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FARMED-OUT: A CASE STUDY OF DIFFERENTIAL OPPRESSION THEORY AND FEMALE CHILD FARM LABOR IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the experiences of rural, female orphans in early 20th century United States. A content analysis was conducted and oral histories collected from which the following themes about rural, female, orphan's lives emerged: non-agency, consummate caretaker, martyrdom, and strength. Regoli and Hewitt's *theory of differential oppression* was utilized in the analysis. Differential oppression posits that *all* children are oppressed, that female children are doubly-oppressed based on their status as child and female, and that to adapt to this oppression children employ one or more of four modes of adaptations: passive acceptance of their circumstances, exercise of illegitimate coercive power, manipulation of one's peers, or retaliation. This paper concludes that rural female orphans most commonly utilized the mode of passive acceptance.

The hardships faced by children in early American history have been well documented (e.g., deMause 1974; O'Conner 2001; Platt 1969; Youcha 1995). Few social safety nets existed for children in the late 19th and early 20th century—especially children who resided in the isolation of rural Western America. The programs, shelters, schools or other assistance that were offered to children existed mainly in Chicago and the large cities of the East. A guiding principle of these programs was that in order to "save" these unfortunate souls from a life of sin and degradation, they must be reared away from the wicked influences of the city. The developmental needs of these children would be best met by embracing the Protestant Ethic, hard work and fresh air—none of which could be found in the urban environment, nor within the walls of the institutions and houses of refuge that had developed under the auspices of Christian charity. The task of transforming urban orphans into productive citizens was thought best left to the farmer because a life on the farm was a life of virtue. A 1910 annual report of the New York Children's Aid Society noted that "for bringing the child into normal, healthy, and practical relations with the world, there is no asylum equal to the farmer's home" (Youcha 1995 193).

The mass exportation of orphaned, destitute, homeless or otherwise undesirable children[1] in the early 20th century from the Eastern United States to the Western (now Midwestern) United States has been well documented and described within many mediums ranging from academic journals and best-selling popular culture books to made-for-television movies and grassroots websites, whose readers and viewers have been desperate to learn more about a loved one's lonely journey west as a child. The "orphan trains," which carried some 200,000 children[2] from the mythical belly of the beast (city life) to what was thought to be a pastoral promised-land (family-farm life), have provided many scholars with social phenomenon about which to theorize. No such body of work, however, exists on the experience of children who, too, were orphaned, destitute, or considered undesirable (either because of their sex, ethnicity, race, physical or mental disability, etc.) but who were *already* living in rural America. If these orphans were already living in the agrarian utopia, where were they to go? Who would take in these children?

Little research has studied the unique experiences of rural orphans. Even less research has been dedicated to the experience of rural female orphans. What is known about the rearing of orphans in the country comes mainly from documentation of urban children being "placed out"[3] in the Midwest via the orphan trains or by other charitable organizations and then, usually only stories of how well boys faired in their new homes.[4] This is due in part to the lack of formally organized, rural child welfare programs in existence during this era and in this region of the country. It might also be assumed that as a result of sexual social stratification, female children were considered to be of less value than male children and, therefore, stories of their lives

and experiences seemed unimportant to document. Moreover, in farming-country male labor may have been valued over the labor that was produced by girls, as stereotypically boy-chores (planting, plowing, harvesting) were held in higher esteem and of greater necessity than were stereotypically girl-chores (cooking, cleaning, fetching water).

Not all needy orphans came on trains from Eastern cities. Midwestern and western areas also had large numbers of orphaned, rural children in need of homes, and due to the limited state intervention in the welfare of rural children at the time, an informal (and common) system of intervention necessarily existed. This system came to be known as "farming-out."[5] As this system was informal, few official records were kept and there is little documentation about this population or their experiences as orphans. Because there was no governmental or religious institutional oversight of the farming-out of rural orphans, there were no ledgers or field notes documenting these children's lives. There were no field workers—precursors to modern-day social workers—visiting the children to ensure their well-being and enforcing the limited child labor laws in existence at the time.[6] What is known about these children and their experiences with being farmed-out is usually only what has been shared in family stories and life histories passed down through generations.

This paper examines the lives of farmed-out orphans; specifically, female, farmed-out orphans. It provides a content analysis of Wisconsin state records kept of orphaned children whose lives were overseen through a formal system of child-welfare, as well as a case study of one family of rural orphaned children whose assistance came via the informal system of "farming-out." More importantly, this paper applies the *theory of differential oppression* (Kingston, Regoli & Hewitt 2003; Regoli & Hewitt 2006) to rural, female, orphans in an effort to explore the dual nature of the oppression they experienced due to their status as both children and as females.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Child labor was a familiar concept in Colonial America. In keeping with the European tradition, children were frequently bound-out as indentured servants and/or as apprentices in Puritan New England. Childhood during this era was thought to be a time best used for moral instruction. Labor provided children with opportunities for moral instruction by strictly organizing their time; time that otherwise might have been spent exploring the evil temptations thought inherent in every child's soul (Illick 1974), leaving them "useless and depraved" (Youcha 1995). Families also required every able-bodied person work in order to maintain the family's livelihood.

Parent-child relations were sterile and familial ties were fluid during this era, due in large part to high infant mortality rates. Parents in Colonial America were not indifferent to a child's untimely death but accepted childhood death as an inescapable fact of life, mourning their passing in restrained manner (Zelizer 1985; Skolnick 1973). Social convention established the belief that until age 7 a child was something of an incomplete being. After age 7 children were considered miniature adults, ready to assume adult-like responsibilities. Therefore, if a child were to leave the home to work and live with another family, it did not necessarily cause the emotional angst that would undoubtedly be experienced in contemporary society. Indentured service "...constituted the central educational institution...during the colonial years ..." (Dolgin 1997 1124). It was believed that parental affection would develop for a child who lived with her or his parents after a certain age and that this relationship would impair educational and vocational instruction of the child. Therefore, it was best to send the child to live with a master who would instruct her or him without emotional tenderness (Youcha 1995).

Most children were involved in organized labor, as it served as society's main system of education and instruction. There existed a participant hierarchy within child labor. Children from wealthy families usually assumed apprenticeships in fields with high social prestige, whereas the poorest child was indentured into any position available. Usually this job was highly undesirable with a master who provided particularly harsh living conditions (Youcha 1995). Boys typically performed physically demanding, low skill-jobs, while girls generally provided domestic labor or needlework. This training served to prepare them for stations in life with little hope for upward mobility (Liazos 1974). Girls were paid less than boys by 50 percent or more, even when performing identical or

comparable work and were provided less access to formal education, as it was considered less important to educate females (Schob 1975). Poverty experienced by men, women, and children was considered evidence of weak character and moral failure. Charity and relief was offered on the basis of a person's perceived worthiness (Crannell 2003). Poor children were not generally treated with any more compassion than were poor adults. If a poor family sought assistance in an almshouse, the mother, father, and children were separated from one another and referred to as "inmates" (Crannell 2003).

Children, Labor and the Cult of Womanhood in Victorian America

In contrast to the Colonial era, Victorian America saw a change in the conceptualization of the family and, in particular, childhood. Industrialization impacted the construct of family, at least for middle and upper class households. Industrialization changed the means by which families supported themselves. Prior to industrialization, men, women, and their children operated as an interdependent economic unit. Later, labor (that is, paid labor) increasingly took place away from the home and farm, with a family's economic well-being becoming dependent on the conditions of the labor market (Pogrebin 1983). Upper and middle class men worked away from the home, creating instability in the family. This instability of the family meant that "the desirable role for [middle to upper class] women [became] an enhancing, rather than sustaining one," (Cott 1972 10). Wives and children were now seen as supporting the efforts of the husbands' "expansive entrepreneurship" (Cott 1972 12). Women and children of the upper and middle classes were to create and sustain a home that would serve as a refuge for the husband-father from the increasing pressures for economic advancement under industrialization (Cott 1972). Children became seen as innocent, empty vessels in need of nurturance and guidance in contrast to the Puritan construction of them as inherently evil beings in need of strict correction, or as only a source of income. They were precious gifts, valuable not according to the income they could produce but, rather, according to the joy and entertainment they brought their parents. This change in family economics also contributed to the creation of the "economically-superfluous" housewife, and the economically useless, but priceless child (Zelizer 1985; O'Connor 2001).

Women, previously a source of economically valuable production, became seen as "inadequate by nature to act in the marketplace" (Dolgin 1997 1162). This change in familial economic structure marked the onset of a gendered division of labor (Rubin 1997), and thus, facilitated the creation of a "cult of true womanhood" (Cott 1972; Dolgin 1997; Holt 1992; Pogrebin 1983), which dictated the new feminine ideal: chaste, pure, submissive, and perhaps most importantly, mistress of all things domestic (Cott 1972). While this new social role was only financially attainable for upper and middle class women, all classes of women were judged against its standards.

For most families, however, children still provided much needed economic support. Critics of the rapid growth of industrialization during this period argue that its expansion of wage labor fueled poverty. This poverty, in turn, created a bifurcated system of treatment for children. Children from financially stable families enjoyed their new found role as "objects of sentiment," rather than "objects of utility" (Zelizer 1985), whereas children of the poor were still required to work to help support their family, leaving their value as human beings to be gauged according to their ability to produce income.

The Child Savers

There was conspicuous disparity in socioeconomic status—and legal protections—between classes of children, as industrialization both created extreme wealth and contributed to extreme poverty. This disparity did not go unnoticed by the well-intentioned, more affluent, new breed of stay-at-home-mothers. Their interest in alleviating some of the ills of urban child poverty (homelessness, chronic illness, hunger, etc.), compounded by the unsightly nuisance of "street Arabs" begging and otherwise loitering in the streets, led them—a long with their wealthy, well-connected male counterparts—to begin to organize efforts around assisting destitute or orphaned children from not only the current poverty they were experiencing, but the inevitable poverty they would face as adults if they were not "saved" from becoming a member of the "dangerous class"

(Brace 1872). It was the change in the perception of the appropriate roles for women and children that was the catalyst for the creation of "child savers" (Platt 1969)—those charged with overseeing that children were raised according to the dictates of the newly prescribed child role.

Orphaned or destitute children were not only an urban social fact. Hard living in the expanding American territory left many urban *and* rural children in need of homes. So common was orphaning, abandonment and child destitution in rural America that states codified procedures for handling this population. The rural child savers, too, felt compelled to systematically address the needs of the orphaned, destitute, and/or lower-class child.

FORMAL SYSTEMS OF CHILD WELFARE INTERVENTION

Urban and rural child savers alike saw as their chief responsibility the task of providing poor youth with a certain minimal standard of living, while providing them with "the tools for religious living" (Holt 1992 28). Early efforts to provide children with relief from the ills of poverty included the work of urban organizations such as the House of Refuge (1825), Children's Aid Society (1853), the New York Foundling Hospital (1869) and rural organizations such as the Wisconsin Child Center and Farm (1886). These were places where homeless, orphaned youth could find food and shelter (sometimes for a small price) and where destitute women could deliver and adopt-out their babies. These organizations relied on volunteers from religious orders and from the classes of women whose social status made improper female participation in a money economy but who were, instead, expected to attend to the domestic role of caretaking.

With increasing poverty, these organizations found themselves overburdened with orphaned children in need of assistance. Urban child savers were frustrated at their limited "success" with helping children, confident that their best efforts were thwarted by urban corruption. At the same time, the American Midwest was in need of able-bodied laborers to help with its maintenance and expansion. This region of the country was losing its population to the city, drawn away by the need for labor in factories, trades, and shops. Many were leaving the Midwest because they were unable to sustain their family farms. The Midwest was also in need of women and girls, as both domestic help and as potential brides. Many Midwestern females had left seeking out wage labor in the garment industry or mills. They did not command the same wages as did men, and therefore, filled a demand for cheap labor in a growing industrial complex (Dolgin 1997; Holt 1992). Despite the difficulties faced by those living in the Midwest, it retained its image as an idyllic, agrarian utopia, and the perfect place to raise children. Life on the farm was promoted as, "...an ideal place in which to build up the lives of growing young boys and girls" (McKeever 1913 26). Since it was still socially acceptable for urban poor children to work (not having had their status elevated as was the case for upper and middle class children) and since child savers saw little redeeming qualities in city living, a plan to "place-out" Eastern, urban, orphans in the homes of farmers and other Midwestern families was devised.

"Placing-out" was the practice of placing orphaned and/or destitute children with farmers or other Midwestern families, through benevolent societies. These agencies would take children in, teach them skills thought appropriate for their gender and then, if they were from an urban area, send them to the Midwest to find homes where they would use their new skills to earn their keep. Once these children were placed with new families, they would work on the family farms, businesses, or in the homes in exchange for room and board until they reached adulthood or were sent to work for another family. Placing-out appeared to offer a solution to two problems: a shortage of rural labor and an ever-growing population of urban, orphaned children. Marilyn Holt notes that

> in the short term, such placements would alleviate Eastern cities of costly institutional care and in the long term it would remove those who may have become discontented, threatening urban areas with crime and violence. (1992 28)

Children ranged from infants to older teens were sent to the Midwest via trains in search of new families that would teach them the Protestant ethic and transform them into productive, middle-class citizens.[7]

Similarly, the rural orphan was not viewed as an object of sentiment but, rather, as a

potential laborer who, while under the guardianship of the state or county was legally considered an indentured servant.[8] For example, under the State of Wisconsin's "Poor Laws," orphaned or poor children would be sent to an almshouse, commonly referred to as the "Poor House" or "Poor Farm." They would also be sent to the "State School" where they would be taught skills in a trade, such as farming or, if they were female, the skills of "housewifery," (Chesney-Lind & Shelden 2004; Liazos 1974) that they would be required to use once they were placed with a family. It was thought that the development of a familial relationship, as opposed to a strictly employment-based one, was best for the child but if that did not develop at least the child would become a productive citizen.

Under a system of formal intervention in the lives of orphans local field agents, hired by both urban and rural child welfare agencies, were expected to visit the children they had placed to ensure that they were receiving proper care, though the frequency and quality of the visits varied from county to county, agent to agent.

THE GIRL ORPHAN

The stated objective of the practice of placing-out was to enrich a family's life, while helping a child who was less fortunate, but who had been determined to be "worthy" of charity. However, there was a good deal of ambivalence around offering assistance to girls—a sub-group of orphans thought to be inherently more problematic.

Although approximately 39 percent of those placed-out via orphan trains were female, Charles Loring Brace of the Children's Aid Society referred to his passengers almost exclusively as "lads." Female orphan train riders were treated decidedly different than were the boys, in part because Brace thought street-girls were less likely to benefit from the virtue of the agrarian lifestyle because they had become worldly. Brace thought that his female charges were "hopeless" after age 14 because he perceived them to be "weak in flesh," pre-maturely "womanly," promiscuous, and therefore, a danger to society. Some questioned whether orphaned girls were even worthy of being helped. Urban and rural child savers did, however, continue to place out girls in the undeveloped Midwest, in large part to provide relief for overworked farm wives (McKeever 1913). Placed out urban and rural orphaned girls were often treated harshly by their host families and considered cheap domestic help as opposed to as a new family member. It was thought that the best that could be expected of the female orphans was that they would eventually get married (Holt 1992; O'Connor 2001).

Domestic help was in short supply and several areas of the newly expanding country were in need of females not only to serve as domestics, but as potential brides. Both urban and rural girls in need of a home had the option to become a domestic, or, if of an appropriate age, to become a wife. The cult of womanhood was not merely a social expectation within certain urban social circles; it had become the dominant gender ideology for the country. As such, it hobbled orphaned girls by limiting their socially acceptable options in life (Holt 1992). Often, girls had to conform to gender norms and passively accept their roles in the domestic sphere and/or as wives and mothers. Girls who did not follow the appropriate social script for feminine behavior, goals, and desires, faced stigma and ostracism. McKeever suggests that the greatest problem for the late 19th century generation was that

> ...girls are choosing an independent calling for themselves...this fatal choice of an independent vocation. (1913 193)

Because this was seen as a threat to a social order built on sexual stratification, girls who were the least likely to be selected for formal assistance were those who showed "independence" by their continual attempts to secure non-domestic labor positions (O'Connor 2001).

INFORMAL SYSTEMS OF CHILD WELFARE INTERVENTION

Equally common to the formal system of placing-out orphaned children, was the informal placing of such children by what became known in the Midwest as "farming-out." It was referred to as "farming-out" because it was used more-or-less exclusively in rural areas as a means to secure farmhands and/or farmers wives, whereas children who had been "placed-out" could be sent to live with non-farming families living in small towns or cities. Informally placing children, that is, without state or charity intervention, was not un-

common (deMause 1974; Dolgin 1997). For centuries in Europe and in America, children were sent to live and work with other families or relatives on a temporary basis. What is remarkable is that little is known about what became of rural orphans once informally farmed-out, as they often had no extended family to which to return or from whom they could expect protection, no parens patriae-type oversight from the government, or field agents overseeing their new home. Formal child welfare organizations were charged with the responsibility of overseeing the orphaned child's placement, albeit the quality and regularity of such oversight varied greatly. But because the farmed-out placement was informal, no one was responsible for making note of the conditions under which the orphan now lived; no one made sure that the child was being fed, attended school, or was in good health.

THE THEORY OF DIFFERENTIAL OPPRESSION AND FARMING-OUT

This paper examines the experiences of the rural, female orphan, while attempting to give particular attention to the informally farmed-out female rural orphan. *Differential oppression theory* provides an unusually useful framework from which to examine the phenomenon of the farming-out of rural children. According to differential oppression theory (Kingston et al 2003; Regoli & Hewitt 2006; Hewitt & Regoli 2003), children experience oppression because of their status as a child. Differential oppression theory asserts that *all* children are oppressed. The amount of oppression children experience falls on a continuum, ranging from simple demands for obedience to rules designed for the convenience of adults to the physical, sexual, and emotional abuse of children. Moreover, differential oppression theory posits that *girls are doubly oppressed* because of their dual status as both child and female. Traditional patterns of age and gender socialization lead to particularized gender oppression (Hewitt & Regoli 2003). They contend that children's problem behaviors including crime and delinquency, drug and alcohol abuse, and mental disorders can be understood as adaptive reactions to oppressive social situations that are created by adults.

Adult conceptions of the *girl as child* (inferior, subordinate, troublemaker) lead to oppressive acts by adults that alienate the girl and lead her into adaptive reactions as she attempts to become a "subject" instead of an "object" (Hewitt & Regoli 2003). Regoli and Hewitt further argue that children adapt to their oppression as a survival mechanism. This adaptation to oppression may manifest itself in one of four ways: through passive acceptance of ones' situation, through the exercise of illegitimate power, through the manipulation of ones' peers, or through retaliation against ones' oppressor (Regoli & Hewitt 2006). Each of these adaptations involves a degree of conscious resistance by children (Rogers & Buffalo 1974) as they attempt to negotiate their status.

Passive Acceptance

As most people adapt via conformity to strain produced by a disjuncture between culturally defined goals emphasizing success and institutionalized means available to achieve that success (Merton 1957), most children adapt to oppression through *passive acceptance* of their subordinate and inferior status. This acceptance, or conformity, produces subsequent obedience to their oppressors—obedience built upon fear, which derives from implied threats and intimidation. Due to the higher status generally afforded to males and the low levels of female involvement in delinquency, conformity seems to be a more common adaptation among females (Belknap 2001; Hannon & Dufour 1998; Steffensmeier 1993 & 1996). Since young girls are inundated by adult domination, they quickly learn that obedience is expected. Such adaptations among children are similar to the passive acceptance of the slave role, adaptations of prison inmates, and immersion in the cycle of violence for battered women.

However, such acquiescence or passive acceptance may be only a facade, presenting to the oppressor the appearance of conformity (Rogers & Buffalo 1974). Girls outwardly appear to accept their inferior positions, but develop a repressed hatred for their oppressors, adapting to the structures of domination in which they are immersed. Once a situation of violence and oppression had been established, it engenders an entire way of life and behavior for those caught up in it—oppressors and oppressed alike. Both are submerged in this situation and both bear marks of oppression. The oppressed are likely to believe they have no purpose in life except that which

the oppressor prescribes for them.

Passive girls do not fully explore personal autonomy and they never become the "authors of their own lives." This repression results in negative self-perceptions that may manifest itself in a wide range of problem behaviors including alcoholism, drug addiction, eating disorders, low self-esteem, and psychiatric disorders (Gecas & Schwalbe 1986; Tosone 1998).

Exercise of Illegitimate Coercive Power

A second adaptation is the *exercise of illegitimate coercive power.* Many girls are attracted to delinquency because it helps them establish a sense of autonomy and control. This anticipatory delinquency is a yearning for adult status (Katz 1988; Matza 1964). Delinquent acts can immediately and demonstratively make things happen. Sexual misbehavior, illicit use of drugs or alcohol, and violations of the criminal law derive greater symbolic importance for the girl to the extent they exert control over her behavior. The "sneaky thrill" that accompanies shoplifting, drug use, or illicit sexual encounters, for example, is not simply a product of the rush of the act, but a consequence of knowing the girl knowing that *she* is controlling the event. In addition, when a young girl perceives that she has little or no control over her own life, that her parents determine all important activities and goals, she may then choose to exert absolute control over what food is taken into or kept in her body (at least until she is force fed).

Maniuplation of One's Peers

A third adaptation to an oppressive situation is the *manipulation of one's peers.* This is an attempt by a girl to become empowered. Through manipulation of others within the peer group, girls who have experienced oppression at the hands of adults may acquire a sense of strength and control or a degree of empowerment not otherwise felt (Marwell 1966). Bullying younger or smaller children at school may be a form of displacement of a girl's anger at a parent or teacher. Girls also verbally bully or manipulate peers, especially female peers, in an attempt to establish social hierarchies, eliminate competition for attention, release tensions without violence, or define group membership and friendships (Fleisher 1998).

Additionally, a girl may exclude a peer as a strategy for controlling her environment. Unfortunately, the mere involvement of a girl with his or her peers leads many adults to view the involvement as problematic in itself. Adults may then react by exercising even greater control over the child's interaction with others.

Retaliation

The fourth adaptation is *retaliation*, which may include delinquent acts ranging from property crimes to violent offenses. It is the least common of the adaptations to oppression, and it is often also the most serious. Girls may engage in *retaliation* or "getting back" at the people or the institutions they believe are the source of their oppression. Some adolescent girls who are severely physically or sexually abused by parents may retaliate by striking directly at their parents, assaulting or killing them (Post 1982; Mones 1985; Paulson, Coombs & Landsverk 1990; Flowers 2002). Not only larger, stronger girls strike back at an abusive parent. Some smaller, physically weaker children may fight back by compensating with speed and choice of weapon. For example, a young girl may wait until her parents are asleep and then torch the home. Or, she may retaliate by striking at a substitute, such as a younger sibling who is viewed as representative of her parents. Finally, many girls retaliate against their parents by turning inward—by becoming chronically depressed or contemplating or committing suicide (Chandy, Blum & Resnick 1996; Plass 1993).

Adult conceptions in patriarchal societies of the *girl as female* (relational, nurturing, and passive) lead to oppression reinforcing her traditional gender role and, subsequently, to the girl's identity as "object." Treated as an "object," a girl may adapt by developing an identity through relationships with boys; she does not have to "prove" her own worth as long as she is "related" to a proven person. Consequently, her delinquencies may be indirect and relational. Being defined as a female "object" may also reinforce the identity of the girl as a "sexual object." In this case, adaptations may take the form of sexual delinquencies and prostitution.

But oppression of girls as females also carries with it a reinforcement of more domestic, passive, relational, and nurturing roles that often exclude them from the outside world of male street–peer groups. Girls

are not only more closely monitored and kept closer to home, they are encouraged to identify with their mothers and to concentrate on building and maintaining relations. In addition, girls learn to anticipate economic dependence and the need to develop intimate interpersonal ties through which a sense of value and self-esteem may be gained. At the same time, they are discouraged from pursuing independent acts and risk-taking activities.

Differential oppression theory, as applied to female delinquency, builds on earlier work stressing differences in socialization patterns of girls and boys and views the role of socialization of adolescent girls within the context of oppression. While male adolescents experience the oppression of being a child, female adolescents experience the double oppression of being a female child. The socialization of girls not only leads to their being less likely to engage in delinquency in general, but also to their likelihood of engaging in particular forms of delinquency.

Positing that female children are dually oppressed, on the basis of their status as both female and child, differential oppression theory offers a unique lens through which to explore the experience of the rural, female, farmed-out orphan.

RESEARCH METHODS

To understand the experiences of the rural, female orphan, a content analysis was performed on a number of documents that address the conditions under which these children lived and were formally placed-out. All documents under examination pertain to orphans in rural Wisconsin and were provided by the Wisconsin Historical Society. To learn about the experiences of children who were informally farmed-out, and therefore, with only marginally enforced government protection and oversight, a case study also was conducted on a Wisconsin family of orphans, two girls and a boy, who were farmed-out in this manner.

Content Analysis

The life experiences of formally placed-out, rural orphans were assessed through analysis of documents from the Wisconsin Child Center and Farm. This center was an orphanage from 1886 until 1976, housing hundreds of children at a time. The documents examined include the following: "Visiting Record, 1889-1909," "History of Children Capsule," "Outside Placement Application Record," and the "Indenture Record."[9]

These records are ledgers documenting the orphaned children that lived at the Center and by which they were placed-out. Once they were taught a skill or a trade, such as farming or if they were female, the skills of "housewifery," they would be placed-out with a family. Some children were adopted. Others were returned to the Center for unknown reasons. Some ran away, which was referred to in documentation as "escaping" and were never heard from again.[10] Approximately 300 children died at the Center and were buried on its grounds with tombstones that identified them only with a number, instead of by name.[11]

The children who were formally placed-out by the institutions were expected to be visited by local field agents to ensure that they were receiving proper care. The field agents would record in a ledger the child's name, their case number, name of placement family, town of placement, and date of visit. Because travel throughout Wisconsin was difficult and field agents varied significantly in their availability, interest, and skill, the quality of oversight of these children's placements also varied greatly. According to the records, when a field agent was able to make a visit, there were only three areas of the child's life that were to be reviewed: the child's health, home surroundings, and conduct. Sometimes school attendance would be noted, but as these children had farming responsibilities and schools were sometimes far away and costly, it was not a priority. Very often an agent would record redundant comments for every child on the same page of the ledger: "health, conduct, home surroundings good." How often a child received a visit, or if all children received in-home visits was too difficult to discern from these records.

