the dumb blonde is not sufficient to completely explain the phenomenon as more negative attributes of mental intelligence overtly and covertly accompany the lighter aspect of this cultural construction. A young woman presented her perception that brunettes would have a distinct advantage in attaining an employment opportunity as they are viewed as simultaneously more intelligent and more serious, by stating,

> I think when you go for a job interview they look at what you look like. The initial reality is that different stereotypes would pop in your mind. Blondes are more fun and flighty. Brunettes are the opposite.

A college student recalled that in high school, if she asked a question in class, teachers would say,

> You're stupid and make negative comments.

When a teacher dismissed her on that basis, she was unwilling to ask questions about the course material and had to rely on her friends for further elaboration. In a lengthy analysis, one woman described the complicated connection with this stereotype and her educational process as follows:

> Yeah, I got more attention. For me, personally, the issue had to do with intelligence. By high school, I rejected the attention, because along with it came the stupidity assumption. I was running into it in high school, but from men, not from teachers, not from girls. They were not treating me like I was stupid due to my school work. But when interacting with them, I got images of stupidity. I got all

> A's. My teachers treated me like I was smart. I ran into stereotypes when I started dating. It was not connected to my school work until college. It was just something the guys I dated did. When I got to college, it included my teachers, women around me and the men around me. Men were not just treating me like I was stupid, like I couldn't figure out how to wash the dishes. They thought I must be getting poor grades. Once I was on a double date, with all freshmen and sophomores, and someone asked what I got on my Psych mid-term. I said I got an A. Everyone laughed and said like you would get good grades. They assumed that I got poor grades. From that point on, I had to work against it—that people thought I was stupid—never in kindergarten through twelfth grade. It really became an issue and it interfered with my ability to interact with teachers and students and I was having trouble getting teachers to take me seriously. I dealt with it in graduate school. By then I was more conscious of it. Two or three years after I started graduate school, my hair darkened. I was happy and very aware that people took me more seriously. That part of the stereotype is more problematic. In dating it was easy to weed out the idiots. But within academia it was much harder to get past dealing with professors and fellow graduate students.

Recounting her numerous post-baccalaureate degrees (an M.A., a Ph.D., a J.D.) as well as her professional accomplishments, one respondent referred to an extremely difficult work situation in which a woman with professional power over her, had on numerous occasions called her derisive names; appellations based on her hair color:

> After all these years of work...to have someone reduce all of your accomplishments by using a term like blondie. It is galling, particularly galling that she's a woman. It's bad when men do it, but women should know better. To reduce someone's whole being to blondeness is terrible. The implication is that you got where you are, not due to hard work, but to blondeness is idiotic, its pathetic to have one characteristic become the defining characteristic of your life. The demeaning stereotypes don't reflect what you are as a person, a living, breathing person with your own problems.

Another woman noted,

> It's hard to get past looks. It's hard for blondes to show who they are. Brunettes have an easier time. People don't look at them that way. People can look at the person more than the look. Blondes have to get past the looks to have people look at them as a person.

Thus, all of the blonde women felt that the imagery of blondes as dumb was more than just a perception of ditziness. That image also included an element of an attribution of lesser intelligence that mediated the manner in which other people interacted with them in an educational or occupational setting.

This particular study was part of a larger study in which brunette women and redheaded women (and men) were interviewed. No brunette mentioned lower intelligence as a stereotype regarding themselves (although many mentioned it as a stereotype of blondes). For example, a 40-year-old brunette woman responded that she could only describe stereotypes of brunettes by a process of elimination (i.e., not redheaded nor blonde). She stated that

> Blondes are dumber, redheads are smart and sexually vivacious, brunettes are smarter, steadier, and not sexually overt.

Furthermore, a 31-year-old brunette (with a Ph.D. in Analytical Chemistry) referred to a situation in which she dyed her hair blonde—temporarily—and then found she did not fit what she believed to be the normal brunette stereotype of "solid, hard working...intelligent" as follows:

> For a while, I used artificial enhancements (color) on my hair and pushed myself over the edge from a light brunette to a blonde. I did discover even people who knew me as a brunette suddenly started to treat me as if I was thirty points lower in intelligence. A fellow chemist knew me as a brunette. He always had somewhat of a condescending air toward me, and when I lightened my hair, that attitude became even more pronounced, like telling me he wouldn't drive the car until I fastened my seat belt and treating me as if I were twelve.

It is also interesting to note, that if anything, the perception of redheads—regarding societal imagery—is that they are smart (Heckert & Best 1997) and Synott (1987) concluded that the accomplished executive is a common imagery of redheaded women. Clearly, gendered relations might impact the scenario whereby—due to patriarchal constructions—women more often have to prove intelligence than do men. Nevertheless, the brunette and redheaded women interviewed as a part of the larger study felt that this stereotype was pertinent to blonde women and not to themselves. Furthermore, the culturally constructed stereotype is dumb blonde and not dumb brunette or dumb redhead. While blonde men were not interviewed for this study—and it would appear that the societal construction of the dumb blonde is most readily interpreted as a dumb blonde woman—a similar study of blonde men would be important in terms of providing a comparison group.

In summary, stereotypes of blonde women, as perceived by the blonde respondents, were varied and inconsistent. As blonde women experienced stereotyping, the most important ones were the blonde as innocent, sexy/more fun, easy, and stupid. As these stereotypes had little to do with hair color, in many ways, they constitute a master status (Hughes 1945).

Coping with Attributions of Stupidity

Labeling theory has allowed sociologists to examine the impact that labels, including stereotypes, have on those that are labeled (Erikson 1964; Lemert 1972; Tannenbaum 1980). A stereotype that is as profound and permeating as lesser mental ability is clearly consequential and similar to African-Americans, blondes may be subject to "stereotype vulnerability" (Lovaglia, Lucas, Houser, Thye & Markovsky 1998). The treatment of others is consequential to those stereotyped in relation to intelligence, as the Pygmalion effect has long claimed (Rosenthal & Jacobsen 1992). Further, self-image is likely to be impacted especially in the guise of self-efficacy, or the "*beliefs* or *conceptions* about personal capability" (Lovaglia et al 1998:205). Thus, while blondes develop good overall self-esteem due to their status as positive deviants, this stereotype is clearly capable of negatively impacting self-efficacy. That blondes develop coping mechanisms is indicative that societal stereotypes do threaten their self-efficacy.

Alone, individuals do not have the ability to change societal stereotypes; even collectively, societal stereotypes are difficult to change. Coping mechanisms are perhaps the way that people deal with stereotypes; indeed, blonde women developed various strategies by which they responded to the "dumb blonde" stereotype. The necessity for creating coping mechanisms is strong. Empirical evidence suggests that employers might perceive women applicants for a professional position that are brunette more favorably than they would blondes or redheads (Kyle & Mahler 1996). College students reviewed resumes (photographs included) of an applicant for an accounting position and they were more willing to hire the brunette and they were more willing to offer the brunette a higher starting salary. The implications of the continued persistence of stereotypes are profound, especially in conjunction with continued wage discrimination against women. Blonde and redheaded women face even more significant challenges and the stereotypes of blonde women as dumb and redheaded women as tempestuous, are not insignificant, and according to this research, are not inconsequential.

Thus, in the context of this societal and cultural backdrop, women develop coping mechanisms, some of which are more effective at achieving professional aims than others. Methods that the blonde women in this sample utilized included the following: not taking the stereotype seriously (ignoring or joking about the stereotype); taking on the role (allowing a self-fulfilling prophecy to occur); overcompensating by diminishing any of their personality characteristics that could in any way be construed as characteristics of the societal imagery of blondes (the ice princess); fighting back by attempting to demonstrate their intelligence; and passing (dyeing their hair so as to be perceived as a member of the dominant group). Every woman interviewed utilized at least one of these coping mechanisms. Most of the respondents in this sample would use more than one coping mechanism; their response depended on the circumstances of the situation and their particular mood or understanding of how best to deal with the situation.

Ignoring or Joking (Not Taken Seriously)

One way that some blonde women react to the societal constructions of blondes as dumb is to ignore comments or to not take them seriously by returning the joke. As one respondent described her reactions,

> If they are ignorant and they are just joking and don't see it gets to me, I just walk away. I just can't change everybody.

As an adolescent commented,

> Most people just say it when they are teasing you, so just ignore it. If I make a mistake and somebody calls you a dumb blonde, I say look who is talking (only if they're blonde). If it is a brunette, I will joke back by saying, 'You're dumb too.' I say it jokingly, so they know I'm joking. People don't really think I'm stupid unless I'm acting crazy. I don't try to prove anything.

A college student also adopted this same stance, reporting:

> If someone has a blonde joke they tell me. I think they're funny [yet at the same time, I think] they're so ridiculous, not even funny. I've never seen a blonde so stupid; how many blondes does it take to put in a light bulb, so ridiculous. I don't feel I'm one of the stereotyped blondes so I can laugh. Athletic blondes don't tend to be perceived as typical blondes. If somebody is so serious about blondes being stupid, I just laugh at them. I don't take them seriously. I know so many blondes that aren't stupid. That is not serious.

A 20-year-old female explained,

> Jokes have been told on me and have no effect on me whatsoever. They tell me a blonde joke like they would tell a brunette. Some blondes are deeply impacted. They get hurt, for some reason. I've never taken them seriously.

A 16-year-old ranked in the top ten in her class, noted:

> I would try to speak my mind and act on my intelligence and they'd [classmates] say you're just a dumb blonde. I'd just ignore it. I'd laugh at their ignorance and say they don't know what they're talking about. I never let it affect me—laughing at them inside myself—just look at them and keep on going; just don't acknowledge it; just go in with your life. They don't deserve the credit —don't respond—no reason to fight fire with other fire. They stop if you ignore them.

One woman noted that she often joked around as a response to the condescension of others. She did suggest, however, that there was a line that could be crossed into hurtful behavior; at that point, she chose to ignore the comments,

> If it's hurtful, I ignore it. Whatever I might say isn't going to change their mind.

As such, some blonde women always or sometimes choose to simply ignore or not take the phenomenon seriously.

Self-fulfilling Prophecy

Erikson (1964) noted that labeling can serve as a powerful basis for self-fulfilling prophecies, or that stereotyped people can simply act out the role. While preferring to ignore the stereotype, a college student noted about other women,

> I do know some women who do it [play out the role] for the attention. They would do it for the attention. They acted out the role. That's what people were looking for and that draws attention to yourself.

Insisting that it was accidental, one woman acknowledged that she has utilized the role, primarily because she feels it makes others happy. She explained:

> I just am myself. I just act like I am whether there is a stereotype about me or not. I can remember a colleague [in a professional position] saying she's either the smartest person I ever knew or the dumbest. They probably thought I could play the dumb role well. Maybe sometimes but not intentionally, I do dumb things sometimes. I'm not trying to but people think I am possibly because I am blonde. I just laugh it off. It makes me feel smart because I know I'm not dumb. They're the dumb ones for assuming such nonsense. It's not serious. It's just fun. It makes people laugh. That sounds pretty good. It is the easiest way to make people laugh and

> happy because I can't tell jokes. I've doubted my intelligence not based on how people treat me but because things I've failed at.

One blonde noted,

> Every once in a while, I'm just trying to be funny, acting stupid. They expect me to be stupid, why not feed their little stupid stereotype?

An adolescent suggesting that she mostly fights back by saying "I'm at the top of my class" but occasionally, "I'll play along and say, yeah, I'm a ditz, but it gets my defenses up." As the social construction permeates society, the enactment of the role then becomes a possibility for blondes so labeled. Sometimes, they opt for that role.

Overcompensating (Including Taking on the Ice Princess Role)

Another potential manner in which the stereotype can be confronted is for an individual to choose to deliberately diminish within herself any characteristics that might allow others to label her as a dumb blonde. The "ice princess" is another iconic image that has evolved for blondes and an image that has been associated with movie portrayals, by actresses such as Grace Kelly and Sharon Stone. The "ice princess" is the polar opposite of the dumb blonde and is perhaps a definitive rebuke and reaction to the stereotype. A respondent explained:

> It could be my perceiving people's reaction. I thought I was always more cautious, guarded in a professional environment, trying to maintain a distance between me and male mentors, bending over backwards to be distant. Part of it was a feeling that any behavior less than extremely professional all the time would be interpreted as ditzy blonde...I think you're conscious that people will stereotype you as a dumb blonde. You have to make a conscious decision to play into it or resist it. You're afraid when you meet someone that they stereotype you as dumb or witless based on what you look like. You practice restraining behavior; you're not as extroverted, spirited as you might be. You become restrained or too restrained for your own good.

Speculating that these reasons were the explanation of the development in many blonde women of the ice princess persona, she continued,

> A lot of attractive blondes don't want to be stereotyped and so overcompensate; they don't want to be stereotyped as dumb or taking advantages of good looks, so you're much more conscious of your behaviors. If you're rebelling against stereotypes, you're much more restrained.

An adolescent, ranked number one in her high school class, stated:

> Sometimes, I act more serious, so I don't get thought of as ditzy. At school, a lot of people think I'm serious and I'm not at all. If I'm bouncing around like I usually do, people will think I'm dumb (ditzy). If you get desperate and need to and you think it's the only way you can get what you need, you just act like you're a dumb ditz...mistake. You're not taken as seriously, so you have to try twice as hard to be serious and it's not fun being serious, but you have to be taken seriously. Around people I know I will act naturally; around people I don't know, I have to act serious and boring—blah.

Another blonde reported that a way to fight the societal image was to act and think like a man, at least in her professional capacity. She stated that this was one option as she knew that one avenue open to her was to use her sex appeal; if that failed to function for her, then an additional route was to figure out how a man would succeed in the scenario and conquer the professional obstacle from that frame of reference. In other words, she felt that if she could be seen as one of the guys, rather than a blonde woman, her blonde hair would not be hazardous for her in her professional capacity. She explained that she would often establish her credentials and would also engage in serious discussions about current sports events, specifically so that co-workers would forget she was a blonde woman and thus, take her seriously and treat her in a professional manner. She presented a scenario in which a boss—an Air Force Colonel—was not treating her in a professional way (and which she felt was related to her hair color). She proceeded to analyze the situation and decided if she would act like a man, she would be

taken seriously. Consequently, she approached her boss and informed him, "I know the government, I know the military" and asked him to pile on extra work and she would successfully complete all the work he needed done. She stated that the transformation occurred almost instantaneously in that she was treated as a serious and respected co-worker. Curiously, perhaps engaging in behavior that could lead to labels, including the ice princess role, is the surest way to avoid the label of dumb blonde. Indeed, it is a very interesting sociological phenomenon that the one way to avoid a label is to engage in compensatory behaviors that create another label.

Fighting Back

The reaction to dealing with the stereotyping process that was most commonly mentioned by the women in this sample consisted of fighting back. This response ranged from the confrontational to the subtle. For one woman, this fighting back included the possibility of confrontations. She stated,

> I developed a mouth. I didn't attempt to maximize blondeness by what I did and the way I dressed. I tried to downplay blonde hair. My father taught me to offset these stereotypes...You can do a lot with your mouth to offset images. Mouthy, aggressive women don't fit the image of blondeness.

Another respondent proclaimed that inside every blonde woman (presumed by others to be happy-go-lucky and bubbly) was a harder woman, angry and frustrated over her lack of control over situations in which other people made unwarranted presumptions solely based on hair color; this harder woman was willing to stand up and emit "messages, I'm strong, independent, don't mess with me." However, the major method of fighting back was subtler; respondents informed others of their intelligence. A young woman analyzed this strategy as follows,

> I definitely try to prove them wrong. In high school, I was always teased. When class ranks came out, I would use it to prove I wasn't as stupid as they think. I would always say something; they would take it the wrong way and say, DUH, that was stupid. I would prove I was smart.

