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AUTHOR	TABLE OF CONTENTS	PAGE

POSITIVE DEVIANCE AND SOCIAL BOND THEORY

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Unlike negative deviants, positive deviants have been infrequently examined empirically. Further, traditional deviance/criminology theory – developed with negative deviants/criminals as the model – has not been utilized to assess whether it is salient in explaining positive deviants. Thus, this study focuses on a group of positive deviants, abstainers or near-abstainers, from criminal activity. Utilizing mixed methodology, this group was studied empirically in relation to social bond theory. Additionally, based on the qualitative interviews, three other factors emerged as salient in promoting positive deviance: guilt, self-assurance in self-identity, and lack of motivation.

Positive deviance is a relatively new concept that is generating increasing attention across disciplines. For example, research in the area of nutritional studies is empirically examining what factors are associated with positive deviance, defined as children who thrive under the worst nutritional conditions (Zeitlin 1991; Zeitlin, Ghassemi, & Mansour 1990). Importantly, nutritional interventions based on positive deviance research have been found to be more successful than interventions based on traditional research (Dorsey 2000; Kumar Range, Naved, & Bhattarai 1997). Other disciplines, including public health (Babalola, Awasum, and Quenum-Renaud 2002), organizational research (Cameron, Dutton, & Quinn 2003; Wright 2003), criminology (Piquero, Brezina, & Turner 2005; Brezina & Piquero 2004), psychology, and educational research (Robinson & Fields 1983; Werner & Smith 1989; Garmezy 1991; Howard & Dryden 1999) have also empirically studied positive deviance or related concepts (e.g., delinquency abstainers, resiliency, invulnerable children, positive cases, and the like).

Within sociology, while work on positive deviance has been primarily conceptual and theoretical, there have been a few empirical studies of positive cases, such as gifted children (Huryn 1986), artists (Heckert 1989), athletes (Ewald 1981; Ewald & Jiobu 1985),

and ex-deviants (Brown 1991). Nonetheless, some of this research has not been conceptualized with a positive deviance framing. In a recent example, Irwin (2003) described elite tattoo collectors as both positive and negative deviants depending upon the social context.

In criminology, theoretical discussion and limited empirical research (Piquero et al 2005; and Brezina & Piquero 2004) have been focused on delinquency abstainers. Typically constituting about six to twelve percent of the respondents in general national surveys of juveniles, abstainers are those individuals who self-report no delinquency involvement. Some scholars have assumed that a certain level of deviance is normal and thus have "pathologized" abstainers as suffering from character flaws – neurosis, maladjustment, ineptness, moroseness and over-control – that make them unattractive to their peers (Moffitt, Caspi, Dickson, Silva, & Stanton 1996). Recent quantitative research challenges these negative assumptions of abstainers, or positive deviants. Piquero et al (2005) found that delinquency abstainers are not socially isolated or universally unhappy. Although abstainers are less likely to spend time with delinquent peers or to be involved in the typical teen social scene, Piquero et al (2005) found that abstainers were not socially isolated and instead were involved with peer groups, albeit peer groups comprised of other abstainers. Abstainers are also less likely to be sad or depressed than other juveniles. Brezina and Piquero (2004), moreover, found that having strong moral beliefs opposing delinquent behavior was strongly associated with abstention.

We contend that the field of deviance is ripe for studies that explore the concept of positive deviance in relation to traditional theories of negative deviance. Such research could potentially accomplish a number of objectives: suggest potential gaps and revisions to prevailing theories, complement the emerging criminology literature pertaining to delinquency abstainers, and as Ben-Yehuda (1990) has suggested, open up entirely new thinking and theorizing within the sociology

of deviance.

Social bond theory is one of the dominant theories of deviance and crime and emphasizes the importance of attachments to conventional society (Hirschi 1969). The role of attachments or lack of attachments in producing underconformity (delinquency and crime) and overconformity (abstention) is a potentially fruitful area of inquiry. Accordingly, in this study, we conduct qualitative interviews to explore the nature of social bonds as experienced by positive deviants or abstainers and "near abstainers."

LITERATURE REVIEW
Social Bond Theory

Bond theory – as a social control theory – maintains that all individuals have the same impulses to deviate (cf., Reiss 1951; Nye 1958; Reckless 1967). Most people, however, resist this inclination due to the fear of being rejected by society (Agnew 1993). When the social aspect of self is not well developed, deviance will occur (Ashley & Orenstein 1998) as a person detached from society is more prone to deviate. Durkheim (1963) argued that society and the morals and beliefs of society must have the authority to limit the wants of individuals. Durkheim (1972) noted that if society does not succeed in gaining the respect of an individual, then he or she will be unable to limit his or her own desires. A socially unattached person is more vulnerable to non-conformity.

In social bond theory, the most influential of control theories, Hirschi (1969) maintained that individuals have desires to deviate and that delinquency occurs in the context of an individual tenuously bonded to society. He outlined four constructs that constitute the social bonding: attachment to significant others, commitment to conventionality, involvement in conforming activities, and belief in conventional values. Empirical support for social bond theory has generally been supportive, although the correlations have generally been modest or low (Akers & Sellers 2004) and some research contradicts the theory. For example, individuals who are strongly attached to deviant friends or parents are more likely to be deviant (Conger 1976; Jensen & Brownfield 1983; Kandel & Davies 1991; Sampson & Laub 1993; Warr 2002), and elements of the social bond may be more predictive of minor delinquency than serious delinquency (Krohn & Massey 1980).

Social bond theory has focused on explaining negative actors (Hirschi 1969). Examining positive deviants would provide a striking and interesting contrast by which to illuminate social bond theory.

Positive Deviance

An intriguing concept, positive deviance occupies contested terrain (cf., Best & Luckenbill 1982; McCaghy 1985; Sagarin 1985; Clinard & Meier 1989; Goode 1991; Best 2004). The concept of positive deviance, similar to the conception of deviance itself, has not been singularly constructed. A few idiosyncratic definitions exist (c.f., Buffalo & Rodgers 1971; Ewald 1981; Ewald & Jiobu 1985; Palmer & Humphrey 1990). Still, akin to the substantive field of deviance, two major perspectives have emerged: normative (or objectivist) and reactivist (or subjectivist). From a normative perspective, positive deviance refers to behaviors or attributes that overconform, or reach the idealized level of the norm (Sorokin 1950; Wilkins 1965; Winslow 1970). For example, Sorokin (1950) distinguished two types of deviance: the subnormal and the "supranormal." Positive deviance has also been advanced from a reactivist approach (Freedman & Doob 1968; Hawkins & Tiedeman 1975; Scarpitti & McFarlane 1975; Steffensmeier & Terry 1975; Norland, Hepburn, & Monette 1976). From this perspective, positive deviance refers to that which has been positively evaluated and labeled. Dodge (1985) synthesized these two definitions in positing that positive deviance refers to that which overconforms and is positively evaluated.

More recently, normative and reactivist definitions of deviance have been integrated as follows: negative deviance describes underconformity (or non-conformity) that is negatively evaluated; deviance admiration denotes underconformity (or non-conformity) that is positively labeled; rate-busting suggests overconformity that produces negative reactions; and positive deviance depicts overconformity that is positively evaluated (Heckert & Heckert 2002, 2004a, 2004b).

Positive deviants have been examined from the lens of sociology. For example, Heckert (1989) examined the initial stigmatization of the French Impressionists, Huryn (1986) interviewed gifted students to identify the coping mechanisms they construct to contend with labeling, and Irwin (2003) has

examined the world of elite tattoo collectors and the differential reactions they experience. Still, empirical examination of positive deviance has been scant. Other academic disciplines are perhaps issuing a clarion call that there is much to be learned from empirically focusing on positive deviants as well as negative deviants. Clearly, more sociological study is warranted to keep abreast with trends in other disciplines.

Objectives

This study will identify positive deviants and compare their social bonds, or levels of attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief to individuals identified as negative deviants. It will explore positive deviants' perceptions regarding what constrains them from deviance and the effect of social bond variables on their behavior. In addition, other salient themes that emerged during qualitative interviews will be discussed.

METHODS

This study utilized a mixed methods research design using mixed models. Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003) define mixed methods research as research that incorporates both qualitative and quantitative methods to answer the same research questions. A mixed models design, however, incorporates qualitative and qualitative methods to answer different research questions and to make different conclusions and inferences (Tashakkori & Teddlie 2003). We used a quantitative survey to ascertain whether there were positive deviants who self-reported that they abstained (or nearly abstained) from delinquent and deviant activities. We also used the quantitative survey to assess whether there was a statistical relationship between a social bond scale (and its subscales) and positive deviance. Through the quantitative survey, positive deviants (abstainers or near abstainers) were identified. The positive deviants were then contacted and asked to participate in a qualitative interview, which was designed to explore on a deeper level their understanding of how they felt that social bonds impact their lives and their understanding of why they faithfully abided by the law. The quantitative and qualitative sections, while complementary, were not intended to address the same questions nor to support or refute one another.

Quantitative Sample Selection

Students in freshman level classes at a medium size state university in the northeast constituted the population of this study. In the spring, 2004 semester, a cluster sample was drawn from all students attending class in courses chosen. A random sample of fifteen introductory classes was drawn and only three professors declined to participate, leaving twelve classes that were surveyed. Questionnaires were distributed to all students present in the classroom on the day selected for surveying and students enrolled in more than one participating class were instructed to complete only one survey. Students were asked to place their completed surveys in a box. A total of 375 students chose to participate.

The questionnaire included a twelve item measure of social bonds and an eleven item serious delinquency scale. To allow for follow-up interviews with positive deviants, students were requested to fill out a form with their names and contact information at the top of each survey. This form had an identifying number matched to the corresponding surveys. Upon completion of the surveys, the students were instructed to place the contact information form and completed surveys in separate boxes. They were informed that their names would only be matched to their survey if they met the qualifications for the follow-up interviews needed in the qualitative phase of the project. Students who agreed to give their names and contact information were told they would be entered into a random drawing of all participants who supplied contact information to win one of three $15 gift certificates to a local grocery store. Students were told that if they provided contact information they might be asked to agree to an interview, but that they were not obligated to participate in an interview and participation would not affect their chances of winning the gift certificates.

The self report survey is heavily dependent on the cooperation and honesty of participants. If the respondents did not answer truthfully the results will not be accurate. Because the survey deals with information and behavior that is personal and potentially sensitive, respondents may have tried to respond in ways that make them appear more or less favorable. Studies of self report delinquency surveys as a whole, however, have found that they are surprisingly reliable and tend to have

"moderate to strong" validity coefficients (Hindelang, Hirschi, & Weis 1981, as cited in Empey, Stafford, & Hay 1999). The potential for interview participants to lie on the surveys was not deemed to be a serious concern for the qualitative data because, by definition, the positive deviants we were hoping to identify would answer questions honestly, provide their contact information, and should be willing to participate in interviews. During the interviews, participants who may have been misclassified as positive deviants would be able to be identified and excluded from the category of a positive deviant.