An examination of these records shows very little breadth or depth in the documentation of how these children managed in their new environments. Often, the children were not interviewed and if they were it was in the presence of their host family. There were some references to children being overworked, neglected, physically abused, as well as male family members "taking familiarity" with the female orphans (see also Holt

1992; O'Connor 2001; Platt 1969; Youcha 1995). There also were entries identifying times when orphans were removed from the home due to their treatment or the homes' condition, but this was rare. One record indicated that the field worker believed a farmed-out boy to be a hard-worker, intelligent, and respectful, but that the home conditions were in shambles. It also noted that the boy reported being beaten on occasion with a broom and on other occasions with a hammer or "anything they could get their hands on." The field agent documented her concern, and decided that the solution was to "visit more often." Boys were often characterized as "a bad boy," "feeble-minded," "a worthless bum," or ungrateful for his placement. Sometimes he was praised for his "industriousness," or for being "a good boy."

Based on the records in the ledgers, it was determined that girls comprised approximately 50 percent of the rural, formally placed-out orphans, reflecting a larger proportion of rural, female orphans were placed-out in the Midwest than were urban, female orphans. Like their urban counterparts, these girls were often characterized as "saucy," "womanly," "stubborn," or "disobedient." Sometimes the girls were noted as "ladylike." Field workers would document which girls they thought were "marriageable." Some agents recorded that it was "better to never grant the adoption of a child" or to let the child "hear from their own people" but the reasons why they held these opinions were never recorded. Very often field workers only documented that the child had "escaped" from his or her placement.

The Wisconsin Child Center and Farm "History of Children Capsule" provided even less information about these children. It often provided only the child's name, birth parents, date of indenture, date of return, date of death, or the date(s) the child escaped. Sometimes the circumstances that rendered the child an orphan or as destitute were noted. Often the reason was noted as "intemperate" parents. Sometimes the child's ethnicity was noted. In these records the orphans were referred to as "inmates." If an orphan was determined to be epileptic or "feeble-minded" they were sent to the Wisconsin Home for the Feeble-Minded. The first child documented in this ledger dates back to 1886, while the final entry of a child, dated 1913, shows a boy whose indentured service was not set to expire until April 2, 1959.[12] According to this ledger the number of orphans received by the state between 1886 and 1930 was 7,786. The number of orphans indentured by the state was 5,264.[13]

Case Study

To collect information on the experiences of informally farmed-out rural female orphans, oral histories were produced from surviving relatives of three siblings who were informally farmed-out in Durand, Wisconsin. These children are identified here only as Emma, Patrick, and Mary, not by their real names.

The respondents from whom oral histories were collected include Emma's two remaining daughters, who will be respectively referred to as Margaret (age 83) and Rebecca (age 73); four granddaughters, who are Thea (age 61), Theresa (age 47), and twins Caroline and Catherine (age 41). Patrick's daughter, who is referred to as Madeline (age 83), and granddaughter, referred to as Jocelyn (age 61). No relatives who could speak to Mary's experience with farming-out could be located. All respondents lived in the same geographic area as their relative and had with them regular, if not daily contact until their relative's death.

The oral histories were collected in October 2003 in Margaret and Thea's home in Maiden Rock, Wisconsin, and in Rebecca's home in Ellsworth, Wisconsin. As a follow-up to the oral histories, questionnaires were sent to the respondents to clarify themes that became evident during the oral history collection.

According to both Margaret and Rebecca, in 1903, when Emma, Patrick, and Mary were seven, six, and four years old respectively, their mother died from Typhoid Fever. Their father, as was customary at the time, remarried shortly thereafter. His new wife was not interested in raising his children and was resentful for having to do so, in part because their father worked long hours in the logging industry. Their stepmother was reportedly physically and emotionally cruel to Emma, Patrick, and Mary providing her own children with clothes and food while neglecting her stepchildren.

After a couple of difficult years, a relative took pity on the children and accepted them into her home. This, and all subsequent placements, was conducted on an informal, unwritten agreement between the children's

father and the relative. The first placement took in all three siblings. It is not known how long they stayed with this family or the conditions under which they lived. At this time Emma, the oldest, stopped attending school and only was able to complete her education to the fourth grade. According to a daughter, Emma had to quit because the only school in the area was Catholic and the family could not afford to send her.

Approximately one year later, the siblings were separated for unknown reasons. It is thought that Mary, the youngest, stayed with this family, while Emma and Patrick went to two separate homes. After this separation, little else is known about what became of Mary. The second placement for Emma lasted approximately one year. Again, it is unknown under what conditions she lived. However, the condition of Patrick's second placement became well known in the family lore according to the respondents because it precipitated life-changing events for both he and Emma.

Patrick's second placement was with a male relative who savagely and regularly beat him. While he was living with this relative, Emma was farmed-out—again, informally—to a man whose wife was terminally ill and in need of a nurse and domestic. Emma's father obtained this placement, as he knew the man through work. Emma, 12 or 13 years old at the time, followed the traditional female role of caregiver and domestic. She nursed the ill woman, cooked, cleaned, washed laundry, helped on the farm, and performed other household chores as needed. In exchange, she was given room and board. She was not considered a daughter to the family but rather hired-help. After the woman's passing, Emma stayed on as domestic and farm help for the man.

During the time Emma was living in her third placement, her brother Patrick was still living with the abusive farmer-relative a few miles away. Because he was being physically abused, he wanted to leave this placement and join Emma, but was not allowed to do so. When he was approximately 14 years old, he ran away from his placement in search of refuge with Emma because the farmer with whom he lived had beaten him with a horsewhip or a horse harness. This beating was so brutal that the fabric from his shirt had become embedded in the lash wounds on his back. Emma soaked his back in warm water so that she could remove what was left of his shirt and attend to his wounds. She asked the farmer if her younger brother could come and live with them, and he said he would agree to this arrangement only if she would marry him. In order to protect her younger brother, she consented to the marriage. She was 15 and the farmer was 46. Emma was also pregnant by the farmer at the time.[14] The marriage lasted 36 years and produced 10 children.

According to Margaret, her father would on occasion beat her mother. Emma did not fight back and although Emma's father (Margaret's grandfather) knew of the abuse (he lived in the same town or county as did his daughter and son-in-law), he did nothing to stop it. Margaret explained this by saying that her grandfather no longer felt any obligation to oversee the lives of his children now that they were farmed-out; that Emma was no longer under his authority, but the authority of another man.

> He liked to grab her by the hair and drag her outside...he thought she was doing things while he was gone...he was a drinker. Once when I was about 10 years old, Dad dragged Mother outside at night...I was inside the house and could hear what was going on. My oldest brother heard what was going on and went outside. My dad said, 'what are you looking at?' My brother said, 'you, and that's that last time you're ever going to lay on a hand on her.' And it was the last time he ever did. My two oldest brothers stayed with her on the farm for the rest of her life. — Margaret

According to Madeline, a few years after Patrick came to live with Emma and her new husband, he left to join the Army. Afterwards, he married and eventually had 9 children. His wife was reportedly physically abusive to their children, which he did not tolerate because of his own experience with abuse as a child.

> 'If you don't know how to discipline, you don't get to touch them,' he used to say to Ma...a couple of times he had to pull her off of us...he was a drinker and it was hard on Ma, but he didn't think hitting was the right way to handle a child. — Madeline

DISCUSSION

Considering the information collected by content analysis, oral histories, and follow-up questionnaires, through the lens of differential oppression theory, four themes emerge. They include Non-Agency, Consummate Caretaker, Martyrdom, and Strength.

Non-Agency

A critical read of the documents kept on formally placed-out rural female orphans illustrates the total institution under which they were forced to live. During their placement within a state-run institution, they were employment-tracked according to their gender alone. There is no indication of any consideration being given to the girl's talents, interests, or aptitude. The only mention of "choices" is that of marriage (for the pleasant, attractive, motivated girl) or that of becoming a dress-maker (mentioned as the alternative to marriage; for girls who were deemed unlikely to marry for undisclosed reasons). While boys were employment-tracked according to their gender as well, they appeared to have more options for eventual economic independence than did girls. The residents were referred to as inmates and were clothed, bathed, fed, and housed en masse. When they ran away they were documented as having "escaped." As a child with few legally recognized rights and protections (Gardner 2003), options were incredibly limited for an orphaned child to eek out a life of their own making. Being in a rural area also served to further isolate the orphan and provide them with few if any alternative outlets for career or home. When they did attempt to exercise some agency in their lives they were labeled as independent, or difficult, thereby, making them less likely to be assisted. The only reasonable option was to acquiesce to the total control of their overseers. Boy orphans would eventually age-out of the child-status based oppression under which they lived, but the girl orphan's oppression just moved from that of female-child to female-adult, again, with agency being compromised for the female.

How much agency Emma had to exercise when deciding whether or not to marry a man 31 years her senior is debatable. The choices she had to make in her young life were not made in a vacuum, rather, they were made in a time and place where her role as minor and as female dictated her social and legal options.

Consummate Caretaker

Per Margaret, Rebecca, Caroline, Catherine, Thea, and Theresa, Emma took on traditionally female responsibilities at a young age. After her mother died she assumed the mother figure for her siblings. As a rural, farmed-out girl she cared for a dying woman, that woman's husband, the house, the farm, and eventually her younger brother. She then took care of her 10 children and later raised a granddaughter after her own daughter died in childbirth. She was reportedly an excellent self-taught midwife, seamstress, cook, canner, bread-baker, and all-around sister, mother, and grandmother. Grandchildren regularly visited and loved to sleep with Emma, because they would fall asleep to her telling stories, often from the Bible. People in the family regularly came to her with their troubles and disappointments because she was understanding and non-judgmental. Thea noted that when she became pregnant out of wedlock the one person she was the most afraid to tell was her Grandmother Emma, for fear of disappointing her, but she also felt that her Grandmother was the one person who would not make her feel like a bad person. The responent remarked that:

> It was important that I told her [about the pregnancy] before she found out from others. I was so scared...I didn't want to disappoint her, but I needed to lay that burden down. When I told her she just said that she already knew and that it didn't matter; she still loved me and told me everything would work out. I felt so relieved. — Thea

From the documents examined, it appears that when a rural female orphan was placed-out, very often she would take on domestic duties for her host family. These duties included cooking, cleaning, and child-care responsibilities. This was to be expected, as the state institutions that placed the orphans trained the children to perform specific tasks according to their gender. A rural, female orphan had little to no training to perform other tasks; tasks that may have served to secure a financially independent future.

Martyrdom

Emma reportedly declared that her "re-

ward was in heaven," "someday the Good Lord will reward me," that "God wouldn't give me more than I can handle." She was described as having the patience of Job. She did not hold ill will against her father for choosing his new wife over his children. She never retaliated against the abuse of her husband.

> When I went into therapy after [my husband] stopped drinking, the counselor told me to think of the person who was a mentor to me. Of course, I thought of Grandma. Then she explained that this person was probably the one to teach me to be an enabler. It all made sense! I thought, 'Grandma, you betrayed me!' She was so wonderful, but she taught me to tolerate a lot [of things I shouldn't have].... —Thea

> I used to come to her after [my husband] and I fought. She'd say, 'if you'd just keep your mouth shut, you wouldn't have so much trouble.' She always took the side of [our brothers] or [our husbands]. — Margaret

Emma's marriage was described as one of convenience. According to Rebecca, "She married [the farmer] to give her brother a home." Rebecca, Margaret, and Thea agreed that Emma and her husband grew to care for one another, but did not have a marriage based on love.

Strength

Emma was described by each respondent as her favorite aunt, grandparent, etc. She was described as being the center of the family.

> She was the glue of the family. She was everyone's rock. When she died, the family's closeness was altered. — Caroline

Emma was portrayed as being able to handle any hardship that came her way. She was able to cope with the loss of her mother, the abandonment of her father, raise her brother, withstand a difficult marriage, birth and raise 10 children, face financial hardships and the death of her children and do so reportedly with grace and courage that she summoned from her unshakable faith. For 40 years after her husbands' death, she ran the family farm with the assistance of her two eldest sons, until her retirement in the early 1980s. She died in 1989.

It can only be assumed that children sent to live and work with strangers, must have shown extraordinary strength while accepting their situation. Nowhere in the documentation from the formally placed-out orphans is there mention of the children being homesick or missing their family, friends, etc. There is no mention of crying or sadness, no mention of adjusting to a new home or work responsibilities, and very few mentions of overwork or lack of food, clothing, or shelter. In fact, there is little mention of how rural orphans interpreted their experience at all. This lack of documentation, of course, does not mean that the children were not homesick or sad or overworked, but may be interpreted to demonstrate the resolve with which these children met their fates—their determination to survive under difficult circumstances.

These themes are all reflective of the "passive acceptance" mode of adaptation to an oppressive situation, as posited by differential oppression theory. This mode of adaptation is expressed when a child conforms to the expectations and demands of her oppressor. This is an obedience built upon fear, which derives from implied or overt threats and intimidation. As a child and as a female, Emma had few options but to acquiesce to her situation. Had she decided to leave her final farmed-out destination, she would have had to travel away from everyone and everything she knew at the tender age of 14 or 15 to eek out a living all alone; a living that was certain to be difficult to obtain as she was a young girl during an era where sexual social stratification actively and consciously divided and ranked people by sex and by age. She also would have undoubtedly faced dual-exploitation in the workplace: first as a child and secondly as a female (Dolgin 1997). Despite labor laws designed to protect the working child, she would have earned less than adult laborers. Additionally, as a female, she would have earned even less. Emma would have been hard-pressed to survive without a husband, much less succeed in life. She would have also had to live with the guilt of leaving behind a brother whose physical well-being was in danger. If she had not stayed in her farmed-out placement, her brother may have been brutalized for many more years. Lastly, as she was pregnant by the farmer to whom she had been farmed-out, if she did not marry him she would have

been viewed as unchaste and immoral—all things counter to the ideology of the "cult of womanhood." As such, she would have been seen as unworthy of assistance.

Because Emma was informally farmed-out, there were no legal protections in place to work on her behalf and no visiting field workers to inquire as to her living conditions and overall well-being. The isolation of rural Wisconsin left her with few, if any, networks from which to draw support. Her changes in status from "orphan" (for all practical purposes) to "farmed-out girl," to "wife," were all changes in her life for which she had no agency to assert. She had no choice in where she lived or with whom, no choice in leaving school, being given away by her father, getting pregnant by a man 31 years her senior and consequently marrying him. Passive acceptance as a mode of adaptation to oppression was the only option fathomable for a young, female, rural, orphan. As she had little to no agency to assert, perhaps this mode of adaptation to oppression can only be assigned as a default choice—a choice where none could realistically have been made.

Historically, children have little power to affect their social world because of their social and legal status. Compared to adults, children had almost no choice regarding with whom they associated and had limited resources available to influence others or to support themselves independently of adults. Therefore, they had the least access to resources that could allow them to negotiate changes in their environment (Finkelhor 1997). This lack of agency was intimately associated with the contradictory role of children as objects of sentiment and objects of utility—depending on their class, gender, and race. From a resource standpoint, adults, having superior power in relationship to children, were at a considerable advantage in determining and enforcing rules that controlled the basic lives of children. Compared to parents, teachers, and other adult authority figures, such as the men to whom they were farmed-out, children were relatively powerless and expected to—often required to—submit to the power and authority of these adults. In the formal and informal processes involved with farming-out, this power was exercised to prevent children from attaining access to valued material and psychological resources, (such as a family that valued them as a person instead of as a laborer), it denied children participation and self-determination, and impeded the orphaned children from developing a sense of competence and self-efficacy, thus making the situation one of oppression. Oppression, thus, restrained, restricted, and prevented orphans from experiencing the essential attributes of human life—such as sentience, mobility, awareness, growth, autonomy, and will.

One consequence of this oppression and control was that the orphans were transformed into objects, which were acted upon by those in power, as opposed to subjects, who would act upon and transform their world. Paulo Friere (1990) has noted that the greater the exercise of control by oppressors over the oppressed, the more they change them into inanimate things or objects, rather than subjects. By objectifying orphans, those who would use them for their labor were able to control the dialogue about the relationship between the two groups; they alone held the authority to establish the rules governing the relationship and processes of farming-out. In this context, the orphan was not treated as an end for him or herself but as a means for the ends of others, with the more powerful group exploiting the less powerful for its own gain. While the social valuation of a child had changed from that as an object of utility to an object of sentiment (Zelizer 1985), this was only true for upper and middle class children. Poor children, immigrant children, orphaned children were still acted upon as objects of utility because, as laborers, they filled a social need. This is evidenced in the child savers belief that while childhood should be a time of leisure and comfort, "role expectations [of children] were adaptable provided the inferior status group filled a social need" (Lerner 1969 10). The social need in the case of farming-out was that of a cheap labor pool.

The images adults commonly used to describe orphaned children offers support to the premise that child savers and other adults oppressed children. Friere describes how oppressors often create images of oppressed groups as dependent and threatening to the social order. Brace wrote about orphaned children as "street Arabs" and members of the "dangerous class," a clear indication that their mere existence threatened social order and demanded action. When speaking of girls, he referred to them as unworthy, pre-maturely "womanly," "hopeless" (Holt 1992) and that they were too costly to "save" (even though the organizations that focused on them operated under a smaller budget than did the organiza-

tions dedicated to helping boys) (Holt 1992; O'Connor 2001). Anthony Platt's critique of the child saving movement discerns that its motives were not the welfare of children, but

> the maintenance of control by a group of middle and upper class [people] who had been co-opted into securing the existing political and economic order. (as quoted in Empey 1978 93)

Platt further argues that child savers were more concerned with protecting respectable citizens from perceived threats from the dangerous classes and less concerned with championing the rights of the poor against exploitation by the ruling classes (Platt 1969).

Because the identity a person takes on is profoundly shaped by the way others identify and react to her or him (Cooley 1902; Becker 1963), the images and labels related to being farmed-out orphans had detrimental consequences for the children. According to labeling theory, an individual's problem behavior is significantly affected by the labeling experience. Therefore, simply viewing orphaned children through these lenses may have both created and reinforced these behaviors (i.e., "escaping" from The State School). Indeed, orphaned children often fully accepted the socially constructed notion that they were inferior, incompetent, and irresponsible. In turn they stayed in abusive homes because they thought they deserved no better treatment or that the abuse would help them stop being "bad" (Illick 1974). In addition, adults' perceptions of children as inferior, subordinate, and troublemakers allowed adults to rationalize their oppressive acts.

Differential oppression theory posits that female children are doubly oppressed, oppressed as children and oppressed as females. Thus, while male-orphaned children eventually aged-out of their oppressive status as children, female orphaned children merely aged-into the oppression experienced by adult females. The male orphan could eventually leave his placement and join the military, learn a trade that would provide economic self-sufficiency, or seek out a formal education, whereas, the female orphan was "prepared" more-or-less only for domestic service and/or marriage. The orphaned, rural, female child faced particular hardships. Her main options for finding a home were to work as a domestic (and on the farm, this included farm chores) or to become a wife. Jobs were available, but the newly gendered division of labor and the cult of womanhood proscribed work that might earn her a wage and allowed for her independence (Cott 1972; Pogrebin 1983; Rubin 1997). When employment outside a home was obtained it paid her less than her male colleagues precisely because the job was held by a female. Noted by Nancy Cott, "Women's work, by being designated as such, brought lower compensation" (1972 22). Because it was thought that their work was not economically primary to a family, and because of the perception that all females were oriented, ultimately, towards marriage, union organizers ordained female laborers as "unorganizable," and, therefore, offered them no protection or representation in the workplace (Cott 1972). Ironically, the cult of womanhood forced females into "anti-cult of womanhood" behaviors, such as prostitution, so that they could survive under the new edicts of a gendered division of labor. W.I. Thomas (1923) postulated that sex was now the most valuable capital a female had.

According to differential oppression theory, rural, female orphans had to adapt to their dual oppression as a survival mechanism. It is evident from the content analyses and from the collection of oral histories that a prevalent mode of adaptation was that of "passive acceptance."

CONCLUSION

According to differential oppression theory, children experience oppression at the hands of adults because of their status as a child. But whereas boys eventually grow to the age of majority and take their place as an adult, enjoying all of the rights included in such a status, girls still experience oppression upon reaching adulthood based on their gender. No longer facing the oppression a child has imposed upon her by adults, the adult female in the late 19th/early 20th century did not "grow into" rights awaiting her male counterparts. She could not vote, own property; take an inheritance or the like. She was still the property of another, without dominion over her choices and, therefore, life chances.

This lack of recognized and cultivated agency left female orphans with few options for improving their lot in life, with the rural, female orphan left particularly vulnerable due to their geographical isolation. Some authors

of the day recognized the stifling effect this had on farmed-out girls noting,

> Oh, the girls on the farm have minds and pride and ambition just as big as their brothers, too; and in many cases they are not given half a chance to realize one iota of this ambition. (McKeever 1913 238)

However, this was countered by the ideology of the cult of womanhood that was so prevalent during this era. So prevalent was this thinking that the same author offered, "good parents make sure girls do girls work—not men's work," (1913 291); regarding schooling, "don't let her work too hard; her best asserts are a good personality...[it will] help refine her for marriage" (1913 263); and, "practically her only stock-in-trade consists of her personal charm..." (1913 292).

With so few options in life, and no recognizable status, rural, female, orphans who were farmed-out (either formally or informally) stood little chance of enjoying the many pleasures and basic rights afforded those with the good fortune of being born into a higher social status, being born male, or having an intact, supportive family. As such, the "passive acceptance" mode of adaptation to this dual oppression appears to have been logically the most feasible mechanism by which to survive her circumstances.

There are clearly some limitations to this study. Given the nature of the subject matter, our methodology was limited. The use of a case study approach and content analysis of localized historical documents does not permit empirical tests of differential oppression theory. Even the use of equivalent or parallel case studies, possibly allowing for a limited quasi-experimental design, would not be appropriate when looking at the lived lives of rural female orphans of nearly a century ago. The official records of the lives of these children are, at best, rather limited. Records from the state, county, "adoptive" parents, or organizations such as the Children's Aid Society are often incomplete, missing, or simply inaccurate. Few of the young girls and boys were literate. Consequently, few of the children wrote diaries to reflect their experiences. The present case study used interviews with family members who had direct and personal knowledge of some of the girls and boys who had been farmed out. These interviews establish a link to these children and permit this initial exploration of the causes and nature of the oppression in their lives.

This study is an attempt to acknowledge and address an under-researched population. We hope that it may inspire other research on the experiences of the rural, female orphan. In addition, this study contributes to the theoretical development of differential oppression. It is recommended that future surveys, content analyses, and/or interviews be undertaken so as to better understand the formal and informal mechanisms of social control (within both an historical and contemporary context) utilized within the milieu of child welfare.

END NOTES

[1] Homeless children in the city were commonly referred to as "street Arabs" (Brace 1872; Riis 1890).

[2] No one knows for certain how many children were transported on the orphan trains, but estimates from O'Connor (2001) and Holt (1992) put the number between 150,000 to 200,000.

[3] "Placing-out" was a formal system of taking homeless or destitute children from the city and moving them to a rural area, or an area less affected by crime, and placing them with what would today be considered a foster family. The concept of "placing-out" will be discussed later in this paper.

[4] The orphan trains carried two future governors, one future Supreme Court justice, and others who would become mayors, congressmen, or local representatives.

[5] "Farming-out," similar to "placing-out" was an informal system of farm families taking in orphaned or destitute children to work as farm laborers in exchange for room and board. The finer differences between "farming-out" and "placing-out" will be discussed later in this paper.

[6] Children "placed" by a charity or by a government entity were required to be visited regularly by a field agent. The regularity and quality of these visits varied greatly, depending upon the assigned agent and the region of the country to which the agent had to travel for the visit.

[7] Some adults also traveled to the Midwest on the same trains in search for a better life, marriage, or work.

[8] In the first year of Wisconsin's statehood, its legislature codified assistance for indigent children and adults through a system of county-based Almshouses or through "indentured service," used synonymously with the term "apprenticeship." See Wisconsin statute, 1849, chapter 28, section 19 and chapter 81, sections 1-30.

[9] Wisconsin has a long history of indenturing destitute and/or orphaned children, codifying the procedures in its first legislative session. In the state's Poor Law statutes, by which they were referred, the legal identification for children being placed-out was as "indentured servant," a term used synonymously and interchangeably with the term "apprentice." In 1911 the United States Supreme Court ruled that indentured servitude was unconstitutional. That same year, Wisconsin was the only state to adopt a formal "apprenticeship" system that was sustained by the State for a period of time. It is unknown whether this formal system of apprenticeship improved the working conditions for those who were previously identified as "indentured servants." Out of this system of youth labor came a long running professional journal entitled, *Wisconsin Apprentice.*

[10] Ledgers reviewed showed a dated entry with only the word "escaped" next to it with no other details.

[11] In 1999 a group of concerned citizens, led by former Wisconsin Child Center and Farm counselor June Laxton, raised funds to provide a monument memorializing the deceased children and listing the names of those who could be identified by cross-referencing their tombstone numbers with old ledgers. All but about 20 children could be identified by name.

[12] It is assumed that this is a mistake in ledger, as the boy's original indentured date was 1913. The U. S. Supreme Court ruled indentured service unconstitutional in 1911, so referring to it in 1913 may indicate just how synonymously "indentured servant" and "apprentice" were used. Conversely, it may indicate that the State of Wisconsin ignored the Supreme Court decision and continued to indenture children as laborers.

[13] This ledger may or may not have been the only one for the State of Wisconsin, as other records of this era may not have been salvaged or otherwise made available for maintenance by the Wisconsin Historical Society.