Another young woman explained this adaptation,

> I've always been athletic and a blonde; dumb jock, dumb blonde. I've always tried hard to show people I'm not dumb or stupid. In school, I got better grades, just trying to fit in and talk like I'm not stupid. I've always been quiet—my grades were good—just me. I don't know if I think people would perceive me as stupid.

A respondent commented,

> When they don't expect me to say more than two syllable words...they start to talk, explain simple things to me. I'll say, 'I do know how it works. I have an education. I have an IQ higher than my shoe size.'

Another woman stated,

> I keep getting degrees. Maybe if I say it loud enough [4.0 GPA] to my family, they'll get the word out.

A 16-year-old high school student commented,

> It is one of the things that makes me want to do well in school, to strive, to prove you are not a dumb blonde, do well in school, get an A on a test.

In fact, she attributed her academic motivation to her hair color. After delivering an intense and heart-felt monologue about the shabby treatment of blondes based on the "dumb blonde" phenomenon, a 12-year-old respondent was asked if there are any role models for blondes. Interpreting this question from her perspective, her reply—"Einstein, because he is smart"—in a nutshell, summarizes this reaction. At the same time, many blonde women do feel that at some level, they have to prove their intelligence to be accepted as intelligent; with another hair color they would not have to prove that intelligence, as an assumption of intelligence would be granted unless they demonstrated otherwise. One woman hypothesized,

> I don't know if it is taken more seriously when people are dealing with a brunette or a redhead; they withhold judgment until after they have the opportunity to see the

> person. When dealing with a blonde, she has to go the extra mile to prove she's not dumb. Brunettes and redheads don't have a presumption to overcome. People see them as an individual.

Another woman also echoed this same thought, in response to a question regarding whether brunettes had any advantages over blondes, when she stated,

> Smartness. It is hard to get past looks. It's hard for blondes to show who they are. Brunettes have an easier time. People don't look at them that way. People can look at the person more than the looks. Blondes have to get past the looks to have people look at them as a person...It's kind of a challenge to make people see who you are.

Consequently, in many ways, the women in this sample do note a clear cultural disadvantage, based solely on their hair color.

Passing

A final potential strategy for dealing with a stereotype is to "pass"; one woman in this sample utilized passing as a way to overcome her societal treatment. Clearly, brunettes are the numerical majority and the standard in this society and stereotypical imagery does not exist for brunettes in the way in which it does for blondes and redheads. Joining the majority group precludes the application of negative stereotypes and negative treatment based on those stereotypes; one woman chose this option. As she explained,

> At one point, I dyed my hair. In high school, I would try to lighten my hair. After I dyed my hair brown, since then, I have never tried to lighten my hair. I avoided anything that would get it lighter.

She also related an incident in which she demanded that her hairdresser stop using a certain chemical on her hair as it also had the unintended consequence of lightening her hair. To become the standard mitigates the application of negative imagery. As a more subtle form of passing—and becoming less discreditable (Goffman 1963)—one respondent noted that by wearing glasses she was less likely to be miscast in the dumb blonde role. Glasses metaphorically represent intelligence. Another form of passing also involved mitigating the impact of blonde hair by cutting it to a shorter length. A 36-year-old respondent, working in a defense-related industry, noted that she had never met one other blonde woman that said that being blonde was easy. As an example, she pointed to a former co-worker who was experiencing a very difficult time being taken seriously in her work. She purposely cut her hair to a much shorter length and specifically stated that she had cut her hair so that she might be deemed more professional and more competent. All in all, while not often used by the women in this sample, passing represents another way to cope with the stigma of the dumb blonde.

In essence, the complex stereotype of the "dumb blonde" is a potent molder of blonde women. Not just passive recipients of societal forces, constructions, and reactions, these blonde women actively created various strategies to respond to this profoundly negative and threatening stigmatization. Yet the mere fact that they had to create coping mechanisms attests to the marginalization they experience in society in relation to assumptions about their intelligence.

Worsened Relationships with Women

Various women mentioned that their perception was that blonde hair had negatively impacted their relationships with other women. This finding is particularly striking due the fact that a specific question on this topic had not been asked. Their perception is consistent with the finding of Krebs and Adinolfi (1975) that the physically attractive do experience a disadvantage. That disadvantage is a tendency to be rebuffed by other individuals of the same sex. Societal constructions of gender are quite pertinent, as well. Appearance norms govern the lives of women more than men and women are more likely to be judged on the basis of appearance (Schur 1983). Thus, women deemed to surpass normative expectations are especially likely to be negatively assessed. The beautiful woman becomes the idealization "against which all women will be judged" (Chapkis 1986:14); consequently, appearance competition emerges and assessment of appearance mediates the comfort level of women's relationships with other women (Orbach 1978). As Brownmiller noted, the

> struggle to approach the feminine ideal, to

> match the femininity of other women and especially to outdo them, is the chief competitive arena...in which the American woman is wholeheartedly encouraged to contend. (1984:70)

This factor might be exacerbated by the findings of Jacobi and Cash (1992) that amongst their sample of American white college students, women were significantly more likely to think that men preferred blonde women than the men, in the same sample, reported preferring blonde women. In this context, blonde women experience more difficult relationships with other women. As friendships are very important in human life, this consequence is surely negative.

Various women described this scenario. As one woman portrayed her understanding of her life scenarios,

> I can remember getting venom from brunettes; plenty of nasty comments, you've got blonde hair, the package. Plenty of women let me know I had the package—petite blonde woman. I don't have that much in common with other blondes, other than the snide barbs we receive. I let them go. They [brunettes] see that men respond to them as not blonde.

Another woman reported that other women, who do not have blonde hair, consistently asked "Is it real?" which she interpreted as negative commentary rooted in interpersonal jealousy. During her high school experience, a brunette adolescent had asked her, "Which box does it come from?" and simply would not believe the response that it was a natural hair color. Also, an adolescent noted,

> Girls, have told me, I wish I had your hair and ask, do blondes have more fun?

Another woman suggested,

> The better friends weren't jealous, but females were jealous.

A 21-year-old woman hypothesized,

> Women tend to be more jealous, but still see them [blondes] as more attractive.

According to a 20-year-old female,

> That's how a guy describes a nice-looking sexually attractive woman. Blonde is defined as the sexiest. It just seems like that's the norm, that's the way. Men say this. Women degrade blondes, they're jealous, they do the blonde jokes, say that they're not as smart because they accept the societal standard. It often makes one feel better when a guy describes a woman as attractive that way.

As a 20-year-old commented,

> Long blonde haired women are considered attractive by men. They [non-blonde women] get a little jealous of them [blonde women]. Blondes get a lot of attention from men because they are society's little Barbie doll...perfect women. It's what men look for.

One respondent, noting that other hair color did not elicit as much attention as hers, pointed to a female friend who would not go out with her because men were more commonly drawn to her and stated,

> It is easier to be friends with a blonde. There isn't as much competition. We don't feel we have to compete with each other.

Another respondent suggested,

> The competition between women is awful...Men have a tendency to like blondes better...it's the hair color that attracts a man ...other women are jealous.

She further added that she was so delighted to have recently become a best friend to another woman, because for many years all of her friends had been men and she felt it was out of necessity due to other women treating her poorly. Finally, another woman assessed her negative adolescent relationships with other women—which she believed was linked to her hair color—as follows:

> I was viewed as pretty. I did experience jealousy and competition for attention from guys. It wasn't really evident at a younger age. As I got older, I didn't have friendships based on trust. They were always jealous. At cheerleader tryouts, another girl said she didn't care if she didn't make it just as long as she beat me. It's sad that people are stereotyped on the basis of their hair color.

> It's harder to have female friends. I have a lot more male friends. Blonde females are generally treated better by males. I can relate more closely with a blonde. Brunettes are more likely to be jealous.

Clearly, many respondents perceived that their relationships with other women had been hampered by their hair color.

All in all, blonde women are also negatively evaluated and treated. Various stereotypes create a cultural image packaging of blondes as innocent, easy, sexy, and dumb. Blondes experience the negative situation of having to construct coping mechanisms to deal with the last stereotype. Further, many of the blondes interviewed felt that other women treated them poorly.

CONCLUSIONS

A 16-year-old blonde observed,

> I'd rather be looked at as what I am.

Nevertheless, the imagery of blondes is powerful and blondes are clearly molded by societal/cultural imagery. A qualitative study of blonde women highlights the complexity of reactions to the same attribute. Blonde women surpass culturally created appearance norms and are both positively and negatively evaluated. As positive deviants, blonde women interviewed for this study felt that society and culture had bestowed upon them an advantage in relation to definitions of attractiveness. Thus, they received much positive attention and positive treatment. At the same time, blonde women are also stigmatized. The blondes interviewed for this study felt that the various stereotypes of blondes—as they had experienced them—included the following: innocence, sexy/more fun, easy, and stupid. A negative experience emerged in that as a reaction to the stereotype of the "dumb blonde" they felt the need to develop coping mechanisms (including ignoring/joking, fulfilling the prophecy, overcompensating, fighting back, and passing). Many felt that their relationships with women were negatively impacted by their blonde hair. Clearly, blonde women receive contradictory evaluations.

Future research may highlight complex reactions. Do other forms of deviance simultaneously receive both positive and negative evaluations? If so, why are they subjected to varying reactions? For example, future study might focus on the case of gifted children and their experience of simultaneously being considered positive deviants by adults and rate-busters by peers. How does this dual response impact their shared reality? In relation to sports, successful athletes (especially football players) are both positive deviants and rate-busters. They over conform to athletic accomplishment and are positively evaluated and lauded by society. At the same time, the portrayal of the "dumb jock" is ubiquitous in this society. How do accomplished athletes deal with these competing images?

As a side note, many people (based on categories) are not assumed to be less intellectually gifted by others, unless they prove themselves to be less intellectually gifted. Yet, in the case of some categories, including athletic ability (especially football players), blonde hair color, minority status and Appalachian origin, this is not the case. On the basis of these statuses, attributions of a lessened mental ability have been culturally created and sustained. Thus, individuals within these categories are faced with the daunting task of proving their intelligence in the context of a society that is all too willing to dismiss their intelligence. The overwhelming inability of society—and many people socialized within that society—to eradicate these stereotypes is all too consequential to individuals who occupy one of those statuses. Further research on how stereotyped individuals cope with this intellectual marginalization, would be very beneficial, indeed.

All in all, blonde women receive mixed blessings from society.

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DEATH ANXIETY AND RELIGIOUS BELIEF: A RESEARCH NOTE

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ABSTRACT

This study assessed the contribution of religious beliefs in moderating the effect of death anxiety on forty-five (45) subjects who were diagnosed with Lou Gehrig's disease (ALS). Subjects were administered the Templer Death Anxiety Scale and the Shepherd Christianity Questionnaire. Results indicate an inverse relationship between religious beliefs and death anxiety. The age and gender of each respondent was also examined to see if there was a correlation with death anxiety. Neither of these variables produced statistically significant effects on death anxiety.

INTRODUCTION

This study examined the effects of religious beliefs in moderating death anxiety on forty-five (45) subjects who were diagnosed with Lou Gehrig's disease (ALS). The age and gender of the participants were also examined to see if there was a correlation between these variables and death anxiety. Amyotrophic Lateral Sclerosis (ALS) also commonly known as Lou Gehrig's disease is a fatal motor neuron disease in which there is a progressive degeneration of motor cells in the brain (upper motor neurons) and spinal cord (lower motor neurons). When the motor neurons can no longer send impulses to muscles, the muscles begin to waste away (atrophy) causing increased muscle weakness. ALS is often referred to as a syndrome because the disease itself becomes more apparent in various patterns. Patients will experience impaired use of limbs (hands and feet), thick or slurred speech eventually not being able to swallow at which time a feeding tube will be placed in the stomach. Finally, a person loses the ability to breath at which point a decision is made about death. ALS does not impair all the senses or intellectual reasoning. Most patients are diagnosed in their mid 50's, but ALS can also affect young adults or teenagers. However, onset of this disease is rare before the age of thirty. There is no effective treatment and the duration of life upon diagnosis is typically between two to five years. ALS involves a series of losses ultimately ending in the painful confrontation with death. Although this affliction may not be as common as other types of illnesses that are potentially terminal, such as cancer, it offers fertile ground for studying the fear of death among a group of individuals who are facing imminent death in the near future. Thus, the purpose of this research was to determine the relationship between death anxiety and strength of religious belief among a sample of individuals with ALS.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Although researchers have long examined the issue of how religion influences levels of death anxiety, they have generally limited their focus to college populations or those afflicted with illnesses such as cancer. To our knowledge no studies have specifically examined the relationship between religious beliefs and death anxiety among ALS patients. The current study offers an opportunity to extend our knowledge of death anxiety among a population with the unique characteristic of imminent death approaching rapidly. Unlike cancer, ALS offers no potential hope of remission or recovery. Thus, we examine the relationship between death anxiety and prior knowledge of one's rapidly approaching death combined with the characteristic of no hope of recovery.

Previous studies concerning the relationship between death anxiety and religion or spirituality have produced inconsistent and often conflicting results (Rasmussen & Johnson 1994). Some researchers have found a strong negative correlation between death anxiety and intensity of religious devotion (Frank, Templer, Cappelletty, & Kauffman 1990-91; Gibbs & Achterberg–Lawlis 1978; Ita 1995-96). Frank et al. (1990-91) found that strong attachment to a belief system was the variable most predictive of lower death anxiety. Gibbs and Achterberg–Lawlis (1978) found that cancer patients with higher levels of religious beliefs had significantly lower death anxiety levels. They found a strong negative association between fear of death and self-rating of strength of religious beliefs, indicating less fear among strong believers. They also found a correlation between low levels of perceived physical pain and low levels of fear of death. Strong religious beliefs were associated with a denial of certain aspects of one's illness and death, resulting in

less fear of death. Ita (1995-96) studied the acceptance of death in hospice patients. Patients with higher spirituality had lower death anxiety. Gielen and Roche (1979-80) examined the death anxiety of Huntington's disease patients. They tried to isolate all the factors that are relevant to the determination of death anxiety in patients with this disease. They found a negative correlation between importance of religion and level of death anxiety but it was not significant.

Those studies that examined death anxiety among populations with illnesses that could potentially result in death have found negative relationships between religious beliefs and fear of death (Alexander & Alderstein 1958; Templer & Dotson 1970). On the other hand, those studies that examined college populations were less likely to report such relationships. For example, Templer and Dotson (1970) examined 213 college students and found no relationship between Death Anxiety Scale (DAS) scores and several variables of religious affiliation, belief, and activity. They suggested that religion had a limited effect upon the attitudes and behaviors of most college students in our society. Chaggaris and Lester (1989) found no association between fear of death and religious belief of 36 men and women enrolled in college courses. Thus, a review of many previously reported studies on death anxiety found conflicting results (Martin & Wrightsman 1964).

There have been many explanations for the ambiguity in the literature on death anxiety and religion. Fortner and Neimeyer (1999) in a review of research on death anxiety found that studies with younger samples suggest people who are more religious report lower levels of death anxiety, while those with elderly samples found no relationship. They suggest that these findings are the result of the elderly being relatively uniform on religious variables, which restricts variation of religiosity necessary to correlate with varying degrees of death anxiety. Templer and Dotson (1970) justified their lack of a relationship between death anxiety and religious variables by two reasons. First, they said that non-believers don't have a "hell" to fear but also they don't have a heaven to anticipate. Therefore, the non-believer is argued to have similar experiences with death anxiety as the person with strong religious beliefs. Heintz and Baruss (2001) attributed some of the inconsistency in findings to confusion in the use of the distinct terms spirituality and religious behavior. While some religious behaviors are correlated with the dimensions of spirituality, many are independent of each other. Rasmussen and Johnson drew similar inferences.