Quantitative Measurement

The two variables measured in the quantitative phase of this study were the strength of the social bond as defined by Hirschi (1969) and a serious delinquency scale modified to be appropriate for college students. The social bond index consisted of responses (strongly agree, agree, disagree, and strongly disagree) to twelve items that represented the four components theorized by Hirschi to be important in influencing delinquency: attachment to significant others, commitment to obtaining goals through conventional methods, involvement in conventional activities, and belief in conventional values. Attachment was operationalized by responses to three questions (currently involved in an important romantic relationship; if I knew something would disappoint my parents I would not do it; and my friends are a very important part of my life). The involvement element was operationalized with three questions pertaining to activities (between school, family, and social activities, I don't have a lot of free time; I spend a lot of time just hanging out with my friends; and I belong to a lot of social, community, or religious organizations). The commitment element was operationalized by questions pertaining to conventional goals (I would not have a lot to lose right now if I got into a lot of trouble; I feel like I have worked hard to get where I am now in life; and maintaining my reputation is very important to me). Finally, belief in conventional values was operationalized by three questions (I have a lot of respect for the police; it is all right to get around the law if you can get away with it; and it is important to me to earn the things I want in life). The bond index, an original scale for this research, was considered by a group of 4 indi-

viduals familiar with Hirschi's bond theory and it was agreed that it had face validity and that by providing 3 questions for each element, it was also agreed to have content validity (Babbie 1998). Cronbach's alpha for the overall bond scale was .6, which is on the low end of acceptability. The actual overall bond scores ranged from 21 to 46 (the theoretical range was 12 to 48), and the bond scores were normally distributed (skewness = -.06) with a mean of 36 and standard deviation of 4. Thus, on the whole, the participants were fairly well "bonded."

The serious delinquency index used to measure the level of deviance was adapted from Nye and Short's (1957) self-reported scale (Brodsky & Smitherman 1983). The questions were adapted to be more current and to be applicable to college students rather than juveniles. All of the items constitute criminal offenses. In addition, several questions measuring minor offenses were included to compensate for items that were omitted because they did not apply to young adults. The students were asked how often (none, one or two times, three or four times, five to ten times, or more than ten times) they participated in eleven criminal activities ranging from relatively minor to rather serious (driven a car without a driver's license or permit; taken little things, worth less than $2; bought or drank beer, wine, or liquor while under the legal drinking age; purposely damaged or destroyed public or private property; driven a vehicle faster than the speed limit; knowingly committed a traffic violation other than speeding; forged somebody else's signature; made anonymous phone calls just to annoy people; taken things of medium value, $2 to $50; taken things of large value, worth more than $50; and used or sold illegal drugs). Cronbach's alpha for the deviance index was .84 which indicates good internal consistency. The actual scores ranged from 11 to 55, which corresponds to the theoretical range as well. The scores were fairly normally distributed (skewness = .45) with a mean of 27.5 and standard deviation of 8.7.

Qualitative Sample Selection

For the qualitative component of the study, we employed a purposeful theory-based sample of students who responded to the quantitative survey. Once the surveys had been collected, scored, and entered into a

statistical data set, we identified positive deviants based on their scores on the delinquency checklist. Positive deviants were defined as individuals who scored between eleven and fourteen. A score of eleven meant they had not committed any of the criminal acts listed on the survey, and a score of fourteen could be obtained a number of ways (e.g., checking "one or two times" on three of the 11 items, or checking "5 to 10 times" on 1 item). Regardless, these positive deviants represented 5.3 percent of the participants and were clearly abstainers or near abstainers from crime. Our goal was to interview at least twenty positive deviants; however, only nineteen positive deviants were identified based on their criminality scores and only nine of them agreed to be interviewed. Three potential participants refused to participate and the remaining seven could not be contacted through the information provided. One of the positive deviants interviewed was dropped from the data analysis after it was determined she did not truly fit the profile of a positive deviant. An international student, it was concluded that she scored exceptionally low on her deviance survey because of cultural differences.

We also sought to interview "negative cases," (Patton 2002) defined as students who scored high on the social bond index and also scored high on the deviance index. Because Hirschi's (1969) theory would predict that participants who scored high on social bonds would have lower deviance scores, these negative cases were of particular interest. Of the four negative cases we identified, three agreed to be interviewed.

Qualitative Interviews

The components of social bond theory served as sensitizing concepts for our qualitative interviews. We conducted semi-structured interviews which focused on the participants' perceptions of how the social bond variables impact their behavior and not specifically on the actual deviant behaviors in which they may or may not have engaged. We employed a flexible emergent design that allowed the interview guide to be altered based on previous interviews and what emerged within each individual interview. Owing to the collaborative nature of the semi-structured interviews, each participant had some different specific questions, although all participants discussed common topics.

The topics explored in each interview included the following: what factors most influence their decisions when they have a chance to do something that would break the law; how those factors came to be important to them; how they would feel if they did break the law (for something little and something big); how someone close to them would feel if they broke the law (little and big violations); how they felt their family and friends affected their behavior (attachment element); how they spent a typical week (involvement element); how they felt their beliefs about what is right and wrong were similar and different to those of most other people (belief element); what they defined as a goal they have in life and how they felt they would risk it if they decided to pursue that goal through unethical or illegal means and what the impact would be on their life if they lost that goal (commitment element); what people think about them because they break the law less than most people (asked of positive deviants); what they think of people who never seem to break the law (asked of negative cases); how they felt they fit into American society and what else they thought was important for the interviewer to know. The interviews were all tape recorded with the permission of the participants and notes pertaining to each interview and participant were recorded after each interview.

Data Analysis

The quantitative data were analyzed by plotting and inspecting histograms and computing measures of central tendency, standard deviations, and skewness. Cronbach's alphas were computed for the bond and deviance scales. In addition, bivariate scatterplots, correlation coefficients, and regression coefficients were computed between the overall bond scores and the deviance scores, as well as between the bond subscale scores and the deviance scores.

The qualitative interviews were transcribed and each interview transcript was read several times to obtain a sense of emerging themes. In this inductive analysis phase (Patton 2002), we remained open to any important or repeating themes. After repeatedly reading through the transcripts, the first themes to emerge were the personalities of the participants, attachments to family, the beliefs of the participants, the tendency for participants to feel guilt, empathy, the pres-

Table 1: College Student Reports of Deviance and Levels of Social Bonds: Correlations and Descriptive Statistics (N=375)

Variables	Deviance score	Overall Bond Score	Attachment	Involvement	Commitment	Belief
1. Deviance score	-					
2. Overall bond score	-.47**	-				
3. Attachment	-.18**	.58**	-			
4. Involvement	-.28**	.62**	.10*	-		
5. Commitment	-.27**	.74**	.25**	.27**	-	
6. Belief	-.52**	.72**	.19**	.28**	.44**	-
Mean	27.5	36				
Standard Deviation	8.7	4				
Range	11-55	21-46				
Cronbach's Alpha	0.84	0.60				

*p<.05 (1-tailed)
**p<.01 (1-tailed)

sure or absence of pressure from peers for the participants to conform or not conform, and the fear the participants may or may not have had of consequences and getting caught. These themes were compiled from both the positive deviants' transcripts and that of the negative cases. To allow the first look at the data and the first thoughts regarding the themes within the data to be as neutral and open as possible, the sensitizing concepts of bond theory were not considered or actively pursued upon this first look at the data.

Following that, the data were re-examined using our sensitizing concepts, which were the elements of social bond theory (Hirschi 1969). Patton (2002) uses the term, analytic induction, to define this process of approaching qualitative data with predetermined hypotheses and assessing how the data relate to the hypotheses or specified theories. In this analytic induction phase, we looked for themes that appeared to support or refute Hirschi's (1969) bond theory. The emerging themes were then re-examined and narrowed down based on what appeared to be most relevant to the study and important to the participants themselves. The list of themes at this point became all the bond element themes (attachment, commitment, involvement and beliefs), guilt, personality, empathy, and consequences. The quotes within the transcripts were then color coded according to which salient theme, if any, they corresponded. The color coded transcripts and notes were repeatedly read again, and the final list of salient themes became those

related to the bond elements, guilt (which now included the empathy quotes and theme as they appeared related to one another in the context of the transcripts), self-identity, and lack of deviance motivation (both self-identity and lack of motivation were taken as separate themes from the original "personality" theme). The theme of consequences was dropped because although it was considered salient, it overlapped with the commitment theme and the other themes appeared to be more important and relevant to the purposes of this study.

Quality and Credibility

To enhance the credibility of this work, an audit trail was maintained that contains a record of field notes, biases, and analytic choices. This audit trail will allow others who may be interested to see themes not found important enough to include in the final analysis and to see biases that may have affected decisions that were made (Patton 2002). By also interviewing the negative cases, we hoped to find data or themes that may not have been considered when this research began.

Once the qualitative data analysis section was completed, the interview participants were contacted and the findings were shared with them. They were asked to provide their feedback and further insight. Specifically, they were asked if their experiences and the themes they feel are important were related accurately. Only six of the interview participants were able to be contacted for this member check. None of these participants re-

quested any changes to the parts concerning them or questioned any of the interpretations. The members who provided specific feedback stated that they appreciated the opportunity to review the analysis and found the interpretations interesting. These member checks increased our confidence in the results and analysis of the qualitative data (Patton 2002).

RESULTS
Quantitative Results

Table 1 reveals the bivariate correlations between the deviance scores, the overall social bond scores, and the separate components of the social bond. In general, the bivariate associations were weak to moderate, with beliefs having the strongest association with deviance (-.52), and the overall bond scores being moderately associated with deviance (-.47). Examination of the scatterplot (not shown) between the deviance and overall bond scores revealed a trend for the highest deviance scores to be associated with lower bond scores, but the relationship was not strong and consistent. There were definitely negative cases; there were individuals with low bond scores and low deviance scores, as well as individuals with relatively high bond scores and high deviance scores. All four specific components of the bond were highly correlated with the overall bond score, although the components were only weakly to moderately correlated with each other (from .10 to .44). Commitment and belief were moderately correlated (.44), whereas attachment was weakly correlated with involvement (.10) and belief (.19). The specific elements of the social bond appear to be somewhat independent of each other, helping to explain the relatively low alpha of .60 for the overall social bond scale.

Qualitative Results
Social Bond Elements
Attachment

Attachment is a key variable of social bond theory. To understand the importance of attachment in respondents' lives, questions were asked regarding how family and friends impacted their behavior, how a significant person in their life would feel if they broke the law, and how that would impact their choices. Primarily, respondents indicated that their behavior was affected, to some ex-

tent, by their attachment to others, but not controlled by those attachments. Generally, the positive deviants mentioned that they would not want to disappoint significant others and that their family was integral in molding them. As one participant explained:

> My family's approvals are important to me, especially my father's approval, and I know that if I were to do things that are against the law that would really make him think less of me which would really hurt me, and umm...seeing what comes from other people like, I always like people to see me as a good human being, as a right human being rather than you know someone who goes out and commits crimes...It's really important to me how other people think about me, that who are directly involved with me like family and like close friends.

As another respondent directly stated in relation to specific acts of illegal behavior:

> I always had a close relationship with my parents that I always told them what I was doing, they always asked those kind of questions....In a way, I wouldn't want to disappoint them, so I don't think I would try something like bad. Like going to parties or underage drinking, just I guess in a way that I just wouldn't want to disappoint them.

This familial influence can become internalized. According to one respondent,

> Everything that I do, I hear my mother in the back of my head that I should or shouldn't do it, even if it's something that she's never told me I shouldn't or should do. I can just imagine what she would say, so that has the biggest impact on me.

The family is clearly a potent social institution in her case and other participants reflected similar feelings.