[14] Thea alluded to the fact that she did not know if the pre-marital sex was consensual, but seemed confident that a girl of Emma's age did not have much authority to say no to sexual advances. As Emma was a devout Roman Catholic, pre-marital sex was considered a shocking and shameful activity.

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"CARPE DIEM (OR THE HOUR OR MINUTE) AND WRETCHED EXCESS": SOME CONCEPTUAL NOTES ON TEMPORAL OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURE, DEVIANCE COMPRESSION, AND BINGEING BEHAVIOR

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the bingeing process and posits three conceptual paradigms that articulate various elements, dynamics, distinctions and nuance attendant to the bingeing process: the potentiality of temporal opportunity structure, the intention of deviance compression, and the operationalization of this intention through three types of bingeing behavior. The three types of bingeing behaviors offered are: the relief, addictive, and occasional binge.

In recent years, there has been much media coverage addressing binge drinking on college campuses. Such behavior is problematic, but binge behavior is not restricted to individuals at college campuses, nor even to excessive drinking. Rather bingeing behavior occurs across a wide range of behaviors, conventional and deviant. Conventional bingeing behavior is generally benign, such as a person with "shopaholic" tendencies going on an expensive shopping spree, or a student pulling an "all nighter", cramming for an exam. Deviant bingeing behavior is far more problematic with serious dysfunctional import for both the individual offender and society.

Binge deviance is behavior that violates social norms to an excessive extreme, and which usually occurs within a very limited time frame. The social dynamics of the deviant bingeing process include three major components, the potentiality of temporal opportunity structure, the intention of deviance compression, and the operationalization of this intention through bingeing behavior. This paper examines this process and posits three conceptual paradigms that articulate various elements, dynamics, distinctions and nuance attendant to deviant bingeing (see Figure 1).

TEMPORAL OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURES

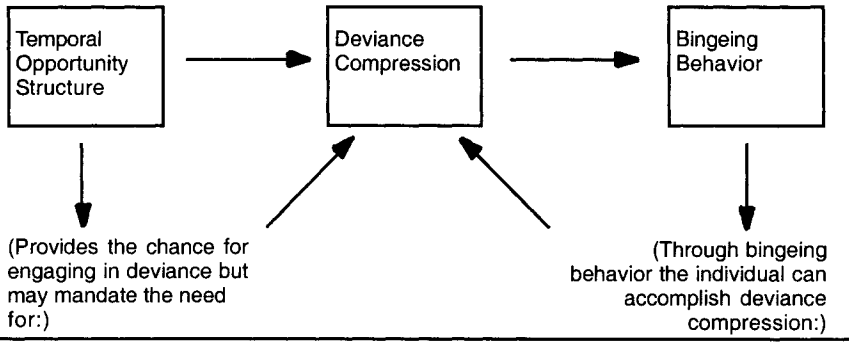
It has been observed (Adams 2001 266) that, "deviance requires individuals and opportunities." Adams goes on to elaborate on the opportunities portion of the equation by explaining that

> ...social situations...provide the opportunity for deviance to occur. These social (and physical) situations have come to be known to behavioral scientists as opportunity structures."

The concept of opportunity structure is a venerable notion and has proved to be a very durable and productive perspective in the examination of crime and deviant behavior. Opportunity structure is widely employed in the literature, although curiously, many textbooks now and in the past have no specific discussion of this notion. For example, see Sagarin (1975), McCaghy (1985), Pfohl (1994), and Clinard and Meier (2004). Other sources (Adams 2001 266-268; Bryant 1979) contain elaborate expositions on the concept of opportunity structure. Yet other authors discuss related concepts. Thio (1995 84-86), for example, discusses *deviant opportunities* and Siegel (1998 319) posits the notion of *situational inducements.*

The concept of opportunity structure implicitly incorporates either or both temporal as well as physical and spatial elements, but traditionally, it has most often been used with an emphasis on the physical or spatial parameters of such opportunities. Examples of a physical opportunity structure might include such situations as the evolution of the "serve yourself" store with all merchandise on tables and/or shelves and totally accessible to customers. In an earlier time many, if not most, stores including clothing stores, drug stores, variety stores and even grocery stores kept much of their merchandise behind counters or in glass cases (even racks of clothing). Clerks usually stood behind the counters and could hand merchandise to customers to examine, and also closely monitor the merchandise as long as it was

Figure 1: The Bingeing Process



in the hands of the customer. In the earlier situation, shoplifting was difficult, if not impossible, and was very infrequently encountered. In more recent times, the "serve yourself", merchandise accessible store arrangement has proven to be a very convenient arrangement for customers, but has been a facilitative context for theft and shoplifting as an ongoing retail merchandizing problem because of the physical opportunity structure.

Opportunity structure for crime or deviant behavior would appear to be particularly prevalent and even endemic in work and occupational contexts. As Bryant (1974 167) has observed:

> Persistent patterns of deviant behavior in the form of varied, clandestine and often elaborate, illegal practices are found within the social organization of many legal occupational pursuits. Because of a unique opportunity structure and work-related subculture, these illegal activities are often endemic or distinctive to a specific occupational specialty and are therefore characteristic of given work systems. The relationship between work and a particular variety of deviant behavior is not always immediately apparent because the deviant behavioral configurations are frequently buried beneath the surface of occupational structure.

Bryant (1979 83) has also pointed out that in the military, and especially in wartime, there are inordinate opportunity structures for theft of government property because equipment and supplies are available in great abundance, frequently concentrated in specific locations such as supply dumps or depots, often with minimal security, control, or monitoring, and thus relatively easy to steal.

Opportunity structures of the spatial, physical, or structured variety may result from such factors as structural role ambiguity as in the case of some prescription violations among retail pharmacists (Quinney 1963), or strategic location within the work system such as the police officer, who may be in charge of the Evidence Room in a police station and may, thus, be able to surreptitiously abscond with some narcotics. Another example might be the skilled accountant, who, by virtue of his strategic location within the organization and having access to the financial records of the company, has an ideal opportunity structure that makes possible and even facilitates embezzlement (Bryant 1979 64).

Crime and deviance, however, also occur within the context of temporal opportunities. Examples here might be the teenager, who, upon encountering an automobile with the keys in the ignition, might seize the opportunity to take the auto for a joy ride. Other instances of temporal opportunity structure might be that police officers sent to investigate a burglarized store helping themselves to merchandise while in the store at night when no employees are present (Stoddard 1968).

Temporal opportunity structures have not received as much theoretical or investigative attention by scholars as have spatial or physical opportunity structures, the exception to this is routine activities theory (Cohen & Felson 1979). This is unfortunate, inasmuch as the former type of opportunities have some very distinctive characteristics as do the modes of deviant behavior that occur within

the context of such situations. Our understanding of the dynamics of deviant behavior might well be enhanced through a closer research scrutiny and analysis of such temporal opportunity structures. Toward this end, a preliminary conceptual paradigm of temporal opportunity structure is proposed to facilitate the analysis of such contexts.

The distinctive characteristics of the temporal opportunity structure include:

1. Temporal Opportunity Structures may be *Extended* or *Ephemeral.* Extended temporal opportunities might be illustrated by the home left unattended for a period (perhaps several weeks) as evidenced by uncut lawn grass, a stack of newspapers on the front porch and no car parked in the driveway while a family takes a lengthy vacation, that becomes a tempting target for burglars while the family is away. Other opportunity structures are of a much more abbreviated or ephemeral time frame. Which is to say that there is only a fleeting window of opportunity within which to carry out the deviant act. The window of opportunity is often very brief, indeed, perhaps only a matter of seconds or minutes or at most, a few hours or days. Examples here might be the airline passenger waiting for his (or her) flight in an airport terminal, going to the restroom and briefly leaving his (or her) carry-on luggage unattended, and thereby, subject to theft. The temporal opportunity for theft here is quite brief - perhaps only 5 minutes or so. Nevertheless a thief might well take advantage of even such a brief window of opportunity. Other examples might be that of the briefly unattended automobile with keys in the ignition, and even the motor on and idling, as mentioned earlier, that is an inviting target for thieves in spite of the extremely short window of opportunity. Would-be muggers or rapists recognize that the very brief time period that elapses between a female employee leaving her place of work and walking to her automobile in the parking lot, and starting the car and driving away is an extremely vulnerable situation for the victim and an inviting window of opportunity for the perpetrator. Accordingly, some employers now arrange for female employees to be escorted to their automobiles when they leave work, especially if after dark, as a means of thwarting assaults, robbery, or rapes.

2. Temporal Opportunity Structures for Deviance are of two varieties, *Serendipitous* and *Scheduled.* Serendipitous Temporal Opportunity Structures occur randomly and as a result of happenstance. They are unplanned and unintentional and result from a convergence of situational factors. Examples of such structures would be that of an individual stealing a package from an unlocked and briefly unattended automobile where there were no witnesses to the theft. It was simply a set of random elements- the package left in the unlocked automobile, the unattended automobile, and the absence of any witnesses-that sets up the Serendipitous Opportunity Structure that facilitates the theft of the package. Another illustration of this type of opportunity structure would be that of a stroller passing a house and noticing a bathroom window with the shade up and a woman undressing. If the stroller was of voyeuristic inclination, he might take advantage of this serendipitous opportunity and sneak up to the window for a more extended but unobtrusive view of the naked female.

Some Temporal Opportunity Structures are planned or scheduled. The would-be deviant in effect, anticipates the opportunity structure and prepares to indulge in some form of deviance during the temporary set of circumstances. Examples here might be that of the American soldier who, after months of combat duty in Viet Nam, would receive a three day "R & R trip" to Bangkok, where he could party, drink to excess, and have multiple sexual encounters with Thai prostitutes. As another illustration, the sailor who received an overnight shore leave after weeks at sea might anticipate, plan, and intend to indulge his hedonistic inclinations to the fullest extent during his brief freedom from shipboard duty.

Both novels and movies contain vivid depictions of wartime soldiers indulging in intense deviance (drunken behavior, fighting and brawling, and "whoring") in an intense fashion while on a brief over-night pass from their unit after payday when they had money to pay for alcohol and prostitutes. The college fraternity "beer bust" may be eagerly anticipated as a brief opportunity for drinking as much free beer as they can within a very short time frame (likely resulting in drunken and disorderly behavior). Each year, across the nation, tens of thousands of college students enthusiastically look forward to Spring break when they can travel to beach resorts (especially in Florida) where they can engage

Figure 2: A Paradigm of "Binge Behaviors

Specificity of Behavior	Longevity of Temporal Structure: Ephemeral	Longevity of Temporal Structure: Extended
Improvisational	(Serendipitous) A teen-ager sees key left in an automobile and takes it for a "joyride." A group of Army recruits are assigned by "their" Drill Sergeant to go on "patrol" on Saturday night to "scrounge" (steal) as much equipment from other units as possible (as a device for instilling "survival skills" and innovativeness). (Scheduled)	(Serendipitous) A salesman who completes his business call in Southern California 4 or 5 days sooner than expected, and decides to spend the time "partying" in Tijuana in order to "unwind." A couple who had once had a sexual affair, but ultimately each marries someone else and years later encounter each other at a convention on a chance basis, discover that they still have erotic feelings for each other, and spend 7 days at the convention, engaging in sex. (Scheduled)
Scripted	(Serendipitous) A female goes to a Mardi Gras parade to try & catch some beads thrown from floats; seeing other females "flashing" their breasts, she does the same. A group of janitors meet each week at a different building and go to a high level floor in order to use telescopes to spy on women and couples having sex in surrounding buildings (Forsyth 1996). (Scheduled)	(Serendipitous) Several college students (of either gender) as is their custom, head to the Florida beaches looking for some "action" and to "raise hell", during Spring break week. A G.I. in Vietnam got a 3 day "R&R" pass, and went to Bangkok to engage in excessive drinking and partying. (Scheduled)

in improprietous (raunchy and raucous) behavior, including drunkenness, exposing themselves, sexual horseplay with members of the opposite sex, disorderliness, and, sometimes, fornication.

3. The deviant behavior that occurs within the context of temporal opportunity may also be *Impromptu* or *Scripted.* In the instance of impromptu behavior, the offender does not anticipate the opportunity structure, but when he (or she) encounters it, must act quickly to take advantage of it, and, accordingly, must improvise his (or her) behavior to appropriately interface with the situation. As an example, an individual of felonious bent is driving down a road and encounters an abandoned automobile. The automobile and its components are available for the taking and the perpetrator determines to steal something of value from the vehicle. Quickly sizing up the situation, the individual concludes that it would require too much time and effort to remove the tires or radio, and instead, quickly opens the hood and expeditiously steals the battery.

Another illustration is provided by Terry (1984 20) who reports an incident during the Vietnamese war. A U.S. army patrol is out on a combat "sweep" near Phu Cat. The patrol flushed out three black pajama clothed individuals from a woody area, and the figures start running away. Assuming them to be Viet Cong guerillas, the soldiers fired their weapons and knocked down all three. The soldiers then rushed over and discovered that they had killed two women and a man. One of the soldiers in the patrol then decided on the spur of the moment to take advantage of the fact that he had sexual access to the woman. As one of the unit members described what happened:

> As I was watching, I noticed one of the white guys take his pants down and started having sex. That kind of freaked me out cause I thought the broad was dead. The brother was just standing guard watching, It kind of surprised him to see this guy get off. After about 20 minutes, I ended up saying, "Hey, man, Come on, Lets go."

Temporal opportunity structure, however, may in some instances, result in *Scripted Behavior.* Here the offender responds to the opportunity by engaging in deviant behavior in a planned, structured fashion. The behavior may even be coordinated or collective. In effect, the individual reacts to the opportunity in a programmed fashion. As an example, individuals who work in a traveling carnival or circus sometimes encounter hostility from the local population. One patron who feels that he (or she) was cheated in some game of chance, or deceived by some side show exhibit may become angry or argumentative, and even combative. A carnie may be threatened with violence or even be assaulted. Alternatively, a carnival female (employee or the wife of a carnie) is sexually harassed. Any time a carnie or circus employee is threatened with danger from an outsider, they may shout, "Hey Rube." At the sound of this cry, all of the carnies or circus members are obligated to immediately come to the rescue (Bryant 1972 189-194). Fights between carnies or circus members and patrons from the local communities often result. Sometimes these fights or brawls grow into near riots as additional individuals from both constituencies join in. Serious injuries sometimes occur. Such behavior is obviously programmed or scripted.

As another illustration, professional pickpockets may go for a time without encountering a prime would-be victim. When they do encounter someone who is in a vulnerable situation crammed into a crowded subway or who may have been seen by the pickpocket putting their wallet or money into a particular readily accessible pocket, the perpetrator may spring into action with a well rehearsed (sometime relatively complex) routine that is followed to the letter thereby facilitating the theft. Two of the dimensions of temporal opportunity that have been discussed can be juxtaposed in a perpendicular fashion to conceptualize a paradigm of temporal opportunity structure that consists of a two by two matrix with four cells. One axis represents the variable of *Longevity of Temporal Opportunity* which incorporates the categories of *Extended* and *Ephemeral.* The second perpendicular axis is that of *Specificity of Behavior* and incorporates the categories of *Improvisational* and *Scripted.* Within each cell, there is a further bifurcation of behavior into *Serendipitous* and *Scheduled.* Temporal opportunity structure can, accordingly, be conceptualized in this manner as shown in Figure 2.

Deviance Compression

In everyday life, we frequently have to crowd or compress our activities into small units of time. Examples here might be the need to compact a variety of activities such as bathing, shaving, grooming, dressing, eating breakfast, etc. into a very short span of time before going to work or school. If one does not hear the alarm clock and oversleeps, then the pre-work activities necessarily must be even more compressed. Students often try to compress their studying into a short period of time just before taking an exam "cramming", as it were. A college student who had a steady girl friend living in another town whom he only sees a few weekends a semester must attempt to crowd a lot of courting into very short weekend visits. The very concept of the fast food restaurant is, in fact, designed to accommodate the need of customers to compress their meal behavior into very limited time frames.

Deviant behavior as with conventional behavior, is also subject to compression, often due to the exigencies of time and other factors, as an example, and as previously mentioned, the soldier who after traumatizing combat duty, received a 3-day "R & R" leave, must necessarily cram a lot of deviant activity into a very short time period. Ephemeral Opportunity Structures obviously mandates the need for deviance compression.

Perhaps a better example of compression would be that of the employee who works in a building where smoking is not permitted. The individual must use his coffee or restroom breaks to go outside the building to smoke a cigarette. Inasmuch as it may be a matter of several hours before he (or she) can enjoy another smoke break, the individual may feel the need to smoke several cigarettes, one after another (chain smoking) as a means of "packing" nicotine into their lungs in the hopes that the effect of the nicotine will persist until the next smoke break.

In cities with factories and workers who may commute significant distances, a frequently seen phenomenon is the drinking commuter. An individual who works in one of the plants may have a commute home of an hour or more. Not infrequently he may commute with others in a carpool. It is not uncommon to see such persons purchase a half pint (sometimes a pint) of whiskey and get a large paper cup of ice and a mixer-type drink. The worker will then drink all of his whiskey on the way home with his (or her) fellow car poolers (sometimes even the driver). Thus, the worker drinks an excessive amount of liquor within a relatively short time, thus compressing his drinking. There are several reasons for such behavior. The worker may have a spouse that disapproves of drinking or at least of drinking at home around the children. Individuals lacking the deferred gratification pattern value may not keep a supply of liquor around the house. To have a large bottle, (or a number of bottles) of liquor at home would be a temptation that could not be resisted. Accordingly, drinking must take place away from home and preferably when the spouse is not present. The commute home then becomes an ephemeral opportunity structure for drinking. The companionship of other drinking companions in the car serves to enhance the opportunity structure. Inasmuch as the individual cannot take the half-filled bottle home because of the disapproving wife, he (or she) has no choice but to drink the whole bottle. Even if the wife smells the alcohol on his breath, he can claim that he had only one or two drinks after work. With no partially filled bottle to determine the amount consumed, the individual can minimize the wifes scolding. Thus the worker uses an ephemeral opportunity structure and binge behavior to accomplish deviant compression. Such behavior is very common in industrial towns.

Similar behavior would be that of the college student drinking an excessive amount of beer (to the point of drunkenness) at the periodic beer bust which he (or she) attends. Yet another illustration of deviance compression might be that of the convention attendee who, away from the likely disapproving eye of spouse, children, neighbors, and critical superiors, may take advantage of the brief opportunity to relax and "let off some steam" by boisterous behavior, heavy drinking, attending erotic shows or even having sex with a prostitute.

There appears to be four social configurations that characterize deviance compression.

1. *There is a certain ceremonial or traditional aspect to some forms of deviance compression.* Examples here might be the Bachelor Party for the individual about to be married the next day. By tradition such a party calls for deviance within a brief timeframe. Other occasions that may tolerate or even

call for inappropriate or deviant behavior, and in an accelerated or compressed fashion would include the Octoberfest in Bavaria, Mardi Gras (see Forsyth 1992), the Christmas Office Party, High School Graduation Night, the "rites of spring" on college campuses (streaking, panty raids, protests, etc.), and Halloween vandalism, to mention but some. It is to be noted that most societies have a special word or phrase that calls for expedited or excessive alcohol consumption, often in ceremonial situations such as formal banquets. Examples here might be "Bottoms Up", "Down The Hatch", or "Chug-a-Lug" in English, "Gambei" in Chinese, "Na Zhdaroe" in Russian, and "Egiszsegedre" in Hungarian!

2. *Deviance compression often has an itinerary or a scenario.* It is not infrequently anticipated and there may be some degree of planning, even provisioning. A fraternity may lay in a supply of alcoholic beverages in anticipation of a big fraternity "bash" after the homecoming football game.

In some Scandinavian countries, such as Finland, there are extremely strict laws concerning driving while intoxicated. The price of alcoholic beverages is also very high. An informant who has lived in Finland, relates that it is not uncommon for a group of academics who enjoy parting together, to plan a drunken episode. They will pool their money and purchase a supply of alcoholic beverages, decide on a date and location for their drinking party, and hire one or more students as drivers and caretakers. The group assembles, drinks into the night, becoming intoxicated, even to the point of "falling down drunks," or even passing out. The student caretakers then, dutifully, transport the drunks home and put them to bed to sleep off their intoxication.

3. *Deviance compression often has an imitative or collective nature to it.* Some individuals do indulge in solitary deviance compression, but it is more often the case that such efforts are collective in nature. The stereotypical concept of the "sexual orgy", for example, is that of a group enterprise. Much, if not most, binge drinking takes place within a collective context-the fraternity beer bust, as an illustration. Sailors, engaging in riotous behavior while on shore leave, or soldiers on R & R furlough, drinking and whoring, often do so in groups. The collective context provides instructive insight into the commission of deviance compression. The younger fraternity pledge may learn how to "chug a lug" from observing the older fraternity members do so. The group setting is also affirmation and reinforcement for deviance compression. "Everybodys doing it!" Finally, the collective enterprise produces a synergy that gives momentum and direction to the deviant behavior by generating a motivational milieu of irrational enthusiasm and energy.

4. *Deviance compression goes far beyond satiation.* It generally leads to superfluous gratification-"wretched excess", as it were! Binge drinking at a party seeks more than simply "feeling good." It seeks inebriation to the point of stupefaction and drunken oblivion. Even in the instances of killing, deviance compression may go far beyond the goal of exterminating one or more victims. Often the violence takes on an irrational, sometimes horrible, excess. The My Lai massacre in the Vietnamese War was such an example. The army platoon went in to attack and neutralize a village and capture or kill members of the Vietcong. Encountering only civilians-mostly women, children, and old men, rather than Vietcong military personnel, the soldiers killed the civilians anyway. In some instances, they were gathered up, pushed into a ditch in piles and murdered. Some of the younger women and girls were raped and then murdered. Many were beaten and brutalized before they were shot (Bryant 1979 218). The short attack resulted in the killing of *347* (italics ours) Vietnamese civilian men, women, and children (Hersh 1972 7). In July of 1966 another illustration of "wretched excess," even in murder can be seen in the crimes of Richard Speck. On the night of July 13 this individual broke into a dormitory for nursing students in Chicago, and over the period of an hour, he had seized and tied up 9 female nursing students. One by one, he carried them to another room and murdered them. Only one had been raped. Eight had been strangled or stabbed to death. One had escaped by rolling under the bed. The murders were senseless! The sheer number of victims was horrifying. He had simply killed 8 women in an irrational frenzy (see http://www.prairieghosts.com/speck.html).

In the school shootings at Columbine High School in Littleton, Colorado, two students, Eric Harris and Dylan Kelbold senselessly killed 12 fellow students and one fac-

ulty member, and wounded another 23 students within a brief period of time; deviance compression of the most horrible variety! (see http://boulderclassifieds.com/shooting/423 weapon.html).

Temporal opportunity structure affords locus and the potential for deviance compression. But deviance compression must be operationalized if this aim is to be accomplished. Bingeing becomes the venue for doing so.

BINGEING BEHAVIOR

Individuals engage in bingeing for a number of reasons, and may even justify their actions with various rationales. We suggest three types of bingeing given differences in motivation: the relief, addictive and occasional binge.

The Relief Binge

The most frequent type of bingeing behavior and even perhaps the most replete general form of deviant behavior is the binge for relief. This behavior has become a cure-all for a post modern society satiated with stress. Mardi Gras is a celebration before beginning the abstinence of Lent. As such it fits into the category of bingeing as a form of release before deprivation. On Mardi Gras day in New Orleans many things normally forbidden are permitted. People walk around virtually nude; women expose themselves from balconies and the gay community gives new meaning to the term outrageous. Laws which attempt to legislate morality are informally suspended. Although masking is only allowed on Mardi Gras day, this idea of masking pervades the season. In a sense, the season becomes a mask and compartmentalizes any outrageous behavior. What one does during Mardi Gras does not count as a mark on one's character; it becomes a legitimate cover. As behavior became more offensive to some, other "family celebrations" spread into the suburbs. This had the effect of further heightening the lack of censors from the scene and both concentrating and attracting the "norm violators." Certain areas became bingeing meccas because they promoted compartmentalization and cover in a finite space (Forsyth 1992). As Redmon (2003 48) indicates these places become "themed environments" specially designed as areas to perform deviance for pleasure. Bingers compartmentalized their behavior at these events and are not seen as accountable (Schur 1979; Forsyth 1992). Thus, it inflicts no disfavor upon the participants or if it does they successfully manage the stigma (Gramling & Forsyth 1987). It is analogous to what Goffman (1963 81) refers to as back places,

> where persons of the individual's kind stand exposed and find they need not try to conceal their stigma, nor be overly concerned with cooperatively trying to disattend it.

Redmon (2003) and Presdee (2000) capture this sense of relief through pleasure with the notion of deviant behavior as carnival. Carnival is a site where the pleasure of playing at the boundaries is clearly catered to. Festive excess, transgression, irrational behavior and so on are temporarily legitimated in the moment of carnival. Breaking rules is a source of joy, of humor, of celebration. Many acts that might otherwise be considered criminal are momentarily tolerated.

Forsyth (1989 37-38) describes the pre-entrance binge of merchant seamen in which he engages in a celebration of self indulgence before he leaves on a voyage; a period of deprivation. The underlying support for the bingeing behavior is the assumption that there is a completely structured non-deviant social space on ship. Such a pre-entrance binge is likely common to persons who foresee prolonged deprivation, which for the seaman is a life-long, cyclical experience. It is a recurring personal rite of passage through which the seaman accepts his occupationally imposed exile from the routine lifestyles of those permanently on land. Virtually all seaman resort to varying degrees of some sort of self-indulgent ritual before going to sea.