> One possible explanation for the conflicting results...may lie in the differentiation of spirituality and religiosity. Spirituality can be defined as high levels of satisfaction with life, strong feelings that life is meaningful, belief in an afterlife, and degree of certainty about life after death not tied to a particular religious denomination, while religiosity concerns itself more with practices and rituals...while there is some overlap, these two constructs are largely separate and independent. It may well be that prior research has inadvertently mixed the two... (1994:314)

Another important factor thought to influence death anxiety is age. There is evidence indicating that older adults typically have lower death anxiety scores (Fortner & Neimeyer 1999; Hintze, Templer, Cappelletty & Frederick 1993; Ita 1995-96; Stevens, Cooper, & Thomas 1980). Stevens et al. (1980) studied age norms for Templer's death anxiety scale and suggested that users of the Death Anxiety Scale should be aware that the age of the individual may be important in interpreting scores as the elderly typically have lower fear of death scores. However, others studies have reported no significant differences in levels of death anxiety based on age (Conte, Weiner, & Plutchik 1982; Templer, Ruff, & Franks 1971). Templer (1970) did suggest that retired adults possess less fear of death than younger age groups, which is similar to results of much of the other research. Ita (1995-96) found that age had an indirect effect on death anxiety through spirituality. Older persons had higher spirituality; higher spirituality predicted higher social support. This supports the theoretical view that spirituality develops through life as a dimension of human experience. Death anxiety was negatively correlated with age, which supports the proposed path from age to spirituality to death anxiety. Although most researchers have found a relationship between age and death anxiety, these findings have not been entirely conclusive. Some studies have reported no significant differences in levels of death anxiety based on age (Fortner & Neimeyer 1999; Templer et al. 1971).

Researchers have also examined the relationship between gender and death anxiety. In

general, such studies have also produced inconsistent findings. Gielen and Roche (1979-80) found no significant differences between male and female responses on death anxiety. Their sample consisted of 13 individuals with a terminal disease. All patients viewed death as relief. DaSilva and Schork (1984-85) found gender differences in perception of death among a sample of students. DaSilva and Shork (1984-85) found that half of the women they surveyed believed that religion played a very significant role in lowering death anxiety as compared to 21.6 percent of the men. Conversely, 16.2 percent of the men felt that religion had no role at all while 8.7 percent of the women felt that way. They concluded that women were more comfortable than men in dealing with death–related issues. Fortner and Neimeyer (1999) did not find gender to be a reliable predictor of death anxiety in elderly people.

Thus, both gender and age are factors that could potentially influence levels of death anxiety. There is also evidence the type of population sampled influences levels of death anxiety as well (Fortner & Neimeyer 1999; Heintz & Baruss 2001; Rasmussen & Johnson 1994). Consistent with the findings of earlier studies, one would theoretically expect those persons facing imminent death to differ from those who are not on levels of death anxiety.

METHODOLOGY

The participants were forty-five (45) men and women who have been diagnosed with ALS. The prognosis given to all patients is between two to five years to live. The participants were recruited through a support group that meets via the Internet called PALS (Persons with ALS). Membership in the support group ranges from 40 to 75. First, permission was granted by the website coordinator and then on an individual basis if they were willing to participate. The subjects ranged in age from 32 to 76 years of age with a mean of 52.4 years. All the respondents were white. There were 27 males and 18 females in the sample. All subjects were administered the Templer Death Anxiety Scale (Templer 1970) and the Shepherd Christianity Questionnaire (Basset, Sadler, Kobischen, Skiff, Merrill, Atwater & Livermore 1981). Copies of the questions used in this research are available from the authors upon request. The Templer Death Anxiety Scale is a 15 item true/false questionnaire used to measure the level of affective arousal associated with death. Awareness of how an individual deals with impending death can be studied by evaluating the level of death anxiety. The Templer Death Anxiety Scale was designed to measure this variable (Templer 1970). The Shepherd Christianity Questionnaire has 8 questions that examine a person's involvement with, commitment to and knowledge of Christianity. The questionnaire's reliability/validity are reported by Basset et al. (1981) and Pecnik and Epperson (1985).

The dependent variable, Death Anxiety Scale (DAS) score, is measured by a 15–item measure. The possible range of scores was 0–15 with actual scores ranging from 0–11. These raw scores were used in the analysis. The lower the number, the lower the death anxiety a person experiences; and the higher the number, the higher the death anxiety a person experiences. The 45 participants obtained a mean DAS score of 5.2.

Scores on the Shepherd Christianity Questionnaire, were derived from a combination of answers on two items designed to tap firmness of belief: How strong is your attachment to your belief system? and How is the strength of your religious conviction when compared to those of others? Alexander and Alderstein (1958) argued that degree of certainty rather than the nature of one's conviction is a more crucial variable for the Shepherd Christianity Questionnaire with respect to death anxiety. The responses were coded as follows: Strong (4), Strong-Moderate (3), Moderate (2), Weak-Moderate (1), and Weak (0). Of the 45 subjects, there were 18 Strong, 5 Strong- Moderate, 12 Moderate, 4 Weak-Moderate, and 6 weak. Another variable examined was the gender of the subjects. On this variable males were coded zero and females were coded one. The last independent variable analyzed was the subject's age. This was measured as the actual age of the participant in years. The analysis of the data was limited to measuring bivariate correlations between death anxiety and the 3 independent variables, due to the small sample size.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Using SPSS bivariate correlation coefficients were examined in order to determine the effects of religious beliefs, age and gender on death anxiety. These findings offer a conservative estimate of statistical association between the independent and dependent variables due to the small sample size. A significant negative correlation of ($r = -.341$) was found at .05 level

(2-tailed) between DAS and the Shepherd Christianity Questionnaire. Death anxiety was positively related to age (r = .150). Women had lower levels of death anxiety than men (r = -.024), although the association was very low. Neither age nor sex were significantly related to death anxiety.

The present study found that a stronger Christian belief system diminishes death anxiety. These results are similar to the results of previous research done with terminally ill patients. Gibbs and Achterberg–Lawlis (1978) have suggested that strong belief in the strength and support of one's religion concomitant entails a denial of certain aspects of one's illness and impending death resulting in less expression of fear of death. When addressing the importance of these results in terms of their practical use one notes the importance of addressing spiritual issues to help manage death anxiety in terminally ill patients. Religious belief provides a prism through which one views death as well as providing a community of support and shared ideals that help cushion the sense of loneliness and helplessness that occurs when faced with imminent death (Austin & Lennings 1993). Sociological research has long offered support for the view that social support allows individuals to cope with stressful situations.

Our findings on gender and age reflect the ambiguity in the literature. Our insignificant finding that women had lower levels of death anxiety than men is similar to the findings of Gielen and Roche (1979-80) and Fortner and Neimeyer (1999) who found no significant correlation between gender and death anxiety, but in agreement with DaSilva and Schork (1984-85) who found that males tended to have higher death anxiety scores than females. The findings that older individuals had higher levels of death anxiety is in contrast to most other research. It may be that death anxiety does not continue decreasing with age. Further research should continue to examine these relationships, particularly within certain elderly age cohorts.

Much of the inconsistency in the research regarding gender, age, religiosity, and death anxiety is due to sampling and conceptualization/measurement issues (Fortner & Neimeyer 1999; Heintz & Baruss 2001). As discussed previously this is a particularly salient issue in any discussion of the various tools used to measure religious factors (Rasmussen & Johnson 1994).

This research has examined some of the factors that influence death anxiety among individuals facing imminent death. Future research should further examine the potential differences in the effects of various illnesses on levels of death anxiety. Also potential interactions between age, gender, religious beliefs and death anxiety among persons facing imminent death as opposed to the general population should be explored.

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DISABILITIES MISCONCEPTIONS AND EMPLOYMENT: INTEGRATING ADVOCACY PERSPECTIVE AND REHABILITATION

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ABSTRACT

This article reviews the literature on misconceptions held by employers and businesses about people with disabilities, which constitutes barriers to their full workplace participation. Designed to provide for the elimination of discrimination against individuals with disabilities, the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) more significantly provided for improving their employment opportunities. Enacted a decade ago in 1990, the ADA, however, has not moved fast enough in increasing employment opportunities for many of its intended populations. This article discusses demography of people with disabilities, employment issues, and misconceptions associated with disabilities. It discusses integrating an advocacy perspective in rehabilitation counseling.

INTRODUCTION

During the past 30 years the United States has advocated on behalf of people with disabilities through a series of congressional actions and public policy initiatives. The enactment of the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) of 1990, signed a decade ago, signaled monumental federal legislation mandating action to eliminate discrimination against individuals with disabilities (Asch & Mudrick 1995; Henderson 1994; Orlin 1995). By prohibiting discrimination in employment, public accommodations, transportation and telecommunications, the ADA empowered people with disabilities to venture into the community, to seek employment and to lead active and productive lives.

The ADA focus is in breaking down barriers that prevent the millions of Americans who have physical or mental impairments from living up to their fullest potential. Previous legislative efforts aimed at improving conditions and opportunity for this population has culminated in the ADA passage. The Rehabilitation Act of 1973 and the subsequent Rehabilitation Act Amendments of 1974 were the first to prohibit discrimination against anyone who currently had or had in the past "a physical or mental impairment which substantially limits one or more of such person's major life activities" (Henderson 1994 104).

Expediencies of the ADA include the following paramount considerations: 1) gainful employment increases the person's earning and sense of independence, 2) the person is viewed by family and society as a more productive and integrated member of community, 3) expenditures for care or treatment programs decline, and 4) integration of those with disabilities into work environment has the potential to increase social comfort and acceptance of people with special needs (Beck & Gray 1995; Chima 1998; Means, Stewart & Dowler 1997; Roessler & Sumner 1997; Stennett-Brewer 1997). It broadened prohibitions on employment discrimination for businesses with fifteen or more employees and banned discrimination in hiring, firing, compensation, advancement, and training. The ADA also requires employers to make "reasonable accommodations" for those with disabilities unless this would cause "undue hardship" (DiNitto 2000; Orlin 1995; Salsgiver 1998).

The literature on the implementation of the ADA, nonetheless, reveals that it has not moved fast enough during the ten years since its enactment for many people with disabilities, particularly in the area of employment (Hofius 2000; Salsgiver 1998). Large numbers of people with disabilities remained unemployed (Kirkpatrick 1994; Kopels 1995; Smolowe 1995). Reasons for the limited success of the ADA in moving more people with disabilities into the workplace include: 1) employers fear of lawsuits, 2) persistent misconceptions and stereotypes about disabilities, 3) the vagueness in ADA terminology, and 4) lack of specification regarding how changes must be implemented (Salsgiver 1998). While access to elevators, public facilities and transportation has improved, more people with disabilities are graduating from high schools and colleges posing a new challenge for employers in their employment decisions.

There is a need for more literature on employers' actions and attitudes toward those with disabilities. The purpose of this article is to acquaint the reader, potential employers, and rehabilitation practitioners with vital information on barriers that are limiting people with disabilities from entering the work

force, to promote advocacy perspective on behalf of people with disabilities among rehabilitation counselors, and to contribute to the literature on the persistent misconceptions about disabilities. The information is discussed in the following graduation: (a) demography of people with disabilities, (b) employment issues and disabilities, (c) disabilities and advocacy, and (d) rehabilitation counseling and advocacy.

DEMOGRAPHY OF PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES

Different government agencies and programs define disability and how many people who fit that definition in different ways. Estimates of how many people live with disabilities in the United States range from 25 million to 120 million, depending on the source (Segal & Brzuzy 1998). A cursory review of statistics pertaining to people with disabilities is overwhelming. There are approximately 25 million adults with disabilities between the ages of sixteen and sixty-four. Between the ages of three and twenty-one, there are approximately 10 million people with disabilities who are impaired enough to require special education in the public schools (Henderson 1994).

Data from the 1997 Survey of Income Program (SIPP) estimated that 52.6 million people (19.7% of the population) had some level of disability and 33.0 million (12.3% of the population) had severe disability (McNeil 1997). Data consistently reveal that disability is more common among individuals with low income and education and among those who are not married. The poverty rate among population 25 to 64 years old with no disability was 8.3 percent in 1997. Among those with a severe disability, it was 27.9 percent (McNeil 1997). In the areas of employment and income for those 21 to 64 years old, individuals with a severe disability had an employment rate of 31.4 percent and median earnings of $13,272, compared with 82.0 percent and $20,457 for those with a non severe disability, and 84.4 percent and $23,654 for those with no disability (Rothman 2003; McNeil 1997).

Disability is not restricted to any ethnicity, gender, age, social class, religion, or geographic boundaries. People with disabilities comprise the nation's largest open minority group. African Americans have a consistently higher prevalence of disability than do other racial groups in the United States (Asch & Mudrick 1995). It is reported that the disability rate for African Americans is 15 percent, compared to 8 percent of the European American population. One quarter of all adults of working age between 16 and 64 with severe disability are African Americans. Among African American families, 31.9 percent have members with disabilities (Alston & Bell 1996; McKenna & Power 2000). There has been some documentation indicating that many African Americans with disabilities have not considered applying for rehabilitation services because they do not see themselves as eligible or in need of services. Consequently, the actual numbers of African Americans with disabilities may be underreported. For example, Henderson (1994) reported that African Americans and other ethnic minorities comprise 18 percent of the total working population, but African Americans make up 21 percent of the United States population with disabilities.

More women live with various forms of disabilities than men (Henderson 1994). For instance, there were about 78 women and 74 men with heart conditions in every 1,000 persons in 1989 and about 128 women and 98 men with hypertension problems in every 1,000. There were also 157 arthritis female cases as compared with 96 men in every 1,000 people the same year (McNeil 1997; Rothman 2003). Women with disabilities are socially disadvantaged because they are less likely than other women to marry, are more likely to divorce, and have a high probability of living in poverty. While people with disabilities encounter social devaluation and stigma, women with physical disabilities encounter special problems in such areas as: 1) physiological aspects of sexual response (those with spiral cord injuries), 2) gynecological issues facing women with a variety of disabilities, 3) having children and parenting, 4) psychological, social, and relationship aspects of sexuality, and 6) interaction with the health care system (Krotoski, Nosek & Turk 1996).

Furthermore, it is not extraordinary for an individual to experience more than one impairment. This is referred to as concurrent disabilities. For instance, a person with cognitive disabilities might also have a hearing impairment and a malformed spine. An additional risk faced by people with a disability is the onset of a secondary disability as a con-

sequence of, or related to, the primary conditions (Asch & Mudrick 1995). For example, individuals who have paralysis in their lower extremities and require the use of wheel chairs may develop pressure sores. Some disabilities are invisible and are referred to as "hidden" disabilities. People with hidden disabilities such as epilepsy can experience different reaction than those with highly visible disabilities such as spinal cord injury, amputation, or muscular dystrophy. Hidden disabilities can cause conflict about identity confusion, self-disclosure, and fear of being found out for the person with the disability (Gething 1997).

EMPLOYMENT ISSUES AND DISABILITIES

People with disabilities expected the ADA to increase employment opportunities for them. A decade since its passage, some complained that the ADA mandated new responsibilities for private employers without offering any new financial assistance either to the employers or to the disabled people themselves (DiNitto 2000). As a result the disability rights movement has become increasingly strident with a series of lawsuits aimed at promoting compliance by businesses, universities, and other facilities. It costs as much as $75,000 to defend against job-related ADA complaints, most of which are found by the Equal Opportunity Employment Commission (EOEC) to be without validity (Hofius 2000). Thus, it is hardly surprising that employers view job-hunters with disabilities as "lawsuits on wheels".