Furthermore, respondents reported that they received support from their peers for their good behavior. As one participant related,

> I guess in high school, I remember a lot of the kids in the other cliques would always be partying and underage drinking...I mean my friends never did that, I think I was lucky to have friends that always found things to do.

Still, several reported that while this influence was important, the family was still the pivotal influence in their life. As one respondent explained:

> My family affects my behavior a lot more than my friends. I have one or two friends, if they said something to me I would really take it into consideration, but like my other friends I wouldn't care that much about what they said...My family is small, it's just me and my parents; I'm an only child. So, I really would like to make them proud. I don't make any bad decisions because I think my parents would be really disappointed in me.

Generally, the respondents felt that their families and friends supported their behavior. Still, some reported being willing to make decisions contrary to the wishes of their significant others. One participant acknowledged this situation,

> Because they are the people I care about they are the people I am around most of the time. So, naturally I would worry about what they thought of me or something I did. Up to a certain point...I was going to do what was the best thing for me regardless of what they felt.

Furthermore, and quite interestingly, various respondents reported that friends and family members were definitely not positive deviants and this scenario could also impact their choices. According to one respondent:

> Well, like my brother and sister have gotten in trouble and I saw the negative reaction that happens when you do things when you are bad and um, I just never got in trouble and I definitely saw when other people got in trouble what happens and I never had the urge to get in trouble...I don't really know, I don't know why I'm a good kid, I did not grow up in a perfect house, my parents and my sister and brother are trouble makers. I don't know.

Family and peers are influential factors. For the negative cases, attachment simply did not create rule conformity. Generally, they felt that family had been a positive impact – and felt their families would support them even in the context of negative behaviors – on their lives. Friends had been a negative impact

on their choices. In contrast, positive deviants confirmed that primarily friends had been a positive impact and that they enjoyed spending time with friends similar to them. In fact, Hirschi (1969) is not supported in that everyone that was interviewed, positive or negative, had strong relationships with others. Behavior differentiated these two groups. This qualitative finding resonates with the weak quantitative correlation (-.18) between attachment and deviance for the larger sample (n = 375).

Commitment

Commitment is the second of the bonds. To ascertain the orientation of respondents to commitments, they were asked to ponder a goal in their life and the associated risk of pursuing that goal by unethical or illegal means; furthermore, they were asked to reflect on the impact that not achieving that goal would have on their lives. While both negative cases and the positive deviants similarly expressed not feeling personally satisfied if they achieved their goal through non-legitimate means, the positive deviants were less likely to be able to imagine the scenario. For example, one respondent claimed he would be "devastated" and another said that it would "destroy" his life. As expressed by one respondent,

> I don't understand why people do stuff like that, like, I don't think I ever would, but I think if I ever did I would feel horrible about it, I would feel horrible about it if I didn't get caught, I have a very guilty conscience.

Another commented:

> It would probably change the whole course of my life and what I want to do with it. I would have to restart it or find a different future...Right there I would have to give up what I love to do and want to do for something else. It means going through getting into schools with the reason for getting kicked out of the last school. It would be a bunch of stress and havoc in your life.

Positive deviants had a difficult time imagining how they would recover from the loss of the goal. All felt it would disrupt their life. As one respondent commented:

> In the end, you are going to get caught.

That's going to be the main problem with committing something unethical. That's the main thing that could happen, you'll get caught and something bad will happen, I will never find a job, ever, ever, ever and they'll strip me of my diploma and the degree that I got. Or I'll just go to jail.

As another commented,

I'm an education major, so anything I do or any kind of criminal record, you can't get into any school districts. So, like, even if you get an underage drinking, if you get like any kind of drugs, you can't be a teacher, so that's part of my decision.

According to another respondent,

[It's] a big part of my life cause I mean my dad always teaches me that you need to get through school to get somewhere, I mean I haven't experienced it yet, but he's been to college so I'm guessing it would be a big impact on my life.

On the other hand, while the negative cases were in accord that losing the goal would have a significant negative impact on their lives, they were able to better imagine constructing their lives after the loss of the goal and to describe substitute goals.

Hirschi (1969) noted that those who had invested effort in college would be unlikely to risk their position as a student. Thus, commitment to pursuing education and career is one of the strongest predictors of who will or will not engage in deviant behavior (Empey et al 1999). The participants were all in college and all expressed the opinion that they would not want to be in a situation of not being able to graduate. Yet, the positive deviants had a difficult time picturing a life if they did not achieve their goal.

Involvement

Involvement is another key component of social bond theory. During the interviews, students were asked to describe a typical week in their life and present information on their various activities, including work, academics, sports, religious activities, clubs, and free time. Both positive deviants and the negative cases were busily engaged in conventional activities and both had sufficient free time to engage in unconventional activities; positive

deviants just chose not to do so.

Depicting a typical week, positive deviants described themselves as attending class, working, doing homework, and spending time with friends. Various positive deviants described their life as "not very exciting" and typical leisure activities included watching television, surfing the internet, going shopping, eating out, or listening to music. One student succinctly stated,

I am pretty boring: this will be a quick discussion.

When asked about the imagined scenario of more free time, one respondent replied,

Probably go nuts, because I seem to have too much of it as it is...I'd rather like be doing something all the time than just having a lot of free time on my hands and sitting around doing nothing.

Another student indicated,

I would go insane I don't know what I would do. I would probably find something to do. Maybe work more.

Other respondents suggested a similar response indicating that they did spend time alone in their dorm, watching television, reading or listening to music.

The negative cases did not seem to have more free time. Rather, they opted for different activities, including illegal drugs and underage drinking. Still, they engaged in similar conventional activities to the positive deviants. Their illegal behavior was done in conjunction to their conventional activities.

The qualitative data did not support the notion that involvement in conventional activities helps to prevent deviance. Empey et al (1999) have concluded that there is little support for involvement as a barrier to delinquency; involvement in academic activities may reduce delinquency, but the link is not strong. All of the respondents were college students; thus, all spent time on academic activities.

Belief

Belief is the final variable of the social bond theory. To assess the belief of respondents, they were asked questions regarding how they understood their beliefs about right

and wrong to be similar or different from other people, specifically including friends and family. According to Hirschi,

> We assume, in contrast, that there is a variation in the extent to which people believe they should obey the rules of society, and, furthermore, that the less a person believes he should obey the rues, the more likely he is to violate them. (1969 26)

Positive deviants would be expected to believe very strongly that they should obey the rules.

All of the respondents indicated that they felt, in general, that most people had similar beliefs about what is right and wrong. Still, as one respondent noted, the key is simply that of "just doing it." The positive deviants interviewed were more committed to following what they believe. As one respondent asserted,

> I think that's the difference between me and other people. Not necessarily the morals, or the ideas of what's right and wrong, being able or just not being able to commit a crime due to the fact that you know it isn't right. Some people are just less inhibited that way.

Another participant, when asked to reflect on why she had followed the rules of her parents in contrast to her brother and her sister, commented

> I think that we got the same concepts of right and wrong, I just followed them.

Another reflected:

> In the western world, most people know what is right and what is wrong as in what is socially acceptable. It doesn't mean that they will abide by that, but they'll know it anyway. I think most people when they are doing something wrong, they know they are doing something wrong. Whether it's just wrong, or it's against the law. Like that's what I think, that's the case. But not everyone will feel bad about it...I think that's the difference between me and many other people who are committing crimes, that those people don't have like maybe the Freudian super ego to hold them back to say that's not right. You get the point.

On the other hand, the negative cases agreed that they had the same beliefs as other people, but that they did not always do what they think is right. Still, a question emerges. If the difference between the two groups' beliefs is primarily a difference in their ability to follow through on beliefs, why are the beliefs of the positive deviants more personally constraining?

Summary of Qualitative Results for the Social Bond Components

Overall, in support of bond theory, positive deviant students did reveal a high level of attachment to others. Additionally, the positive deviants generally displayed a high level of commitment to the conventional life. Further, the positive deviants also maintained a strong orientation to belief. Regarding involvement, support was not present. Positive deviants described themselves as having more free time and less involvement in activities than the negative cases. Still, the elements of bonds were not consistently any stronger in the positive deviants than they were for other students. The survey data also indicated a moderate relationship between bond scores and deviance scores, particularly for the belief dimension. Nevertheless, the negative case analysis demonstrated that people could be very bonded and still feel free to deviate and break the law. Other factors, however, did emerge in these interviews.

Other Factors

Consistently, respondents brought up factors other than those associated with bond theory. These variables included guilt, self-identity, and a lack of motivation to deviate.

Guilt

Participants repeatedly mentioned that violating the law was not an option based on feelings – such as letting themselves down or feeling bad – that would accompany that choice. In fact, the respondents related that guilt was more consequential in shaping their choices than any potential repercussions, including formal or informal sanctions. One participant, replying to a question about how illegal drug use would make her feel, stated that her reaction would be:

> Horrible, just horrible, I, um, I guess I'm a more emotional person, I'd probably cry about it. I would just hate to feel, to know

that I did something wrong, that I had something on my record that just shows that I'd done something wrong...Just knowing I'd done something wrong would be on my conscience and it would bother me that I'd know that I did something wrong.

Another respondent, addressing a question related to committing deviance, replied,

I would probably really [feel] ashamed. I feel bad just thinking about it, so I guess I'd feel, like, really horrible...It's deviant, it's going against society's norms and it's just not what you're supposed to do.

In fact, all of the respondents described feeling guilty as a consequence of a hypothetical situation of committing various crimes. Thus, guilt emerges as a major molder of this group of positive deviants. For example, one student simply asserted he didn't break the law as he didn't want to feel bad about himself. For the positive deviants, even the idea of breaking a minor law – a more normative approach to youthful life – sparked feelings of guilt. Thus, these participants utilized words such as terrible, horrible, or guilty to describe how they would feel if they were to run a stop sign.

This sense of guilt was internalized and deeply embedded. The participants conveyed that their feelings of guilt were not linked to whether others knew or cared about their actions. One participant plainly stated,

Getting caught does not matter to me. If I know I'm cheating or doing something wrong, I will feel bad about myself. Getting caught would not be a worry.

Pressed to clarify this sense of guilt, respondents delineated a combination of the following. Firstly, they worried how others might be negatively impacted by a deviant choice. For example, a respondent stated that even if nobody had been hurt, running a stop sign would make her feel really guilty, because she would imagine what could have happened if people had been hurt. Secondly, the participants, pondering on the potentiality of breaking the law, indicated that they would feel that they had been deceiving themselves and others about who they were as persons. As an example, one respondent replied,

So, I would feel like I was deceiving myself and people that taught me that it was wrong, but society as a whole.

In contrast, the negative cases did not mention guilt, feelings of deception, potential consequences to others, or any other related phenomenon. When asked how they would feel after breaking a minor law, the responses were "Nothing," or "No different." Thus, guilt constrains the behavior of this group of positive deviants in a way not experienced by the negative cases.

Self-Identity
These participants were overwhelmingly assured of their self-identity, an identity based on their own choice to follow a stricter path in life than others. As one respondent explained

My job on campus involves enforcing the rules. You get a lot of comments that I'm a narc, I'm a goodie two shoes. I dealt with that kind of stuff when I was younger. To me, they are just words...I'm not easily swayed, I'm not easily convinced, and I'm not easily dragged along...We were taught growing up, believe what you want but stand by it...I guess it's a little bit of determination to do what's best for me and a certain amount of stubbornness.