The most hedonistic are the young and single with alcohol, sex, and drugs of interest. The pre-entrance binge of the married seaman may be more conservative, but both he and his family come to expect it. As time progresses, these seem to become a routine family crisis period, with both the seaman and his family experiencing a sense of relief when he is finally extricated from the home scene. Seaman compared the voyage to a stay in jail. It is not unusual to find a number of drunken men aboard ship at sailing and several men missing their first sea watches. There appears to be a positive cor-

relation between the length of the expected voyage and the number of drunken crew and the severity of the intoxication (Forsyth 1989). The same bingeing behavior occurs among pre-incarcerated criminals, if the circumstances permit it, who are about to start serving a prison sentence. Upon release the process repeats itself (Sykes 1958). Whether in the urban gangs from inner city ghettos, in lower or working class cliques, college students or middle class workers seeking relief from stressful lives, bingeing functions as a form of relief.

The Addictive Binge

Other motivations for bingeing can be seen as addictive, much like the abstinence/relapse cycle of the addict (Ray 1961). Repeated bingeing puts the individual in two worlds. The participant develops an identity which is developed through shared roles and experiences during these intense activities. He/she consequently develops values and perspectives about the self/insider and outsiders/non-bingers. Life for the binger becomes similar to that of a heroin addict; a cycle of abstinence and then relapse or a cycle of pain/pleasure. The pain/pleasure cycle becomes relative and pleasure becomes the absence of pain. Although the pleasure decreases absolutely the increased pain during abstinence creates an equal amount of relative pleasure during relapse. Much like the weekend binger returning to work,

> ...the seeds of a new attempt at abstinence are sown, once addiction has been reestablished, in the self-recriminations engaged in upon remembrance of a successful period of abstinence. (Ray 1961 139)

They weigh social situations and are measured by the other participants in these situations, often with the result that the value of the binger's identity relative to the social world of that activity is examined. The labeling of oneself as something deviant, committed to the values and statuses of the deviant group, is contrasted with non-deviant identities and relationships. One tries occasionally to abstain and indulge in his aspired to self image. He seeks validation from others in this new situation. Generally the period of abstinence is not gratifying. The deviant questions the value of a non-deviant identity. He nourishes reflections of past deviant activities which includes comparisons with his non-deviant identity. The deviant again realigns his values with his bingeing status. Hence the world of the binger where reflection upon identity brings on a continuation of the cycle of abstinence and relapse. This cycle is fostered by the degree of value conflict. If the bingeing behavior "fits" into a particular lifestyle or whether a lifestyle has been created to accommodate the deviant bingeing behavior then periods of abstinence/relapse become archetypal. For example, the weekend drunk who maintains a job on the weekdays and is tolerated, accommodated, or assisted by family and friends. Others may not be able to do this and conflict becomes too great bringing on more extended periods of abstinence/relapse. Social structure and culture determined the degree of conflict or social psychological grief which necessitates differing degrees of compartmentalization. It is rare that anyone never enters the cycle since all deviant bingeing behaviors are questioned periodically. Bulimia, binge eating followed by vomiting and/or laxative use, also fits into the addictive binge category because of its compulsive nature (McLorg & Taub 1987).

The Occasional Binge

Other bingeing behavior occur less frequently, such as, streaking, mooning, or other brief flings at public nudity. Bryant (1982 136) contended that it was one generation flaunting their liberated values in the faces of the older more conservative generation. Anderson (1977 232) said that it embodied the new morality, and as such, was "perceived by many to be a challenge to traditional values and laws." Like other bingeing behaviors it retains parameters of time and place. Mooning, like streaking, was considered a prank and an insult to conformity and normative standards of behavior (Bryant 1982). Both streaking and mooning are collegiate behaviors, an environment given to bingeing.

The current erotic tourism industry can be considered a form of sexual bingeing. Indeed, the sex tourism industry in Southeast Asia has its roots in the Vietnam war. The Vietnam era had brought a constant supply of soldiers/tourists looking for hedonistic bingeing (Evans, Forsyth, & Wooddell 2000). The erotic tour works for some individuals because it is the realization of fantasies. In addition, enlistment can take place in private

and participation takes place in far away places. The sexual tourist avoids public degradation. For a growing number of individuals and cliques, erotic tourism represents socially acceptable and easily procured sex. Most of the tours have legitimate covers such as fishing trips, golf, rafting, beach, or scenic excursions.

Strip clubs and the table dancing and private performances which take place within them reflect elements of sexual bingeing. Such behaviors take place under the cover of dark strip clubs. Table dancing and indeed private dancing involves even more cover (Enck & Preston 1988; Forsyth & Deshotels 1997, 1998).

In Miller's (1958) description of lower class culture, one of the components: excitement, represents the occasional binge. Excitement is a heightened interest in the seeking thrills, particularly experienced through sex, alcohol, gambling, going out on the town, making the rounds. It is considered a brief - periodic adventure, followed and preceded by, a period of long inaction, referred to as hanging out. Occasional deviant bingeing has no cycle but occurs when individuals feel the need for distraction/recreation. Only in a secondary sense is relief a product. Depending on the specific behavior and within this social context, occasional bingeing may be conceptualized as harmful, erotic or cute.

DISCUSSION

This paper has examined the social dynamics of the deviant bingeing process. Three conceptual paradigms: the potentiality of temporal opportunity structures, the intention of deviance compression, and the operationization of this intention, framed in terms of motivations for bingeing, have been combined into a unique frame for articulating this process.

Deviant bingeing can be seen as being pursued in the interest of vitality and health and incorporated in lifestyle, but bingeing behavior can also be seen as dysfunctional in that this occasion for relief and to deny responsibility, may subtly grant some with the license to avoid a measure of the psychological costs, like shame and guilt, usually coupled to particularly offensive or harmful conduct. Taken to the extreme it can be dysfunctional in that it can create victims in its aftermath.

Deviant bingeing is the functional equivalent of a ritualized occasion in which persons are briefly licensed to ignore some of the norms that apply to them. As such bingeing behaviors differ on a legitimate/illegitimate continuum. By punctuating the routine rhythm of social life with ritually embraced durations of rule violation, the norms of everyday life are made more endurable for those who are escaping oppression of sorts and for those who merely feel burdened by such societal structures. These periods become customs for sacrilege. Deviant bingeing is a ready vehicle to cut loose and disavow our transgressions (Little 1989).

Bingeing can also be understood as "creative deviance" (Douglas, Rasmussen & Flanagan 1977 238), deviance which functions to solve problems or to create pleasure for the individual. Many forms of deviance, however, do not work in such simplistic ways. Most deviant bingers do not find that it works for them. They discover they are too ashamed of themselves or that the risk of shaming or embarrassment is too great, so they do not continue (Grasmick & Bursik 1990). Other people find it hurts them more (or threatens them) or, at the very least, does not do anything good for them. So many forms of bingeing do not continue, but other forms of bingeing apparently do work. They receive opportunistic pleasure in a "celebration" atmosphere of the compression of time and many do not suffer condemnation due to cover or compartmentalized.

Drinking is probably the most recognized form of deviant bingeing. In our society drinking temporarily suspends the individual's responsibility for their behavior. Our beliefs about the disinhibiting effects of consuming alcohol allow us to excuse what would otherwise be considered, outrageous, loud, disruptive, discourteous, impolite, or risky behavior with the mythical phrase "I must have been drunk" (Little 1989). The phrase becomes a cover or compartmentalization of the bingeing behavior.

> [T]he state of drunkenness is a state of societally sanctioned freedom from the other wise enforceable demands that persons comply with the conventional proprieties. For a while-but just for a while-the rules (or more accurately some of the rules) are set aside, the drunkard finds himself, if not beyond good and evil, at least partially removed from the accountability nexus in

> which he normally operates. In a word, drunkenness in these societies takes on the flavor of "time out" from many of the otherwise imperative demands of everyday life. (MacAndrew & Edgerton 1969 89-90)

All deviance involves a transcendence of boundaries and most theories of deviance involve some level of explanation for this surmounting of moral borders. Whether transcendence is represented by the emotional unrestrained seduction of Katz (1988), the more rational edgework of Lyng (1990), or the deviant bingeing behavior process here; it is the essence of all theories of deviance-seeking to account for participation in aberrant conduct.

FURTHER RESEARCH: DEVIANCE AND PLAY

Early theorists (Thrasher 1927; Tannenbaum 1938) characterized much of delinquency and gang behavior in the context of fun and adventure. Researchers on crimes by youth and adults (Mayo 1969; Belson 1975; Csikszentmihalyi & Larson 1978; Riemer 1981; Nettler 1982) found excitement to be a motive for some delinquents to violate the law. The research of Allen and Greenberger (1978) revealed an aesthetic element in acts of vandalism. Vandals apparently enjoy the auditory, visual, and tactile sensations which result from the destruction of material things, a process Allen and Greenberger (1978) called creative conversion. Lejeune (1977) discovered that for some criminals, adventurous deviance was more pleasurable because it involved risk. Richards, Berk and Foster (1979) extended the research that explained middle class involvement in delinquency as fun and adventure (Matza & Sykes 1961), claiming that most middle class delinquency was a form of play. In a study of shoplifters, excitement was shown to be a primary motivation for repeat offenders (Klemke 1978). Samenow's (1984) research revealed that trying to beat the rap was exciting for the criminal. Forsyth and Marckese (1993) found thrills and the display of skills to be one of the primary motivations for poachers persisting in their illegal behavior. Katz (1988) and Lofland (1969) both demonstrated that many deviant acts were associated with and generated by excitement.

The dominate theoretical perspectives have neglected the idea that deviant acts may be so attractive that neutralization, rationalization, frustration, or vengefulness are superfluous to the act. Most social scientists have ignored the thrill dimension while others have treated it in an ancillary way (Curcione 1992). But many individuals are motivated by the excitement, challenge and relief from boredom that deviance offers. For certain others, however, fun and adventure offer benefits that compensate for the risks involved in crime.

Research on play suggests that recreation for many individuals is a reaction to the conditions of alienation and involves the search for self. Lyng's (1990) research on what he terms edgework involves play motivated by such social psychological forces. For those involved in labor, which for them represents little creativity leaves them in a search for phenomenological experiences. Edgework (Lyng 1990), such as skydiving, is a type of experimental anarchy in which the individual moves beyond the realm of established social patterns to the very fringes of ordered reality. Deviant bingeing behavior is indeed both similar and unique from edgework. Edgework involves games of risk played by a yuppie class of workers looking to spend money, conspicuously consume, display skills and get relief at the same time in a structure activity which carries no aberrant baggage.

Lyng (1990), Katz (1988), and Klausner (1968) made us aware that there is a need to examine deviant behaviors for the meaning it has for the perpetrator rather than resort to old saws like labeling and differential association. Klausner (1968) emphasized stress seeking: the enjoyment of beating the odds and getting adrenaline rushes. The process of deviant bingeing reaffirms the basic components of many of these classic and contemporary ideas. In this context, temporal opportunity structures, deviance compression, and bingeing behavior become heuristic devices in which to frame deviant acts as well as more conventional ones because the the bingeing process addresses many of the same motivational issues.

Further research should develop a series of theoretical propositions which predict the circumstances necessary to produce each form of bingeing behavior. That is, use the various deminsions of the temporal opportunity structure and deviance compression to predict relief, addictive, and occasional

bingeing.

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PRESENTATIONS OF THE PARANORMAL: THE IMPRESSION MANAGEMENT STRATEGIES AND PROFESSIONALIZATION TACTICS OF PSYCHICS AND SPIRIT MEDIUMS*

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ABSTRACT

This is a study of psychics and spirit mediums. It focuses on concepts of deviance neutralization and professionalization. Using a literary ethnography, it identifies five types of psychics and mediums. They are charismatic, intraorganizational, cross-occupational, interorganizational, and charlatans. The findings show that each fight off the stigma associated with working with the "paranormal." This often involves various impression management strategies and professionalization tactics. These strategies and tactics have created acceptance by the dominant culture in traditional fields. They have also opened the door for a "psychic liberation movement" that is seeking to further the use of metaphysics in everyday life. This analysis builds on other studies of paranormal beliefs. It specifically complements a recent study by Evans, Forsyth, and Foreman (2003) examining stigma management among psychics.

Over the past few decades, people in the United States started giving more credit to beliefs in the paranormal (Ogden 1999). This led to a certain amount of acceptance for the metaphysical. In the 1980s, psychic Jeane Dixon advised President Ronald Reagan and his wife Nancy (Kelley 1992). In the past few years, spirit medium John Edward gained prestige providing "readings" in private and on his television show (see Edward 2002; Edward & Stoynoff 2003). Daily, thousands of people pay several dollars per minute to talk to people working for organizations such as the Psychic Readers Network (FTC 2002). One study even shows that 35 percent of police departments use psychics in criminal investigations (Sweat & Durm 1993). Paranormal occupations are gaining favor. With the public being the final arbiter of legitimacy, those associated with the paranormal, once marginal, are getting a positive reception (Emmons 1981, 1982; Bruce 1996; Steward 1999; Steward, Shriver, & Chasteen 2002).

This study focuses on psychics and spirit mediums. It is not concerned with ontological claims. Moreover, the exhaustive history of these groups is beyond the scope of this work.[1] As with previous research in this area (see Evans, Forsyth, & Foreman 2003), it seeks to identify how psychics and spirit mediums have generated a higher level of cultural acceptance. Using theories of deviance neutralization and professionalization, it does two specific things. First, it identifies different groups of psychics and spirit mediums. Second, it analyzes impression management strategies and professionalization tactics these groups use to gain cultural legitimacy.

DEVIANCE NEUTRALIZATION AND PROFESSIONALIZATION

Deviance Neutralization

The work of various scholars addresses how marginal groups neutralize the stigma of deviant activity (Mills 1940; Scott & Lyman 1968; Sykes & Matza 1957). One of the most beneficial perspectives involves Erving Goffman's work. It indicates that social action is a performance. People and groups, especially those dealing with a devalued social identity, seek to control the impressions they convey. They do this to neutralize negative images and create a favorable view in order to gain social acceptance (Goffman 1959, 1961, 1964).

Research in this tradition often focuses on illegal acts. Studies look at dog fighting (Evans & Forsyth 1997; Forsyth & Evans 1998), prostitution (Jackman, O'Toole, & Geis 1963), child molestation (McCaghy 1968; DeYoung 1989), and rape (Scully & Marolla 1990). Others focus on deviant behavior; specifically looking at sexual acts (see for example Skipper & McCaghy 1970; Luckenbill & Best 1981; Blinde & Taub 2000). Few focus on the neutralization of a deviant stigma in legal social arenas (for exceptions see Turner & Edgley 1976; Thompson 1991; Ulsperger & Paul 2002). However, some do deal with issues of deviance neutralization with psychics and mediums. They look at occult knowledge, the sociology of the paranormal, parapsychology as a deviant science, specialists in spiritualism, and spiritual read-

ings as deviant work (Wedow 1976; McClenon 1984; Heeren & Mason 1990; Goode 2000; Hodges 2002). One recent study looks at the accounts of psychics in the Jackson Square section of the French Quarter in New Orleans (Evans, Forsyth, & Foreman 2003). Regardless, these studies are either exploratory or only speak generally of the legitimation of psychics and mediums. They also fail to clearly review professionalization.

Professionalization

Professionalization involves the process of an occupation claiming the status of a profession. A profession is an occupation with high technical and intellectual expertise and usually autonomous. Common examples would be law and medicine. Research on professionalization implies occupational groups often seek to professionalize to better their economic status by securing niches for their work (Ritzer & Walczak 1986; Jary & Jary 1991; Roos 1992).

The process of professionalization involves various components. Freidson (1984) points out three specific elements: expertise, credentials, and autonomy. Expertise involves mastering a special skill. Credentials involve education. This can include informal pedagogy. However, it most often involves formal education and the receivership of some sort of diploma or degree. Autonomy concerns the presence of a self-regulating organization arranged around an occupation.

When applying concepts of deviance neutralization and professionalization to the work of psychics and spirit mediums, several questions exist. How do psychics increase their legitimacy? Do they alter the presentation of the paranormal to suit the public? What impression management strategies do they employ to frame their occupations in a positive way? What tactics do they use to professionalize their work? Are professionalization tactics ultimately impression management strategies? This work provides insight into these types of questions.

METHODOLOGY

For this study, we used a literary ethnography.[2] A literary ethnography involves deep reading. Documents focus on a defined subject. After reading the documents, patterns of experiences are identifiable. Repeated themes reflect features of a social group. They provide insight into actor thoughts and patterns of interaction. This is not a quantitative method. The researcher engages in an interpretive process. This helps to focus on thick descriptions. These descriptions generate themes that represent a consolidated picture of a social phenomenon. A literary ethnography has six stages. They include developing a scope of literary sources, reading the sources, identifying textual themes, classification of textual themes, developing analytical concepts, and contextual confirmation (see Van de Poel-Knottnerus & Knottnerus 1994, 2002; Knottnerus & Van de Poel-Knottnerus 1999).

Step 1: Scope of Literary Sources

In this project, the literary sources included over one hundred works by various authors from 1900 to the present. All of the documents concerned psychics, spirit mediums, and related phenomena. The documents included scientific studies, autobiographies, biographies, interviews of psychics, materials from groups devoted to different psychics, and transcripts of popular television shows involving psychics or spirit mediums.

In terms of our sampling, the literary texts that we used were collected through a snowballing method. With an initial base of popular books on psychics and spirit mediums, we specifically looked for references to previous works we could analyze. In addition to the sources this snowballing method yielded, one researcher had extensive experience with the work of psychics and spirit mediums. This researcher's prolonged engagement in the field also yielded numerous sources of data collected since the early 1970s – many of which corresponded with the list comprised through the snowballing technique. It should be noted that not all of these sources were used. We could not feasibly analyze all psychics and spirit medium books, so we narrowed down the list by focusing only on those that had information related to professionalization.[3]

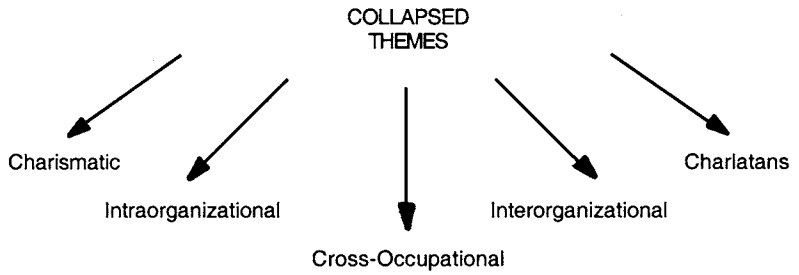
Step 2: Reading and Interpretation of the Documents

After gathering our base of documents, we read and reread each one several times. The first few readings involved building on our general knowledge of psychics and spirit mediums. The next few involved an interpretation. With sources being examined by each

Table 1: Sample of Initial Themes

epistemology creation	book writing	utilization of the media
intraorganizational contact	profit seeking	informal training schools
formal training schools	health care	religious ties
entertainment	altruistic intentions	law enforcement
con-artists	knowledge sharing	parapsychology
links to medicine	degree granting	research publications

Figure 1. Categorization Based on Literary Ethnography



researcher for inter-coder reliability purposes, we discussed ideas and concepts in the documents involving subtle nuances, informal phrases, and technical jargon. With common themes established, we then identified textual themes.

Step 3: Identification of Textual Themes

During and following the reading of documents an identification of themes was possible. The themes involved recurring issues. Here, elements initially found in only a few documents started appearing in others.

As Table 1 indicates, these themes included issues on a wide range of topics such as epistemology creation, publishing, utilization of the media, intraorganizational contact, profit, and informal training. Additional themes involved schools, health care connections, religious ties, entertainment, altruistic intentions, law enforcement, con-artists, knowledge transmission, parapsychology, links to medicine, and degree granting.

Step 4: Classification of Thematic Elements

In this step of a literary ethnography, the researcher collapses textual themes into a classification system. This indicates certain themes are appearing often, but have a degree of similarity. We collapsed our themes into categories of different types of psychics and spirit mediums. With different variations of psychics and spirit mediums identified, we could focus better on themes relating to impression management strategies and deviance neutralization. In the documents, five main classifications of psychics were salient. As Figure 1 indicates, they included charismatic, intraorganizational, cross-occupational, interorganizational, and charlatan types.

The charismatic category involves psychics and spirit mediums that start a career in the paranormal after a significant event. This usually involves a spontaneous experience such as predicting an event, seeing something identified as "otherworldly," or having a supernatural dream identifying them as "special." Intraorganizational psychics and spirit mediums are involved in paranormal occupations through some sort of educational means. This could be formal or informal. Often the education involves the epistemology established previously by a charismatic. Cross-occupational types are psychics and spirit mediums that actively use their "abilities" in conjunction with an already legitimate profession. They usually start in other occupations and later blend paranormal beliefs with their jobs. For example, consider psychics working in fields such as psychology (as parapsychologists) or psychiatry (as hypnotherapists). Interorganizational psychics and spirit mediums are those involved with other occupations in order to achieve a shared goal. This happens because of some altruistic desire to help others. An example here would involve psychics working with law enforcement to help solve

a crime. Charlatans are people claiming to be psychics or spirit mediums only for entertainment and profit purposes.[4]

Step 5: Development of Analytic Constructs

Developing a set of analytic constructs gives a greater degree of structure to a literary ethnography. The constructs give better understanding to the categories generated in previous steps. The constructs link to theoretical ideas external to the study. This makes for an improved knowledge of the subject being studied. In this work, to better understand the categories of psychics and mediums that emerged in the literature, we focused on the concept of impression management while also emphasizing Freidson's (1984) three elements of professionalism: expertise, credentials, and autonomy. This process corresponds to what some refer to as typological analysis (see Lincoln & Guba 1985).

Step 6: Contextual Confirmation

Contextual confirmation involves reading the documents one last time. This helps the researcher or researchers decide whether the documents correctly relate to the coding scheme and analytic constructs being used. In our study, we took our psychic and spirit medium categories and read back through the sources. As we read back through them, category comparison still took place. It appeared that we reached a point of exhausting all possibilities of a new category emerging. The rereading confirmed that the categories accurately represented the major themes identified. It also allowed us to focus on aspects of impression management and professionalization again. By each author rereading selections from the documents, we again did our best to ensure a high level of inter-coder reliability. Cases disagreed upon were excluded for validity purposes. In the following section, we elaborate on our identified groups of psychics and spirit mediums. We also analyze impression management strategies and professionalization tactics these groups use to generate legitimacy.

FINDINGS

The strategies and tactics used by psychics and spirit mediums are best explained by separating them into the categories we discovered. Again, these concern charismatic, intraorganizational, cross-occupational, interorganizational, and charlatan classifications. The first group to be discussed will be the charismatic psychics. This group is looked at first because the other groups are in some ways dependent upon them for the establishment of psychic ways of knowing that lead to therapies and ideologies (the expertise) used or subsumed by the other groups. The charismatic group also often creates theories and epistemologies for the other groups to be discussed, and therefore are the foundation to understanding those groups beliefs and motives.

Aside from charlatans, the purpose of this study was to review psychics and spirit mediums that have taken their belief systems very seriously as alternative ways of knowing. Though aspects of entertainment cannot be discounted among the general public viewing the groups looked at in this study, we believe many do see themselves as genuine practitioners of occult arts. Though there are charlatans that cause grave problems of stigma and legitimacy, the more serious groups are using professionalization to address some of those concerns with deviance neutralization while at the same time establishing these groups as professionals with respectable occupations. In this study, charlatans are the same as they are in any profession. They make use of fraud to establish their credibility and are problematic for other groups seeking legitimacy.

Charismatic Psychics and Mediums

Successful charismatic psychics and spirit mediums develop their occupations along similar lines. There are usually four stages to their development of expertise. In the first stage, they develop their own specific area of expertise, usually following some spontaneous experience. In the second, they temper their experiences with scientific training usually from contacts with parapsychologists. With the third stage, they develop a career outside their psychic occupations to complement their special talents and lifestyle. With the fourth stage, they establish an autonomous institution that sustains and promotes their life work. It is in the last two stages that "professionalization" becomes important. The development of a career outside their psychic and spirit medium occupations often involves establishing credentials of their knowledge. This is linked with the individual psychic's epistemologies, and

how they understand themselves and their talents in relation to their life world. Consider the work of Edgar Cayce, Arthur Ford, and Eileen Garrett.

Cayce established his own health clinic at Virginia Beach (Sugrue 1967). Ford stayed in the area of Religion and did a lecture circuit as well as preached in Christian Churches (Ford & Harmon Bro 1958). Eileen Garrett was an editor and writer of occult books and magazines (Garrett 1968). Men like Ford and Cayce saw their talents and abilities associated with their religious beliefs as a vocation or ministry. In his work with Harmon Bro, Ford expresses the paradox of his situation:

> In my dilemma my knowledge of psychic things was of no help to me. At the time I thought of my psychic ability as something that had come to me unsought and I resented the fact that nearly everyone I met looked upon me as a charlatan or a lunatic, or at best a guinea pig to be used for interesting experiments. To me it seemed that the fact of ongoing life and of communication (with the dead) were so plain, that a person who could not see their religious significance, must be mentally retarded. In our culture that made me the odd-ball, calling the majority crazy. (Ford & Harmon Bro 1958 150)

Finding an occupation that is compatible with psychic abilities is not an easy task. Psychics and spirit mediums tend to go through a lot of cognitive restructuring in order to establish themselves as "professionals." Garrett, because of her advanced training and work with parapsychologists, correlated her talents and abilities with psychological states. She wondered how much of her own personality, or impression management, was involved in her psychic trances. Garrett (1968 93) indicates:

> From time to time I was assailed by doubts lest the subconscious was "playing games" of its own accord, and that one day I should hear myself speak, as those in lighter trance states were supposed to do. This I felt, would reveal that I had inner needs and tendencies to "put on a show." If this were indeed my subconscious path of action, it might be folly to continue.

Regardless, her experiences could be explained through a systematic examination of symbolism. Garrett (1968 93) points out:

> A further word about the controls (spirit guides) may here be in order, I long ago accepted them as working symbols of the subconscious. Even today, however, the related disciplines for research into the depth of the subconscious are somewhat split by terminology difficulties; and depth psychology, which was my last effort to discover meanings, has unfortunately not supplied any answers.