Undeniably, the ADA should be recognized for reducing physical barriers or obstacles to facilities for people with disabilities. In December 1994, the President's Job Accommodation Network (JAN) reported that for physical disabilities, 68 percent of job accommodation costs less than $500, and further, that employers report for every dollar spent on accommodation, the company received 28 cents in benefits. In a survey of corporate executives, about four in five who had altered their office space, indicated that it cost only about $223 per person with a disability to do so (Smolowe 1995; President's Committee on Employment of People With Disabilities 1994).

Despite the fact that overall accessibility accommodation costs appear to be relatively meager, the unemployment rate of people with disabilities continues to be high. Estimates of how many people with disabilities that has been employed since the passage of the ADA is difficult to determine and varies from one survey to another. The reason the estimates are so varied is because there is a lack of consensus, among researchers, advocates, and people with disabilities about what exactly constitutes a disability (Laplante 1992). Furthermore, much of the public attention has focused on people with physical disabilities, many of whom require wheel chairs. People with cognitive and other developmental disabilities, including those who may have given up job seeking, are ignored.

The rate of employment of people with disabilities by large corporations has increased slightly over the past ten years. While participation in the labor force among the general population increased by 10 percent from 1970 to 1990, it decreased by 4 percent among people with disabilities (Segal & Brzuzy 1998). A Harris survey for the National Organization on disability found that only 29 percent of disabled persons are employed full or part time, down from 33 percent in 1986 (Hofius 2000). Another estimate indicated that only 8 percent of people with disabilities are employed full time, 7 percent are employed part time, which is about the same proportion it was in 1990 before ADA (Henderson 1994; Smolowe 1995). As many as 66 percent of all working-age Americans with disabilities are unemployed (Kirkpatrick 1994). Moreover, the percent of people with disabilities hired by small businesses has decreased from 54 to 48 percent (Smolowe 1995). The major reasons for employers' reluctance to hire workers with disabilities are based on spurious concerns and misconceptions.

Safety Concern Misconceptions

Employers spuriously assume that because workers with disabilities deviate from what employers consider normal, that is, they walk differently, talk with aid of something, or have a hearing or visual impairment, they are likely to injure themselves or cause other employees to be injured (Henderson 1994). Studies that refute the safety misconceptions include a 1981 survey conducted by the DuPont Company which showed that 96 percent of their employees with disabilities rated average or above average compared with 92 percent of those who did not have disabilities on safely records (President's Commit-

tee on Employment of the Handicapped 1982). One study of International Telephone and Telegraph Company (ITT) conducted at their Corinth, Mississippi plant, where 125 persons with disabilities were part of a 2,000 member workforce, showed an all-time safety record of 3,700,000 job hours worked without lost time that was injury related. It also showed that no worker with a disability had suffered more than a minor on-the-job injury since starting with the company (Henderson 1994).

Insurance Liability Misconceptions

The misconception that the requirements of insurance companies discourage employers from hiring workers with disabilities is common, especially among small businesses. The assumptions are that they will be penalized through high premiums and worker's compensation rates if they have persons with disabilities working for them. Contrary to these assumptions, insurance premiums are based on a company's overall safety record. Employers are not obligated under ADA to provide insurance, but if an employer chooses to offer such benefits, an employee with a disability is entitled to the same quality of coverage as is provided to all other employees (Henderson 1994). The President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped (1982) reported on a study of 279 companies conducted by the United States Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers, which revealed that 90 percent of the respondents reported no change in insurance costs as a result of hiring persons with disabilities. Thus, the concern about hiring people with disabilities because of the feared or actual increase in insurance costs is misrepresented.

Productivity and Attendance Misconceptions

A common productivity misconception is that workers with disabilities are not capable of performing their jobs and represent a burden to other employees who must "take up the slack". Henderson (1994) reported on several DuPont studies, which showed that 92 percent of their workers with disabilities were rated average or above average on productivity measures, compared with 91 percent of their workers who did not have disabilities. Similarly, ITT found that individuals with disabilities were more productive than their co-workers (President's Committee or Handicapped Employment 1982). At a Texas company, for instance, two employees with mental retardation who insert springs into window locks produced 60 percent more output than their co-workers without disabilities (Henderson 1994). In another example, Continental Bank of Chicago proudly boasts of a blind worker who accurately types up to 9(words per minute (Presidents Committee or Handicapped Employment 1982). Regarding attendance, ITT discovered that the workers with disabilities in their Corinth plant had fewer absences than their nondisabled coworkers. The company reported that 85 percent of their workers with disabilities were average or above average in attendance. A fundamental principle of ADA is that an individual with a disability must be qualified to do the job. Only the capabilities of the individual at the time of the employment decision must be evaluated. Speculation that the applicant may become incapable in the future to perform the job's essential functions is prejudicial. Moreover, employees with disabilities are poignantly aware of the impediments they have to overcome to secure employment; therefore, most of them will not risk losing their jobs by faking illness, once they obtain jobs.

Interpersonal and Acceptance Misconceptions

Another misconception about individuals with disabilities in the workplace is the issue of acceptance. The assumption is that employees who do not have disabilities will not accept individuals with disabilities and will resent any special treatment to them such as parking spaces, wheelchair ramps, elevators, etc. (Chima 1998). According to Gordon, Lam, and Winter (1997), interaction strain between persons with and without disabilities has been consistently identified as a significant contributing catalyst to negative attitude formation. Interpersonal skills are essential characteristics for workplace success. It is important to note that acceptance by co-workers is critical for workers with disabilities. Almost entirely, psychological health depends on the quality of people's relationship with other people. Exacerbating the likelihood that disabilities of any kind will appear to be inevitably detrimental to life satisfaction and productivity is the social devaluation and stigma pervading most discussions

of disability (Asch & Mudrick 1995), and society's tendency to conclude that because a person has a disability of one kind, they also have disabilities of other kind (Zastrow 2000).

People with disabilities who are unable to establish acceptable relationships encounter risk factors that contribute to their developing considerable anxiety, alienation, depression, and frustration (Zastrow 2000), and tend to be afraid and feel inadequate, helpless, and alone (Chima 1998). Research on attitudes of people without disabilities toward those with disabilities (Stiles, Clark & LaBeff 1997; Gordon et al 1997) shows that persons without disabilities tend to terminate interaction sooner and distance themselves physically when interacting with a person with a disability. They have the sentiment that those with disabilities are not capable of making decisions about their lives. Nevertheless, the DuPont Survey (Henderson 1994) did not find that special accommodation resulted in much resentment of workers with disabilities. Rather, positive signs exist to show that the ADA has begun to imprint its message on Americans and United States businesses. A poll commissioned by the National Organization on Disability and conducted by Louis Harris and Associates in June 1993 showed clearly that Americans view people with disabilities as part of the workforce (Salsgiver 1998). Ninety-two percent of the public favors efforts to increase the number of people with disabilities in paid jobs.

Intrapersonal Factors

While persons with disabilities tend to expect interactions with those without disabilities to be viewed stressful and negatively, it has been suggested that they recognize that they can play an important role in decreasing stigma by choosing to focus less on affective components of stigma such as low self-esteem and more on issues of integration (Gordon et al 1997). Interpersonal factors encompass a person's self-concept, which is a collection of beliefs and judgments about one's own nature, typical behavior, strengths, and weaknesses (Chima 1998). American culture tends to put a high premium on competitive strength, success, skill, and rugged individuality. If persons with a disability are related to as if they lack the competitive strength, are undesirable, inferior, or as second-class citizens, they are likely to come to view themselves as inferior and to have a negative self-concept (Zastrow 2000). Nonetheless, more workplaces are welcoming diversity. Diversity initiatives require the organization to constantly take stock of how it is doing and to be flexible, shift paradigms, and change direction as needed. Furthermore, vocational rehabilitation counselors and employee assistance practitioners can play important roles in guiding workers with disabilities in ways to communicate need and problems to employers.

DISABILITIES AND ADVOCACY

Based on reviewed literature (Asch & Mudrick 1995; Henderson 1994; Orlin 1995; Salsgiver 1998) for this article, there is clear testimony that advocacy on behalf of people with disabilities is needed. Advocacy is defined as action that empowers individuals or communities (Mickelson 1995). It should be noted that empowerment is viewed, however, as a component of advocacy. For example, some groups such as children and individuals with severe mental disorder can not be empowered, but advocates can act on their behalf. Advocacy remains a core focus of most human services practitioners. For professionals such as rehabilitation counselors, social workers or lawyers, advocacy can be defined as the act of directly representing, defending, intervening, supporting, or recommending a course of action on behalf of one or more individuals, groups, or communities, with the goal of securing or retaining social justice (McGowan 1978; Mickelson 1995; Middleman & Goldberg 1974; Sheafor, Horejsi & Horejsi 2000).

Advocacy can be divided into two general areas: case (micro) and class (macro) advocacy. Case advocacy refers to working with the client's interaction with the environment to secure services that the client needs and is entitled to but unable to obtain on his or her own. An advocacy stance may be necessary when a client was subjected to discriminatory practices or unfairness by a professional, agency, or business, and when the client is unable to respond effectively to these situations (Sheafor et al 2000). Class advocacy refers to intervention to change the environment through social policy. It is universalistic, rather than exceptionalistic. That is, its purpose is to advance the cause or improve services and resources for a group in order to establish a right to a resource or

opportunity, rather than for a special client at a particular time (Sheafor et al 2000).

Nonetheless, when a client or a citizens' group is in need of help and existing institutions are uninterested (or even openly negative and hostile) in providing services or opportunities, then the advocate's role may be appropriate. In such a role, the advocate provides leadership for collecting information, for arguing the correctness of the client's need and request, and for challenging the institution's decision not to provide service or opportunities (Zastrow 2000). Since the goal is to bring about a change, resistance, opposition and conflict should be expected. Thus, confrontation may be ubiquitous. While confrontation may be unavoidable, the advocate's objective is not to ridicule or censure a particular institution but to modify or change one or more of its undesirable operational policies. A guideline for the use of confrontational tactics is to apply the principle of "least contest" in the choice of interventive strategies (Middleman & Goldberg 1974). That is, less confrontational tactics should be used before those that escalate conflict.

Essential roles useful for intervention with issues pertaining to people with disabilities as victims of workplace discrimination include educator, coordinator, activists, researcher, and advocate among others. Middleman and Goldberg (1974) suggested a hierarchy of interventive roles, ranging from mediation to advocacy. McGowan (1978), who also promoted a strategic approach to the use of advocacy, identified the following six methods: 1) intercede (request, plead, persist), 2) persuade (inform, instruct, clarify, explain, argue), 3) negotiate (engage in dialogue, sympathize, bargain, placate), 4) pressure (threaten, challenge, disregard), 5) coerce (deceive, disrupt, redress administratively, take legal action), and 6) use indirect methods (educate clients, organize the community, dodge the system, construct alternatives).

Addressing advocacy for those with disabilities is critical because of the multifarious situations and misconceptions that result in their powerlessness. Fine and Asch (1988) emphasized that the behavior, self-concept, educational achievement, and economic success of people with disabilities can be understood only by looking at people with disabilities as a marginalized group that is subjected to the discrimination found in the social environment. Rothman summarized this view as follows:

> Disability affects an enormous number of people in the United States. For every person with disability, there are also numbers of family members who are impacted by the disability: families poverty because of parent is unable to work, children who are neglected because a parent is physically or mentally unable to care for them, parents whose lives and income are affected by the disability of a child, and children who are caring for parents who are disabled. Disability touches almost everyone in some way and addressing problems related to disability becomes a necessary and vital service as professionals can provide to all clients. (2003 77)

It has been noted (Sheafor et al 2000) that effective and successful advocacy: 1) is built on a foundation of careful analysis and planning using various advocacy skills and strategies, 2) requires careful assessment of what achieving advocacy goal will require in the way of time, energy, money, and other resources, 3) requires building coalition based on mutual trust and mutual self-interest, 4) demands a thorough understanding of the client circumstances, and 5) needs to understand the opposition's thinking and ways to overcome their resistance. Consequently, information is essential to any advocacy effort (Mickelson 1995). Advocating on behalf of people with disabilities to ensure their meaningful participation in the workplace requires that the advocate understand the situation, policies, public perception, client-environment interaction and presenting problem. Information for rehabilitation counselors engaging in advocacy on behalf of persons with disabilities regarding workplace participation are provided in the following section.

REHABILITATION AND ADVOCACY

A variety of services, including vocational evaluation, work adjustment training, counseling services, and placement services are available to those with physical or mental disabilities through rehabilitation centers around the country. As discussed in the employment issues and disabilities section of this article, employer's reluctance to hire people with disabilities is based on misconcep-

tions about them and their abilities. This information is important to a rehabilitation counselor who must educate and guide their clients. A candidate for employment may not be rejected on the basis of a disability if the disability does not keep the candidate from performing job functions. Using empowerment as a component of advocacy, the rehabilitation counselor can provide appropriate information to clients. This information on safety, insurance and liability, and productivity and attendance should be provided to clients, indicating that misconceptions about their abilities have been refuted (Salsgiver 1998; Henderson 1994).

Regarding interpersonal acceptance, and co-worker relationships, rehabilitation counseling in this context involves helping workers with disabilities to adjust to their disabilities and work demands. Counseling services for those that are employed include individual, group, and vocational guidance. Individual counseling stresses work and intervention goals applied to mutually determined problem area (an example may include time management). Group counseling focus on peer interaction and development of social skills and identification of realistic goals (Zastrow 2000). Vocational rehabilitation counselors can guide workers with disabilities in ways to communicate needs and problems to employers. People with disabilities can be taught how to participate in identifying accommodation needs while helping the employers in removing misconceptions about them on the job. Vocational guidance provided by counselors may include explicit information on how to manage interpersonal issues on the job, including knowledge of proper channels for addressing their complaints and concerns.

Rehabilitation counselors can help consumers in dealing with their intrapersonal and psychosocial issues. The psychosocial aspect of persons with disabilities including work ethics, attitudes and ability to get along with others and accept criticism is critical for success in the workplace. Persons with emotional disabilities who are often not accorded the same accommodation as those with physical disabilities may have concerns such as lack of confidence, self-doubt, anxiety, and personal health. Vocational rehabilitation focused on post-placement counseling and follow-up may lead to a higher job retention rate among workers with disabilities (Mackelprang & Salsgiver 1996).

Group or individual counseling strategies can be used to help this population build on the strengths and knowledge that they already have in order to reduce anxiety, enhance social functioning, and resocialize emotionally. Areas of group or individual discussion may include: (a) feelings about disabilities and related fears, for example, fear of being sick at work, difficulty in keeping up with work demands, (b) feelings about themselves, especially about their individuality, and about dealing with being stigmatized, and (c) feelings of embarrassment and rejection, relationship with peers, co-workers, and supervisors. In the area of placement services provided through rehabilitation programs, counselors at many work sites in the community serve as job coaches to assist the client in learning and performing the tasks of the positions for which they have been hired (Fabian & Waugh 2001; Bowe 1980).