The respondents were so confident in their self-identity that they simply did not care if others agreed with their decisions; rather, they made their decisions to feel good within themselves. In response to a question delving into her thoughts when subjected to peer pressure, a participant stated,

Nothing really, I just say no. I just tell them no until they give up.

As another participant confirmed, he would never break the law – despite peer pressure – because:

I thought on occasion that that would make my life easier, but in the end it's about whether I like myself, not whether or not other people like me and there are a lot of people that don't like me. That's fine, because at least I can wake up in the morning and look in the mirror and say well, you know, I didn't do anything wrong and that's how like,

when people indicate they don't like me, and that's fine, at least I know that I didn't do anything wrong, and that's more important to me than whether or not your going to like me, because if you do like me, your gonna like me for who I am and this is exactly who I am and this is why a lot of people respect me. This is why a lot of people respect me, you might not, but a lot of people do.

Undoubtedly, the sense of self so permeated these respondents that neither peer pressure nor stigmatization impacted their life choices. In contrast, those respondents who were not positive deviants made no comparable statements. Clearly, these positive deviants generally possessed a sense that they were not law breakers and that perception constituted a core part of their self-identities.

Motivation

A final variable that emerged was that positive deviants simply had no desire or motivation to deviate or break the law. Participants repeatedly stated that they would not enjoy breaking the law, that they had no interest in deviant behaviors, or that they just found other activities to be more fun. One respondent indicated that she would rather go to the movies or go shopping than get drunk or party or engage in one night stands. Another participant – who personally thought that smoking was gross and did not like the way beer tasted – questioned,

Like, why would I drink if I didn't like it?

Another respondent asserted:

Yeah, people always try to get me to drink, they think I'm being boring, and I just don't consider that fun, I would rather play games or talk or watch TV. I would rather just do something else, I don't consider sitting in a bar smoking and drinking doing something fun. I don't really, I guess it hurts me that they say they think I'm boring, but I don't let it get to me...From what I've heard, I don't know if this is stereotyping or not, but it seems that most college kids go out and get drunk every weekend and I've never had an alcoholic beverage in my entire life, so I would think I'm kinda an odd ball, but I just find other odd balls and we get along.

One respondent dismissed the claims of people that getting drunk was fun by contending that she simply thought they looked stupid; thus, she could not imagine that drinking would be a fun activity for her.

Other respondents further explained that they just did not experience the urge to break the law. On the other hand, the negative cases tended to include minor illegal behavior, such as underage drinking, in their description of what activities they engaged in for fun. Both groups were social in that they enjoyed hanging out with friends; for the negative cases, the fun included minor law violation, while for the positive deviants, the fun did not hinge on minor law violation. Overall, one factor that emerges from the case of positive deviants is that motivation for deviant behavior was not very influential in their choices.

Essentially, guilt, confidence in self-identity, and lack of motivation were three factors that were raised by the respondents. They identified these variables as critical in their decisions to constrain their own behavior. The negative cases, in contrast, did not discuss any of these factors in their interviews.

DISCUSSION

The primary objective of this research was to explore the social bonds of positive deviants, who are abstainers or near-abstainers from deviance. In addition, we explored positive deviants' perceptions regarding what constrained them from the "normal" commission of deviant or criminal activities. Having strong social bonds was only a weak to moderate factor in producing abstention or near abstention from deviant activities. Nevertheless, this finding does not serve as a critique of social bond theory as it was a theory developed to explain negative deviance. Strong commitment to deviance abstention and belief in not doing deviance and crime were the most important elements in deterring crime, which concurs with previous research on bond theory and delinquency abstention (Empey et al 1999; Akers & Sellers 2004; Brezina & Piquero 2004). The qualitative interviews portray a more nuanced understanding of belief. Both positive deviants and negative deviants tend to share the same beliefs, but positive deviants just express a greater ability to follow their beliefs than negative deviants. This finding supports a social learning perspective that general beliefs are

not the key to deviance abstention and commission. Rather specific beliefs, neutralization strategies, or the rewards of deviant behavior likely prevail over general beliefs in producing deviance versus deviance abstention.

Three additional factors emerged as important in promoting positive deviance. They were guilt, self-identity, and motivation. Guilt and motivation can probably best correspond with a social learning or rational choice perspective, as opposed to other deviance theories. Guilt increases the costs of criminal behavior, and lack of motivation to commit crime implies the lack of rewards perceived by positive deviants in pursuing deviance activities. Self-identity as non-deviants was an important element discussed by positive deviants. With the exception of labeling theory, prevailing theories of deviance and criminality tend not to stress the importance of self-identity (or the empirical support for self-concept and similar concepts has been weak; cf., Akers & Sellers 2004). Our study supports theoretical exploration regarding the role of positive identities in promoting deviance abstention. Deviance theory in general would benefit from exploring the utility of identity theories in explaining both deviance and deviance abstention.

None of the prevailing theories of deviance and crime provide a completely satisfactory explanation for deviance abstention. As discussed, the importance of social bonds in promoting deviance abstention was weakly supported. Social learning theory has, perhaps, the most applicability because of its emphasis on rewards and costs associated with behavioral choices. The importance of self-identity, however, is not accommodated by current renditions of social learning theory (Akers 1998; Akers & Sellers 2004). Learning theory also fails to explain why some positive deviants persist in their overconformity despite repeated sanctions that the study participants admitted were sometimes hurtful. Also, many of the positive deviants could not identify positive role models and noted that life would be easier if they lowered their high standards of behavior. Nevertheless, the ability of social learning theory to explain both deviant and conforming behaviors suggests promise as a theory that would illuminate positive deviance, with modifications.

Low self-control theory holds some appeal in explaining deviance abstention (Gott-

fredson & Hirschi 1990). As expected according to the theory, the positive deviants revealed a high level of self-control. In addition, the positive deviants did appear to act based on long-term consequences, which is stressed by the theory. Low self-control theory, however, fails to account for the differing internal motivations of the positive deviants. As Peter, LaGrange, and Silverman (2003 437) point out, the general theory of crime describes differing motivations as "irrelevant," since the theory assumes that crime and deviance are attractive and natural, with potential benefits and pleasures for everyone. Yet, the positive deviants claimed little motivation to engage in criminal behavior. If there is little or no desire to deviate, then it does not require much self-control to abstain. The background of the positive and negative deviants, moreover, did not suggest that parenting and discipline styles experienced as children were very different or very relevant to the deviance abstention, yet Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) stressed that low self-control is primarily a product of child-rearing practices. Because our interview questions were not designed to directly explore low self-control theory, our findings are only suggestive and future research should be designed to explore the relevance of low self-control theory in explaining positive deviance and deviance abstention.

As suggested earlier, labeling theory holds promise in explaining positive deviance, although it requires revisions to accommodate positive identities as well as negative identities. The impact of social reactions and sanctions to choosing abstention from criminal behavior should be explored in future research. Do individuals get labeled for positive behavior and then does that in turn facilitate an enmeshment in the role, or a transition from primary to secondary deviance (Lemert 1951)? Can a positive behavior be considered a label and the societal reaction encourages the transition from primary deviation to secondary deviation? As Scarpitti and McFarlane noted,

> intellectuals and saints are generally evaluated positively and are rewarded for their activities, thus (hopefully again heightening the probability of future occurrence). (1975 6)

Labeling theory might illuminate positive de-

viance.

To reiterate, Ben-Yehuda (1990) has argued persuasively that studying positive deviance would benefit the field of deviance. Little sociological research, however, has focused on positive deviance or positive deviants. This study represents an initial attempt to rectify this lacuna in the sociological literature. From another discipline, as Robinson and Fields commented,

> because all the attention has been on pathology rather than resistance to pathology, invulnerable children have been overlooked. (1983 64)

An increased understanding of positive deviance would benefit the discipline. Furthermore, this research suggests that positive deviants do not need to be pathologized.

Positive deviance has begun to establish a niche in certain substantive disciplines with practical and policy implications. An example from the field of public health is to examine more efficacious ways to combat AIDS by focusing on the positive deviants (Babalola et al 2002). Perhaps, in the future, policy implications will be a potential outcome within the sociological realm. Our research identifies some ways that positive deviants define the factors that produced their outcome. Future research might further attempt to focus on this issue with the goal of establishing social policy and programs intending to help more young people avoid trouble.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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THE FUNERAL DIRECTOR:
MAINTAINING BUSINESS, REPUTATION AND PERFORMANCE

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ABSTRACT

This paper, based upon direct and participant observation, a review of literature, and personal interviews, explores the world of funerals, the occupation of funeral director, and the role of customer. The literature and the data are woven together. Described in this paper are the activities of a funeral director and what happens during the funeral process.

INTRODUCTION

The occupation of funeral directing has been the focus of many recent studies in sociology. It has been examined from many angles, such as the stigma surrounding the funeral director (Thompson 1991), the semiotics of the funeral home (Barley 1983), and the status strain of the funeral director (Abbott 1981). In this paper, the interaction between the funeral director and the client was chosen as the area of investigation, beginning from the funeral director taking the "first call" until the completion of the interment of the deceased.

The duties of funeral directors have been a gradual accumulation of those that were previously performed by barbers, embalmers, casket makers, midwives, and clergy. These roles have been combined creating the distinctive nature of the work of directing, conducting, arranging, and officiating at funerals and burials. According to Trice (1993 30), funeral directors have developed ways of lessening the emotional content of their work. For example, for a death occurring in a home, they may quickly rearrange the room where the body was found, in order to portray the image of a room where no death occurred. Posing the corpse so it resembles a sleeping person and arranging funeral home furniture to resemble that of a living room or parlor also allow funeral directors to decrease the high level of distress that can be found in this environment.

The likelihood of errors, mistakes, and conflict during periods of emotional distress and personal trauma illustrates the importance of studying the activities of the funeral director and what happens during the funereal process. The management of this process affects all areas of the funeral home system, including the establishment of certain codes of behavior. Therefore, this paper seeks to shed more light on certain aspects of this consultant/client relationship in order to better understand the normative behavior within this stigmatized occupation and the performance of social dramas connected to disposing of the dead.

METHODS

A variety of qualitative methods was used in this research. The content of this paper is based partially upon information, impressions, and experiences gained as participant observers at funerals, as a professor of classes dealing with death and dying, and interviews and conversations with funeral directors, the bereaved, funeral home staff and others in the industry or with knowledge of the industry.

The role of college professor in several death and dying classes allowed immersion into the business world and occupational culture of funeral directing. Four funeral directors were routinely asked to speak to students in these classes. There were also class tours of funeral homes, embalming and casket rooms, business offices, as well as the local coroner's office and autopsy room.

The information gleaned from the above contexts are supplemental, however, to the primary methodology of interviewing. Twenty-two funeral directors (21 males and 1 female) were interviewed by the authors using an interview guide that allowed the directors to speak freely about their business and the funereal process.

THE FUNERAL

Each funeral brings together those responsible for the burial of the deceased into the much avoided behavioral and emotional systems surrounding physical death and worldly departure. The funeral director is, as

the title implies, the master of this process. As routine, ordinary, and normalized as the ceremony is for the director, it is rather unique and extraordinary for the clients and those attending funeral services. The "routine" funeral for the director becomes an individually singular, or non-normalized, event for the bereaved. This creates an ongoing tension which has the potential to produce violations of standards, grave and burial decorum, normative expectations, even "funeral deviance" as the director manages private performances in contrasting ways. Mistakes can occur during each step of the funereal process as the funeral director maneuvers through each working stage of the performance.