Each charismatic psychic or medium, therefore, develops a different epistemology and associated occupation. These then are often grafted into established epistemologies and occupations of other disciplines. They ultimately compliment a psychic or spirit medium's way of knowing. This provides a type of deviance neutralization and a degree of professionalization.

Educational Tactics. The most common tactic used by charismatic psychics and spirit mediums involves preserving their knowledge with literary publications. If successful with the publications, they then seek media coverage in the form of radio and television talk shows. At some point, the published literature of the successful psychic turns from knowledge about the area of expertise to how this expertise is possible through training to the general public. This is achieved in workshops, seminars, mystery school courses, and publications. Some of the most famous charismatic psychics to achieve this kind of professionalism in the last century were the aforementioned Edgar Cayce, Arthur Ford, and Eileen Garrett.

As mentioned, the fourth stage of a charismatic psychic's career involves autonomy. With this research, this concerns the establishment of an institution to preserve and sustain a psychic or medium's life work. Autonomy requires a body for the self-regulation of the professional occupation (Wilensky 1964; Freidson 1984). Usually, charismatic psychics are too entrepreneurial and highly independent to adjust to this type of regulation, but there are exceptions. For example, Garrett (1968), at the end of her life, established the Parapsychology Foundation. This foundation is carrying forward her beliefs and has established a professional journal. The journal promotes communication between

psychics, mediums, and psychic researchers and the scientific community. It does not regulate the psychic industry, but continues a legacy and exerts an example of behavior and action for others to follow. Garrett (1968 169) points out:

> The foundation has, in these years, consistently sought to encourage parapsychological research within universities and among scholars with firmly established scientific reputations. To this end, we shall continue to give grants for the pioneer work that will be continued by young and individual researchers.

Similar to Garrett, Cayce established a health clinic and a research center. Located at Virginia Beach, Virginia, it promotes his lifetime of psychic readings for healing and spiritual purposes. It also provides classes and seminars on a variety of occult areas of interest. Cayce has passed, but his daughter continues his legacy by publishing works on his experiences and healing practices. Two modern psychics and spirit mediums, which have achieved similar status, are John Edward and George Anderson. The major difference between these two individuals and earlier psychics and spirit mediums is that they have been able to achieve legitimacy with the general public faster than their predecessors.

John Edward (1999) employs a full range of media support to promote his psychic and mediumistic practices. Earlier mediums often had to create their own institutions of support. He has published books, performed on radio shows, and currently has his own television series, called *Crossing Over*, in which he communicates with the dead. He has created videos, workshops, seminars, and classes to teach others how to become a medium. He employs grief counselors for the benefit of his audience on his television series.

The educational strategies he employs are established along traditional professional educational lines that are familiar to the general public. His workshops, seminars, and classes are conducted in a traditional lecture form. Tactics and behaviors associated with the processes of professionalization then become, in these instances, a form of deviance neutralization. For instance when John Edward hires a grief counselor for his television show, it takes on the subtle appearance of a professional hiring another professional to provide a service in the form of grief resolution to the general public, which in this case is his television audience. There is a blending here of the paranormal with educational and medical perspectives. Hodges (2002 62) terms this the "halo effect." By suggesting that mediumship can be learned just like any other area of interest through education, being a psychic does not seem to be quite so strange or different from anyone else. For Edward, this is a skill that can be achieved by anyone with skill and practice. Edward (1999 221) explains:

> One of the workshops I regularly give is called Building Bridges. In it I teach people how they can discover their own psychic potential and connect with their loved ones who have passed to the other side. I firmly believe that most people can tap into their psychic energy; it's just a matter of practice, patience and attention.

Here, again, we see a tactic of deviance neutralization. Edward implies that he is not divinely gifted, but he is a talented individual that can teach anyone this same skill. When this talent and skill is framed as behaviors that are ordinary and typical then by definition it is no longer deviant. The other psychic groups use these same tactics and strategies as well. Each group, as will be seen, portrays their expertise as something that other individuals can learn (for more on this process see Evans, Forsyth, & Foreman 2003).

Comparison to the Chiropractic Profession. Comparisons between the deviance neutralization and professionalization of charismatic psychics and mediums can be made to chiropractors. Interestingly, chiropractors and psychics gain legitimacy in similar ways. In terms of chiropractors, Wolinsky (1980) indicates that they are highly questioned by traditional medicine, and remain an alternative healing art pretending to be related to medicine. Because of the American Medical Association the practice of chiropractic is illegal in some states and restricted in others. They have developed associations, but these associations are quite different from the professional associations of physicians in that they exercise little, if any autonomy over their sphere of expertise. Hodges (2002)

contends chiropractors, like the charismatic psychics, are highly independent. This independence leads to problems establishing consistent theories and epistemologies that would allow them to codify and regulate their occupations. As Bruce (1996 215) states

> the sociological important observation about the themes of New Age is that they are not limited or censored by having to accord with any master principles (or regulations) which shape a coherent ideology.

Intraorganizational Psychics and Mediums

Intraorganizational psychics and mediums are hierarchical in nature. They usually form after the loss of a charismatic leader. As a group, they take the knowledge pioneered by a charismatic psychic or medium and form an organizational structure around that knowledge base (Truzzi 1974; Stein 2000). With Freidson's (1984) work on professionalism in mind, credentials become more important. Bruce (1996) implies that psychics and mediums in this category are in favor of codification and regulation of their expertise due to their goals of professionalization. This includes individuals involved in astrology, aromatherapy, iridologists, radionics, and Reiki, that are being influenced by the modern professional model. In terms of Reiki, Ellis (1999 40) makes the following statement:

> When Dr. Usui first received the Reiki vision and empowerment on the top of Mount Kurama it was an enormously powerful experience. The energy was so strong that it rendered him unconscious. At the time, he made the choice to accept the levels of energy that he received. He later decided that, in order for Reiki to be passed on in a safe and responsible way, he would need to develop his teaching in stages. These different levels would be supported with an initiation, or series of initiations, that would facilitate a change in a person's energy field. The idea was that while this initiation would be strong enough to facilitate a transformation it would not knock the student out.

Along with Reiki, other types of alternative healing groups use spirit guides to assist in their alternative healing practices. In our study, it was not uncommon for an intraorganizational psychic or group to incorporate additional psychic ways of knowing such as additional oriental or other alternative healing practices into their group's knowledge base if they felt it was compatible with their own epistemology. Consider the Sancta Sophia schools. In the Sancta Sophia of Tahlequah, Oklahoma, the academic dean points out that they encourage the blending of psychic abilities, healing and health in the following ways:

> Students at Sancta Sophia Seminary become caregivers as a part of their developing ministries. Specialties are chosen that "fit" the student's psyche. Skills may be developed in such disciplines as Reiki, Reflexology, Esoteric Healing, Ayurvedic Healing Touch, Psychography, and others. (Parrish-Harra 2001)

This tactic of linking alternative ways of healing together gives students a practical purpose to their profession as well as legitimizes it to the individual by tying it spiritually to the respectability of the medical profession by a venue of accredited education (Newton 1999, 2000; Hodges 2002).

Educational Tactics. The primary tactic used to achieve credentials among intraorganizational psychic groups involves the passing down of knowledge in increments. The hierarchy keeps and maintains the knowledge and or expertise. In this strategy there are usually levels or grades to be achieved to gain status within the group. As Stein (2000 17-18) explains:

> Reiki is divided into three degrees. In Reiki I, the attunement itself heals physical level diseases in the person who receives it.... The Reike II attunement measurably increases the amount of healing energy, and the attunement focuses upon emotional, mental and karmic healing in the person who receives it....Reike III includes two more symbol keys, more esoteric information on the symbols, and the method of passing attunements.

As with other forms of educational attainment, psychic and medium training can be expensive. Training and attunements in Reiki at the third level cost approximately $10,000 in the 1990s (Stein 2000).

The most consolidated form of the intra-

organizational psychic groups is found in the aforementioned mystery schools across the United States. These "universities" of the occult teach a full range of courses in various New Age areas of interest concerning psychic ways of knowing. The previously discussed Sancta Sofia mystery school in Tahlequah, Oklahoma has existed for 25 years. There, they teach an array of courses devoted to occult practices. These courses are designed around traditional college level course structures (Hodges 2002). Parish-Harra (2001) explains:

> The seminary is continuing what mystery schools have done through the ages, but as a contemporary mystery school for the 21st century, Sancta Sophia presents an esoteric interfaith Christian message. Our broad and unique approach blends ancient spiritual techniques and Aquarian transpersonal concepts. Providing a distinctive approach, Santa Sophia welcomes individuals seeking personal growth in spirituality or those preparing for a spiritually oriented vocation.

As with Reiki training, the Sancta Sofia courses are expensive and exclusionary in nature, just like traditional higher education.

Intraorganizational psychic groups circumvent the traditional educational system and achieve a measure of autonomy by using the tactic of religious credential services rather than educational or medical sources. Their educational institutions use the tactics of handing out certifications and diplomas in alternative belief systems, much like a classical educational institution. The Sancta Sophia brochure states:

> The completion of the transformational process guided by the dean and facilitated by a personal advisor earns certification, ordination, or post-graduate degrees in keeping with the goal of the seminarian. Sancta Sophia is accredited through the ACI, Inc., the world's largest accrediting society serving religious institutions, Bible colleges, and seminaries. (Parrish-Harra 2001)

Here we have a set of deviance neutralization tactics that give the appearance of traditional educational legitimacy to members, as well as the general public. Their approach to this effort is rational, planned, accordingly organized, and patterned to fit the educational and medical professional behavioral process models. This educational strategy gives the group credentials and the religious accreditation granted to their degree plans provides a source of legitimate autonomy for a professional appearance.

Comparison to the Osteopathic Profession. Intraorganizational psychics and mediums are similar in development to other alternative healing groups, such as osteopaths. Wolinsky (1980 294) says that osteopaths are the most physician-like of the alternative healers for the three following reasons. First, they have a unifying principle as to the cause of all disease and illness as a result of dislocation of the bones in the spinal column. Second, like physicians, osteopaths receive extensive training, which is university based and results in the receipt of the Doctor of Osteopathy degree. Third, osteopaths have developed professional associations-the American Osteopathic Association serves the same purpose as the AMA does for physicians. It took a long time, but as early as 1953, the AMA began to co-opt osteopathy as a "specialty of medicine." Intraorganizational psychics and spirit mediums are following a similar path of development. They are not at the point of being subsumed, but they are however using the various strategies based on those found in higher education and in professional associations to organize their group to further their goals and establish greater credibility. They, like the osteopaths, have a working theory about healing usually from a charismatic leader. Second, they build a belief system around those working theories and apply modern educational strategies and economic exclusionary tactics to establish their expertise and credentialism. Third, they circumvent the traditional system of achieving autonomy by using religious credential services rather than other educational or medical sources.

Cross-Organizational Psychics and Mediums

We consider cross-organizational psychics and spirit mediums the most professional category in this study. As stated earlier, people in this group pursue traditional educational degrees in established professional occupations. They then expand out and incorporate various aspects of psychic healing and research into their professional

occupations. Examples from our data included psychologists, parapsychologists, and psychiatrists. They also concern hypnotherapists. Hypnotherapists incorporate psychic ways of knowing into their medical practices in order to help clients. This is done largely through hypnosis. Cross-organizational psychics, like hypnotherapists, could be considered the antithesis of charismatic psychics and mediums. Whereas the charismatic opposes the accepted culture's ideologies and practices, people in this category immerse themselves in the beliefs of the dominant culture, specifically the scientific community. They then incorporate belief systems of psychics and mediums. Moreover, cross-organizational psychics and mediums are the least interested in professionalization processes. With their training in already legitimate occupations, they have already achieved professional status. Therefore, their main concern is the effective and efficient treatment of their patients while *maintaining* their professional status.

This is not such a strange thing when one considers that some of the world's greatest scientists held some very irrational beliefs and made some fantastic discoveries in pursuit of those beliefs. Think about Sir Isaac Newton, who was both an alchemist and a scientist (Weeks & James 1996). Dr. Edith Fiore (1993) is a good example of a cross-organizational psychic. Fiore, a psychologist whose literary works on spirit possession are classics in the field, uses hypnosis as a technique and does past life regressions as well as works with those that believe they are possessed. After all the work she has done in this area, she still does not know if possession is a fantasy or not. Fiore is not convinced that possessions are figments of the imagination either. Another person highly regarded in this area, Raymond Moody (1993), echoes Fiore's thoughts:

> Frankly, I have no idea whether "possession" is ultimately "real" or not, but I do know two things. First, I like many other psychiatrists, have encountered in my practice a small number of very troubling cases in which the person involved seemed to be suffering from some peculiar alteration in consciousness which did not seem to fit in any category of mental illness known to me. And yet which resembled the description of "possession" found in medieval literature. Secondly, it is fairly clear that persons who are treated as though they were suffering from a "possessing entity" sometimes report dramatic resolution of their symptoms after these procedures. Obviously, neither of these facts necessarily implies that possession is "real" in a factual sense. But together they do suggest that we may be dealing with an unusual variety of human consciousness which is distinct from mental illness and which is worth investigating in its own right.

Regardless of the possession or fantasy debate, organizations such as the Transpersonal Psychology Association have developed to support others using techniques similar to Fiore's. Its members are mindful that psychological issues concerning the paranormal experience aren't ontological, but are clinical and phenomenological. By connecting themselves to the field of psychology, they justify "the study and use" of paranormal techniques. In other words they are normalizing these techniques, beliefs, and behaviors for their own practical purposes regardless of ontological realities (Moody 1999).

Educational Tactics. Fiore (1993) sees dispossession as a growing therapeutic tool, largely because it is extremely effective and efficient in the treatment of her patients. Because of that fact alone, she has taught hundreds of other therapists in the United States and at least sixty persons in Brazil. Our data indicate many other individuals in the cross-occupational category are holding seminars and workshops to teach people interested in using these treatment techniques.

These professionals have not been censored by their respective professions because what they are doing can be argued to be no different than the placebo effect. It has been known among practitioners of medicine for a long time that placebos work. Though how they work is still unexplained (Talbot 1992; Goode 2000). The new concept applies to medical doctors as well. Brody (2000 142-143) explains:

> Why does conventional medicine seem to be taking a more sympathetic view of alternative medicine? For one thing, American physicians are members of American society. If society as a whole finds alternative medicine as fascinating and attractive as it

> appears to, eventually physicians cannot help being influenced as well. It's no longer unusual to find conventional M.D.s who have studied one or more alternative styles of healing, even incorporating them into their practices for selected patients... Finally, conventional physicians have always prided themselves on their scientific achievements, curiosity, skills, and research. It had to dawn on them eventually that ignoring alternative medicine—and refusing even to consider researching its methods and results—was simply unscientific... Due to the cross-fertilization between conventional and alternative medicine, the placebo response can at last assume its rightful place at the interface.

Other professionals that are looking into similarly psychic types of research and treatments are psychiatrists Dr. Brian Weiss, Dr. William Roll, Ken Ring, Dr. Bruce Greyson, Dr. Melvin Morse, Michael Newton, and a host of other hypnotherapists, physicians, and psychologists in the United States. This trend is occurring in Europe and other areas around the world as well. It is believed that this research will lead to the point where intense psychic experiences can be facilitated in psychologically normal individuals (Moody 1999; Weiss 1988, 1993, 1996). One advocate of this perspective is Jeffery Mishlove.

Mishlove is the president of the Intuition Network. He has a doctoral degree in "parapsychology" from the University of California at Berkeley (Intuition Network 2000). He and his organization, with the help of educational promotion through various media sources, are promoting a social movement for the liberation of human psychic potential from the grasp of what they claim is naiveté and fear. Their recently released "Psychic Liberation Manifesto" states:

> In particular, it is important to infuse the field of psychology with an understanding of psychic ability. The very name "psychology," implies a discipline of knowledge dedicated to studying the psyche or soul. However, for nearly a century since the death of William James, America's first and greatest psychologist, the field has been dominated by behaviorist and positivist schools of thought that - in an effort to achieve scientific credibility - studiously avoided questions regarding the existence and nature of the psyche... The abilities of the human psyche are natural - even though they may be labeled "supernatural" or "paranormal". (Mishlove 2003)

Regardless of this movement, some psychics and mediums do not push for the legitimacy of their occupation in such a direct way. Not always seeking self-promotion or glorification, our data indicate some altruistically use their abilities to help people belonging to other organizational professions.

Interorganizational Psychics and Mediums

Interorganizational psychics are those involved with other occupations in order to achieve a shared goal. This happens because of some altruistic desire to help others. An example involves psychics and mediums, free of charge, working with law enforcement to help solve crimes. For example, Allison DuBois, who has a new hit television show based on her life, says her visions help police get to the bottom of law-breaking activities. She often does not charge in cases where flashes of evidentiary information fill her mind. However, she does charge a fee for her services as a psychic jury consultant (Tresnlowski, Stoynoff, & Paley 2005).

Criminal justice journals claim that the use of psychics and mediums in police investigations is a waste of time (see for example Reiser 1982; Lucas 1985). However, one study indicates that 35 percent of America's largest police departments report using psychics in investigations at some point (Sweat & Durm 1993). Clearly, a tradition of psychics working in conjunction with law enforcement exists. Examples include prophets exposing criminals through visions in biblical times, Robert Lee's providing information to London police in the Jack the Ripper case, and multiple cases in modern times when police called psychics in to look for missing persons. Police in Oslo, Norway even contemplated bringing in psychics to help them find Munch's "The Scream" when it was stolen in the early 1990s (Lyons & Truzzi 1991; Valente 1994; Moran 1999). The trend is that when law enforcement has exhausted all options in dead end cases, psychics are legitimate to use as a last resort. For example, consider Bill Ward of Lockport, Illinois.

From 1971 to 1986, police used Bill Ward in over 250 major cases. Police asked him

for help at various stages of case development. Often their use of him would depend on the specific needs of investigators. Lieutenant Andrew Barto of the Romeoville, Illinois police department states in one source that he usually calls Ward in for "something big" such as:

> If I have a class X murder, rape or armed robbery; something where someone is seriously injured, I would call Bill... (In relation to a homicide investigation) I wanted reassurance I was in the right direction with my investigation – that these were the people I was actually looking for... When he first saw the car, you could see he got feelings right away. Once he starts talking, he's just like a machine going on... How really right he was. That was our biggest case with Bill. One case doesn't make him a genius, but on this one he was right on the money. (Crnkovic 1986 44)

Unfortunately for psychics, a majority of sources indicated such target accuracy in police cases involving psychics is rare. As one skeptic argues:

> Psychic ability is a tremendous waste of tax money when used for "police purposes." Any homicide investigator who's ever gotten a spate of publicity has been contacted by a member of the "psychic community" who claims to have information that might help solve the case. Hundreds, yes thousands of police detectives have spent hundreds of thousands of hours examining psychically obtained evidence for clues to the solution of criminal cases. Yet, to this day there is not a shred of scientific proof of the validity of such information. (Lucas 1985 16)

Often police officers agree. In one source, an officer from Austin, Texas states:

> I have yet to see any information received from psychics of any value, based on 20 years of experience. The information is usually distorted, of no investigative value, and inaccurate. They hamper an investigation and often cause distractions from the main investigation. (Sweat & Durm 1993 156)

A Fort Worth, Texas officer has similar feelings indicating:

> They surface on sensational cases only. Most fit a mold. They tell you they are 85 percent accurate and are very defensive when you ask them for specifics. It doesn't take long for them to reach the victims' relative and generate false hope. I would never, no matter what the cost, rely upon a psychic other than to process info the same as we do for everyone else. (Sweat & Durm 1993 157)

This passage implies that psychics only get involved with high profile criminal cases so they can promote themselves or the legitimacy of what they do. However, many criminal justice cases involving psychics concern anonymous information (Daniels & Horan 1987). It is possible police often deny the use of psychic information due to legitimacy issues in their own profession. Police appear to be in their own struggle for legitimacy and professionalization with, for example, the use of educational credentials. Moreover, they are in a continuous struggle to fight off deviant stereotypes involving brutality and corruption (see Bittner 1975; Goldstein1983; Sheley 2000). The use of a psychic or medium can jeopardize the validity of the investigation. As in the case of Allison DuBois, police that work with her will not share details of cases because they fear defense attorneys will discredit it and seek an appeal if they catch on that any "evidence" was provided by a psychic (Tresnlowski, Stoynoff, & Paley 2005).

Comparison to the Medical Profession. Our data indicate that cross-organizational psychics and mediums are much like the traditional physicians that subsumed osteopathy into a medical specialty for traditional medicine. The difference between the intra-organizational, hierarchical category and the cross-organizational is that the former believe in psychic ways of knowing and subsume medical professional appearances. On the other hand, cross-organizational psychics and mediums are professionals based in scientific principles subsuming psychic ways of knowing with various levels of belief in those ways of knowing. If these groups are successful, they may be the first to be considered professional according to Freidson's (1984) model. With cross-organizational psychics and mediums, it may take an-

other fifty years for this to happen. As Wolinsky (1980) points out, it took fifty years for the osteopaths to be subsumed into traditional medicine.

Charlatans

Charlatans are at the heart of the legitimacy problem for psychics and mediums. Again, charlatans are people claiming to be psychics or spirit mediums only for entertainment and profit purposes. In relation to Freidson's (1984) theory, they directly work against professionalization because they discredit all of the elements of expertise, accreditation, and autonomy. They are particularly problematic since the understanding of paranormal work does not fit into the rational, logical means accepted in the widespread culture and scientific community. So when people believe some psychics and mediums are out to "con" them, they believe they all are. We call this the "charlatan error." Many skeptics use it. The charlatan error is the reason that the process of deviance neutralization has to be incorporated along with the process of professionalization for psychic and mediums.

Proskauer (1946) pushed forth the charlatan error concept when looking at the paranormal work of Dr. Emerson Gilbert. Proskauer acknowledged

> respect for scientific research into psychic phenomena, which was motivated by a genuine and disinterested desire to add to man's knowledge of himself and his destiny.

Yet, he held contempt for those charlatans like Dr. Emerson that were found to be totally fraudulent. Proskauer's (1946 2) work describes Gilbert's psychology and establishment in the following terms:

> It was a bizarre setting, a doctor's office transformed into a séance room. A neat psychological twist concocted by the subtle mind of a man who was to mark himself a clever schemer, craftily seeking every twist and turn. Having gained his client's confidence by disguising his claptrap under a medical mask, Gilbert continued with the process of warped logic, presented in convincing style.....What marked Dr. Gilbert as unique was the fact that he was not limited to the choice of contemporary specialists. Having contact with the spirit world, Gilbert could summon his consultants from there, giving his patients the advantage that no other physician could offer.

Though Gilbert was later proven to be neither a doctor nor a psychic, his case is interesting because though he was proven not to be a doctor, other doctors were not called into question as professionals, yet other psychics are found suspect when such cases occur. This is perhaps because the medical field has assured itself a high level of legitimacy, so it is not questioned as often. This dodging of the "charlatan error" allows illegitimate doctors to carry off fraudulent schemes against clients. With their profession's high level of *perceived* authenticity, people rarely question them or their actions.

In terms of psychics and mediums, Ford and Harmon Bro (1958) suggest that the words and actions of one man in the 1920s, Harry Houdini, largely molded our current cultural impressions. They describe the polarization of the general public as follows:

> One of the most passionate exposers of mediums was Houdini, the magician. In the early twenties he threw the entire weight of his reputation as a magician behind his declaration that all mediums were fakes, and that he could duplicate any trick a medium could do... It is difficult to recover the violent reaction of the orthodox against Spiritualism in Houdini's day. In the orthodox mind all Spiritualists were equated with the lunatic fringe and all mediums were tools of the devil, even if there were no devil. Here Houdini took his stand and lined up his targets... As the self-appointed exposer of fraudulent mediumship and ridiculer of Spiritualists, he built himself the biggest reputation in America, and probably in the world. (Ford & Harmon Bro 1958 60-61)

This polarization in the general public continued with the expansion of science and rationality. It was primarily unabated until the 1970s. The resurgence of psychics and mediums in the postmodern era happened as science began to reveal that everything is relative (and thereby possible but not definite or permanent). People once again turned to explore realms that transcend a merely physical plane (Davies 1999). Others would say this renewal in occult interest was the

result of disenchantment with modernity (Hodges 2002). Whatever the case, there was a renewal in the number of charlatans as well. The scientific community was quick to point this out. Carl Sagan, a noted astronomer, made himself a widely known opponent of paranormal work, which he discussed as "pseudoscience." In his writings he states:

> More than a third of American adults believe that on some level they've made contact with the dead. The number seems to have jumped by 15 percent between 1977 and 1988. A quarter of Americans believe in reincarnation. But that doesn't mean I'd be willing to accept the pretensions of a "medium," who claims to channel the spirits of the dear departed, when I'm aware the practice is rife with fraud. I know how much I want to believe that my parents have just abandoned the husks of their bodies, like insects or snakes molting, and gone somewhere else. I understand those feelings might make me easy prey even for an unclever con, or for normal people unfamiliar with their unconscious minds, or for those suffering from a dissociative psychiatric disorder. Reluctantly, I rouse some reserves of skepticism. (Sagan 1996 203-204)

In terms of psychics and mediums, Sagan's work also points out:

> Many are conscious charlatans—using Christian evangelical or New Age language and symbols to prey on human frailty. Perhaps there are some with motives that are not venal. Or am I being too harsh? How is the occasional charlatan in faith healing different from the occasional fraud in science? Is it fair to be suspicious of an entire profession because of a few bad apples? There are at least two important differences, it seems to me. First, no one doubts science actually works, whatever mistaken and fraudulent claim may from time to time be offered. But whether there are any "miraculous" cures from faith healing beyond the bodies own ability to cure itself, is very much at issue. Secondly, the expose of fraud and error in science is made almost exclusively by science. The discipline polices itself - meaning that scientists are aware of the potential for charlatanry and mistakes. But the exposure of fraud and error in faith healing is almost never done by other faith healers... A placebo works only if the patient believes it's an effective medicine. Within strict limits, hope, it seems, can be transformed into biochemistry. (Sagan 1996 229-230)

Sociologists have also looked at psychics and spirit mediums from the lens of the ontological falsity of their claims. Boles, Davis, and Tatro (1990) researched the false pretense and exploitation in fortunetelling. They carried out valid study portraying and exposing fraudulent acts. Yet as noted by Goode (2000) and Hodges (2002), this is only one side of the coin. Science is bounded and limited. Belief in science can be overextended beyond its discoveries. From a sociological point of view, faith in science is in reality no different than faith in anything else. Charlatans exist as one possibility; genuine psychics are another.