Rehabilitation counselors can help working people with disabilities in dealing with assertiveness problems. Because people with disabilities encounter prejudices from their social environment, assertiveness problems may range from extreme introversion, withdrawal to inappropriately flying into a rage that results in alienating others, and shyness. A nonassertive individual is often acquiescent, fearful, and afraid of expressing his or her real spontaneous feelings. Frequently, resentment and anxiety build up, which may result in general discomfort, feelings of low self-esteem, and perhaps a destructive explosion of temper, anger, and aggression (Zastrow 2000). Counselors can help clients to identify the situations or interactions in which the person needs to be more assertive. Strategies in developing assertiveness in clients may include asking clients to keep a diary or mental details of interactions in which he or she feels resentment over being nonassertive, and those interactions in which he or she was overly aggressive. Another strategy is the use of role-play technique. To prepare a shy person, for example, the counselor first models an assertive strategy taking the shy person's role. The shy person concurrently role-plays the role of the person with whom he or she wants to be more assertive. Then the roles are reversed and the person role plays him or herself while the counselor plays the other role (Zastrow 2000).

CONCLUSION

The contribution of the ADA in eliminating discrimination may increase as more employers become more informed and knowledgeable about people with disabilities. Employer representatives need to be familiar with available research that refutes the misconceptions about people with disabilities in the areas of safety in the workplace, insurance and liability, attendance and productivity, interpersonal and intrapersonal aspects. Workplace interpersonal attitudes can be improved through education, training and nondiscriminatory policies. Rehabilitation professionals can take advocacy roles to increase jobs obtainment and retention for persons with disabilities. Using advocacy perspective, case management strategies, and assertiveness technique through formal rehabilitation domain such as vocational evaluation, work adjustment training, counseling services, and placement services, will contribute to make a better work life for people with disabilities. Some of the intrapersonal issues can be reduced through integrating resources from families and groups including coordinating assistance such as working with employers to determine their needs in relation to those of their workers with disabilities.

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MILLENNIUM MADNESS! Y2K?: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF CATASTROPHIC THEMES IN SELECTED PRINT MEDIA

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ABSTRACT

This qualitative research project investigated two related but distinct moments of historic significance. The first pertained to what became known as the Y2K phenomenon. The second involved the dawning of a new millennium. The researchers speculated that each of these events, either independently or upon their convergence, could provide the impetus for mass behavior or aberrant behavior by some millennarium, cultic, or new religious movements. Our interest focused on the impact of the convergence of these two events and the role of the print media in exacerbating or diminishing the effects. Content analysis was employed as the primary method of investigation. We examined the headlines of significant sources of print media throughout the calendar year 1999. Our examination included the headlines of two national magazines, three major national newspapers, one state newspaper and one local municipal newspaper. This research documented themes and narratives which emerged throughout the calendar year of 1999. The most intriguing findings included the absence of any significant event related to Y2K or the new millennium as well as the restraint of the media in their coverage of each event. The researchers explored theoretical frameworks which might explain these findings. In addition, research issues related to methodology peculiar to this type of research were addressed.

INTRODUCTION

Sociologists have recognized the connection between significant or anticipated events, mass media, and collective behavior (Shriver 1995; Goode 1992; Miller 1985; Jenkins 1983; McCarthy & Zald 1973 & 1977). This qualitative research project investigated two related but distinct moments of historic significance. The first pertained to what became known as "Y2K." Y2K was simply a computer-based, technological problem suspected to disrupt major flows of commerce and indispensable governmental services. The second involved the horizon of a new millennium and the potential for violent or aberrant behavior by extremists. Some speculated that the dawning of a new millennium could have apocalyptic significance and thereby set the context for some extreme behavior. We were curious about the impact of the convergence of these two events and the role of the print media in exacerbating or diminishing the effects.

A myriad of questions were posed as we approached the research. These questions included: Would there be a growing anticipation which would give rise to collective behavior? Would there be an increase of sectarian, prophetic types of groups? How much play would the print media grant these themes and what would the content include? Would there be some spontaneous and/or mob-like behavior unrelated to religious concerns?

Sociologists have explored and addressed some of these issues in detail. The field of collective behavior and social movement analysis provides a theoretical basis for explicating public behavior, both panic (mob-like) and more rational or instrumental. A brief review of these traditions is warranted.

Early explanations of collective behavior were distinctly psychological, largely drawn from the works of crowd psychologists (Morris & Herring 1987). In the early twentieth century, research on collective behavior shifted to a sociological approach. Early sociological explanations (e.g., the Chicago School) of collective behavior retained some of the elements found in the seminal works of crowd psychologists. Collective behavior was still viewed as spontaneous, contagious to bystanders, fluid in organizational structure, and lacking any instrumental agenda. The participant was often cast as irrational and vulnerable to the suggestions of others (Miller 1985; Goode 1992). By the 1960s, this view of collective behavior was supplanted with a novel set of ideas. Sociologists focused on organization, rationality of the participant, and the instrumentality of the action/behavior of the group. This later genre' became known as "social movement theory" or "social movement analysis." Without entering the debate, scholars argue whether these two traditions are related or are distinct fields within sociology (McAdam, McCarthy & Zald 1988).

The cornerstone work on social movement theory was developed by McCarthy and Zald (1973). In their conceptual framework, collective action was viewed as rational and instrumental, with organizational features as

paramount to the success and failure of any given collective action. The treatment of collective action ostensibly appeared as organizational behaviorism. Although this approach dominated the field of collective behavior for two decades, it suffered a series of setbacks that eventually led to its demise. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, social constructionists and new social movement theorists began to proffer ideas which opposed the prevailing view of collective action. These new theorists recapitulated some of the concerns found in the early research of collective behavior, mainly the role of ideology, spontaneous participation, and the social construction of collective action (Buechler 1993, 1995).

These approaches, which sociologists have developed in explicating collective action, cover a broad range of behavior. In this project, we did not subscribe to any particular branch of collective behavior prior to the year 2000. However, we recognized, and to some extent are indebted to, the variety of explanations which sociologists have developed over the years.

RESEARCH AGENDA

As stated in the introduction, our investigation involved a thematic documentation of two related but analytically distinct events. The first event related to the phenomenon of Y2K. This involved the specter of a technological catastrophe. The second event was the frontier of a new millennium and potentially extreme behavior by some millenarian, cultic, or new religious movements. The imputation of special significance by some of these groups to a new millennia could prompt disorderly action. It seemed plausible that each of these events, either independently or upon their convergence, could provide the necessary ingredients to spark panic, hysteria, or collective action.

Y2K Phenomenon

The Y2K phenomenon was associated with a technical problem involving the change from the twentieth to the twenty-first century. The source of this problem was allied to the inception of the computer. Early computers were limited by storage space. Programmers attempted to rectify this limitation by truncating the 'year' to two spaces. For example, 1950 was designated by the last two digits, indicating decade and year. The twentieth century was assumed by the early programmers. The complications emerged at the end of the twentieth century with the designation of 2000. The computer code did not recognize the year 00 to be greater than the previous year, 99. Speculation was that this could create several problems for business data processing systems, including federal, state, and local governments. This potential problem came to be known in popular culture as the "Y2K bug."

Since the effect of this was unknown until January 1, 2000, the speculation and bantering of officials, experts, claims-makers, etc. were thought to have a social psychological consequence on collective behavior greater than the actual threat posed by the Y2K bug. Ironically, modern nations/states were considered to be more vulnerable to this problem than their less technical counterparts. Some expected that populations lacking a social infrastructure predicated on computer technology might be blissfully unaware of the potentiality of a major crisis. Nevertheless, our interest and research question focused on whether the perceived technical crises would provide the impetus for aberrant mass behavior.

Millennium

In addition to the technical problems associated with computers, the ideological phenomenon associated with the end of the century and the finality of this millennia, presented a host of problems distinct from Y2K. New religious movements, especially those which espoused an apocalyptic state of humanity, might place special emphasis on the horizon of a new millennia.

New religious movements which have manifested violence (for example, Synanon, the Manson Family, the Branch Davidians, the Lundgren group, Order of the Solar Temple, the People's Temple, and the followers of Lindberg) tend to possess an apocalyptic belief system and/or millennial visions of the "end times." Many apocalyptic belief systems or millennial visions contain an antinomian component. According to Robbins and Anthony (1995), antinomianism provides the basis for conflict and violence during selected periods of time when "the elect" are to be receptive and ready for the dawning of a new millennial age. In addition, such ideational commitments may imply persecution of "the elect" by a recalcitrant, unbelieving

world. This contributes to the marginal, precarious relationship between the new religious movement and the larger society.

Apocalyptic or millennial visions as ideational commitments are not sufficient by themselves to cause violence. Many mainstream religious groups espouse apocalyptic narratives and have proven to be very peaceful. Additional elements are needed to heighten the risk of the new religious movements' status. Robbins and Anthony (1995) developed the concept of "exemplary dualism" to explain how apocalyptic and millennial narratives become imbued with a greater sense of urgency and risk. In essence, exemplary dualism increases the group's proclivity for conflict and violence by detranscendentalizing apocalyptic or millenniarian narratives to contemporary social and political realities. A group will view conflict with worldly (non-elect) entities in the present, thus conferring greater importance to the outcomes of their conflict.

That the general population is knowledgeable of such themes seems entirely conceivable, as they have been central themes to many movies, documentaries, exposes, etc. The researchers believed it was plausible that the stage might be set for a violent eruption on the part of an apocalyptic new religious movement.

METHODOLOGY

Origins of the Project

This project was originally conceived by the lead researcher prior to the 1999 spring semester (roughly mid-January). He speculated that this would be a "once in a lifetime" opportunity to document the convergence of two major events. Shortly thereafter, two other researchers were invited to join the project. After exploring the boundaries of the project, content analysis was employed as the primary method of investigation. Our investigation led us to follow the headlines of significant sources of print media.

Methodological Decisions

Three major national/international newspapers were identified, each representing a different geographic section of the country and each having a sizable number of readers. The newspapers included the *New York Times*, the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Los Angeles Times*. We also decided to track two local newspapers for some contrast to the national print media. The *Daily Oklahoman* and the *Edmond Sun* were selected. Both sources were dominant shareholders in their respective markets. In addition, we decided to follow two major news magazines, *Newsweek* and *U.S. News and World Report*.

To begin the process, the researchers spent many hours in the university library looking through the January 1999 editions of all selected data sources. Initially, we were attempting to get a feel for the number and types of articles. The enormity of the project and commensurate time commitment was readily realized. To expedite the process, we decided to search for appropriate articles on the newspaper/magazine's web page. After we found the citation on-line, we then found the published article to document our investigative questions.

Along with the initial problems regarding sources and how to access the material, we also had to make decisions regarding the types of articles and the information appropriate to our research. We developed a list of keywords associated with the themes of Y2K and millennium. The following terms were included in our list:

- Y2K
- year 2000
- millennium
- cult
- religious movement
- survivalist(s)
- apocalypse
- apocalyptic
- prophecy
- prophetic
- prophet(s)
- Armageddon
- doomsday

We decided to earmark any article in which one or more of these words appeared in the title or subtitle, or were readily identifiable in the text. A keyword search was performed for the three national newspapers on their respective Internet sites. Direct observation of the paper editions of two local newspapers and two national magazines was also used as sources of data.

Determining what to record was due in part to informal interviews with editors and journalists. For example, we were going to infer the importance of an article by the size of the headline. This function is often stan-

dardized, we were informed, especially with local newspapers. This led us to discount headline size as relating to the importance of the article. In addition, we initially measured the amount of space of each article, but quickly found that the enormity of such a task was beyond the amount of time we could apportion to the project.

After several weeks of trial and error, we developed a rubric that we believed would satisfy the purpose of the project. Included in our reporting would be the title of the article, the location of the article on the page it appeared, the page number, the section (Business, Sports, Modern Living, etc.) in which it was found, and the key term of the article. Five categories were devised based on the list of keywords. Articles were categorized primarily by keywords found in the titles or subtitles. This process posed a number of methodological problems, as well as other issues as discussed in the next section.

Figure 1 - Magazine Article Theme Summary

Newsweek

14 total articles or mentions	13/51 issues (25.5%)
Y2K	8
Trends	2
First babies of 2000	1
Travel	1
Prophecy	2

U.S. News and World Report

30 total articles	24/52 issues (46.2%)
Y2K	13
Millennium	7
Cults	5
Millennium & Y2K	1
Cult & Doomsday	1
Other	3

Methodological Difficulties and Adjustments

Initial searches of the web sites of the three major newspapers were started by February 4, 1999. Immediately we encountered difficulties with this procedure. Printing the articles from the web site proved to be cumbersome and time consuming. Other difficulties arose as well. For example, the page and location of the article on the Internet site was often inconsistent with the published edition. Additionally, search engines were often down for entire days leading to spikes in the workload. We also faced times in which Internet access was incredibly slow, and searches had to be done early in the morning for best access. Perhaps the most frustrating problem encountered was that the Internet version of each edition was significantly different from the published version. We quickly determined that the Internet procedure did not grant any advantages or time-savings and was abandoned in favor of direct examination of the published editions.

Challenges also occurred in the categorization of the articles. Some newspapers used the terms "Y2K," "year 2000" and "millennium" interchangeably. For example, the *New York Times* often used the designation "year 2000" to refer to the Y2K problem. The term "millennium" was also used in reference to the Y2K problem. In addition, each researcher made decisions about categorization of articles for their sources, giving rise to the possibility of variations in coding. Two of the researchers tended to identify some articles as being multi-categorical, whereas one researcher tended to place articles in only one discrete category. (This was later corrected for consistency.) We also discovered that each data source had its own design for the types and numbers of sections. This not only varied between sources, but it also varied between editions depending on the day of the week. Nevertheless, decisions were made in such cases to maintain consistency in comparing data sources.

The first few issues of January 2000 were also examined to see what kinds of follow-up articles might be presented in the aftermath of the reality of Y2K and the advent of a new millennium. (Although technically the new millennium did not start until 2001.)

RESULTS

Statistics and Theme Summary

Although the researchers had no preconceived idea of how many articles might be published in any given month, or in what sections of the newspaper the articles would appear in, or what themes would dominate, it was expected that the numbers of articles would gradually increase as the new year approached. However, the trend which emerged in terms of numbers of articles published by the print media defied our expectations.

Nearly every section of each newspaper

Table 1 - Newspaper Source, Total No. of Articles Published, Total No. of Issues with at least One Article during 1999/Total Issues Published during 1999, Percentage of Total Issues with at least One Article during 1999

Source	Total Articles	Total Issues / Total Issues for Year	Percentage
Edmond Sun	83	55/259*	21.2%
Daily Oklahoman	194	115/352	32.7%
New York Times	166	122/352	34.7%
L.A. Times	250	157/352	44.6%
Chicago Tribune	280	174/352	49.4%

*The *Edmond Sun* is published Sundays and Tuesday-Friday.

included at least one article at some point during the year. The sections most represented by articles were the Main and Business sections. Sections less represented included Travel, Arts, Science, Editorials, Opinions, as well as sections unique to each newspaper. The articles published in these unique sections were typically concerned with local preparedness for Y2K or millennium events.

The most obvious observation in regard to themes was a lack of articles regarding cultic, doomsday, prophetic, Armageddon, apocalyptic, alarmist, or survivalist activities. The main themes emerging from the analysis related either to Y2K (preparedness) or the millennium.

The percentage of issues of *Newsweek* and *U.S. News and World Report* containing articles appropriate to this research was in the same range of the numbers published by the local and national newspapers, as noted by Figure 1. Although *U.S. News and World Report* published nearly twice as many articles than *Newsweek*, the most represented categories were the same for both magazines, with Y2K articles outnumbering millennium articles 2:1. Except for the Y2K articles, those appearing in *Newsweek* were more of a general interest nature. As shown, *U.S. News and World Report* published some articles relative to cultic activity. More "cult" articles were published in the *U.S. News and World Report* than in the *Edmond Sun*, the *Daily Oklahoman*, or *New York Times*.