The First Call

The job of the funeral director begins the moment that he/she receives what is termed the "first call." This is literally the first call notifying the funeral director that there has been a death. The call itself can come from family members or friends of the deceased, hospital personnel, or the coroner's office, depending on the circumstances surrounding the death. During this call, the funeral director gathers necessary information for his/her services, such as the name of the deceased and the cause of death, the name of the person calling (if it's a family member), and the name of the next of kin, who is legally in charge of handling the decisions. If pre-arrangements have been made, then from this point on those pre-arrangements take precedence over the requests made by the family. However some funeral homes allow decisions to be made by the family even if they conflict with pre-arrangements made by the deceased.

One interview during this study began when the male funeral director was terminating a phone conversation. He explained that a woman had died the previous day and she had preplans arranged for her own services and that they requested that these services be held locally. Her family wanted to overlook the preplans and have the services held in their hometown, so that it could be more convenient for the remaining family. When questioned about the matter, the funeral director answered,

Dead people don't sue. That's a joke we have in this business. Dead people don't

sue.

The above comment illustrates the belief by some funeral homes that family members, who are present, and in most cases are paying for the funeral services, are in charge; therefore, whatever services decided initially by the recently deceased are not "set in stone."

During the first call, the funeral director determines a "call time," in which the next of kin and their family will come in and make arrangements for the funeral services. The funeral director must also determine where the deceased is located and arrange to have the body picked up, either by the director or staff. Sometimes, however, special circumstances, such as someone dying in one state and wanting their funeral in another, prevent that funeral director from retrieving the body personally. In a case like this the funeral director has several options. The first is that the funeral director can contact a funeral home within the city and state in which the person died. He/She will make arrangements for this funeral home to pick up the body and then transport it to an airport where it will be flown into the state where the funeral will take place. Another option is for the funeral director, or someone on staff, to drive out-of-state to pick up the body. A third possibility is that an out-of-state funeral home is asked to drive the body to the chosen funeral home from their out-of-state location.

Process of Removal

Under typical circumstances, the process following that of the first call is the removal of the body by the funeral home. Some funeral directors consider the removal process another area of stress. Because of the emotional nature of the situation, funeral directors may not receive essential information, such as the name of next-of-kin, unless they ask directly. One funeral director explained that certain family members want to take control of the removal process because of the desire to protect their loved one when being handled by a third party. For example, this funeral director participated in one such removal where a married man, in his mid-twenties died and at his removal the mother attempted to take control of the situation. However, because he was married, the mother was not legally in charge; therefore, she had no legal say in those circumstances. Thus, if

possible, the next-of-kin is usually verified when the funeral director receives the "first call" of a death.

The funeral directors face various problems in order to complete necessary tasks, such as the physical removal of a body or bodies. One quandary they can be faced with is upsetting the family during the removal process. Many funeral directors interviewed implied that grieving families could be further distressed when they witness a removal team handling their loved one in an aggressive manner. The goal of the funeral director and those on the removal team is to remove the body from the home as quickly as possible.

> Home removals can be said to be more difficult than hospital removals, because in hospitals, the death is less disturbing to the family and the body is easier to remove. The perceived serenity of the family's home has been upset; therefore, they want to limit the amount of undue attention that their work may receive, so as to protect the family from further grief. (Barley 1983 407)

The removal team attempts to move as much furniture out of the way as will be allowed. They want to avoid making noise while handling the body.

> ...if any noises are heard from the room where the removal team is working, the family may interpret this as the body being bumped into furniture or being dropped on the floor. (Barley 1983 407)

However, in certain situations funeral directors must handle the body aggressively if the environment is not favorable for an easy removal. One funeral director told about one such removal that occurred at a local retirement home. When they began the removal process, the funeral director found that the retirement home had no elevators. The only way to the ground floor was to use an extremely narrow stairwell. The body had to be tilted vertically in order to fit. This mishandling of the body could have been offensive to the family members present, but the funeral director in charge felt that it was the only option available. Similar modifications occur when extremely obese individuals die at home, even necessitating tearing out a wall or enlarging doorways in order to re-

move the body. Unruh (1979 253) explains that there are rules and ideologies established in order to control the risks and unforeseen occurrences that can take place at any point of the funeral process. However, he points out that these control only "a small number of things that can go awry."

When the body has been removed from the premises it is then brought to the funeral home. Historically, funeral directors would have to embalm the body as soon as it was brought to the funeral home, but today that is no longer necessary (Unruh 1979). They are allowed to wait until the scheduled funeral director arrives at the funeral home the following morning. Because the timing of one's death is usually uncertain, some funeral directors feel that it is not only the act of the removal itself which can be stressful, but it is also the time of day at which the removal process actually occurs. One funeral director felt that the time spent "on call" was difficult, meaning he could be called to remove a body at any time, day or night. Another funeral director spoke of an instance where he was called for a removal very late at night. When he arrived at the home of the deceased, the family asked if he would wait until another relative had arrived to begin removing the body. The "courteous" funeral director and his colleagues had to wait four hours for that person's arrival. In these cases, many funeral directors will encourage the family members to go into another room for coffee, which allows the removal team to work without onlookers and lessens the chance of offending the family (Barley 1983 407).

Arrangement Process

During the determined "call time," the family comes to the funeral home and meets with the funeral director, where they complete any necessary paperwork, such as assisting in the preparation of the death certificate. They also determine the time and date of the funeral services and the type of burial, whether a cremation or regular embalming. Once most paperwork has been completed, they are brought into a "selection room" to choose a burial container (casket or urn). However, sometimes there is conflict between family members on what would be best for the deceased. One funeral director explained that there are occasional personality clashes between family members, such as when a prodigal biological child and a

loyal stepchild converge for the arrangement of a parent's funeral. Or when a "westernized" Muslim woman wants to go to the cemetery (traditionally only the men of the Muslim family go to the cemetery and the women are forced to stay away). Personal conflict will sometimes erupt during the arrangement stage. Each family member has ideas about how the loved one should be handled and this can lead to disagreements and even to attempted physical harm of the funeral director. Each funeral director develops their own style for dealing with these conflicts.

Basically it has to be brought out that decisions have to be made. I've had debates over what the name of the deceased is. Half of the family sat on one side the table and the other half sat on the opposite side. Every time I would ask a question they would break out into an argument. At that point in time I didn't feel like I was going to get anywhere with them. If one person can't speak for all I have to make a judgement call. I've even gone as far as to getting a phone book out and telling them to pick out another funeral home because apparently I will not be able to accommodate their needs. This usually works and they usually realize they have to work together in some way or they will not find anyone to handle their arrangements. Sometimes people just can't get over their differences and I politely tell them they will have to go somewhere else to make their funeral arrangements. Most of the time it's just a lot of stress. Death seems to bring out distrust in people. Most of the time it's just a matter of making them understand that they need to get through this and they can handle their differences later. That usually works pretty well.

The funeral industry supports the personalization of the funeral service. This personalization comes into play during the arrangement process. Many funeral homes allow and even encourage families to request whatever it is that they feel will honor the memory of their loved one. They now "pride themselves" on catering to the desires of the families. According to Unruh (1979 247), the funeral director is judged on the experiences they create, instead of a particular concrete product, increasing the importance of pleasing the family. They agree to many requests made by family members, even though they

may not fit within traditional bounds. The funeral director may find some funeral services to be more important than others (Unruh 1979 250). For example, one funeral home allowed the family's beloved Labrador retriever to "stand guard" next to his master's casket. Another funeral party requested that a Harley-Davidson motorcycle be placed next to the casket of the deceased. One family asked that the deceased be presented with a fishing pole placed in his hands. One biker's family wanted beer and drug paraphernalia in his casket. Another family asked that their father's mouth remain open because that is how they remembered him. Once at grave side a family smoked pot before putting the body into the ground.

However, even though this trend of "personalizing the funeral" is common in today's funeral homes, funeral directors can cause problems when they allow things that are outside of the "rules" of the funeral home. Many funeral homes, though they allow family requests, have put limits in order to keep some margin of control over their clients. However, as Unruh (1979 249) points out, a funeral home's "organizational ideology" may not be used consistently with all clients. If they do allow requests that fall outside of the designated "rules," then they are at risk of affecting the perception that others have of their reputation, their business, and their job performance.

Unlike the building construction worker who can cover up nearly all of his mistakes and repair his product before clients see it...much of what the funeral director does is open to public scrutiny, either on the spot or soon after preparation. (Unruh 1979 248)

At a funeral attended by one of the authors, the corpse, while lying at state in an open coffin, started to ooze a small amount of reddish fluid from the right side of the mouth. When notified of this, the funeral director quickly obtained cleaning supplies, wax, and suturing instruments and, while visitors stood by a few feet away, hovered over the corpse, positioning himself so as to block the view of visitors, and cleaned, tightened sutures, and reapplied makeup to the skin of the corpse. This illustrates the immediacy that exists in the funeral director's work (Unruh 1979 248).

The reactions to the funeral director's de-

cisions are immediate and can affect not only the family of the deceased, but also other families being served by that funeral home. For example, a female funeral director gave an explanation regarding the "most unusual funeral" that she had ever seen. A man died in California, and was sent to two other major cities for wakes, before arriving at a local funeral home for his final disposition. Aside from the multi-wake service he requested, his family also told that funeral director that the man had asked that he, and his casket, be presented vertically at each service. His reasoning, given before he died, was that "he did not want everyone staring down at him, he wanted to stare down at everyone himself." Someone at this funeral could have taken offense to the way he was presented and criticized this funeral home when speaking to others. This can affect future business. Other customers who are being served alongside the families with extraordinary requests, may begin to feel cheated, or that their particular situation is not "important" enough to require "specialized" services and attention. There also may be problems regarding accessibility, equipment, and a deterioration of the peaceful environment due to such unusual requests (Unruh 1979 250).

Every case that enters a funeral home will include some uniqueness, because the funeral director must handle each body according to the circumstances surrounding it (Unruh 1979). Decisions made by the funeral director may contradict the organizational ideology that is usually followed at a particular funeral home. These ideologies are set up specifically to minimize the risk of mistakes during this process.

> In short, a funeral home organization cannot appear to be concerned, efficient, thoughtful, and competent if the funeral director and employees do not seem to embody those traits. (Unruh 1979 248)

Those working in the medical industry similarly develop new guidelines for each patient who enters the hospital (Friedson 1970 315-325; Roth 1972). The funeral director may be pressured to manipulate the funeral home ideology into a new context depending on the situation surrounding each new case accepted (Unruh 1979 249). One "notorious" event reported by one of the funeral directors included in this study had to do with the re-

quest of a particular ethnic group known for its strong family ties and caste-like family structure. The funeral home usually closed "visiting hours" at 10:00 p.m. This group, however, wanted to have the funeral home left open around the clock to accommodate the arrival of over 100 relatives driving and flying from all over the country to pay respects to the departed patriarch. The funeral home reluctantly complied but it "turned into a three-day circus" before it was over. Therefore, it can be concluded that the idea of "bending the rules" is not only practiced, but to some extent supported. One funeral director interviewed stated that his funeral home was very open to considering the ideas that the families had for funeral services. It fact this funeral home was "all about service." It was something that the owner himself highly endorsed.