CONCLUSIONS

Using Freidson's (1984) theory of professionalization as a backdrop, it becomes apparent that various groups of psychics are involved in deviance neutralization and professionalization. The establishment of expertise, the use of education as a credential, and ties to a legitimate profession were especially salient in our study. Importantly, the findings indicate that professionalization in and of itself may be an impression management tactic. As discussed in the early pages of this work, these neutralization techniques may appear to be working, but psychic occupations have a long way to go to reach an adequate state of legitimacy. With charlatans, some of whom are facing criminal charges, tainting the image of psychics, the future of professionalization seems bleak. This not withstanding a dominant cultural ideology focused on a paradigm of scientific validity.

Regardless, this work remains important for several reasons. First, it fills a gap in existing literature. It stands as one of the only sociological pieces of research examining psychics and their attempts to neutralize a deviant image. Second, it provides a typology for examining paranormal occupations. A breakdown of different types of psychics and mediums not only allowed the current researchers a better understanding of literature pertaining to psychics, but also opens the door for future research looking at issues such as psychics, mediums, and their rela-

tionships with other occupations. Finally, it indicates that a psychic liberation movement is forming. It would be beneficial for future research to explore the link between that movement with existing social movements literature. As the findings in this work imply, a frame analysis (see Snow, Rochford, Worden, & Benford 1986) might provide insight into the alignment of psychic cognitive frameworks to those of the general population.

ENDNOTES

1. A detailed history of psychics and spirit mediums is beyond the scope of this study. Other works on the historical context this research concerns exist. For an exhaustive discussion see Bruce (1996), Steward (1999), Davies (1999), Emmons (2001) and Hodges (2002). Their research indicates that in the modern era, professional psychics and spirit mediums started to gain favor during the spiritualist movement of the mid-nineteenth century. It was a reaction to the dehumanization of the industrial revolution and the skepticism of scientific progress. Beginning in the 1950s, the scientific community started taking a hard look at evidence of psychic phenomena. Soon afterward, people identifying themselves as psychics and spirit mediums associated themselves with respected professions at a higher rate. In the 1970s, psychic phenomena came into the sphere of mainstream science with the published works of medical doctors, psychologists, and psychiatrists concerning near death experiences, past life regressions, and spirit possessions. With this aspect of legitimacy given to psychics and spirit mediums, coupled with positive media depictions, their popularity and legitimacy increased to its current state.
2. The literary ethnography is similar to what some refer to as "analytic induction." Analytic induction involves scanning data for categories of phenomena and relationships between categories. A hypothesis emerges from the examination of initial cases and is refined with the examination of subsequent cases. For some, this process involves a constant comparison of data to discover relationships (see Goetz & LeCompte 1981; Lincoln & Guba 1985). The main difference with the literary ethnography concerns its precise methodological steps and focus on literary information.
3. More current texts were selected as a result of reading the work of John Edward (1999, 2002) along with George Anderson and Andrew Barone (1999). Texts were also considered that had been used as references by other notable researchers in this area, such as Goode (2000), Truzzi (1972, 1974, 1999) and Markovsky and Thye (2001).
4. These categories are not mutually exclusive. A passage referencing a charismatic psychic might also apply to an interorganizational type. Moreover, some points that involve the charismatic classification are present in other classifications, as is the case with charismatic and cross-occupational psychics. We should also point out that we defined specific categories at this stage of the research, but did remain open to emerging topics as we continued to deal with the documents.

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PRECOCIOUS TRANSITIONS AND SUBSTANCE USE PATTERNS AMONG MEXICAN AMERICAN GANG MEMBERS*

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ABSTRACT

Previous research has found that disorderly life events in early adolescence are associated with problem behaviors in late adolescence and early adulthood. The objective of the study is to determine the patterns of associations among substance use and adolescence precocious transitions in a sample (N=160) of Mexican American gang members in San Antonio, Texas. The Mexican American male gang members are a polydrug using population as measured by their lifetime and current drug use patterns. A correlation and confirmatory factor analysis was conducted between substance use and precocious transitions that revealed two distinct groups of drug users in the Mexican American gang population: "hard" drug users and "party" drug users. Furthermore, factor analysis revealed underlying precocious transitions constructs that go beyond a precocious transitions index. Findings begin to identify the importance of disorderly life events as correlates of substance use among this unique population of gang members.

INTRODUCTION

Previous research has found that disorderly life events in early adolescence are associated with problem behaviors in late adolescence and early adulthood (Newcomb & Bentler 1988; Thornberry, Krohn, Lizotte, Smith, & Tobin 2003). This is especially problematic for U.S. Hispanics who experience relatively high levels of poverty as children and adolescents, and subsequently are at high levels of risk for disorderly life events (Marin & Marin 1991; Moyerman & Forman 1992; Padilla & Glick 2000). The association of precocious transitions and adult criminality and other deviant behaviors through the life course has been well established in previous studies, but not among Hispanics even though they are overrepresented among persons under the jurisdiction of local, state, and federal correctional authorities (Harrison & Beck 2003; Steffensmeier & Demuth 2001). The objective of the present study is to determine the associations among patterns of substance use and adolescence precocious transitions in a sample of Mexican American male gang members in San Antonio, Texas.

THE LIFE COURSE PERSPECTIVE AND PRECOCIOUS TRANSITIONS

Normal human development occurs in age-graded stages in which the individual moves from one stage to another in an orderly trajectory (Erickson 1963). Life course theory argues that the movement form one age-graded stage to another involves transitions in multiple institutional arenas such as the family, the peer groups, the economy and culture. When applied to criminal and deviant behavior life course theory has been proposed to contain three components including a structural context mediated by family and informal social controls, a continuity in antisocial behavior from childhood to adulthood across a variety of life domains and adult informal social bonds to family and employment that explain the continuity and discontinuities of criminal and deviant behavior from adolescence to adulthood (Sampson & Laub 1993). This theory has been further elaborated in numerous other studies and has become a pillar in contemporary criminological thinking (Benson 2002; Hagan, McCarthy, Blumstein, & Farrington 1998).

Another important component in general life course theory concerns the normative orderliness of transitions from one age-graded status to another. Transitions are normative because they are expected to occur in a given order and at particular ages in the life course (Rindfuss, Swicegood, & Rosenfeld 1987). However, the sequence and timing of transitions can be complicated and is frequently disorderly especially in disadvantaged groups and in historical periods of hardship. Three different kinds of "disorderly transitions" have been distinguished in life course theory. These include failure to complete a developmental task that is necessary for normal development in a given age-specific stage (e.g. not having an intimate and loving partner relationship in young adulthood). Also, disorderly transitions include those events that occur out of sequence (e.g. parenthood precedes marriage). A transition can also be

identified disorderly if it is made "off time," that is tood early or too late (e.g. leaving home during adolescence). These disorderly transitions often result in numerous adverse consequences reducing the opportunities in life and precipitating a broad range of social and psychological problems.

Terence Thornberry (Thornberry & Burch 1997) applies a life course perspective emphasizing the disorderly transition component in his developmental study of the long-term consequences of adolescent gang membership on young adulthood criminality. Thornberry and colleagues argue

> off-age transitions, especially precocious or early transitions, can create disorder in the developmental sequence and lead to later problems of adjustment because the person is less likely to be socially and psychologically prepared for the transition. (2003 5)

He focuses on how precocious transitions can disrupt normative trajectories. Trajectories are the long-term pathways a life takes, while transitions are short-term events that have the ability to change the life course and can be detrimental to development. Thornberry's research team identified adolescent precocious transitions as school dropout, teenage parenthood, early nest leaving, unstable employment, and cohabitation. In general, adolescents that engage in deviant behavior, such as substance use, have been shown to go through precocious transitions that force them into adult roles and situations at an earlier age than they may be developmentally prepared (Krohn, Lizotte, & Perez 1997). The more precocious transitions an adolescent experiences, the greater the impact and the more detrimental to the normal developmental process. Thornberry concluded that adolescent precocious transitions were related to long-term gang membership in adolescence and being arrested in young adulthood.

As importantly for life course theory, Thornberry et al (2003) found that engaging in delinquent behavior limits the adolescent's contact with conventional peer groups, which reduces the adolescent's engagement in other prosocial behaviors. This is especially the case for juvenile gang members where participation in the gang leads to more involvement with deviant peers and simultaneously reduces access to other prosocial peers. Thornberry et al also found that stable gang involvement, as opposed to short-term involvement, increases the number of precocious transitions that the gang member will experience. The results showed that among the males, stable (one year or more) gang membership led to significantly more precocious transitions, except in the case of early nest leaving. In another study using the same data from the Rochester Youth Development Study, results indicated that use of alcohol and drugs in early adolescence increased the risk of these precocious transitions (Krohn et al 1997). Experiencing these precocious transitions in turn increased the risk of continued alcohol and drug use during young adulthood.

Thus, engaging in drug use as an adolescent has been found not only to lead to precocious transitions, but the life events of going through these precocious transitions, also leads to more and continuing drug use in young adulthood. Newcomb and Bentler (1988) have offered an explanation that adolescents that use drugs will go through precocious transitions and, then, because of the early onset of the adult roles, will be unable to be successful in these new roles in young adulthood. Previous literature has consistently found high drug use among adolescent gang members compared to other adolescent groups (Spergel 1995). Research has found that drug use effects not only academic performance, but also effects graduation and completion of a high school degree (Mensch & Kandel 1988; Newcomb, Maddahian, & Bentler 1986).

Parental relationships also have been found to be associated with delinquency and drug use. Thornberry et al (Thornberry, Lizotte, Krohn, Farnworth, & Jang 1991) found that there was a strong impact on the parent-child relationship once the child or adolescent had engaged in delinquent behavior. Parke (1995) has found that this strained relationship may lead to what he has referred to as "premature emancipation," or the precocious transition of early nest leaving. These strained parental relationships and problems with school may lead to dropping out and early entry into the workforce and/or early nest leaving. It may also lead to early cohabitation, which may potentially lead to teenage parenthood. Although Newcomb and Bentler (1988) found evidence indicating that early drug use leads to early engagement in sexual activity, other studies have found contradictory evidence, specifically

that drug use may delay the parenting transition until later adulthood (Kandel & Yamaguchi 1985).

Although hypotheses concerning the relationships between precocious transitions and problem behavior have been tested among male and female gang members, Thornberry et al (2003) and Krohn's respondents were derived from seventh and eighth grade school populations in the Rochester, New York school district, a so-called emerging gang city (Decker 2001). These students were predominantly African American. Contrary to Thornberry's sample, the population presented in this article are Mexican American male gang members in a city with a longer history of gang activity. Although Thornberry oversampled high-risk youths that were using drugs at the time, he did not specifically sample gang members.

In this article we specifically examine the association between drug use and precocious transitions among a community-based sample of Mexican American male gang members that differs both culturally and historically from the Rochester study. In addition, we will test hypotheses concerning the underlying constructs of substance use and precocious transitions in this special population. In the Rochester study, the concept of precocious transitions was considered to be cumulative in nature with each precocious transition of equal weight and linear in effect. The measurement of the concept can be validly accomplished by the construction of a simple additive index. In this article, we have refined the concept of precocious transition as well as the nature of drug use behaviors. The measurement and analysis of substance use and precocious transitions will be accomplished by applying the methods of confirmatory factor analysis in order to determine the underlying construct of these two domains of behavior. Through this study, we specifically aim to contribute to the accumulating knowledge of substance use and adolescent development by introducing new data and providing an innovative analysis of these data's structure (Jessor 1993).

In San Antonio, Mexican American gang members and other disadvantaged youth are operating in a social context with concentrated poverty, few well-paid stable jobs, lack of governmental services and a thriving informal economy and drug market. These conditions parallel Wilson and Anderson's descriptions of the urban underclass found in African American inner city neighborhoods (Anderson 1999; Wilson 1996). This type of urban context may condition the associations among substance use and life course transitions in a different manner than more advantaged communities. There may be some cultural differences among Hispanics that influence the transitions either in a positive or negative manner.

METHODS

Design and Sampling

This research evolved from a study of gang violence among Mexican American gangs in South Texas sponsored by the National Institute of Health (NIH) and National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA). The focus of the study was to identify and distinguish the relationship between gang violence and drug use among male gangs. The study used multiple methods, including ethnographic field observations, focus groups, and life history/intensive interviews with 160 male gang members sampled in San Antonio, Texas during 1996 through 1998 (Valdez & Kaplan 1999; Yin, Valdez, Mata, & Kaplan 1996). A cross-sectional study design was used to identify 26 gangs in the South and Westside communities of San Antonio, Texas. The two communities encompass areas that have the highest proportion of Mexican-origin populations and where the largest concentration of public housing in this city is located. The areas have a high concentration of poverty, adult criminals, drug trafficking, delinquent behavior and Mexican-American street gangs. A multi-stage stratified design was applied to select a random sample of individuals that were representative of 560 known Mexican American gang members in this specific urban geographic area. A detailed description of the sampling design has been presented in an earlier article (Yin, Valdez, & Kaplan 1996).

Participants

As indicated by Table 1, the study sample consisted of 160 male gang members ranging in age from 14 to 25 years with a mean of 18.5 years old. Approximately, 43 percent of the respondents reported living in mostly female, single headed households. Only 21 percent were living in households where both parents were present. The remaining 36 percent were currently living by themselves, friends or other relatives including grandpar-

Table 1: Characteristics of Mexican American Male Gang Sample (n=160)

Variable	%/Mean
Average Age	18 yrs
Enrolled in School	26
Marital Status	
Married	4
Single	83
Common Law	11
Separated/Divorced	2
Respondents with Children	31
Employment Status	
Working	33
Not Working	67
Criminal Activities	
Currently Own Gun	68
Carried a Gun in Last 30 Days	56
Sold Drugs in Last 3 Months	51
Arrested for Violent Crime	56
Arrested for Non-Violent Crime	55
Fired Gun in Gang Related Fight	82

ents, wives, uncles and aunts. Thirty-one percent of the subjects reported having children, although the majority of the participants were single at the time of the interview (83%). Only 26 percent reported being currently enrolled in middle or high school. Sixty-eight percent reported having lived or living in public housing. Results show a large percentage of the subject's involved in delinquent behavior. More than half of the respondent's reported firing (82%) a gun or owning (68%) and/or carrying (58%) one within the last 30 days of the interview. Approximately 56 percent of the sample had been arrested for a violent or non-violent crime in their life.

Variables

The focus of the analysis is on drug use and precocious transitions experienced by Mexican American male gang members. The precocious variables included cohabitation, early nest leaving, dropout, unemployment, and teen parenting. The variables were dummy coded (0=no and 1=yes) for the analysis. Cohabitation is determined by whether the respondent was living with their girlfriend or their common law wife at the time of the interview. Respondents were coded as leaving the nest early if they had involuntarily left their guardian's home or had run away. School dropout was coded if the respondent reported

Table 2: Precocious Transition Characteristics of Mexican American Male Gang Sample (n=160)

Transition	Percent
School Drop Out	67
Unemployed	46
Early Nest Leaving	56
Cohabitating	14
Teenage Parenting	23
Mean Number of Precocious Transitions	2.05

dropping out of school regardless if they acquired their GED or high school equivalency. Unemployment indicated that the respondent was not in school and unemployed at the time of the interview. If they were currently attending school, they were coded as employed in accordance with Thornberry's definitions. Responses were coded positive for teen parenting only if the respondent had the child prior to their twentieth birthday. The five precocious transition variables were combined in a composite measure that consisted of summing the total number reported by the subject.

Two variables were used to measure drug and alcohol use among the sample of male gang members: lifetime use and current use. Lifetime use of alcohol, marijuana, cocaine, heroin, speedball (cocaine/heroin mixture), psychedelics and benzodiazepines use were coded into a dummy variable. Lifetime use was coded 0 if the respondent had never used and 1 if the respondent had used the substance at least once in their lifetime. Current use was measured by using the self-reported number of days a specific substance was used in the last 30 days. For the purposes of this analysis the following drugs were used: marijuana, heroin, cocaine, alcohol, and benzodiazepines. These drugs were selected based on the high frequency of use reported by the sample. The measure indicated a continuous variable ranging from a low of 0 meaning never used in the past 30 days, to a high of 30 days. Factor scores for underlying constructs of these study variables were also computed.

Data Analysis

The variables used in the analysis were examined for normal distribution. Most were normally distributed with the exception of cohabitation that was skewed in a positive direction and lifetime use of alcohol, marijuana

Table 3: Drug Use Characteristics of Mexican American Male Gang Sample

Drug Variables	Mean Age of Onset (SD)	Lifetime % (n)	Current % (n)	Mean (SD)
Alcohol	12.62 (2.53)	98 (157)	83 (132)	9.68 (9.88)
Marijuana	12.21 (2.36)	98 (156)	75 (120)	15.02 (13.12)
Cocaine	14.92 (1.90)	90 (144)	53 (85)	3.52 (6.19)
Heroin	16.33 (2.17)	57 (91)	26 (42)	3.20 (7.82)
Speedball	16.35 (1.94)	44 (71)	-	-
Psychedelics	15.38 (2.12)	58 (92)	-	-
Benzodiazepines	15.90 (2.57)	74 (119)	28 (45)	1.06 (2.91)

and cocaine that was negatively skewed. As a first step in examining the patterns in the study variables, a Pearson product moment correlation analysis was conducted by building a matrix of the intercorrelations of the substance use and precocious transition variables. The matrix was evaluated for statistical significance at the .001, .01, and .5 levels and for strength and directionality of the associations. On the basis of this analysis, a confirmatory factor analysis using a principle components method was conducted to test the hypothesis that the drug use variables in this population indicated two underlying drug use constructs -- "hard drug use" and "party drug use." A similar factor analysis was conducted to test the hypothesis that the precocious transitions items for this population consists of three underlying constructs-- "school and work"; "early family formation" and "early nest-leaving". On the basis of the factor scores, composite indices were constructed by means of a factor-weighed additive scale that multiplied each raw variable score by the factor loading and summing across all variables subsumed by the factor. The factor scores were correlated to refine the analysis.

FINDINGS

Precocious Transitions

As seen in Table 2, although the sample was relatively young most had experienced at least one precocious transition at the time of the interview. Approximately two-thirds (67%) of the sample had dropped out of school and forty-six were unemployed. Over half (56%) of the male gang members had reportedly experienced early nest leaving. Fourteen percent reported currently cohabitating with a partner. Furthermore, 23 percent indicated being teenage fathers during the interview.

Drug Use

Table 3 shows lifetime and current use of substances most frequently reported by the Mexican American male gang members. Almost the entire sample had used alcohol, marijuana, and cocaine in their lifetime. About three-fourths of the sample reported lifetime use of benzodiazepines (e.g. rohypnol). Close to half the sample had used speedball, psychedelics, and heroin during their lifetime. Current substance use patterns indicated that seventy-five percent of the sample was currently using marijuana and eighty-three percent using alcohol. A little more than half the sample currently used cocaine and about a fourth used speedballs or benzodiazepines. Table 3 also shows that marijuana was used on average 15 out of 30 days while alcohol is used ten days in the past month. This was followed by an average of 3 days in the past month reported for both cocaine and heroin. Finally, findings indicated a mean of 1 day in the past month for benzodiazepines. After marijuana, alcohol was the second most frequently used substance. Overall, lifetime used was less for all substances when compared to current use. An exception to this was the current use of marijuana that continues to have a relatively high frequency and to a lesser extent cocaine.

Also reported in Table 3 is the mean age of onset for each of the identified substances among this population. As seen, alcohol and marijuana use were initiated almost simultaneously at a very young age (12 years). A continuation of drug use is apparent with cocaine having a mean age of onset of 14.9 years followed by such drugs as psychedelics and benzodiazepines at 15 years. The progression of drug use in this sample of male gang members continues with onset of heroin and speedball at approximately 16 years of age. This age of onset data may indicate a pattern

Table 4: Bivariate Analysis of Substance Use and Precocious Transitions among Mexican American Male Gang Sample (n=160)

	Lifetime Use							Days Used					
Lifetime Use	**Alcohol**	**Marijuana**	**Cocaine**	**Heroin**	**Speed-ball**	**Psychedelics**	**Benzodia-zepines**	**Alcohol**	**Marijuana**	**Cocaine**	**Heroin**	**Benzodia-zepines**	**Age**
Alcohol	1												
Marijuana	.273**	1											
Cocaine	.261**	.214**	1										
Heroin	.066	.184*	.257**	1									
Speedball	.031	.143	.298**	.727**	1								
Psychedelics	.161*	.186*	.261**	.145	.157*	1							
Benzodiazepines	.236**	.273**	.282**	.240**	.294**	.277**	1						
Days Used													
Alcohol	.136	.137	.034	-.038	-.026	.161*	.092	1					
Marijuana	.159*	.184*	.064	.095	.108	.169*	.154	.160*	1				
Cocaine	.072	.079	.191*	.152	.178*	.217**	-.053	.200*	.070	1			
Heroin	.057	.066	.051	.358**	.399**	-.051	.199*	-.020	-.009	.134	1		
Benzodiazepines	.050	.058	-.051	.156*	.238**	.173*	.214**	.066	.197*	.143	.331**	1	
Precocious Transitions	.006	.103	.131	.208**	.197*	.239**	.024	.215**	.115	.161*	.048	.034	
Teenage Parenting	-.033	.088	.084	.088	.077	.202*	-.018	.066	.075	.048	-.113	-.011	
School Drop Out	.094	.137	.154	.220**	.223**	.070	.027	.166*	.006	.027	.140	.055	
Unemployed	-.057	.068	.058	.226**	.181*	.062	.085	.199*	.134	.143	.153	.086	
Cohabitating	-.079	-.052	.133	.018	.045	.123	-.057	-.039	.117	.037	-.038	-.026	
Early Nest Leaving	.064	.020	-.042	-.005	.002	.210**	.002	.148	.002	.168*	-.047	-.026	
Age	.070	-.029	.085	.174*	.029	.130	-.060	.092	-.179*	-.003	.076	-.161*	1

*p > .05; ** p > .01

Table 5: Factor Matrices for Drug Use and Precocious Transitions Items for Mexican American Male Gang Sample (n=160)

	Drug Use Factors			Precocious Transitions Factors		
Variables	**1**	**2**	**Variables**	**1**	**2**	**3**
Days used alcohol	.18	.68	Teen Parenting	.57	.54	.19
Days used marijuana	.33	.46	Drop-out	.82	-.21	-.25
Days used cocaine	.41	.20	Unemployed	.66	-.60	-.20
Days used benzodiazepines	.41	.24	Cohabitation	.44	.64	.04
Ever used cocaine	.54	-.10	Early Nest Leaving	.10	-.20	.96
Ever used heroin	.73	-.46				
Ever used speedball	.78	-.42				
Ever used benzodiazepines	.57	.09				
Ever used psychedelics	.51	.40				
Percent Total Variance	27.65	14.85		32.56	22.88	20.48
Eigen values	2.49	1.34		1.63	1.14	1.02

of consistency in use and perhaps increase in severity of use over adolescence.

Correlations

As reflected above, Mexican American male gang members are a polydrug using population as measured by their lifetime and current drug use patterns. This polydrug use pattern is clearly indicated in Table 4 by the high intercorrelations of the lifetime use of illegal drugs, such as cocaine and marijuana with most other drugs like heroin, psychedelics, and benzodiazepines. Out of the twenty-one drug use correlations only four were not significant. This indicates that this sample of male gang members have experimented with a wide array of different drugs, although it may have occurred only once in their lifetime.

Table 4 also shows the association of lifetime and current drug use. What emerges from these correlations are two distinct groups of drug users within this gang population. The first distinct group has an association between lifetime use of psychedelics and current use of alcohol, marijuana, cocaine, and benzodiazepines (.161, .169, .217, and .173). The other distinct group that was identified were the lifetime users of heroin and speedball, which was associated with the current use of heroin (.358), speedball (.399) and benzodiazepines (.156 and .238). The lifetime use of speedball was also associated with the current use of cocaine (.178). These associations indicate that previous psychedelic use is correlated with current use of substances such as alcohol, marijuana, cocaine and benzodiazepines (e.g. rohypnol). On the other hand, current heroin and cocaine users are correlated with lifetime use of hard drugs including heroin and speedballing. The two groups of substance use are distinguished based on existing literature that identifies the hard drugs as being more highly associated with negative social and health consequences (Dembo & Williams 1991; Johnson, Williams, Dei, & Sanabria 1990). The correlational analysis on the composite (total) and individual item measures of precocious transitions and drug and alcohol use among the male gang members revealed significant correlations. Lifetime use of heroin, speedball, and benzodiazepines all were highly correlated with the total composite measure of precocious transitions (.208, .197, .239). More specifically, lifetime heroin and speedball use were associated with the specific precocious transition items of school dropout (.220 and .223) and unemployment (.226 and .181). Lifetime use of psychedelics however, was significantly correlated with teenage parenting (.202) and early nest leaving (.210). In regards to current use of substances (number of days used in past month), alcohol and cocaine were correlated with the composite precocious transition measure, .215 and .161, respectively. Early nest leaving was found to be significantly associated with current cocaine use (.168). Alcohol on the other hand was positively correlated with school dropout (.166) and unemployment (.199).