Table 1 summarizes the total number of articles containing the keyword(s) published in the five newspapers included in this analysis. The last column in Table 1 also indicates the percentage of total issues in which at least one article was published during 1999. Of these five newspapers, the *Chicago Tribune* published the greatest number of articles and had the highest percentage of issues containing at least one article. Of the national newspapers, the *New York Times* published the fewest number of articles. Although the *New York Times* published fewer total articles than the *Daily Oklahoman*, the *New York Times* did exceed the *Daily Oklahoman* in the percentage of issues containing at least one article.

The *Edmond Sun* published the fewest number of articles and had the lowest percentage of total issues containing at least one article. During our analysis, The *Edmond Sun* was not published on Saturdays or Mondays. This could account for the low representation in total numbers. However, the percentage of issues was lower in the *Edmond Sun* than all other newspapers.

Figure 2 is a bar graph which compares on a month-to-month basis the total number of articles found in each of the five newspapers included in this study. Although the researchers speculated that an increase in the number of articles published would occur each month, Figure 2 shows that the pattern in numbers of articles published was more complicated and unpredictable. Overall, March and April saw a slight increase in total numbers of articles over January and February. May totals, however, returned to January and February levels. June through October levels were below the January and February levels. November saw a considerable increase in the number of articles published, and the numbers peaked in December.

From January through May, the *Chicago Tribune* exceeded all other newspapers in the total number of articles published. In March, the *Chicago Tribune* contained over twice as many articles as any of the other newspapers. During the months of July and December, the *Daily Oklahoman* published more articles than any other newspaper

Figure 2: Total Newspaper Articles by Source - 1999

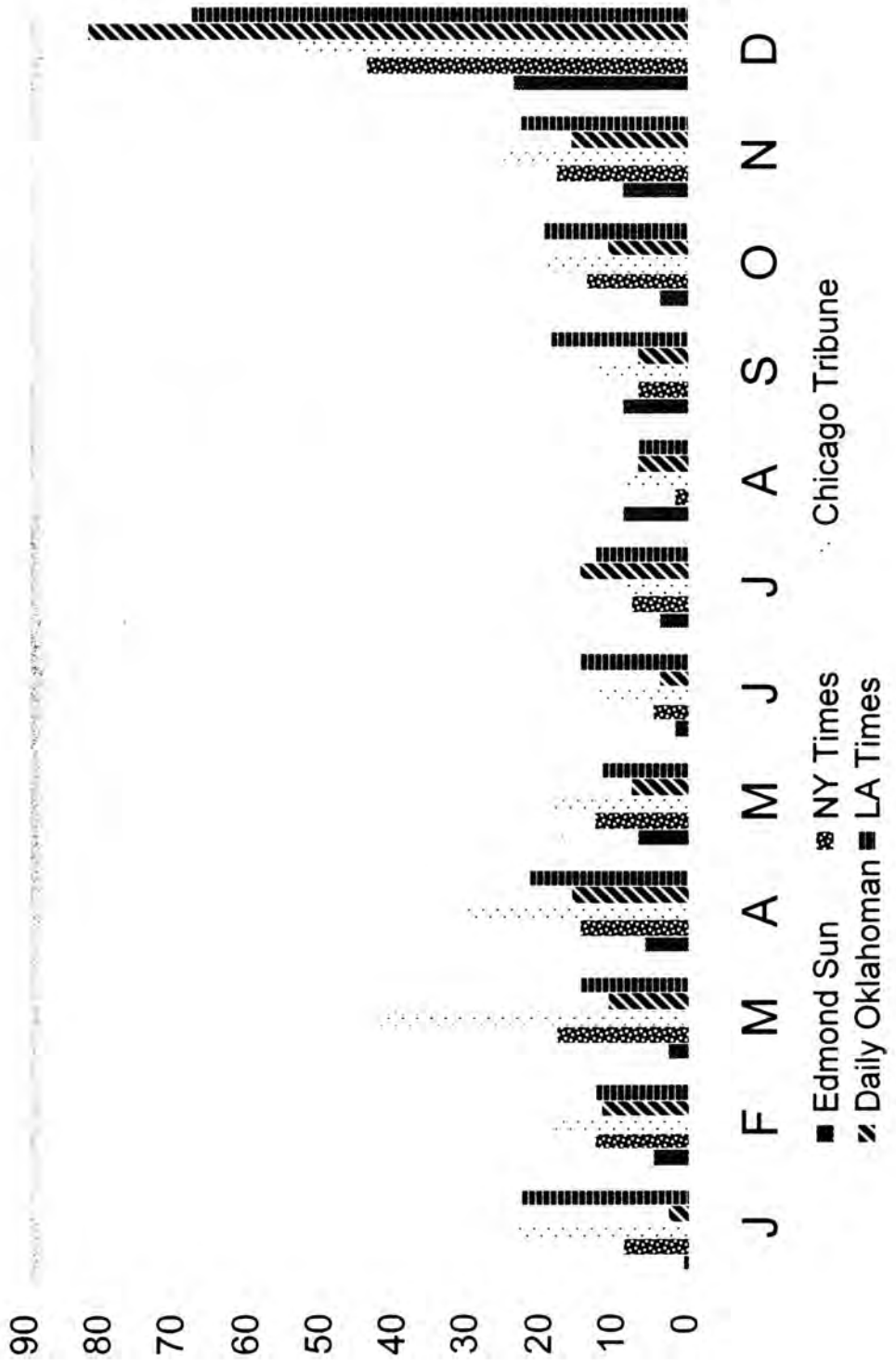

Table 2 - Article Placement in Section of the Paper

	Edmond Sun		*Daily Oklahoman*		*NY Times*		*L.A. Times*		*Chicago Tribune*	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Main	45	54.2	76	39.0	13	7.8	92	36.8	124	44.3
Business	8	9.6	75	38.5	42	25.3	67	26.8	83	29.6
Nat/Int	8	9.6	8	4.1	41	24.7	2	0.8	–	–
Opinion	10	12.0	–	–	10	6.0	–	–	–	–
Editorial	2	2.4	1	0.5	5	3.0	–	–	–	–
Travel	–	–	6	3.1	4	2.4	2	0.8	8	2.9
Living*	–	–	–	–	–	–	29	11.6	–	–
Calendar*	–	–	–	–	–	–	11	4.4	–	–
Circuits^	–	–	–	–	10	6.0	–	–	–	–
Tempo$	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	23	8.2
Metro*	–	–	–	–	–	–	24	9.6	–	–
Local	2	2.4	3	1.5	3	1.8	1	0.4	6	2.1
Art	–	–	–	–	11	6.6	–	–	18	6.4
Science	–	–	–	–	2	1.2	–	–	–	–
Tech^	–	–	–	–	11	6.6	–	–	–	–
Road to 2000+	–	–	13	6.7	–	–	–	–	–	–
Other**	8	9.6	13	6.7	14	8.4	22	8.8	18	6.4
Total	83		195		166		250		280	

**L.A. Times* only
^*New York Times* only
$*Chicago Tribune* only
+*Daily Oklahoman* only
**includes such sections as Jobs, Sports

source. In December, the *Daily Oklahoman* published over 30 percent of the total number of articles published. The *Edmond Sun* published the fewest number of articles every month except August.

Table 2 is a summary of the newspaper sections in which articles were found. Although nearly every section of all five newspapers was represented with at least one article, the greatest number of articles was found in either the Business section or the Main section. A few articles were collapsed into the Other category which included sections like Jobs, Sports, Entertainment, Highway.

Over 50 percent (n=45) of the articles found in the *Edmond Sun* were found in the Main section. Thirty-nine percent (n=76) of the *Daily Oklahoman* articles were located in the Main section and 38.5 percent (n=75) in the Business section. A small number of articles were located in the Road to 2000 section, a section exclusive to the *Daily Oklahoman*.

In the *New York Times* only a few articles were located in the Main section, 25.3 percent (n=42) in the Business section and 24.7 percent (n=41) in the National/International section. The Opinion, Editorial, Arts, Tech (a section unique to the *New York Times*) and the Other sections also contained articles worth noting.

Almost thirty-seven percent (n=92) of the *L.A. Times* articles were located in the Main section and 26.8 percent (n=67) in the Business section. Several articles were located in the Southern California Living and Metro sections (both sections unique to the *L.A. Times*). The Other section also contained a fair representation of articles.

Just over forty-four percent (n=124) of the *Chicago Tribune* articles were located in the Main section and 29.6 percent (n=83) were located in the Business section. Twenty-one percent of the articles published in the *Chicago Tribune* were located in the Tempo (n=23) (unique to the *Chicago Tribune*), Arts (n=18), and Other (n=18) sections.

A breakdown of articles by category for each of the five newspapers is set out in Table

Table 3 - Articles by Category

	Edmond Sun	*Daily Oklahoman*	*NY Times*	*LA Times*	*Chicago Tribune*	**Totals**
Y2K	66	149	46	174	175	610
Millennium	8	17	30	40	41	136
Relig. Move.	1	2	0	0	1	4
Cult/Hate	0	2	4	5	6	17
Year 2000	0	16	42	1	0	59
Apocalyptic	0	3	2	5	10	20
Multiple Categories	7	4	42	10	47	110
Other	1	2	0	15	0	18
Totals	83	195	166	250	280	974

3. The number of articles written relative to Y2K far exceeded any of the other categories. Significantly, the number of Y2K articles exceeded all other categories combined by more than a 2:1 ratio. Y2K articles represented over 50 percent of the articles in each of the newspapers except the *New York Times*. This is due to the *New York Times'* reference to matters relative to Y2K as year 2000. This also explains why the *New York Times* had a larger representation in the Year 2000 category than any of the other newspapers.

The number of articles in the second largest category "millennium" was still far below the number of Y2K articles. The national newspapers published more millennium articles than any of the local newspapers.

Surprisingly, there were few articles with religious movement, cultic or apocalyptic themes (41 total). The *Chicago Tribune* published most of the articles found in these categories. The *Chicago Tribune* published twice as many apocalyptic articles than any of the other newspapers.

Many articles addressed multiple categories. For example, an article may have contained a Y2K , apocalyptic and/or a millennium theme. Therefore, a "multiple category" was established. Both the *New York Times* and the *Chicago Tribune* published more multi-categorized articles than the other three newspapers.

YEAR 2000

The researchers continued their data collection of the five newspapers into the first three days of the Year 2000. We compared the contents of coverage appearing after the new year to those prior to January 1, 2000. Several patterns were observed. First, an overwhelming number of articles appeared in each of the newspapers on January 1, 2000, relative to the prior twelve months. Each national newspaper devoted an entire section to matters related to the millennium and/or Y2K. Nearly all millennium articles related to celebrations of the new year. Only the *Edmond Sun* did not cover these celebrations. Y2K articles were slightly more varied, but were dominated by an anti-climactic theme. Consistent with the data from 1999, very few articles in any of the newspapers addressed cultic or apocalyptic activities or religious movements. As expected, there was a difference in subcategories, as 1999 focused on Y2K readiness while issues in 2000 portrayed Y2K as anti-climactic. In addition, 1999 publications contained many multiple categories, while 2000 publications focused on millennium celebrations.

The *New York Times'* coverage exceeded the other two national newspapers with the first ten pages of the Main section devoted to Y2K and millennium issues. Two special sections were included: The Millennium and The Millennium Part II which totaled 52 pages. These sections included reflections of the past millennium and a look toward the new millennium.

The headlines appearing on the front page of the *Edmond Sun's* first issue of the new year reinforced the anti-climactic theme of the national newspapers: "Y2K bug doesn't bite." In addition, headlines and articles appearing in this issue were related to the success of Oklahoma's planning in regard to Y2K. In the Neighbors section, there was a lengthy article which expressed concern that the Y2K catastrophe could still be lurking. Dissimilar to the national newspapers and the *Daily Oklahoman*, the first few issues of the 2000 *Edmond Sun* rendered no coverage to millennium celebrations. However, similar to the other newspapers,

there was an absence of cultic, apocalyptic and religious movement themes.

The first issue of the new year of the *Daily Oklahoman*, similar to the national newspapers, was extensive in its coverage of Y2K and the millennium. Most of the Y2K articles related to the anti-climactic nature of the "Bug." This is reflected by some of the headlines: "Y2K Bug turns out to be more like Y2-zzzzz," which appeared on the front page of the January 1, 2000, issue. Another headline appearing in the Main section, "Y2K: Apocalypse Not," further echoed this theme.

Similar to the national papers, the first issue of the *Daily Oklahoman* was also extensive in its coverage of local, national and international millennium celebrations. An entire page in the Main section reported what Oklahomans were doing during the final moments of 1999. A second page was devoted to the events of the other 49 states.

Front page headlines in the January 2, 2000 issue, were as colorful in portraying the anti-climactic nature of the millennium and Y2K events: "And Life Goes On: 2000 Rolls in Bug-Free"; "Only New Year's Glitch is Spelling Millennium." While the January 1, 2000, issue looked at how Oklahomans celebrated New Years Eve, the January 2, 2000, issue included multiple pages devoted to the prepardness of each county and municipality in Oklahoma. New Year's Eve celebrations across the nation and around the world were also covered. One obscure headline in the January 2, 2000, edition summed up attitudes toward the Y2K and millennium concerns: "End of world? Many say they'd party, then pray."

DISCUSSION

As stated, we did not devise a testable, concrete hypothesis. We discussed, however, possible scenarios that might develop as the year progressed. For example, while we did not have a specific idea as to the absolute numbers of articles or the variation in numbers of articles from month to month, we did expect a graduated increase toward the conclusion of 1999. This was borne out by the data, although it occurred much later than what we had anticipated (emerging in late December).

As indicated in the introduction to this paper, we anticipated problems associated with the Y2K phenomenon and the advent of a new millennium. Perusal of the articles during the year, including New Year's Eve, showed a notable absence of catastrophic events of any kind. The coverage of all related themes throughout the year ostensibly focussed on Y2K articles. Most of these articles dealt with preparedness of local, state and federal entities. A few alarmist articles were published regarding the lack of Y2K preparedness in some areas, such as in the military or in foreign countries.

In similar fashion, we were surprised by the dearth of articles on the topics of doomsday, Armageddon, apocalypse, and related themes. The most notable mention of any religious extremism was associated with other countries rather than domestic groups. For example, reports in several data sources regarding groups in Israel, China and Japan created some concern. The most extensive domestic coverage of the apocalyptic theme occurred in the November 1, 1999, issue of *Newsweek*. The cover was entitled, "Prophecy: What the Bible Says About the End of the World". One major article and several secondary articles appeared in this issue.

The most intriguing finding in this study was the absence of any significant event related to Y2K or the new millennium. Without a detailed thematic analysis of each article, we can only speculate as to lack of aberrant events. The highly industrialized societies, newly developing and least developed countries experienced little disruption in commerce or services. We anticipated that the least developed countries were less likely to experience any problems. This may be due to the absence or under-developed infrastructure predicated upon computer technology. The lower end of the technology spectrum appeared to be immune to such disruption. At the other end of the continuum, the highly industrialized nations experienced little disruption. In the final analysis, Y2K commenced with a whimper, rather than a bang.

Weber's (1921/1968) theory of rationalization may be one plausible explanation for this lack of disruption. Weber suggested that an increasing number of sectors within society would be dominated by rational principles. This appears to be the case for the Y2K phenomenon. The data indicate that the most alarming articles came in the Spring of 1999. The numbers decreased over the summer and then steadily increased to the pinnacle in late December. A cursory view of the titles seemed to abate the fears of a tech-

nological breakdown. As we approached the year 2000, an increasingly rational focus with concomitant technical solutions dominated the print media landscape. Technology also played a crucial role in abating public anxiety. For example, countries that were many time zones ahead of the U. S. were seen via television celebrating the new year. These nations did not report any problems.