Payment of services, including expenses incurred for any necessary service from a third party, such as musical and flower arrangements, burial sites, and hospitality services for out-of-town visitors occurs during the arrangement process. Third party expenses are separate from that of the funeral homes; however, in order to make things simpler for the families those prices may be discussed during this stage. Even though this is a well-known aspect of the arrangement process, the discussion of finances has been said to cause stress among funeral directors. One funeral director attributed job stress to working with families during a very emotional time. This can be trying for both the director and the family. It is made even more difficult when the family he is waiting on has little money or if the insurance claims and expected benefits are not clearly understood and established. He is aware of how much families end up paying for his services and he realizes the consequences of financial stress and strain.

Most funeral directors will work with the families in order to give them the best deal they can, so that they can have a proper service for their deceased family member without spending all of their savings. One funeral home included in this study had special options for those families who could not afford an elaborate funeral, but wanted to give their loved one a decent ceremony. According to Kephart (1950), many neighborhood funeral directors are aware of the economic status of the families that visit; therefore, it can be

surmised that, while they are required by law to present all prices for the funeral service, the funeral director will use his abilities to give them a good deal.

In fact, many funeral homes now have incorporated affordable funeral merchandise into their selections. For example, some families may opt for a "welfare casket." These "caskets" are usually made of cardboard and fashioned like a casket or they are simply a wooden "tray" with a canvas cover. These caskets have been said to be presented in a manner that will detract the attention of the clients, by presenting one in a shade of green, to other "nicer" caskets during the selection process. However, families may not even be aware of these types of caskets, because they may not be explicitly shown in the selection room, even though they are considered to be valid containers for burial. The price for these caskets is under $500 dollars. On the opposite end of the scale, there are those who are willing to pay a lot of money for the merchandise for their loved one. At one funeral home, the most expensive casket on the price list was $26,000 dollars. These prices include the casket only. Many funeral homes also charge an overhead service fee, which does not include the actual services. Each element of the funeral service, such as use of the hearse, viewing rooms, and kitchen facilities, copies made on the copying machine, phone calls, etc. are all separate and distinct charges. According to Kephart (1950), proportionately, the lower and middle classes spend more of their income on funerals than do those in the upper class. He also found in his study that the more educated clients of funeral homes were more likely to come into the funeral home asking for the cheapest prices possible.

The funeral director also requests during this stage that the family, at their convenience, complete or assist in the completion of the obituary and in the selection of the newspapers designated to carry the obituary. Honorary and actual pall bearers are also to be named at this stage as are ministers and assistant ministers. Those who make pre-arrangements (if those arrangements are not contradicted by survivors) assist in removing the uncertainty surrounding these services. Some funeral homes offer detailed hard copy and online information about how to pre-arrange one's funeral.

Preparation Process

Once the family members have made their decisions, the funeral director, if he/she is licensed to embalm and/or cremate, is free to begin the preparation of the body. If he/she is not licensed to embalm then usually that funeral home will have a licensed embalmer on staff. The preparation process includes the embalming and also any restorative work that is necessary to make the body presentable. Before embalming, the body is cleaned and then the features of the face (particularly the lips and eyelids) and hands are fixed and set, mimicking the position of one who is sleeping. After embalming fluid replaces human blood, after internal organs are manipulated as needed, the body is dressed and the hair and make-up are done. Then the body is placed into the casket chosen by the family. The preparation and embalming process have been said to be a source of stress for funeral directors, because of the "perfection" required by their occupation. They want to make sure that the deceased looks as "normal" as possible, in order to present the deceased as being in a state of peaceful sleep. During one interview the funeral director was asked if he considered his job to be "stressful." He said, "I like my job [but] as far as job stress, this is the only job that requires perfection." Families want to make sure that the deceased "looks good." Making the deceased look as "normal" as possible is the goal of the funeral director. According to Barley, a "flawless" presentation of the deceased is to

> invoke an interpretation of familiarity or naturalness that is opposed to the foreignness of...death and the viewing of the corpse. (1983 24-25)

By putting the deceased into a position of restful sleep, and taking care to position the body not too high or too low in the casket, adjusting the indirect lighting in the viewing room to match the shade of make-up used on the corpse (and to camouflage any scarring left by trauma or autopsies), the funeral director hopes to put the family and funeral attendees at ease.

Sometimes, funeral directors are placed in a position where their emotional involvement can be tested. For example, one funeral director, who was also licensed to embalm, spoke about the difficulty of em-

balming his father. He had wanted to prepare his father's body. Because his father had been a funeral director himself, the son felt obligated to be the one in charge of embalming. He said that body was the hardest to complete, because he wanted to spend more time than was possible in order to make it "perfect." Another funeral director stated that the same emotional aspects that existed for physicians could also be found in mortuary work. There are difficulties encountered while working on infants when one has children or when working on someone who is the same age as the funeral director. According to Thompson (1991), many funeral directors practice "emotional detachment" in order to overcome the negative or uncomfortable feelings they have when they deal with death. Many funeral directors normalize or routinize the work in order to complete it without being emotionally affected (Charmaz 1980). They focus on the "mechanics" of each step and they consider each body as a special entity with individual circumstances. One funeral director interviewed specifically agreed with this strategy. She said that each funeral director has a unique but typical routine. As a whole it is the same for all funeral directors who are licensed to embalm. However, over time, funeral directors develop their own way of doing things, or their own work habits. She said that it is easier to focus on the circumstances surrounding the deceased than it is to think about the actual person being embalmed.

Public Viewing, Funeral, Burial

After the body has been prepared, it is brought into a viewing room where first the family is encouraged to come for a private viewing. There they can request any necessary changes if they are unhappy with their family member's appearance. This usually occurs about one to two hours before the scheduled public viewing. During the public viewing friends and relatives are invited to come to honor the loved one's memory and to offer their condolences to the family. Because of the emotional nature of the situation, some funeral participants may become upset; a distraction for those who are participating calmly.

People generally transfer their hostility and fears about death to the funeral director (Pine 1975; Thompson 1991). During an interview, one funeral director sarcastically explained that funerals "bring out the best in people," meaning that because of the emotional nature of the funeral or wake, participants may become unusually upset, angry, or belligerent. He has witnessed people kicking chairs when they became upset during a service. The funeral director, who would normally leave someone to work through his or her own grief, will then step in at a moment like this and address the participant. He expressed that he will not allow anyone to destroy funeral home property, suggesting that they go outside to collect themselves instead. Sometimes old unresolved family issues and relational "sore spots," or even immediate issues surrounding the nature of the death of the loved one, exacerbated by the emotional environment, may cause emotional or violent outbursts, arguments, and accusations. Unruh (1979 256) points out that the reaction expected from funeral participants should occur within "reasonable limits." Those who step outside of these boundaries may endanger the believability of the service, because they are upsetting those around them.

The funeral usually takes place the day after the wake and, in modern times, usually occurs at a funeral home (or "parlor"). As Pine (1975) describes it, the service of every funeral is "essentially the same." The funeral director and his/her staff are prepared and waiting for the family and their guests to arrive. Regardless of the funeral's location, the family is customarily directed to sit in the front row during the ceremony. Most families are encouraged to process through the congregation to their seats as the funeral begins. Pine explains that many funeral-goers expect the family members to grieve "appropriately." The funeral director, through his/her activities, encourages women and men alike to mourn openly. Thus, to some extent, it is because of the director's

> behavior that the bereaved come to have a
> definition of the funeral as a useful social
> process to attend death. (Pine 1975 99)

If the family of the deceased remains stoic, then this could cause the family to be labeled as "unemotional" and the funeral director to be seen as "inadequate" (Pine 1975 99). After the funeral service, the funeral procession continues to the burial site, where the services are concluded, the casket lowered

into the vault, the vault sealed, the grave filled, and flowers appropriately placed around the grave.

Apparently funeral directors engage in witticism thought to be offensive if revealed to the general public. Much of this humor might be thought of as macabre in that stories abound about what can and has happened to funeral directors. Bodies may be lost, may fall out of hearses onto the freeway, may be misidentified, may be mistakenly cremated, may be inappropriately stored for months awaiting cremation, or may make "funny" noises while being prepared for viewing. A recurring joke has to do with the exceptionally tall man whose body was to be buried in the only available, regular sized, coffin. "Yeah, we had to break his legs to make him fit. But you couldn't tell it when we got the bottom part of the coffin closed!" Hearses may run out of gas or break down while enroute to a burial. Burial sites may not be prepared (the ground not "opened" by a backhoe excavator or the marble slab not removed from the mausoleum chamber) when the body arrives at the grave site. Burial urns may be misplaced and expensive marble markers may be inappropriately stenciled, leaving family names misspelled or emblems of fraternal orders inappropriately applied. Funeral directors, some of whom offer grave side remarks, may forget their lines, or forget to conduct the pall bearers' march (where pall bearers go before family members seated at the grave and give them the boutonnières previously attached to their lapels). Military funerals may also go awry. In times of scarce personnel, the playing of "taps" at a grave site may be accomplished by playing a recording of "taps" on a battery powered cassette player. The resultant sound quality may not be the greatest; one funeral attended resulted in an embarrassing attempt to play taps and to synchronize the rifle retorts of a three gun salute. Also, the honor guard, apparently quickly pressed into service, failed to be able to ceremoniously fold and prepare the United States flag for presentation to the widow of the service man being buried. After having to repeatedly unfold the flag in attempts to fold the flag properly, the honor guard gave up trying for perfection and handed a misshapen folded flag to the widow ("on behalf of a grateful nation.")

The performance of a funeral or burial can go amiss for a variety of reasons. Equipment failure (e.g., air conditioning going out in the funeral home) may put a crimp in one's funereal style. Miscues (e.g., music starting too soon or too late) may destroy the smooth and solemn flow of a service. A poorly chosen minister (possibly an in-house minister unknown to the family) may speak ill of the dead, to the chagrin of the family. The same minister may mispronounce the name of the deceased or the names of significant family members in attendance. The casket may be dropped unceremoniously into the grave when being lowered by too few or inexperienced funeral workers. At one burial attended in a rural area, the casket of a rather large woman tilted sideways and jammed against the wall of the grave when the persons holding the casket straps failed to maintain control of the casket while lowering it into the grave. The workers had to then jump into the grave, on top of the casket, and manipulate the casket into an acceptable (though far from perfect) position.

During one disinterment participated in by one of the authors, a family wanted to move the remains of a long-dead relative to a new burial site. The funeral home workers "opened" the existing grave and, wearing gloves and work clothing, shoveled through the outer rim of a decayed coffin and handed out the bones of the deceased to another worker who placed the bones in a somewhat natural arrangement on a plastic tarpaulin beside the open grave. One of the elderly family members who accompanied the workers to the old family graveyard got out of his private vehicle, which was parked close to the disinterment site and, using a walking stick, ambled over to the bones for a closer look. He studied the remains and then, using his cane, started turning the bones over for a more comprehensive look. When he came to the skull he stuck his cane in the lower part of the skull, turned it right-side up, and declared,

> Yes, that's [name of relative]. You can tell from the shape of her teeth. Hell [he chuckled], her teeth are still better than mine are now!

Having satisfied himself that the remains were indeed those of the family member in question, he returned to his vehicle and sat down, awaiting the trip to the new burial site

"in town." It was apparent that the funeral workers thought his behavior was inappropriate but they did nothing to stop this old man from rummaging through the bones of his dead relative. In other contexts this may have constituted "desecration."

In essence, the funeral director attempts to manage events by a host of devices, for example, being able to assign events to particular places and times.