Although not shown, the precocious transition variables formed distinctive patterns of intercorrelations. Specifically, three patterns of precocious transitions were found among

Table 6: Bivariate Analysis of Drug Use and Precocious Transitions Factor Scores for Mexican American Male Gang Sample (n=160)

	Hard Drug Use Factor Scores	Party Drug Use Factor Scores	Work/School Factor Scores	Family Factor Scores	Leaving Nest Factor Scores	Precocious Transitions Index
Hard Drug Use Factor Scores	1					
Party Drug Use Factor Scores	.000	1				
Work/School Factor Scores	.266**	.044	1			
Family Factor Scores	-.082	-.022	.000	1		
Leaving Nest Factor Scores	.040	.178*	.000	.000	1	
Precocious Transitions Index	.266**	.106	.932**	-.039	.357**	1

*p > .05; **p > .01

the sample. The first pattern included the cluster of work and school variables; specifically unemployment and dropping out of school were strongly associated (.460, p<.01). The second pattern was a cluster that indicated the beginning of a new family; e.g., the correlation of cohabitation and teenage parenthood (.254, p<.01). Teenage parenthood was also associated with school dropout indicating some interrelationship between the first and second patterns (.272, p<.01). The third pattern found only consisted of one precocious transition, early nest leaving, which was not associated with others.

Factor Analysis

Table 5 presents the results of the confirmatory factor analysis. The hypothesis that drug use in this population is organized by two main constructs--a hard drug use and a party drug use was clearly confirmed. The first principle component extracted had an eigenvalue of 2.488 and explained 27.6 percent of the variance of drug use and clearly represented hard drug use with high loadings on heroin use by itself and heroin mixed with cocaine. The second component (eigenvalue 1.336, percent of variance explained 14.84) clearly represented party drug use loading high on alcohol and moderate on cannabis use and moderately and negatively on the heroin and heroin mixed with cocaine variables. Interesting modifications of the party drug use were also found in two components that had an eigenvalue over 1. These components indicate the importance of cocaine in party drug use as well as negative use of benzodiazepines.

The results of the confirmatory factor analysis for the precocious transition items confirmed that for this population the items are organized by three main constructs. The first principle component extracted had an eigenvalue of 1.628 and explained 32.5 percent of the variance of precocious transitions. This component represented work and school precocious transitions with high loadings on high school dropout and unemployment. The second component represented precocious transitions associated with early family formation with an eigenvalue of 1.144 and explained 22.8 percent of the precocious transitions variance and high loadings on cohabitation and teenage parenting. The third principle component (eigenvalue 1.024, 20.4% variance explained) also involved the family, but in this instance the construct referred to the family of origin rather than the family of formation. The component was defined by the high loading on early nest leaving. This component indicates the importance of leaving home at an early age and the consequences associated with parenting at a young age.

The results of correlating the factor score measures of the first two drug use principle components with the three precocious transition components are shown in Table 6. The hard drug measure was positively and significantly correlated with the work and school measure and the precocious transition total

score index. In contrast, the party drug measure was only significantly correlated with the early nest leaving measure. Positive correlations were also observed with the prococious trnasition index and the work/school and leaving the nest factor scores.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The study findings show wide-spread drug use in the Mexican American gang member population. Most notably, current cannabis use exceeds alcohol use in this population indicating that illegal drug consumption has become normalized for these adolescents. The correlation analysis of the lifetime and current drug use study variables and the confirmatory factor analysis suggest that there are two distinct patterns of drug users in the Mexican American gang population. The first pattern involves a lifetime of "hard" drug use (heroin, cocaine, and benzodiazepines) that continues through their current use.[1] Continual hard drug use may indicate a distinctive subgroup of these gang members that are characterized by either drug dependence or psychological distress or both. This group would be in need of specialized addictive and or psychological services. The second pattern is associated with current alcohol, marijuana, cocaine and benzodiazepines. Of importance, this pattern did not include current heroin use. This distinctive drug use pattern suggests a second subgroup of Mexican American gang members. This group can be termed the "party drug users" in that their use seems to be associated with recreational or social reasons and does not seem to indicate an underlying psychopathology.

The drug use categories in this analysis are not mutually exclusive in that there are instances in which the types of drugs used overlap between the two groups. For instance, lifetime use of psychedelic drugs including ecstasy plays a significant role in both patterns. This finding suggests more future research attention needs to be paid by early psychedelic and ecstasy use in forming the drug use risk in this population. In addition, current cocaine use was correlated in both the hard drug users and party drug users illustrating the wide spread accessibility of this drug in this population. The results of the factor analysis also suggest that cocaine use plays an important role in further distinguishing drug use patterns in this population. Cocaine use with and without injection and without benzodiazepines and heroin use seems to be the basis of further refining the typology of drug use patterns among Mexican American gang members. Cocaine use in the "hard drug user" group may be explained by its high dependence liability and the role it plays in widely diverse heroin using populations (Blanken, Barendregt, & Zuidmulder 1999; Grund, Adriaans, & Kaplan 1991; Inciardi & Harrison 1998). In contrast, cocaine among the "party drug user" group is associated with it being used in low doses and "casually" in social atmospheres, especially when polydrug use occurs (Bieleman, Diez, Merlo, & Kaplan 1993; Cohen 1989; Kaplan, Bieleman, & TenHouten 1992; Kozel & Adams 1995; Murphy, Reinarman, & Waldorf 1989; Musto 1992; Spotts & Shontz 1980). Similarly, use of benzodiazepines was characteristic of both of the predominant drug user subgroups. This finding is consistent with research that suggests these prescription drugs have a widespread and multiple functional use in diverse polydrug youth populations (Calhoun, Wesson, Galloway, & Smith 1996; Maxwell 2003; Valdez, Cepeda, Kaplan, & Yin 1998).

The significant associations between the composite and factor precocious transitions scores and the hard drug use factor score as well as selected lifetime and current illicit drug use clearly specify the importance of these disorderly life events as correlates of substance use among this population of gang members. Moreover, results of the correlation and factor analyses for precocious transitions and substance use are largely consistent with the distinction made above regarding the two types of Mexican American gang member drug using subgroups. On the one hand, lifetime use of hard drugs (i.e. heroin and cocaine) was found to be associated with precocious transitions related to school (dropout) and the economy (unemployment). This association may be related to the use of heroin as part of a coping style of retreat from social institutions where there is scarcity of social and personal resources available to adolescents from disadvantaged backgrounds (Brunswick & Titus 1998; Desmond & Maddux 1984; Jorquez 1984). Psychedelic and ecstasy use is associated with risk taking behaviors that may include early experimentation with sex (teenage parenting), early nest leaving and other risk behaviors. This is consistent with the long-standing and continuing research evidence that social and psy-

chological experimentation that characterizes lifetime psychedelic use (Aaronson & Osmond 1970; Seymour & Smith 1993).

Significant correlations were found for precocious transitions and alcohol and cocaine. An association between current alcohol use and the precocious transitions of dropping out of school and unemployment was found. This finding may be associated with an excessive amount of spare time the adolescents have without attachments to school or work that facilitates drinking and quite possibly contributes to other drug use behaviors. The present results also indicate that the relationship between current cocaine use and leaving home at an early age can be attributed to the risk taking behaviors that characterize the party drug users mentioned above. These differing patterns among precocious transitions and substances suggest that there are multiple rather than single pathways linking drug use to precocious transitions. The investigation of these developmental pathways in this population should be a future reseach priority. The limitations of cross-sectional designs such as in this study for these investigations are obvious. Although a more sophisticated multivariate analysis can contribute to some understanding of these pathways, investment in longitudinal research designs that follow-up children before their initiation into drug use is the way that future research resources need to be allocated to address this priority.

The findings from the current study begin to confirm and extend prior research on precocious transitions. As others have found, these data demonstrate how precocious transitions have a cascading effect on multiple areas of later life and how the impact increases the more precocious transitions are experienced (Krohn et al 1997; Newcomb & Bentler 1988; Thornberry et al 2003). However, the substance use patterns observed among this population may have more serious repercussions for these adolescents compared to those in previous research given that higher levels of violence, crime, unemployment, and poverty characterize their social environment. This is clearly the case for hard drug users identified in this analysis, whose precocious transitions may lead to an early onset of adult roles that is accompanied with continual drug use and subsequent unsuccessful adaptation in young adulthood. The association between precocious transitions and substance use is less clear among the party drug users. These party drug users seem to be less prone to long-term drug dependence as well as serious social disruptions indicated by school dropout and unemployment in comparison to the hard drug users. However, they seem to be more prone to experiencing other young adult disorderly transitions associated with and unstable personal and family relationships. We suspect that these disorderly relationships may not be as permanent as among other groups given the importance of class and cultural characteristics such as familism among Hispanics.

The associations presented here suggest that the links among specific patterns of drug use and specific precocious transitions are complex and heterogeneous among this special population of Mexican American male gang adolescents. This is further evidenced in that the precocious transitions reported in the Rochester Youth Development Survey were distinct from the population under study. Furthermore, this analysis goes beyond the precocious transitions index in that it begins to identify underlying constructs such as work, school and family associated with substance use in this population of gang members. These precocious transitions constructs may be related to the structural changes and transitions these urban areas are undergoing that are weakening neighborhood social organizations and ties such as the extended family, churches, small businesses, residential stability and schools. This results in the breakdown of institutional completeness, a condition that contributes to the social stability of economically marginal communities (Flippen 2001; Moore & Pinderhughes 1993; Tsukashima 1985; Valdez 1993).

This suggests that specific consequences of precocious transitions will vary across different communities and gang member populations. Furthermore, the present analysis allows us to begin to untangle which polydrug drug use patterns are affecting patterns of precocious transitions or vice versa in gang populations. Finally, given the unique community based nature of this Mexican American gang member sample, these and other future results will likely be more generalizeable to gang members compared to research on school based populations. Finally, early drug prevention efforts need to take into consideration not only the drug use itself but also other precursors to precocious transitions that may extend into early adulthood.

END NOTES

[1] Use of benzodiazepines is also present in this group. Although benzodiazepines as a prescription drug are not commonly considered a "hard" drug, they can be addictive if administered for long periods of time.

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FACTORS AFFECTING INFANT MORTALITY IN INDIA

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to investigate the factors affecting infant mortality in India as informed by the "Demographic Transition Theory." This theory suggests that improved standard of living, public health programs, changes in nutrition, technological and medical advances, and sanitary reforms promote a decline in the level of mortality. Using the data from the National Family Health Survey, India: 1998-1999, this study tests the following major hypothesis: *The higher the level of socioeconomic development, the lower the infant mortality rate among the states of India.* The findings support the demographic transition theory in large measure, revealing that the overall socioeconomic development is inversely related to infant mortality rate among the states of India.

INTRODUCTION

Infant mortality rate is often used as an important indicator of human development and general health conditions of any society. The chances that a newborn baby in many developing countries, such as India, would be alive on its first birthday are low despite an overall decline in mortality. Until 1920, infant mortality rates in India had fluctuated at a high level due to chronic food shortages, influenza and severe epidemics (small-pox, malaria and typhoid), and poor sanitary conditions. Since 1920, there has been a steady decline in infant mortality, followed by a rapid decline after the 1970s due to the government's efforts to extend health services to villages (Table 1). The government's universal national immunization program, which was accelerated in the mid-1980s, was meant to reduce mortality from six major preventable diseases (tuberculosis, diphtheria, pertussis, tetanus, polio, and measles) by providing free vaccinations for all children (Visaria & Visaria 1995 18). As a result, the infant mortality rate of India has declined from 89 in the 1980s to 66 per 1,000 live births in 2001 (India, Registrar General, Annual Issues).

Infant mortality rates reflect the socioeconomic development of societies with the most developed countries having the lowest infant mortality rates (Daugherty & Kammeyer 1995 145). North America and Europe have the lowest rates, 7 infant deaths per 1,000 live births. On the other hand, in all of Asia, the infant mortality rate is 54 infant deaths per 1,000 live births. In Latin American and Caribbean countries the rate is 29 infant deaths per 1,000 live births, and in the African countries the rate is 90 infant deaths per 1,000 live births (Population Reference Bureau 2004).

Table 1: Infant Mortality in India: 1900-2001

Period	Infant Mortality Rate
1900-1910	221
1911-1920	211
1921-1930	176
1931-1940	168
1941-1950	148
1951-1960	109
1961-1970	106
1971-1980	103
1981-1990	89
1991-2000	69
2001	66

Source: India, Registrar General, *India Vital Statistics*, Vital Statistics Division, Annual Issues, New Delhi.

Social researchers have studied the relationship between socioeconomic development and infant mortality many times at the cross-national and sub-national levels. Although the overall infant mortality rate has declined in India, it varies considerably among the states. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to examine the role of various socioeconomic factors influencing infant mortality in the states of India.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND HYPOTHESIS

The theoretical orientation of this research is based on one of the most empirically supported theories explaining contemporary dynamics of fertility and mortality. This theory attributes the economic development historically associated with industrialization to a variety of social changes primarily affecting women. Structural changes occurring during this process of modernization cause the high fertility and mortality rates typical of an agricultural society to be replaced by a de-

cline in mortality rates, followed by a subsequent decline in fertility rates, leading eventually to population stability in a given society. This theory has been called the "*Theory of Demographic Transition*" in the demography literature. Notestein (1945), Davis (1949), Stolnitz (1964) and Lee (2003) are some of the demographers who have employed this theory. According to the demographic transition theory, fertility and mortality declined, first in Europe during the nineteenth century and later elsewhere as other societies followed suit, was largely the result of economic development. Coale and Hoover (1958 9-10) elaborate on the consequences of economic development:

> Economic development has the effect of bringing about a reduction in death rates. Economic development involves evolution from a predominantly agrarian economy to an economy with a greater division of labor, using more elaborate tools and equipment, more urbanized, more oriented to the market sale of its products, and characterized by rapid and pervasive changes in technique. It also involves improvement in transportation, communications, and productivity, and these improvements had the effect of bringing a striking reduction in death rates. The reduction in death rates may be ascribed partly to greater regularity in food supplies, to the establishment of greater law and order, and to other fairly direct consequences of economic change. Other factors contributing to decline—improvements in sanitation, the development of vaccines and other means of preventive medicine, and great and rapid strides in the treatment of disease—can themselves be considered as somewhat indirect consequence of economic change.

With regard to mortality, the causal economic factors include more societal resources devoted to health research and development of a pest and waste management infrastructure. The social factors affecting a drop in mortality include dissemination and adoption of behaviors implied by health research and efficient use of the pest and waste management infrastructure. Societies undergoing this transition have typically experienced an initial drop in mortality, followed by a period characterized by rapid population growth. Possibly due to the negative connotations associated with death, there is typically a much more concerted initial effort by society to reduce mortality than fertility (Caldwell 1997; World Bank 1984).

A number of studies have sought to clarify the complex relationship between socioeconomic development and mortality in developed and developing countries. Economic development, characterized by increasing gross national product and per capita income, is a significant factor affecting mortality. Increased per capita income increases the potential tax base, allowing greater expenditures on the utilities infrastructure, which creates a general living environment that is freer of disease-causing microbes. Variables associated with this infrastructure, such as availability of water, electricity, and toilet facilities, are therefore associated either directly or indirectly with infant mortality (Defo 1994; United Nations 1991a).

Urbanization is another characteristic of socioeconomic development found to have a profound influence on infant mortality. Throughout the developing countries of the world, conditions of life in rural areas for infants and children are very often worse than they are in cities. In India, overall mortality and infant mortality in urban areas is lower than in rural areas. The results of the National Sample Survey in 2001 showed an infant mortality rate of 42 in urban areas and 72 in rural areas. The lower crude death rate and infant mortality rate in urban areas are attributable to better sanitary conditions, protected drinking water, and ready availability of medical facilities (India, Registrar General 2002).

Unclean cooking fuels, such as wood and dung, in households also affect infant and child mortality. If children spend a great deal of time where cooking fuel is emitting harmful smoke, it can increase their risk of respiratory disease and early mortality. The type of cooking fuel used may be an indicator of a household's socioeconomic status (Mishra & Retherford 1997).

Tetanus is one of the major causes of infant mortality in developing countries. It is highly recommended that pregnant women receive tetanus oxide vaccine in such countries (Stanfield & Galazka 1984). Another important development reducing infant mortality in developing countries is occurring with the dissemination of information on treatment of diarrheal diseases by families in the home. Diarreheal, infectious and respiratory

Table 2: Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) and Socioeconomic Development Variables of the States of India: 1998-1999

			(a) Modernization Variables: 1-7													
State	**IMR**		**1**		**2**		**3**		**4**		**5**		**6**		**7**	
Andhra Pradesh	65.8	**18**	24.9	**14**	64.3	**4**	58.7	**22**	78.5	**14**	27.3	**6**	74.4	**12**	76.3	**15**
Arunachal Pradesh	63.1	**16**	15.9	**6**	27.6	**13**	59.6	**23**	80.7	**15**	73.9	**20**	68.9	**10**	63.3	**9**
Assam	69.5	**19**	8.5	**1**	40.7	**11**	20.2	**3**	60.1	**5**	63.2	**18**	26.4	**2**	52.6	**5**
Bihar	72.9	**20**	10.2	**3**	71.0	**1**	26.4	**9**	75.4	**12**	16.8	**2**	18.2	**1**	27.3	**1**
Delhi	46.8	**9**	92.1	**25**	19.8	**19**	20.9	**5**	98.7	**24**	94.4	**24**	97.7	**25**	92.7	**25**
Goa	36.7	**3**	41.6	**22**	10.1	**24**	47.4	**14**	61.8	**6**	58.9	**17**	93.5	**22**	88.4	**23**
Gujarat	62.6	**15**	42.5	**23**	40.7	**10**	50.8	**17**	84.5	**17**	45.1	**11**	84.3	**19**	66.2	**11**
Haryana	56.8	**13**	28.8	**16**	41.5	**9**	12.6	**2**	88.0	**22**	39.1	**10**	89.1	**20**	66.9	**12**
Himachal Pradesh	34.4	**2**	9.1	**2**	10.7	**23**	20.8	**4**	77.4	**13**	27.0	**5**	97.2	**24**	83.7	**21**
Jammu & Kashmir	65.0	**17**	21.5	**10**	22.1	**18**	42.4	**12**	70.6	**11**	51.0	**14**	90.1	**21**	74.4	**14**
Karnataka	51.5	**12**	34.8	**20**	46.3	**7**	52.1	**18**	87.0	**21**	38.6	**9**	80.9	**16**	78.6	**17**
Kerala	16.3	**1**	23.1	**11**	17.0	**20**	25.0	**8**	19.9	**1**	85.2	**22**	71.8	**11**	88.5	**24**
Madhya Pradesh	86.1	**23**	25.3	**15**	64.7	**3**	57.2	**21**	63.5	**8**	22.2	**3**	68.1	**9**	54.8	**6**
Maharashtra	43.7	**7**	41.3	**21**	47.7	**6**	55.7	**20**	81.9	**16**	46.0	**13**	82.1	**17**	70.4	**13**
Manipur	37.0	**4**	33.7	**18**	9.9	**25**	69.9	**25**	48.9	**4**	92.0	**23**	75.3	**13**	83.8	**22**
Meghalaya	89.0	**25**	20.0	**7**	25.5	**14**	47.6	**15**	42.1	**3**	52.0	**16**	41.2	**6**	62.7	**8**
Mizoram	37.0	**5**	52.9	**24**	11.6	**22**	49.9	**16**	63.2	**7**	97.7	**25**	84.1	**18**	83.1	**20**
Nagaland	42.1	**6**	20.3	**9**	22.9	**16**	63.9	**24**	40.5	**2**	74.4	**21**	56.3	**7**	64.3	**10**
Orrissa	81.0	**22**	11.0	**4**	37.6	**12**	30.6	**11**	65.3	**9**	13.5	**1**	33.8	**3**	44.3	**3**
Punjab	57.1	**14**	30.8	**17**	11.6	**21**	9.4	**1**	98.9	**25**	51.4	**15**	95.5	**23**	82.0	**19**
Rajasthan	80.4	**21**	24.2	**13**	68.3	**2**	43.5	**13**	69.8	**10**	28.2	**7**	64.4	**8**	36.9	**2**
Sikkim	43.9	**8**	14.2	**5**	22.3	**17**	22.1	**6**	84.6	**18**	72.7	**19**	80.7	**15**	78.5	**16**
Tamil Nadu	48.2	**10**	34.6	**19**	24.9	**15**	53.8	**19**	85.0	**19**	34.1	**8**	78.8	**14**	79.7	**18**
Uttar Pradesh	86.7	**24**	20.0	**8**	62.4	**5**	23.4	**7**	85.6	**20**	26.7	**4**	36.6	**4**	45.3	**4**
West Bengal	48.7	**11**	23.8	**12**	45.9	**8**	28.5	**10**	89.3	**23**	45.1	**12**	36.7	**5**	61.4	**7**
Mean	56.9		28.2		34.7		39.7		72.0		51.1		69.0		68.2	
STD Deviation	19.1		17.6		20.0		17.6		19.1		25.0		23.8		17.2	

Source: International Institute for Population Sciences (IIPS), *National Family Health Survey,* India: *1998-1999,* Mumbai.

Note: The first column under a variable indicates the measured rate, the second column under a variable indicates the ranking of the respective values of infant mortality rate and socioeconomic development variables–modernization, health, education, and family planning.

Note: Independent Variables: 1 - Percent urban population; **2** - Percent women marriaed at 18 years and under; **3** - Percent women age 15-49 employed; **4** - Percent households with drinking water facility from pipe or pump; **5** - Percent households with sanitary toilets; **6** - Percent households with electricity; and **7** - Percent exposed to mass media.

diseases are largely due to contaminated food and water, as well as other unsanitary environmental conditions that create and foster the growth of various types of bacterial and viral agents. Therefore, simple and effective treatment of sick children and better medical care can sharply decrease infant mortality rates (Black 1984; Barbieri 1998). This information can only be effectively disseminated when a society's economic development facilitates an extensive media communication network.

Maturity of an infant at birth has been found to be an important factor affecting infant mortality. Rising infant mortality is closely associated with decreasing birth weight of birth cohorts and weight deficiencies of the newborn (Hansen 1996; Gomes & Santo 1997). Controlling for birth weight or maturity status of an infant also depends upon breast feed-

Table 2: Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) and Socioeconomic Development Variables of the States of India: 1998-1999, continued

	(b) Health Variables: 8-17															
State	**8**		**9**		**10**		**11**		**12**		**13**		**14**		**15**	
Andhra Pradesh	58.7	**15**	92.7	**22**	81.5	**19**	49.8	**18**	65.2	**20**	37.7	**12**	20.3	**9**	49.8	**11**
Arunachal Pradesh	20.5	**6**	61.6	**9**	45.6	**3**	31.2	**11**	31.9	**6**	24.3	**23**	21.0	**16**	62.5	**6**
Assam	17.0	**4**	60.1	**6**	51.7	**6**	17.6	**5**	21.4	**2**	36.0	**14**	20.1	**7**	69.7	**1**
Bihar	11.0	**1**	36.3	**2**	57.8	**10**	14.6	**2**	23.4	**4**	54.4	**3**	19.4	**2**	63.4	**2**
Delhi	69.8	**19**	83.5	**15**	84.9	**21**	59.1	**22**	65.9	**21**	34.7	**15**	23.7	**25**	40.5	**21**
Goa	82.6	**23**	99.0	**25**	86.1	**22**	90.8	**24**	90.8	**24**	28.6	**19**	21.6	**21**	36.4	**23**
Gujarat	53.0	**13**	86.4	**17**	72.7	**13**	46.3	**17**	53.5	**15**	45.1	**8**	20.7	**13**	46.3	**17**
Haryana	62.7	**18**	58.1	**5**	79.7	**18**	22.4	**8**	42.0	**12**	34.6	**16**	21.3	**20**	47.0	**16**
Himachal Pradesh	83.4	**24**	86.8	**18**	66.2	**12**	28.9	**10**	40.2	**11**	43.6	**10**	20.8	**14**	40.5	**20**
Jammu & Kashmir	56.7	**14**	83.2	**14**	77.7	**17**	35.6	**14**	42.4	**13**	34.5	**17**	21.0	**17**	58.7	**8**
Karnataka	60.0	**17**	86.3	**16**	74.9	**15**	51.1	**19**	59.1	**17**	43.9	**9**	20.4	**11**	42.4	**18**
Kerala	79.7	**22**	98.8	**24**	86.4	**23**	93.0	**25**	94.0	**25**	26.9	**22**	22.0	**22**	22.7	**25**
Madhya Pradesh	22.4	**8**	61.0	**8**	55.0	**9**	20.1	**6**	29.7	**5**	55.1	**1**	19.8	**4**	54.3	**10**
Maharashtra	78.4	**21**	90.4	**20**	74.9	**16**	52.6	**20**	59.4	**18**	49.6	**6**	20.2	**8**	48.5	**14**
Manipur	42.3	**9**	80.2	**13**	64.2	**11**	34.5	**13**	53.9	**16**	27.5	**21**	21.1	**19**	28.9	**24**
Meghalaya	14.3	**3**	53.6	**4**	30.8	**1**	17.3	**4**	20.6	**1**	37.9	**11**	20.3	**10**	63.3	**3**
Mizoram	59.6	**16**	91.8	**21**	37.8	**2**	57.7	**21**	67.5	**22**	27.7	**20**	20.4	**12**	48.0	**15**
Nagaland	14.1	**2**	60.4	**7**	50.9	**4**	12.1	**1**	32.8	**7**	24.1	**24**	20.9	**15**	38.4	**22**
Orrissa	43.7	**10**	79.5	**12**	74.3	**14**	22.6	**9**	33.4	**8**	54.4	**2**	19.2	**1**	63.0	**4**
Punjab	72.1	**20**	74.0	**11**	89.9	**24**	37.5	**15**	62.6	**19**	28.7	**18**	23.0	**24**	41.4	**19**
Rajasthan	17.3	**5**	47.5	**3**	52.1	**7**	21.5	**7**	35.8	**10**	50.6	**5**	19.9	**5**	48.5	**13**
Sikkim	47.4	**12**	69.9	**10**	52.7	**8**	31.5	**12**	35.1	**9**	20.6	**25**	22.0	**23**	61.1	**7**
Tamil Nadu	88.8	**25**	98.5	**23**	95.4	**25**	79.3	**23**	83.8	**23**	36.7	**13**	21.0	**18**	56.5	**9**
Uttar Pradesh	21.2	**7**	34.6	**1**	51.4	**5**	15.5	**3**	22.4	**3**	51.7	**4**	20.0	**6**	48.7	**12**
West Bengal	43.8	**11**	90.0	**19**	82.4	**20**	40.1	**16**	44.2	**14**	48.7	**7**	19.7	**3**	62.7	**5**
Mean	48.8		74.6		67.1		39.3		48.4		38.3		20.8		49.7	
STD Deviation	25.5		19.1		17.5		23.0		21.4		10.8		1.1		11.8	

Note: (b) Health Variables: **8** - Percent children immunized; **9** - Percent mothers receiving antenatal care; **10** - Percent mothers receiving tetanus toxoid vaccine; **11** - Percent births delivered in health facility; **12** - Percent deliveries assisted by health professionals; **13** - Percent underweight children under 3 years; **14** - Women's mean body mass index; **15** - Percent of women with any anaemia; **16** - Percent of households using adequately iodized salt; and **17** - Percent of women consuming milk or curd.

ing patterns and maternal age of the mother. The results indicate that the infant mortality rates are inversely related to mothers who breastfeed children and maternal age (Cabigon 1997; Nath, Land, & Singh 1994).