A second point may be made from Weber's (1921/1968) ideas. Industrialized societies that appear to be most vulnerable and at the greatest risk are also highly secularized and rationalized. Weber's pessimism regarding the "iron cage" of rationality may partly explain the dearth of articles on religious zealots and other millennialists. In previous centuries the dominate theme was ostensibly religious. This study suggests that religious fears were eclipsed by technical problems with rational resolutions. This is not to suggest that religious extremism has been forever silenced. A cursory view indicates religious fervor in many industrialized and post-industrialized countries. But it is clear that today's social concerns are answered with technical solutions. Also important to note is that millennial or apocalyptic groups are not only encumbered by rationality, but by routinization as well. Sociologists of religion have noted that routinization dampens proclivities toward violent, aberrant behavior.

Perhaps the most ubiquitous finding is the treatment of these issues by the media. As previously stated, there was a notable lack of alarmist or provocative types of articles. Collective behavior theorists have cited the importance of the role of the media in promoting or encouraging various types of collective action. Among the seven sources of print media examined, it was remarkable that all exhibited restraint in reporting the issues.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE CONTENT ANALYSIS RESEARCH

In conducting this research, we became aware of the problems associated with content analysis research, particularly in reference to Internet technology as a means of accessing the print media. We would recommend to someone conducting this type of research to define their source as either the "on-line edition" or the "published edition" of particular print media. Unfortunately, the two sources diverge from one another. In addition, ascertaining the placement of an article in the published version from the online version is not possible. Also, we found that newspapers are not consistent with one another in their design or layout. Newspaper publishers also cater to their unique local population, making it extraordinarily difficult to perform a comparative analysis. Making decisions relative to these variations is recommended prior to research. We would also recommend that fewer sources be included in the research, allowing more time for in-depth analysis of the contents of the articles from a variety of theoretical perspectives.

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WHO AM I NOW? THE REIFICATION OF SELF IN A NURSING HOME

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ABSTRACT

Threats to the self and its constituent reifications are examined in the context of the phenomenology of Alfred Schutz. It is argued that self-reifications serve to limit the world openness of the human condition and that nursing home placement threatens these reifications and therefore the ability of residents to "think as usual." Thirty-eight case studies from nursing homes in both Kansas and Oregon are examined and are used to illustrate how reminiscence serves as a means to re-reify the self in a manner in which taken-for-grantedness can be regained.

INTRODUCTION

In this analysis I argue that the social changes inherent with nursing home placement present enormous challenges to the ability of residents to "think as usual," that is, to take the world for granted. Because of the fundamental importance of taken-for-grantedness as a mechanism to provide order and sense to their worlds, residents must find ways to adjust to the dramatic and stigmatizing changes of nursing home placement. To this end, residents often use reminiscence as a tool to reassert past conceptions of self (recollected self-reifications) and to reject current nursing home experience as unimportant (experience negation). I draw from two theoretical and philosophical traditions: symbolic interaction and phenomenology (for a similar synthesis see March 2000). From symbolic interaction I proceed with the understanding that the self is a discursive social product that is created, maintained, and changed in response to social conditions (Copp 2001; Gubrium & Holstein 2000; Mead 1964). From a phenomenological perspective, I argue that taken-for-grantedness and the reification of self are fundamental necessities that are profoundly threatened by the social changes brought by life in the nursing home (Moore 1995; Thomason 1982).

Data are examined from 38 interviews with nursing home residents from Manhattan, Kansas and La Grande, Oregon. The interactionist and phenomenological traditions serve as explanatory frameworks for the self-management strategies used by these residents with particular emphasis upon self-reification. Self-reification refers to the process by which social actors make the social process of self "thing like" (Thomason 1982, 1994). The importance of self-reification is frequently under appreciated. However, this analysis suggests that self-reifications serve as nomic or order making constructs, and therefore are necessary and important parts of human experience. Without these self-reifications social life would be impossible. Faced with dramatic social change, residents in a nursing home face unimaginable threats to self-conception. The nursing home setting, therefore, provides a unique opportunity to study self reifications and the manner by which these reifications are maintained, defended, and abandoned.

Perhaps no other event in an individual's life is as life-changing and stigmatizing as placement in a nursing home (Goffman 1963). To be a nursing home resident is to abandon or diminish all other identities. Combined with the stigmatizing potential of illness and infirmity, nursing home placement is a significant threat to self (for an analysis of illness and self see Charmaz 1991). In addition, in many ways nursing homes resemble "total institutions" (Goffman 1961). In these settings, residents can no longer self-determine many of their own activities and often abandon most aspects of their earlier lives as they become part of the institutional setting (Schmitt 2000). Loss of independence is a common theme in the nursing home. Two residents from Kansas discuss this fact in the following way.

> I just bought a new lawnmower before they put me in this place - brand new! Can't use it here, I just want to go home and mow my lawn...do the things I always did. (Earl, Kansas)

> You can't eat here. It's not worth eating. I was a good cook...gotta to be when you have kids...They feed you right on time here; it doesn't matter when you are hungry. (Rebecca, Kansas)

In their simplicity these narratives provide

poignant insight into the loss of self-determination experienced by these residents.

Life in a nursing home is not something easily grasped by those not intimately part of one. Diamond (1992) writes about nursing homes from the perspective of staff, stressing the industrial and institutional nature of life there as juxtaposed to the actual needs of residents and employees. Gubrium (1993) provides a detailed ethnography of nursing home residents covering issues such as self, home, family, and death suggesting that nursing homes must be understood in term of the "horizons of meaning" to be found there. While important, accounts of nursing home life (including this one) cannot truly capture the subjective nuances of resident life. However, one thing is certain life inside the nursing home is different from life outside the nursing home. Of no matter what a resident's life consisted before the nursing home, and no matter what problems they faced, life before the nursing home constitutes a dramatic and stigmatizing transition. This is not to say that nursing home life is always worse. Nancy from Oregon points out

> they feed you three times a day here, I have a bed, and it is safe...I never had that before.

Nevertheless, nursing home placement causes significant changes for residents. To fully understand the impact of these changes, however, we must first understand the unproblematic nature of everyday existence outside the nursing home, a facet of reality described by phenomenologists as the "life-world."

The Life-World

Alfred Schutz concludes that the paramount reality, the basis for everyday life, is the life-world. He states, "the life-world is that province of reality that the wide-awake and normal adult simply takes for granted in an attitude of common sense" (Schutz & Luckmann 1973). While not the only province of reality, the world of science, the dream world, the fantasy world, and the worlds of the insane are clearly others, it is by far the most important. The life-world is the reality from which the social cloth is made. All claims to "truth" and "normality," for example, find their base in the life-world. Characterized by action not ideas, pragmatism not science, and taken for grantedness not reflexivity; the life-world is the "unexamined ground of all human experience" and as such must be the starting point for any science of society. Schutz argues

> the sciences that would interpret and explain human action must begin with a description of the foundational structures of what is prescientific, the reality which seems self-evident to men remaining within the natural attitude. This reality is the everyday life-world. (Schutz & Luckmann 1973: 3)

As a largely descriptive endeavor, phenomenology as articulated by Schutz does not squarely address either the origins of the life-world or what purpose if any it might serve. However, Berger and Luckmann (1966) point out that the life-world and its characteristic taken-for-grantedness are an outcome of the social world building process necessitated by "man's relative disposition of world-openness" (Gehlen 1988).

> Man occupies a peculiar position in the animal kingdom. Unlike the other higher mammals, he has no species-specific environment, no environment firmly structured by his own instinctual organization. (Berger & Luckmann 1966:45-8)

Humans, then, are thought to possess fewer, less well-organized instincts than are their counterparts in the animal world, they are markedly "unfinished," and "deficient beings" (Gehlen 1988:13). Such a lack of instinctual organization leaves humans particularly vulnerable "they are not biologically wired to conduct themselves in any certain manner" (Berger & Luckmann 1966:45). Without significant instincts, humans are consigned by nature to anomie and insecurity (for a discussion of world openness see Williams 2001). In all respects a world so open and chaotic would be unlivable (Thomason 1994). Social order, then, must be constructed. One important tool in this process is the construction of social institutions.

Social institutions are durable sets of social relationships and as Berger and Luckmann (1966) point out, arise from the ongoing relationships and habitual activities of social actors. Over time the constructedness of these relationships becomes forgotten and

reified – literally "thing-a-fied" (Thomason 1982). It is because of this forgetfulness and taken-for-grantedness that institutions come to limit the world openness of the human condition; that is, to serve as "nomic instrumentalities" (Thomason 1982). For example, institutions such as religion, family, marriage, and government provide order to the inherent lack of order that is characteristic of being human by providing recipes for understanding and by locating the humanly constructed and questionable world in the domain of the "real" and "unquestionable." In a very similar way Schutz refers to the order making function of culture when he states

> thus it is the function of the cultural pattern to eliminate troublesome inquiries by offering ready-made directions for use, to replace truth hard to attain by comfortable truisms, and to substitute the self explanatory for the questionable. (1964:95)

While the nomic functions of social institutions enabled by reification are of fundamental importance, it is important to note that they are not the only order making social phenomena. Additionally, the self must also be seen in this context (Gubrium & Holstein 2000). As the outcome of an ongoing social process, the reified self is also a nomic construct. Self-reifications delimit the insecurity of human existence by providing readymade recipes for identity. They give an objective thing like quality to self thus reducing anomie and insecurity. Another way to say this is that self-reifications allow social actors to take themselves for granted as self-evidently real, to replace the questionable and socially constructed with the certain (Schutz & Luckmann 1973:4).

The study of the nature of self has a long, ongoing, and important history in interactionist thought (see for example Cheung & Lau 2001; Copp 2001; Fontana & Schmidt 2000; Garnett & Buchner 2000; Gubrium & Holstein 2000; Gusfield 2001). At the heart of this discourse is that while each human is one biological organism she nevertheless constitutes a plurality, both subject and object (Mead 1968). William James (1890) states, the self is the "the thought that becomes the thinker." Importantly, the process by which the self becomes an object is social; the self is constructed through social interaction and in time becomes recognized by the individual and others as an objective or reified entity (Berger & Luckmann 1966; Mead 1964). What is important, however, is that while the self is an ongoing social process, we nevertheless do not see ourselves in that way. Rather, we think of ourselves as accomplished facts. This forgetful objectification of self is achieved by a process of reification. Berger and Luckmann discuss reification of self in the following manner.

> Finally, identity itself (the total self, if one prefers) may be reified, both one's own and that of others. There is then a total identification of the individual with his socially assigned typifications. (1966:91)[1]

For humans, the reification of self is a common state of affairs. This can be demonstrated through an analysis of a very common sense notion: the process of self-identification. The statement "I am _____" can only be completed with the insertion of reifications of one sort or another. For example, Ralph from Oregon states "I was a butcher. I made sausage, ham, and bacon." Maude concludes "I was a mother and worked my whole life...I never depended upon a man." Not only a common reality, self-reification is also a necessary one. Self-reifications provide order and a sense of givenness to the self in the context of the world openness of the human condition. Without self-reification there would be no self as we recognize it. Rather, our self conceptions would be in a continuous state of flux, contingent upon ever changing social circumstances. To use Mead's (1964) terminology, we would exist in a succession of "mes." The anomie created by an unreified self would be paralyzing (Moore 1995; Thomason 1994).

While the reification of self is indeed a necessary and ubiquitous facet of social life, it is also important to note that as a social process self reification is socially located. That is, it is dependent upon social, cultural, and historical factors. For example, the Asian experience of self no doubt differs from the European experience, the male experience of self is in many respects different than that of the female experience, and our grandmother's experience of self is substantially different than our own. In any real sense, to talk about the reification of self requires us to better specify or triangulate this experience in the culture and time it was produced.

This analysis, then, is located in the social fabric of the United States as experienced by cohorts of men and women born between 1910 and 1950.

Self-reifications, then, are necessary because these reifications are a "normalizing" and order producing part of the human experience. It would be missing the point to conclude, however, that self-reifications are easily maintained. As mentioned earlier, nursing home placement causes significant changes in the lives of older persons.[2] In the nursing home, most self-reifications including such facticities as occupational identification, role in the family, and relationships with friends are either abandoned or significantly modified. The net result of these changes is that residents are potentially exposed to anomie and disorder. This presents an important question, however; in what ways do residents deal with anomie and the radical changes brought by the nursing home?

If residents are to regain the taken-for-grantedness associated with self-reifications that are lost when they experience the problems and discontinuities of the nursing home, they have three theoretical possibilities: 1) they can create new self-reifications to reflect their new and problematic circumstances, 2) they can recall and prioritize old self-reifications, or they can 3) negate problematic experiences as unimportant. Let us examine each possibility in more detail.

New Self-Reifications:

Facing nursing home experience and problematic circumstances residents can hypothetically create and construct new self-reifications – "I am a nursing home resident." In order to do so, however, they must abandon or at least substantially modify prior self-reifications in favor of nursing home reifications of physical decline and loss of independence. This is, of course, unlikely. As we have seen, self-reifications are the "thing like" apprehensions of the social constructs we call selves. To abandon or dramatically change these reifications in the later stages of life is a difficult prospect because new formulations of self will not obtain the same concreteness and taken-for-grantedness found in earlier typifications that were held over the course of a life-time. Further, the new potential reifications open to residents are stigmatizing and simply do not compare favorably with reifications of earlier years outside the nursing home.

Recollected Reifications:

Residents can also recall and prioritize prior self-reifications; to do so amounts to self-management, the representation of self in a manner that deals with current problematic circumstances (see for example Goffman 1969; Halbert 2000; Jarvinen 2001; Manning 2000). The recollection of the past as a function of both present circumstances and of the perceived future comes to interactionist thought first through William James (1890), later through Henri Bergson (1913), and most significantly through George Herbert Mead (Mead 1932; Chappell & Orbach 1986; Flaherty & Fine 2001). Reminiscence is one tool used by older people to reconstruct the past. The role of reminiscent behavior is an often visited theme in aging studies. These studies are characterized by two theoretical perspectives: the developmental perspective and the identity maintenance perspective (Coleman 1986, 1991).

The developmental approach to reminiscence incorporates reminiscence into a much larger human developmental schema where reminiscence is seen as a natural response to finitude, the realization of one's impending death (Bornat 2001; Tornstam 1999). Robert Butler's (1963) "life-review," a process whereby older people attempt to embrace their mortality through an integrative story telling of their autobiographies, is an important example of the developmental approach (Coleman 1991; Haight 1989; Sherman & Peak 1991). For Butler, the life-review is an expected stage in human development that is instigated by an aging person's knowledge of finitude. Following Erickson's developmental model, he suggests that the life-review is a transitional process used when aging people confront the "final developmental task of the human life cycle." This task is one of "achieving ego-integrity over despair" (Sherman 1991:10).

The identity maintenance perspective of reminiscence suggests that aging is characterized by a series of social losses, changes, and physical decrements. These changes typically require older people to adapt and change in order to operate successfully in later life (Brennan & Steinberg 1983; Merriam 1993; Merriam & Cross 1981; Tornstam 1999). From this perspective, reminiscence, then, is thought to be a tool by which an older

person can come to terms with the discontinuities brought on by aging (Chaudhury 1999). Davis (1979) suggests such possibilities when he discusses nostalgia and its implications for self transitions. Reminiscence, then, can serve as a mechanism to manage self, to maintain or recall prior self-reifications.