> The viewing of the deceased is to take place in the Rose Petal Room from 6:00 p.m. until 9:00 on Wednesday night. A rosary will be said in the chapel at 2:00 p.m. before the funeral takes place at 3:00 p.m. with burial scheduled at Green Lawn cemetery at 5:00 p.m.

Out of perceived necessity, clients are forced to turn to those with the experience, expertise, equipment (funeral homes, embalming rooms), unique supplies (caskets, memorial cards), skills (applying makeup to corpses) and trained personnel to properly dispose of loved ones. The trappings of this business are advanced by the external and internal architectural design of the funeral home itself, the stages, props, emblems, and décor of the parlors, chapels, visiting rooms, and funeral hearses, and by the general ambience ("subdued concern") of the places and personnel of the funeral home. Additional control of the definition of the funereal situation (as apparent in the terms director, conductor, arranger, officiator, etc.) occurs by scripting the words used, the music played, the sequencing of events and movements, the planning of the opening and closing of ceremonies (and several subcomponents of the ceremonies), the ushering of certain people to certain places at certain times to perform certain rituals, the establishment and maintenance of certain queues (e.g., lining people up for the "last look" or to show the "final respect" to the body lying in an open coffin), and the opening and closing of the casket, grave or tomb, and the maneuvering and positioning of the casketed body in the funeral home, at the chapel or church, into the hearse, and to the grave or tomb for burial or entombment.

Another element of the directing of the funeral performance lies in the fact that the funeral home has on call a host of specialists and subspecialists who play critical roles in the funeral: musicians, hair stylists, floral suppliers and arrangers, substitute hearse drivers, grave diggers, cemetery proprietors, bankers, and, if the need arises, attorneys. The fact that a funeral director is "licensed" assists in the playing of the role of funeral director as this person is perceived as the one who can legitimately and legally conduct funeral and burial services. (What one can actually do with the body or cremains of an individual varies by state and locality. Suffice it to say, however, the modern funeral is much more elaborate and ceremonial than is required by law.)

Problems associated with funeral activities are related to the violation of, or failure of, any of the management techniques and scripts governing the funeral performance. One funeral director described a burial, in which after the casket had been completely lowered into the grave site, the son leaped into the grave landing on top of the coffin. Several relatives and the funeral director had to climb into the grave and "pry" the son from his father's coffin as he clung to it with his arms and legs. During the entire incident he was screaming that his father not leave him. Unruly, uncooperative, inept, or traumatized individuals may make a mockery of the attempt to bring dignified closure to a person's life. (Certain outbursts serve to poke a hole in the dramaturgical curtain surrounding the funereal event and to exaggerate the fragile nature of the social construction of the attendant ceremonies.) Just as equipment failure can ruin the performance, so can failure of untrained clients to read and respond to cues, hints, body language, and verbal commands.

Fragile indeed is the modern funeral and the worth and success of the funeral director is directly related to the degree to which they can script, orchestrate, oversee, and finalize a successful performance. As the research presented here indicates, those who are hired to dispose of our dead will continue to offer a fertile ground for research.

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FICTIONAL REALITY AND THE PORTRAYAL OF JUSTICE IN MODERN SOCIOLOGY AND CONTEMPORARY NOVELS

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ABSTRACT

Social justice is a popular subject of discussion in sociology, politics, jurisprudence, as well as popular novels. The outcomes of its proceedings are equally curious because that which is "just" depends upon such variables as defining the direction that justice needs to take; allocating authority to enforce it; and public reaction to its consequences. This article represents a layered investigative journey into the portrayal of justice in nine popular series novels because its fictional enactment represents the way that the population would like to see it enforced, but does not. Since the body of the material reviewed here are works of fiction which incorporate known data a new expression is offered. *Fictional reality* refers to the ways in which novelists weave fair knowledge about modern justice into stories which please their audiences, and this article explores the means by which that melding occurs.

"You want justice done, you got to get it yourself."
(James Lee Burke, *In the Moon of Red Ponies*)

"That's what the notion of 'justice' was all about anyway: settling up."
(Sue Grafton, *A is for Alibi*)

"I don't think Barbara Daggett gave a damn about seeing justice done, whatever that consists of."
(Sue Grafton, *D is for Deadbeat*)

"First food, then justice. That's the proper ordering of world events."
(Sue Grafton, *J is for Judgment*)

"You can't leave justice to others."
(Nora Roberts, *Northern Lights*)

INTRODUCTION

If these statements by three popular novelists are correct then our system of justice is the subject of serious public despair and ridicule. A common understanding about social justice is that it exists when that which is morally "right" prevails over that which is morally "wrong" in a legally-contested process. While such proceedings are intended to be swift and sure, they are often slow with uncertain outcomes, leaving the population both unhappy with it, and scornful of it. Contemporary writers such as James Lee Burke, Sue Grafton, and Nora Roberts understand these mixed concerns and capitalize on them by writing books wherein justice is depicted in ways which they would like to see it fulfilled. A novel, then, becomes "an internal search for truth that the author shares" writes Jeff Rovin (2005 233), author of books in a Tom Clancy-created series.

James Lee Burke created the series of books featuring Deputy Sheriff Dave Robicheaux (1987-2003, 2005, 2006) and the shorter series about Billy Bob Holland from which the above statement was taken; Sue Grafton wrote the best-selling "Alphabet" crime books starring private detective Kinsey Milhone (1983-2005); and Nora Roberts created many stories whose genres are difficult to classify. One of the reasons that these authors, and others to be identified shortly, frequently top best-selling lists is that they integrate geo-politics, geography, sociology, abnormal psychology, forensic criminology, moral entrepreneurial roles, humor, and romance into their stories. A second reason for their popularity is that the books fulfill our thirst for an ideal system of justice as we are taken on journeys into the unreal-real world of literature – that of fictional reality.

This article represents an excursion into that world wherein celebrated heroes do not fit some stereotypical images. They no longer ride white horses, use silver bullets, follow the rules, and have the full authority of the law behind them. As this journey begins there are several destinations which await our arrival. First, there is need to discuss the logic behind the choice of series novels instead of stand-alone books; this trip requires the identification of the authors and series chosen for examination. The second stop on this trip identifies the several ideal types of justice which are portrayed in the books, and special emphasis is then placed on the moral entrepreneurial roles of the books'

characters. The third destination for this excursion is an analysis of the near-autobiographical method by which several of the writers have been able to create likable and believable fiction. Authors can accomplish this task by keeping our emotions peaked with aversion, sensuality, and tension carrying us to the last pages of their books.

When this article is completed we will be able to better understand how selected novelists enlist wide readership simply by providing surrogate images of a justice system which works. As this journey into the melding of fiction and fact begins there is need to identify the means by which series novels were chosen for use here, as well as listing the specific ones which were selected – a literature review.

NOVELS: TYPES AND CHOICES

Excluding genres, novels fall into one of two categories - series or stand-alone books. Each has particular appeals for the authors and their audiences. Each has designnated properties. Each has certain limitations. Each contains different types of storylines and characterizations. Each can be related to sociological methodologies, all of which need to be discussed before the chosen authors and their books are presented.

SERIES AND STAND-ALONE BOOKS

A series of novels is one in which there is a set of characters, locales, or events which have recurring presence from one book to the next. Characters change over time by growing older, suffering illnesses, having family members and friends emerge and die, and moving from one place to another as jobs require. Series fans read the latest installment as soon as it is available, then anguish for months or years until the next one is published. Fans may also mourn or feel betrayed when the series ends by design or by the death of the author. Friendships with the characters grow as does a like-mindedness with the author and fellow believers. Dave Robicheaux, for example, is discussed among readers as if he is a real person: Fans of his might purchase baseball caps and t-shirts emblazoned with the logo for the "Robicheaux Bait and Dock" shop from an internet source. Borrowing from sociology's methods, there is a longitudinal quality to series books because they portray their characters over an extended period of time even though each episode in the series is a story unto itself – as in static dynamics.

In comparison, stand-alone books have a kinship with cross-sectional studies in sociology. They represent a snapshot story taking place within limited boundaries rather than ones which are not so restricted, but which can often work to the advantage of a reader. Since there are no intended links to preceding or succeeding books the reader is free to explore other authors or genres without feelings of guilt or disloyalty, free to have alternative literary experiences without becoming bored by stylistic or thematic duplication.

While readers are free to choose their own forms of amusement, it should not be concluded that they are restricted to one type of book over another. I read series and stand-alone books, many of each, because they are both appealing even though they may contain similar thoughts, for which two illustrations are provided. The opinion about social justice provided by Nora Roberts at the beginning of this piece is virtually identical to those of James Lee Burke and Sue Grafton, but the book is not one of a set. Likewise, Sandra Brown's *Fat Tuesday* (1997), starring Burke Basile as a New Orleans' cop, contains probative methods similar to the ones contained in James Lee Burke's books, but her piece is not part of a set, either.

The stories chosen, and the people in them, are fictional. Yet, as we read we define subjects and their actions as having an existence beyond mere fantasy. We voluntarily suspend our intellectual understanding of fiction and treat it as being real – a luxury in which we engage for purposes of entertainment. We are just literary junkies and voyeurs as we delve repeatedly into the lives of imaginary people, illusory justice, and the lives of the books' creators. So, just why were the books chosen, and which ones were selected?

THE AUTHORS AND THEIR SERIES

The series books which were chosen for use here were originally read for recreational purposes. It was later determined that an organized investigation of them might be possible which promoted three dominant reasons for their selection.

The first and obvious one is that they represent a convenience sample from private

libraries or they were borrowed from public facilities. The second reason is that the books deal with different types of justices being accomplished and they contain different types of moral entrepreneurial roles to fulfill justices. Third, most of the authors who were selected have personal stories, or near-autobiographies, which are particularly suited for their creations. The series do not represent random sampling because they were not given numerical assignments from which they were chosen. The series do not represent an effort to exhaust all possible options because that would be an impossible task and it would negate any possibility for a relatively short undertaking. Given such reasonings, the authors and their creations are identified in alphabetical order.[1]

Nevada Barr's *Anna Pigeon*

Nevada Barr has written thirteen Anna Pigeon stories (1993-2005). Anna is a middle-aged widow who left New York City for a career in law enforcement with the National Park Service. Crime has left the cities, has transferred into our national parks, and has contaminated them. As with most crime-mystery novels the most significant crime which she investigates is murder; but who would want to read many books about a ranger who issues camping licenses to visitors and issues them citations for littering? In order to make good stories there are often raw greed factors which precipitate human harm or damage the ecologies of the parks which she has sworn to protect. Anna gets assigned to many parks across the country from the Natchez Trace, to the Dry Tortugas, to islands of Georgia and Minnesota, to caverns in the southwest, to mountain ranges in California. She battles an alligator, near drownings, the confines of a pitch-black cavern, the ravage of a forest firestorm, and her use of alcohol.

Alafair Burke's *Samantha Kincaid*

Alafair Burke, a newcomer to the trade and daughter of James Lee Burke, has penned three Samantha Kincaid books (2002-2005). Samantha is a Deputy District Attorney in Portland, Oregon who investigates the cases she is assigned. Burke's books have been tightly and precisely written but we are beginning to acquire insight into an uncomplicated ethical obligation of "Get bad guys, don't get good ones" (A Burke 2005 214). This suc-

cinct philosophy parrots the thinking of her successful dad when he describes a "bust'em or dust'em" ideology of police work (JL Burke 2005 213) for Robicheaux and his buddy when they were homicide detectives in New Orleans. Given the similarlity of lines and near-simultaneous publications of two of their books in 2005, it is not hard to imagine the influence that father and daughter have on each other. The confluence of their work is even more noticeable as we read of Robicheaux's book-daughter, Alafair, who has a prominent presence in his stories.