Higher incidence of infant mortality in developing countries can be partly attributed to behaviors of the mother prior to and during pregnancy known to cause premature birth. These include poor nutritional practices, short intervals between pregnancies, tobacco smoking, alcohol or substance abuse, and inadequate prenatal care. Inadequate prenatal care also greatly reduces the chances of survival of an infant born prematurely. The decline in infant mortality is attributed to the introduction of improved public health measures and access to maternal and child health services (Kabir, Chowdhury, & Amin 1995).

Some researchers have stressed education of women and maternal education as the key factor in the decline of infant mortality in developing countries. As the education level of a society increases, infant mortality rate goes down. Educational attainment of parents, especially that of mothers, has been found to have a significant negative relation-

Table 2: Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) and Socioeconomic Development Variables of the States of India: 1998-1999, continued

	(c) Education Variables: 18-22													
State	**16**		**17**		**18**		**19**		**20**		**21**		**22**	
Andhra Pradesh	27.4	**2**	72.0	**16**	36.2	**6**	67.7	**2**	70.5	**4**	4.9	**8**	4.0	**4**
Arunachal Pradesh	84.1	**21**	19.9	**2**	47.3	**11**	80.1	**14**	77.3	**10**	4.4	**3**	4.1	**5**
Assam	79.6	**20**	41.7	**8**	46.1	**10**	72.1	**9**	75.0	**7**	4.7	**4**	4.2	**6**
Bihar	46.9	**8**	46.7	**10**	23.4	**1**	59.6	**1**	54.1	**1**	3.6	**2**	2.7	**1**
Delhi	89.2	**23**	73.3	**19**	70.9	**22**	86.7	**22**	90.8	**21**	9.3	**25**	28.7	**25**
Goa	41.9	**5**	65.0	**13**	71.4	**23**	88.1	**23**	93.2	**23**	8.3	**24**	16.3	**24**
Gujarat	56.1	**11**	80.0	**21**	49.7	**12**	69.1	**3**	72.8	**6**	6.3	**16**	11.0	**20**
Haryana	71.0	**17**	93.2	**25**	44.8	**8**	82.2	**16**	85.5	**15**	6.2	**15**	9.2	**19**
Himachal Pradesh	90.5	**24**	87.0	**23**	63.7	**21**	94.3	**25**	97.3	**24**	7.5	**21**	7.6	**15**
Jammu & Kashmir	52.9	**10**	72.1	**17**	30.2	**4**	77.8	**11**	77.5	**11**	5.7	**13**	5.4	**10**
Karnataka	43.4	**6**	75.5	**20**	44.8	**9**	71.4	**8**	77.6	**12**	6.0	**14**	8.5	**18**
Kerala	39.3	**4**	45.3	**9**	87.4	**24**	90.9	**24**	97.4	**25**	8.1	**23**	15.6	**23**
Madhya Pradesh	56.7	**12**	32.5	**7**	31.5	**5**	69.6	**5**	70.8	**5**	4.8	**7**	5.9	**13**
Maharashtra	60.1	**13**	47.3	**11**	55.4	**16**	81.8	**15**	86.9	**16**	7.1	**20**	7.9	**17**
Manipur	87.9	**22**	15.3	**1**	57.1	**17**	86.6	**21**	87.8	**17**	8.0	**22**	14.5	**22**
Meghalaya	63.0	**15**	23.7	**5**	61.9	**20**	79.2	**12**	85.2	**14**	3.2	**1**	4.6	**7**
Mizoram	91.3	**25**	22.9	**4**	90.0	**25**	85.4	**20**	90.8	**22**	6.4	**17**	5.8	**12**
Nagaland	67.2	**16**	82.7	**22**	60.2	**18**	82.2	**17**	83.5	**13**	5.4	**12**	4.7	**8**
Orrissa	35.0	**3**	20.7	**3**	40.5	**7**	72.1	**10**	75.1	**8**	5.1	**11**	3.1	**2**
Punjab	75.3	**18**	91.1	**24**	61.2	**19**	84.9	**19**	90.0	**20**	6.4	**18**	12.7	**21**
Rajasthan	46.3	**7**	70.7	**15**	24.6	**2**	69.1	**4**	63.2	**2**	5.0	**9**	3.5	**3**
Sikkim	79.1	**19**	72.4	**18**	50.6	**14**	82.9	**18**	88.5	**18**	4.7	**5**	5.2	**9**
Tamil Nadu	21.2	**1**	66.5	**14**	52.5	**15**	79.7	**13**	88.5	**19**	6.4	**19**	7.6	**16**
Uttar Pradesh	48.8	**9**	57.2	**12**	29.8	**3**	69.9	**6**	69.4	**3**	5.0	**10**	6.9	**14**
West Bengal	61.7	**14**	25.0	**6**	50.0	**13**	70.9	**7**	76.7	**9**	4.7	**6**	5.5	**11**
Mean	60.6		56.0		51.2		78.2		81.0		5.9		8.2	
STD Deviation	20.5		25.1		17.5		8.6		11.0		1.5		5.8	

Note: (c) Education variables: **18** - Percent female literate; **19** - Percent household population age 6-14 years attending school; **20** - Percent females age 6-14 attending school; **21** - Median school years attained; and **22** - Percent women age 15-49 completing high school education and above.

ship with levels of childcare and infant mortality. Literate mothers usually give birth to healthier babies because they have more information about health-care facilities than illiterate mothers. They also have more influence within the family in deciding to take sick children for treatment (Mellington & Cameron 1999; Pitt 1995; Rajna, Mishra, & Krishnamoorthy 1998; United Nations 1991a). According to Caldwell (1997), mass education, which tends to emphasize modernization and secular attitudes, is the only means to enhance child survival and reduce mortality as well as fertility.

Promoting effective family planning programs and the wide availability of contraceptives also affect infant mortality, because they tend to lower the number of births to younger and older women and reduce the incidence of closely spaced births (Asari 1991; Gulati 1998). Voluntary adoption of family planning strategies is inhibited by perceptions that a large number of births are required for the survival of the family, which is common in agrarian economies with high infant mortality rates. Traditional social norms and customs that promote early marriage and frequent childbearing are seen as possible societal responses to perceptions of high infant mortality (Prasad 1997). Furthermore, the desire for sons as a source of labor and social security for parents in old age is one of the major features of Indian society. Differential mortality rates between male and fe-

Table 2: Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) and Socioeconomic Development Variables of the States of India: 1998-1999, continued

	(d) Family Planning Variables: 23-28											
State	**23**		**24**		**25**		**26**		**27**		**28**	
Andhra Pradesh	15.1	**4**	19.8	**5**	59.6	**18**	52.7	**25**	21.4	**18**	2.3	**19**
Arunachal Pradesh	18.7	**15**	41.9	**21**	35.4	**5**	20.6	**7**	22.6	**14**	2.5	**14**
Assam	18.1	**12**	38.2	**20**	43.3	**8**	15.7	**5**	21.8	**16**	2.3	**17**
Bihar	14.9	**2**	47.9	**24**	24.5	**2**	19.2	**6**	28.1	**5**	3.5	**5**
Delhi	19.0	**17**	23.1	**9**	63.8	**22**	26.3	**9**	21.3	**19**	2.4	**16**
Goa	23.2	**25**	17.0	**4**	47.5	**11**	27.8	**10**	16.6	**25**	1.8	**25**
Gujarat	17.6	**11**	33.2	**15**	59.0	**17**	43.0	**18**	24.3	**10**	2.7	**11**
Haryana	16.9	**9**	37.5	**17**	62.4	**20**	38.7	**17**	23.1	**12**	2.9	**9**
Himachal Pradesh	18.6	**14**	25.9	**10**	67.7	**25**	45.1	**19**	19.9	**22**	2.1	**22**
Jammu & Kashmir	18.2	**13**	38.0	**19**	49.1	**12**	28.0	**11**	23.1	**11**	2.7	**12**
Karnataka	16.8	**7**	13.0	**2**	58.3	**16**	51.5	**24**	20.4	**21**	2.1	**23**
Kerala	20.2	**22**	14.6	**3**	63.7	**21**	48.5	**22**	18.8	**24**	2.0	**24**
Madhya Pradesh	14.7	**1**	42.5	**22**	44.3	**9**	35.7	**16**	26.7	**6**	3.3	**6**
Maharashtra	16.4	**6**	27.1	**12**	60.9	**19**	48.5	**23**	23.0	**13**	2.5	**13**
Manipur	21.7	**23**	36.5	**16**	38.7	**6**	14.4	**3**	25.8	**7**	3.0	**7**
Meghalaya	19.1	**18**	20.9	**7**	20.2	**1**	6.5	**1**	35.7	**1**	4.6	**1**
Mizoram	22.0	**24**	26.0	**11**	57.7	**15**	45.2	**20**	25.7	**8**	2.9	**8**
Nagaland	20.1	**21**	32.7	**14**	30.3	**4**	12.3	**2**	30.4	**3**	3.8	**4**
Orrissa	17.5	**10**	37.6	**18**	46.8	**10**	33.9	**15**	22.1	**15**	2.5	**15**
Punjab	20.0	**20**	29.1	**13**	66.7	**24**	29.3	**12**	19.1	**23**	2.2	**20**
Rajasthan	15.1	**5**	47.5	**23**	40.3	**7**	30.8	**13**	29.9	**4**	3.8	**3**
Sikkim	19.8	**19**	22.4	**8**	53.8	**14**	22.4	**8**	24.5	**9**	2.8	**10**
Tamil Nadu	18.7	**16**	9.6	**1**	52.1	**13**	45.2	**21**	21.4	**17**	2.2	**21**
Uttar Pradesh	15.0	**3**	53.3	**25**	28.1	**3**	14.9	**4**	31.1	**2**	4.0	**2**
West Bengal	16.8	**8**	20.7	**6**	66.6	**23**	32.0	**14**	20.8	**20**	2.3	**18**
Mean	18.2		30.2		49.6		31.5		23.9		2.8	
STD Deviation	2.3		11.7		14.1		13.6		4.4		0.7	

Note: (d) Family Planning Variables: **23** - Median age at first marriage; **24** - Percent of women who want more sons than daughters; **25** - Percent using contraceptives; **26** - Percent sterilized; **27** - Crude birth rate; and **28** - Total fertility rate.

male babies is one of the many factors related to infant mortality risks in developing countries, with females having higher infant mortality rate than males (Athreya & Chunkath 1998).

The preceding discussion forms the central orientation of this study. The underlying assumption behind the theory of demographic transition, as shown through these various studies, is that as the level of development in a country increases, infant mortality level decreases. Thus, this study will test the following major hypothesis: *The higher the level of socioeconomic development, the lower the infant mortality rate will be among the states of India.*

DATA AND MEASUREMENT

Data for the study have been obtained from the second National Family Health Survey (NFHS-2) initiated by the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, Government of India and funded by the United States Agency for International Development. The success of the first NFHS in 1992-93 in creating an important demographic and health database in India paved the way for repeating the survey. The International Institute for Population Sciences, Mumbai (IIPS), was designated as the modal agency for providing coordination and technical guidance to the NFHS. Interviews were conducted with a nationally representative sample of 89,119 ever-married women in the age group 15-49 from the 25

Table 3: Pearson Correlation Coefficients Between Socioeconomic Development Variables and Infant Mortality Rate in India

Socioeconomic Development Variables	Infant Mortality Rate
(a) Modernization	
1. Percent urban population	-0.314
2. Percent women married at age 18	0.657**
3. Percent women employed	-0.015
4. Percent households with drinking water facility	0.168
5. Percent households with sanitary toilets	-0.608**
6. Percent households with electricity	-0.539**
7. Percent exposed to mass media	-0.760**
(b) Health	
8. Percent children immunized	-0.670**
9. Percent mothers receiving antenatal care	-0.683**
10. Percent mothers receiving tetanus toxoid vaccine	-0.396
11. Percent birth delivered in health facility	-0.660**
12. Percent deliveries assisted by health professionals	-0.699**
13. Percent underweight children under 3 years	0.587**
14. Women's mean body mass index	-0.522**
15. Percent of women with any anaemia	0.640**
16. Percent household using adequately iodized salt	-0.249
17. Percent of women consuming milk or curd	-0.167
(c) Education	
18. Percent literate females	-0.748**
19. Percent household population age 6-14 attending school	-0.737**
20. Percent female age 6-14 attending school	-0.751**
21. Median school year attained	-0.723**
22. Percent women completing HS education and above	-0.483*
(d) Family Planning	
23. Median age at first marriage	-0.654**
24. Percent of women who want more sons than daughters	0.607**
25. Percent using contraceptives	-0.559**
26. Percent sterilized	-0.359
27. Crude birth rate	0.566**
28. Total fertility rate	0.588**

*Indicates a correlation which is significant at 0.05 level, two-tailed test.
**Indicates a correlation which is significant at 0.01 level, two-tailed test.

states of India. The main objective of the NFHS was to collect reliable and up-to-date information on mortality and morbidity, maternal and reproductive health, fertility and family planning. Data collection was carried out in two phases from November 1998 to March 1999. The two NFHS studies are the most comprehensive surveys of its kind ever conducted in India (IIPS 2000).

The two main concepts used in this research are 1) socioeconomic development (measure of the independent variable), and 2) infant mortality (measure of the dependent variable). The term "*socioeconomic development*" implies an ongoing process of change in a society and includes many indicators to describe the overall development of a society (Bongaarts 1978). However, in this study the following 28 variables are selected from the NFHS-2 data of the states of India, which are grouped into four major categories:

(a) *Modernization variables:* 1) the percent of the urban population; 2) the percent of women married at age 18 years and under; 3) the percent of women employed; 4) the percent of households with drinking water piped or from hand pump; 5) the percent of households with sanitary toilets; 6) the percent of households with electricity; and

Table 4: Infant Mortality Ranking and Composite Measures of Socioeconomic Development of India, by Major Categories

State	Infant Mortality	Modernization		Health		Education		Family Planning	
Andhra Pradesh	**18**	87	**9**	144	**13**	24	**3**	89	**17**
Arunachal Pradesh	**16**	96	**13**	103	**8**	43	**8**	76	**9**
Assam	**19**	45	**3**	73	**6**	36	**5**	78	**10**
Bihar	**20**	29	**1**	44	**1**	6	**1**	44	**3**
Delhi	**9**	147	**25**	201	**24**	115	**23**	92	**20**
Goa	**3**	128	**22**	199	**23**	117	**24**	100	**22**
Gujarat	**15**	108	**18**	145	**14**	57	**12**	82	**12**
Haryana	**13**	91	**11**	155	**18**	73	**16**	84	**14**
Himachal Pradesh	**2**	92	**12**	166	**20**	106	**22**	112	**23**
Jammu/Kashmire	**17**	100	**16**	141	**11**	49	**10**	78	**11**
Karnataka	**12**	108	**19**	148	**16**	61	**13**	93	**21**
Kerala	**1**	97	**15**	201	**25**	119	**25**	116	**25**
Madhya Pradesh	**23**	65	**6**	70	**5**	35	**4**	60	**6**
Maharashtra	**7**	106	**17**	147	**15**	84	**18**	86	**15**
Manipur	**4**	130	**23**	149	**17**	99	**21**	62	**7**
Meghalaya	**25**	69	**7**	57	**2**	54	**11**	29	**1**
Mizoram	**5**	132	**24**	158	**19**	96	**19**	86	**16**
Nagaland	**6**	89	**10**	120	**10**	68	**15**	48	**4**
Orrissa	**22**	43	**2**	66	**4**	38	**7**	83	**13**
Punjab	**14**	121	**21**	192	**22**	97	**20**	112	**24**
Rajasthan	**21**	55	**5**	77	**7**	20	**2**	55	**5**
Sikkim	**8**	96	**14**	143	**12**	64	**14**	68	**8**
Tamil Nadu	**10**	112	**20**	174	**21**	82	**17**	89	**18**
Uttar Pradesh	**24**	52	**4**	62	**3**	36	**6**	39	**2**
West Bengal	**11**	77	**8**	155	**9**	46	**9**	89	**19**

Note: The composite measures of each category, including modernization, health, education, and family planning is obtained by summing the ranks of values of each variable as shown in Table 2.

7) the percent of women 15-49 exposed to mass media.

(b) *Health variables:* 8) the percent of children immunized; 9) the percent of mothers receiving antenatal care; 10) the percent of mothers receiving tetanus toxoid vaccine; 11) the percent of births delivered in a health facility; 12) the percent of deliveries assisted by health professionals; 13) the percent of underweight children under 3 years; 14) women's mean body mass index; 15) percent of women with any anaemia; 16) percent of households using adequately iodized salt; and 17) percent of women consuming milk or curd.

(c) *Education variables:* 18) the percent of literate females; 19) the percent of the household population age 6-14 years attending school; 20) the percent of females age 6-14 years attending school; 21) the median school years attained; and 22) the percent of women age 15-49 years completing high school education and above.

(d) *Family planning variables*: 23) median age at first marriage; 24) percent of women who want more sons than daughters; 25) the percent using contraceptives; 26) the percent sterilized; 27) crude birth rate; and 28) total fertility rate.

The term "*infant mortality*" refers to death during the first year of life. The *infant mortality rate* is the number of deaths to infants under 1 year of age per 1,000 live births. Table 2 shows the infant mortality rate (IMR) and socioeconomic development variables of the states of India, based on NFHS-2 data from 1998-1999.

ANALYSIS OF DATA AND RESULTS

The analysis of data and results presented below are based on three commonly used statistical procedures appropriate for

the respective levels of measurement for the variables used. 1) Pearson's correlation coefficient measures the association between interval level variables. 2) Spearman's correlation coefficient measures the association between the composite ordinal level variables, and 3) multiple regression analysis models the interval infant mortality variable using the predictor variables of socioeconomic development.

Pearson's Correlation Coefficient

Table 3 presents Pearson's correlation coefficients between socioeconomic development variables and infant mortality rate in India. An examination of the data shows that of the total 28 socioeconomic development variables, 27 are related to infant mortality rate in the direction predicted by demographic transition theory. Of these, 2 are statistically significant at the 0.05 level, while 20 are significant at the 0.01 level. These statistics strongly confirm the research hypothesis. The results of the major categories of socioeconomic development and infant mortality rate are as follows:

(a) *Modernization*: Among the seven modernization variables, all but one are correlated in the predicted direction with infant mortality rate. Of the 6 variables correlated, four are statistically significant at the 0.01 alpha level, including percent women married at age 18 (0.657), percent of households with sanitary toilets (-0.608), percent households with electricity (-0.539), and percent exposed to mass media (-0.760).

(b) *Health*: Among the ten health variables, all are correlated in the predicted direction with infant mortality rate. Of these, seven variables are correlated at the 0.01 alpha level, including percent children immunized (-0.670), percent mothers receiving antenatal care (-0.683), percent birth delivered in health facility (-0.660), percent of deliveries assisted by health professionals (-0.699), percent of underweight children under 3 years (0.587), women's mean body mass index (-0.522), percent of women with any anaemia (0.640), while another variable percent mothers receiving tetanus toxoid vaccine (-0.396), is significant at the 0.05 alpha level.

(c) *Education*: Among the five education variables, all are correlated in the predicted direction with infant mortality rate. Of these, four are statistically significant at the 0.01 alpha level, including percent of literate females (-0.748), percent of the household population age 6-14 years attending school (-0.737), percent of females age 6-14 years attending school (-0.751), and median school years attained (-0.723). The variable the percent of women completing high school education (-0.483) and above is statistically significant at the 0.05 level.

Table 5: Spearman's Correlation Coefficients Between the Composite Measures and Infant Mortality Rate in India

Socioeconomic Development	Infant Mortality Rate
1. Modernization	-0.686**
2. Health	-0.802**
3. Education	-0.848**
4. Family Planning	-0.599**

**Indicates a correlation coefficient which is significant at 0.01 level, two-tailed test.

(d) *Family Planning*: Among the six family planning variables, all are correlated in the predicted direction with infant mortality rate. The variables median age at first marriage (-0.654), percent of women who want more sons than daughters (0.607), percent using contraceptives (-0.559), crude birth rate (0.566) and total fertility rate (0.588) is statistically significant at the 0.01 alpha level.

Spearman's Correlation Coefficient

In this study an attempt is made to formulate a composite measure of each category of socioeconomic development, including modernization, health, education, and family planning. Although the variables comprising the composite measures are varied, they represent equally weighted aspects of the broad constructs of the level of development used by demographers (Population Crisis Committee 1988; United Nations 1991b).

The composite measure for each category of socioeconomic development is calculated by ranking all the states of India with respect to socioeconomic development variables—that is, ranked within each variable with the highest development value receiving a rank of 25 and the lowest development value receiving a rank of 1. Thus, each state has a rank for each variable as shown in Table 2. The composite measure for each category is obtained by summing the ranks of values of each variable in that category as shown in Table 4. Furthermore, the states are ranked for each composite measure of socioeconomic development. Similarly, all the states

Table 6: Multiple Regression Analysis Using Socioeconomic Development Variables To Explain Infant Mortality in India

Socioeconomic Development Variables	Infant Mortality Rate		
	Beta	t	Sig.
1. Percent Underweight Children Under 3	0.294	2.079	0.051
2. Percent Females Literate	-0.281	-1.650	0.115
3. Median School Year Attained	-0.329	-2.071	0.052
4. Percent Using Contraceptives	-0.233	-1.700	0.105

Constant = 92.564; R Square = 0.751; F Ratio = 15.059***; N = 25

***Significance < .001

of India are ranked according to their respective infant mortality rate, that is, the lowest infant mortality rate receiving a rank of 1 and the highest rate receiving a rank of 25, as shown in Table 2.

Table 5 presents Spearman's correlation coefficients for the composite measures of socioeconomic development and infant mortality rate. An examination of the data shows that all four major categories of socioeconomic development have negative association with infant mortality rate as predicted by the demographic transition theory. All composite measures are statistically significant at the 0.01 alpha level, including modernization (-0.686), health (-0.802), education (-0.848), and family planning (-0.599).

Multiple Regression Analysis

Finally, in an effort to model infant mortality rate using the variables of socioeconomic development, an OLS (ordinary least squares) multiple regression analysis is carried out. The model was developed by screening the correlation matrix of independent variables to exclude those with high covariance. Low Beta coefficients were systematically eliminated, resulting in the final model presented in Table 6. The table includes: a) standardized regression coefficients (Beta); b) the values of t statistics corresponding to each coefficient estimate; c) the value of t significance; d) the value of the R square, the overall fitness of the model, and e) the value of F statistics.

The model uses four measures of socioeconomic development: 1) percent underweight children under 3 years; 2) percent of females literate; 3) median school year attained; and 4) percent using contraceptives, to explain 75.1 percent of the variance in infant mortality rate. This model exhibits a high F ratio statistic (15.059) that is significant at the 0.001 alpha level. The highest Beta values and t significances are for percent underweight children under 3 years (sig.= 0.051) and median school years attained (sig. = 0.052), indicating that these variables explain most of the variance in infant mortality rate. These data suggest that malnutrition among babies under 1 year and lack of basic education among parents are the major causes of the high infant mortality rate in India. Although percent of females literate (sig. = 0.115) and percent using contraceptives (sig.= 0.105) are not significant at the 0.05 alpha level, the relatively high Beta values suggest that high levels of literacy among females and widespread use of contraceptives have a substantial inverse impact on infant mortality and explain much of its variation among the states of India. Although the lack of statistical significance among the independent variables can be largely explained by the small sample size (n=25), statistical significance is not a crucial methodological concern, since the 25 cases comprise the entire population under study.

CONCLUSION

Although the states of India differ widely in socioeconomic characteristics and infant mortality rates, the findings of this study support the demographic transition theory in large measure, revealing that 27 of the 28 socioeconomic development variables are correlated in the expected direction with infant mortality rate, of which 2 are statistically significant at the 0.05 alpha level and 20 significant at the 0.01 alpha level. The study concludes that the overall level of modernization, health care, and education, accompanied by effective access to family planning information and services, play a significant role in lowering infant mortality. Finally, the study suggests that higher levels of education among parents, together with proper nutrition for infants, will lead to a decline in

infant mortality.

The theme "Population and Development," adopted by the third once-in-a-decade International World Population Conference held in Cairo, Egypt in 1994 (United Nations 1995) represents a significant change in thinking about population, shifting in emphasis from family planning to economic development. The results of this study suggest that this shift in emphasis has had a positive effect on infant mortality.

The results presented here have several important policy implications for reducing infant mortality. Governmental policies aimed at intensifying child immunization programs, improving educational levels, especially of women, creating basic awareness about health problems through mass media, providing effective child health care services, promoting sanitary reforms and access to clean water, especially in urban areas, introducing nutritional programs for children, developing prenatal care and obstetric programs, increasing hospitalization for deliveries, and providing effective family planning services should have a significant impact on infant mortality.

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