Experience Negation:

Faced with life in the nursing home residents can also theoretically reject or negate nursing home experience as unimportant to their self-reifications. By rejecting current experience as unimportant, objectionable, or unfair, residents can potentially minimize threats to their self-conceptions. This is especially true when this technique is combined with the recollection of prior reifications – "this is just a place I have to be and I was once someone much different." Of the potential avenues for dealing with threats to self-conception, then, experience negation and self-management are the most likely avenues for residents to use to deal with the social changes presented by the nursing home.

METHOD

This study stems from a field research project conducted in two nursing homes. The first is located in La Grande, Oregon and the second in Manhattan, Kansas. The median age of Kansas residents is 78 as compared to 86 for Oregon residents. Eighty one percent of Kansas residents were female as compared to 47 percent of the Oregon residents. In addition, Oregon residents were much more physically impaired than their Kansas counterparts. Eighty-eight percent of Oregon residents were non ambulatory as compared to 52 percent of Kansas residents. The reason for these differences stems from the state of Oregon's nursing home policies. Following 1981 policy reforms, Oregon only provides funding for nursing home placement to those individuals who cannot live in a lesser care environment. The law also requires that savings from this restructuring be used for the construction and operation of nursing home alternatives such as assisted living facilities and group settings. The net result of this policy is that Oregon residents come to the nursing home as a last resort and therefore are much more infirm than those residents in Kansas. In addition to the physical and demographic characteristics of the residents, the geography and culture from which residents came is also substantially different. Residents in Kansas were drawn from a town of approximately 65,000 people where the predominant occupation is farming. Residents in Oregon, however, were drawn from a town of about 12,000 people where the most important industry was logging and lumbering.

The original research project from which this analysis is derived involved the impact of social support upon the self-conceptions of nursing home residents. This analysis, however, focuses upon narrative interview responses given to self-esteem questions drawn from the Rosenberg self-esteem index (Rosenberg 1986; Rosenberg & Kaplan 1982). Respondents were asked to give ordinal responses to items such as the following "I feel I have a number of good qualities." Surprisingly, while some residents answered directly by selecting the appropriate ordinal response category, others responded with long and often reminisced responses drawn from a lifetime of prior experience that did not exactly fit the question asked. Of the 17 responds from the Oregon nursing home, for example, 12 responded with a reminisced reply to a least one of the ten items. While the Rosenberg self-esteem index was designed to be administered as a survey, this method of administration gives insight into the mechanisms residents use to manage self-concept. A self-administered questionnaire would have entirely missed these reminiscent replies. The ordinal data received from the self-esteem index are not addressed here. Rather, the unsolicited narrative responses received in response to the self-esteem questions provided during the interview process form the basis of this analysis.

Data from these responses were collected in handwritten notes and later categorized according to the overall function of the response as relates to threats to self-conception in the nursing home. The unit of analysis is individual responses. Respondents were considered to give more that one response if over the length of the interview they gave distinct and different narrative answers to subsequent self-esteem questions. If these replies were only continuations of prior responses they were counted as one response.

Of the narrative replies three types of responses were noted: 1) story telling, 2) recollected self-reifications, and 3) experience negating comments. In response to these self-esteem items, story telling was the least common type of response. Further, story telling responses served no purpose other than simply to engage the researcher in conversation. For these reasons story telling responses are not considered in this analysis. Self-management reminiscence refers to reminiscence which served as a mechanism to reassert past reifications of self. For example, in response to the interview item "on the whole I am satisfied with myself" a woman from Oregon replied:

> I don't know. I worked outside most of my life. I took care of cattle, kids, and my husband. It was a good life.

Experience negating comments, on the other hand, are responses that discount or reject current nursing home experience as "abnormal" and uncharacteristic of resident self-conceptions. For example, in response to the self-esteem item "In general I feel good about myself" a man from Kansas replied:

> This is no place to be. You come here to die mostly, and those women [staff] just act like you are not here.

Other coding schemes were certainly possible, but this one was selected because each dimension was a consistent theme in the reminiscences of these residents.

FINDINGS

Recollected Self-Reifications

Reminiscence was a very common narrative response given to the self-esteem items. An 83 year old man from Kansas is a good example. When I knocked on his door Ralph invited me in enthusiastically. I found him dressed in blue overalls seated in a brown reclining chair. As I began asking the self-esteem items I noticed that Ralph's answers did not precisely responded to the questions. To one of the items he responded with a story of his childhood concerning the loss of his family homestead due to the expansion of a local military base. The nexus of the story involved how under great adversity he and his family were able to overcome this traumatic event.

> ...we farmed near Keats and when Fort Riley grew they took our place and gave us almost nothing. They did the same thing to those people near the lake. It was hard on us for awhile...my father mostly, but we managed...bought a new place. I farmed all my life.

This response clearly demonstrates that Ralph referred to a past state of being in order to answer a question about what is usually thought of as a current state (self-esteem). That is not to say, as discussed by Coleman (1986) that Ralph lived in the past. On other occasions he clearly expressed his feelings about life in the nursing home ("this place is bad"), as well as his hopes for the future. Rather, his reminiscent reply hinted that Ralph's formulation of self-esteem was drawn not so much from current experience, but from the recollection of prior self-reifications.

James, a male resident from Oregon, provides a particularly good example of self-maintenance reminiscence. At age 74 he is in poor health, and as the result of a stroke is confined to a wheel chair. Judging from the reports of nursing home staff, James is perhaps the most troublesome resident in the facility. He is a vocal member of the resident council and often uses this position to "cause problems for the nursing home" (Gubrium 1975). Just prior to my visit his complaints to the state of Oregon had resulted in an inspection of the nursing home. His clear displeasure with his conditions manifests itself in other ways as well. He is known to be verbally abusive to both staff and other residents, and to often refuse to eat. When I inquired about this to the nursing home staff they told me that he was "depressed" and in need of mental health services, services that he refused. It would be easy to concur with this diagnosis, but this would be missing an important point, that James had lived an extraordinary life full of changes not the least of which is nursing home placement.

As a boy James was raised on a farm in central Kansas. He often reminisced about childhood experiences on the farm including stories of tornadoes, bringing in the hay, and of his parents.

> You could see those tornados coming for miles. We hid from them in our "cave" (underground tornado shelter)...lost a barn

> once, that was about it. When I left the farm I thought I would go back someday. I never did. These people out here don't know what farming is like...no money in it now you know? (James, Oregon)

What makes James' biography unusual is that James left the farm in his early twenties to pursue an education and career as a nuclear engineer. By his own reports the most important time in his life was when he worked as an engineer on the Manhattan Project during the Second World War to develop the first atomic bomb. He proudly recounted how he had been part of the team that had constructed the reactor used to produce plutonium for the bombs used in Japan.

James' biography is important because it is punctuated by a great deal of change: from life on a Kansas farm to the life of a nuclear engineer on the Columbia River Plateau, and finally to the nursing home. Nursing home placement was one of the biggest threats to self-conception James ever faced. As a result in response to the self-esteem items James frequently referred to his career at the Hanford Reservation.

> They are trying to clean up that stuff out there (Hanford). When we had contamination problems we wrapped it up and buried it. It's dangerous work so you gotta know how to deal with it. They always called me because they knew I could take care of it... I gotta a lifetime dose of radiation and had to work at a desk the last few years...They say they can't find that stuff. I know where all of it is.

Here we see that this reminiscence served to reassert prior reifications and typifications of self thus helping James to avoid the anomic possibilities associated with life in the nursing home. This was a very common theme in these narrative responses. Other self-management responses to self-esteem items include:

> He was good to me all my life [husband]. We were married when I was eighteen. I had everything I needed...we didn't have much you know, but we had enough...we liked to travel and we went everywhere. (Barbara, Kansas)

> I worked as a hand for a guy who owned the general store. He trusted me with his cattle...had some sheep too. It's tough...all kinds of weather...slept in a shack or on the ground. (Harry, Oregon)

> I haven't always been like this. I was in the Aleutians during the war...dug foxholes in the permafrost. They filled up with water as fast as we could dig them. I didn't graduate from high school but I showed those officers some things. They couldn't put together tents for nothing. I had to show them how to do it and they let me supervise after that. (Robert, Oregon)

> I lost my legs two years ago in a car wreck... now I am pretty useless. I grew up in Missouri...have you ever hand fished? That's where you take your shoes off and walk in the water along the bank until you find a hole where the cats [catfish] are...then you dive under water with a rope and push it through their gills...then you go for a ride. I caught a sixty-pounder. (Ray, Kansas)

These responses suggest that when residents are confronted with the problems and discontinuities of nursing home life and are further asked to think about self-esteem, many choose to draw from former self-conceptions in order to maintain self-conception and therefore to limit the anomic possibilities of the nursing home. Self-maintenance is only one mechanism by which residents deal with nursing home life however. Additionally, many also expressed dissatisfaction with current experiences thereby discounting these experiences as important to self-conception.

Experience Negation

Responses that serve to negate or diminish the importance of nursing home experience were the most common type of response given by this group of residents. While complaints about nursing home life are one of the most common topics for conversation among residents, I was nevertheless surprised that these complaints arose in response to self-esteem items. That is, when asked an item designed to measure self-esteem many residents responded in a roundabout way with statements such as

> This place is the worst place I have ever been. At night those poor people [other resi-

> dents] just howl like animals. (Karen, Kansas)
>
> God damn...I hate these people [staff]...all of them...you call for them and they just ignore you. (Reed, Kansas)
>
> I'm just too far from home. Sometimes I just go to bed and cry. I don't want anybody to see me. (Lenice, Oregon)
>
> This is no kind of place to be... they try hard but it's just not home. (Loretta, Oregon)

Each of these statements given in the context of questions about self-esteem provide an insight into one mechanism by which residents deal with the threats to self-conception caused by nursing home placement. By rejecting and discounting current experience residents simply refuse to incorporate nursing home experience into prior self-conceptions. One more example may help to illustrate.

Jim recently moved to the nursing home from a farm in rural Kansas. His transition to life in the nursing home was traumatic, and his dissatisfaction with the nursing home covers nearly all aspects of life including the food, social activities, and his roommate. Experience negating responses helped Jim to set aside new experience in the nursing home. Specifically, Jim's stories contained "disclaimers" such as "this is just a place I have to be," or "before I came to this place I...." In essence, Jim created a new conceptual category: "unimportant nursing home experience" and by doing so left his prior self-reifications intact.

DISCUSSION

Nursing home placement is a dramatic and life-changing event, one that threatens the ability of nursing home residents to "think as usual." Writing about his experience as a new immigrant to the United States in the prewar years, Alfred Schutz (1964) provides an important insight into the threats to self brought on by social change in his important article "The Stranger." In many ways the case of the new immigrant and the nursing home resident are very similar. Each is presented with a new and radically different reality and each must address the resulting threats to self-reification. Schutz puts it this way, "thinking as usual" (taken-for-grantedness) can only be maintained if among other considerations

> life, and especially social life, will continue to be the same as it has been so far, that is to say, that the same problems requiring the same solutions will recur and that, therefore, our former experiences will suffice for mastering future situations...

Without doubt, life in the nursing home makes it quite difficult to meet these criteria, and therefore also difficult to retain a consistent and normalizing sense of self.

Unlike immigrants, however, nursing home residents are faced with other more significant threats to self-reifications and taken-for-grantedness. Not only are their circumstances changed but they are also faced with the prospect of never again returning to the life they once lived. For immigrants life in their new surroundings is unfamiliar but they nevertheless know that under the right circumstances they could return and refashion their old way of life. Schutz suggests that this idealization – "I can do that again" helps to enable a sense of taken-for-grantedness. Most nursing home residents, however, do not have this same possibility. In many cases the home that once stood as the physical locus of their taken-for-granted world was sold or relinquished after their nursing home placement. Additionally, most residents can not manage on their own and have little prospect of ever doing so in the future. The idealization "I can do that again" is, however, extraordinarily powerful. In the nursing home its persistence is often manifest in quite unrealistic anticipations of physical improvement. James, for example, believed very strongly that he would recover from his stroke and once again resume the life he had once lived even though his doctor believed otherwise.

Schutz (1962) also provides one additional and final tool with which to understand the experience of self in the nursing home. Schutz suggests that our understanding of the world is composed of "interpretational horizons," or as Gubrium (1993) suggests "horizons of meaning." These horizons are of two sorts: external and internal. External interpretational horizons refer to individual systems of explanations and meaning complexes located in respect to the social and institutional coordinates of social life, institutions such as religion, politics, and family. On the other hand,

inner interpretational horizons refer to systems of self-explanation (self-reifications).

Social life, then, is a map of meanings with external coordinates and horizons, coordinates that allow us to triangulate and make sense of our specific location in life, but perhaps more importantly this social map also provides us with internal horizons of meaning. By virtue of our external place on the social map we internalize its coordinates and the resulting self-reifications become the locating coordinates of self-identity (Berger 1963). In a very real sense we become what we do. That which we "do" in the external world becomes reified as "who we are" in the inner dimension. We come then to thing-a-fy the social construct that is the self.

Nursing home placement threatens self because it first threatens the resident's external interpretational horizons and as a result also inner interpretational horizons. By erasing or altering most external coordinates of a resident's life such as home, social support, occupation, and hobbies, life in the nursing home provides a map with few reference points and as a result produces an unanchored self threatened by anomie. As we have seen, residents attempt to reanchor the self by both recalling past reifications and by rejecting or negating current nursing home experience. In the terms offered by Schutz in "The Stranger," residents attempt to reconnect inner interpretational horizons to the coordinates of their preexisting "external interpretational horizons."

CONCLUSION

Nursing home placement inevitably results in many changes for residents including the loss of friends, home, and familiar routines (Coleman 1986:8). Additionally, nursing home placement presents a very real threat to the self-reifications once used by older people to bring taken-for-grantedness and order to their lives. As mentioned earlier, the need for such order is endemic to the human condition and is based in what we have called world openness, a condition punctuated by anomie. Anomie and insecurity are, however, states in which residents cannot reside for any period of time. Rather, nursing home residents must, within the limited range of possibilities open for them, come to terms with this insecurity and the threats to self that come with their dramatically different circumstances. As noted earlier, residents often resort to reminiscence or simply reject nursing home experience as unimportant. Both mechanisms, then, serve as a means of adjustment to nursing home life. With the use of reminiscence residents recall prior habits, preferences, and reifications of the self that help to maintain an attitude of taken-for-grantedness. When these recollections are paired with the creation of a new conceptual category that allowed current experience to be discounted and set aside as unimportant for residents biographical construction they become very powerful adjustment mechanisms.

Reification remains an under examined aspect of the human condition. So central is reification to everyday life that its study under ordinary circumstances is a difficult task. Ubiquitous and relentless, reification underlies all social institutions and finds a place even in our experience of self. In the very makeup of our selves reification realizes perhaps its most subtle expression. The extraordinary concreteness with which we experience the social process of self is evidence of this. Because of this profound "givenness," life in the nursing home offers an occasion to study those instances when self-reifications become tenuous. This analysis is only one effort toward understanding the way in which people deal with the threats to self caused by dramatic life changes such as placement in a nursing home. Other analyses are certainly required, not only in nursing home populations but also in any situation where life changes threaten self-reifications.

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ENDNOTES

[1] The identification, naming, and typifying of all social constructs including the self amounts to reification (Thomason 1982). Linguistically and conceptually such activities presuppose the thing like givenness of their referent. They are, therefore, reifications.

[2] For an excellent discussion of self management and change see Gubrium & Holstein 2001.

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