James Lee Burke's *Dave Robicheaux*

James Lee Burke's sabulous Dave Robicheaux stories are an all-time favorite among this bunch. Dave Robicheaux is now a more-than-middle-aged Deputy Sheriff in Iberia Parish, Louisiana. He and his sidekick Clete Purcel have come to roost in bayou country after controversial careers in the New Orleans Police Department. Resentful of outside assistance from such an agency as the Federal Bureau of Investigation, he and fellow cops jeer the Feds as "Fart, Barf, and Itch" (JL Burke 1995 315; 2006 66). Beyond the commonplace obligations of a policeman (JL Burke 2006 82-83), disputes surround him as he fights crime, authority, alcoholism, and the demon memory from a harsh combat tour of duty in Viet Nam. Like Anna Pigeon, most of the crimes he investigates are murders, but there are often deeper wrongs for which murder is only a symptom. Organized crime infiltrates his turf. Corporate greed sponsors environmental pollution. Vice trafficking targets unwary citizens. It is upon the already-poor that abusive elitists impose even more "hunger, fear, injustice, and oppression" (The Episcopal Church's *Book of Common Prayer* 1979 392). He fights all of these social ills with a moral certainty which contests his empowered duties. He, too, could be labeled as an advocate for localized liberation theology as he fends for people who cannot do so for themselves - a paladin. When manipulative, arrogant, and imperious power brokers feel that they are above the law and cross his path he makes them aware of the errors of their ways. He may not kill them, but does greater harm than that which mere death accords: He ruins them by provoking downward mobility. While all this is happening he receives public condemnations for his aggressive methods and simul-

taneous private approvals for their results.

Patricia Cornwell's *Dr. Kay Scarpetta*

Patricia Cornwell introduced us to Dr. Kay Scarpetta (1991a-2005) as the chief medical examiner for The Commonwealth of Virginia. Her duties at that time included overseeing the office, giving legal testimony as needed, conducting autopsies, and investigating possible homicides with her friend, Pete Marino, a Richmond police officer. Over the years she has developed political rivals, helped raise an adventurous niece, been stalked and intimidated by *le Loup-Garou*, retired, entered into a private business venture of security, and returned to her old haunts. Her life, like yours and mine, has changed and such ebbs and flows cannot really take place in stand-alone books, but are staples of series.

Janet Evanovich's *Stephanie Plum*

Janet Evanovich has now written twelve numbered books starring Stephanie Plum (1994-2006) as the bumbling bond enforcement agent, or bounty hunter, of Trenton, New Jersey. Plum's lack of job skills provides many laughs in her capers with a former hooker, a transvestite, her funeral-lovin' and gun-totin' grandmother, a cousin who is also her sleazy boss, two competing alpha males, and a vintage powder blue Buick. While her job is to capture bail jumpers we find that she is more likely to be stalked by them as they destroy her cars than she is to nab them. Evanovich encourages readership by inviting her fans to submit potential titles for her forthcoming books, and publicly thanking the submitter (2006).

Sue Grafton's *Kinsey Milhone*

Sue Grafton's Kinsey Milhone has been a private detective for twenty-two years. Kinsey was orphaned as a young girl, raised by an austere aunt, was a police officer, and is periodically contracted by a California insurance company to investigate possible fraudulent claims. As a side business she is also contracted to look for missing people, to tend a parolee, and is ultimately involved in murder investigations such as a true Jane Doe case upon which the book *Q is for Quarry* (2002) is loosely based. Grafton's prolific writings are matched only by reader curiosity about her next book "T" and how she will conclude the abecedarian series when she reaches

the letter Z.

Jack Higgins' *Sean Dillon*

Jack Higgins' Sean Dillon books (1992-2005) chronicle the life of a former assassin for the Irish Republican Army who had a paradigm shift, and is now working for a special intelligence agency within the British government. Having ranked high on an Interpol "most-wanted" list, Dillon was taken into custody by other British agents who recognized and needed his particular skills. Realizing that co-operation was a better option than incarceration or execution, Dillon neutralizes such threats to world order as neo-Nazism, oil cartels, and alliances between Irish nationalists and a Russian mafia. Higgins' continued popularity is measured by new book sales and library usage.

Oliver North's *Peter Newman*

Oliver North's military and governmental careers are matters of record, so it is no wonder that he could create, with some help, Peter Newman, U.S.M.C. (2002-2005). Newman is a career officer who is enlisted to interdict into international nuclear and electronics crises by recruiting military specialists and local partisans to combat militant terrorists and corrupt politicians who would harm him, his family, and his country. While the series currently contains three books they are, perhaps, the most serial of the ones used for this project because the stories are definitely linked to each other. However, the Epilogue to book three suggests that there may be no more because Newman has been assigned command of the training center at Quantico, removing him from harm's way.

Kathy Reichs' *Temperance Brennan, Ph.D.*

Finally, Kathy Reichs is a forensic anthropologist who is employed by a southern university and the Montreal police department just as her Dr. Temperance "Tempe" Brennan is (1997-2006). Brennan is an expert scientist who is called by public agencies to determine the classifications of recovered skeletal remains, to assist local police, and to bring closure to human death. Throughout the series Brennan has encounters with outlaw bikers, military misconduct in Guatemala, religious zealots, burking for illegal organ harvesting, and is the conflicted prize of competition between another dyad of al-

pha males. Reichs' popularity as an author is further reflected in the fact that a popular television series called *Bones* is based on the Tempe Brennan role.

There are many other thematically-similar series books which could have been used, and it is certain that readers are familiar with them, and are encouraged to conduct other investigations of them in order to extend the ideas presented here. It is now time, though, to move forward with, and offer, necessary information about social justice and its players as they are portrayed in more than one hundred popular series novels.

SOCIAL JUSTICE:
TYPES AND ENTREPRENEURIAL ROLES

Social justice is a complex matter with several tandem conflicts. It has an ideal and an actuality. It is a process and a product. It is something which is achieved and is missed. It is revered and is reviled. It is static and is dynamic. It has real-life drama and is portrayed in fictional form. Its co-existent divisions may work against each other.

Justice also has diverse shapes and goals in the same way it contains dualities. This section of the article presents those ideal forms and the roles of moral entrepreneurs within them. Such information is provided in order to show how each of the series' main characters fit into our justice system, even if such placements exists only in the combined imaginations of creative novelists and their eager audiences.

TYPES OF JUSTICE

Scholars have long been interested in the forms and functions of justice. Such writers as Cahn (1968), Montada (2001), O'Connor (2004), and Pollock (1994) have sifted through much literature and have categorized justice into its several ideal varieties to include *distributive* justice, *corrective/substantive* justice, *commutative* justice, *procedural* justice, and *vigilante* justice which receives special attention. These are presented in summary fashion, followed by their entrepreneurial roles, and are subsequently combined for application to this article.

Distributive Justice

Pollock defines distributive justice as being concerned with "allocation of the goods and burdens of society to its respective members" (1994 50). In other words, it rep-

resents an effort to "level the playing field" ensuring that all people have fair or equal opportunities to participate in a competitive society. A generous extension of the thought means that people, groups, or organizations which have unfair or unequal advantages, and abuse them, should be reduced in stature and power. Their protections and rewards need to be re-allocated or re-distributed to others in order to prevent feudal monopolies or controlling groups from hurting others who are not similarly favored.

Corrective/Substantive Justice

Corrective justice is concerned with the distribution of punishment or the principle of "just desserts" in the tradition of classical criminology (Pollock 1994 50). Its cousin substantive justice has the presumptive definition that procedural findings are based on such ideals as fairness, equality, and impartiality during investigative processes (Cahn 1968). Disciplinary and probative activities are to be conducted with the utmost discretion and made available for public scrutiny.

Commutative Justice

According to Pollock commutative justice is

> associated with transactions and interchanges in society when one person feels unfairly treated ... for example when one is cheated in a business deal or when a contract is not completed. (1994 50)

That is, a business arrangement has "gone south" or formal arrangements between parties are not fully completed, so arbitrated conclusions are reached.

Procedural Justice

Cahn and Montada each agree that procedural justice is a complex set of activities which are instituted to guarantee that justice is fulfilled within social and legal parameters of confidence. To be "legal" here means that discovery methods, testimony, and evidence are used in strict legislated manners in antagonistic settings. To be "antagonistic" here means that contending or competitive parties have the right to confront each other in open and public settings; they have equal access to all testimony and evidence; they are given fair opportunities to present their respective points of view; and binding deci-

sions will be made by impartial third-party observers.

Vigilante Justice

Vigilante justice has been romanticized throughout mass media history; has almost always been portrayed in a negative vein; and is apparently lacking a wide knowledge base. A commonly-held definition about vigilantism is that people take the law into their own hands (O'Connor 2004 1) as they skirt the law or try to accomplish for the law that which it has been unable to do on its own.

Case studies of public lynchings, for example, have often been used to create our images of its enactment. While case studies are always significant, they are limited in their abilities to explain wide-ranging causal variables, and a number of questions illustrate this concern: With what types of justice are vigilantes concerned? Have legislators made the wrong laws and punishments? Have police failed to protect society? Have judges and juries made the wrong decisions? Are certain groups of people criminal solely because of membership? Are vigilantes concerned with what might happen to them? What are the moral foundations for their actions? Each of these questions has unique answers but the ability to generalize beyond identified circumstances is specious. Besides, as is argued, a certain amount of self-appointed law enforcement is a necessary ingredient for fictional reality's enforcement of justice.

The types of justice presented here do not stand purely as abstractions. They have ingredients, and the most notable of them is that they are comprised of people whose responsibilities are to make sure that justice happens. Broadly defined, these actors are called *moral entrepreneurs.*

JUSTICE'S MORAL ENTREPRENEURS

Becker (1963) provided us with the term moral entrepreneur which represents a person who has an active and a devoted interest in the direction of moral stability within a population. He refined this classification to include several specific occupations which dutifully enact their *moral nets* (Davis & Stasz 1990) upon a community. *Rule creators*, or rule makers, are legislators who create laws for people, and these guidelines are intended to reflect the interests of the common good. *Rule enforcers* are the policing agents who oversee the actions of people to determine if their behaviors seem to be in accord with the rules which have been imposed upon them.

Without deconstructing the scholarship of Becker, O'Sullivan (1994) further enlarged moral entrepreneurialism by identifying the *rule interpreters.* These people sit in antagonistic settings listening to ideological and substantive debates, and then determine the course of justice's differential distribution. Occupations in this status may be of a full-time nature such as sitting judges, or part-time jurors, both of whom are empowered to make per-case decisions about the applicability of laws and challenges of wrong-doing.

Three more entrepreneurial statuses are offered – two of which were created for this use, and the third has an obvious presence. *Rule users* are exemplified by attorneys who represent both sides in a litigious setting, representing the accusers and someone who is being accused. They use the same laws, the same evidence, the same testimonies, and the same rubrics of presentation and decorum but for different purposes. They are commonly called prosecutors and defense attorneys. Another entrepreneurial category is the *rule abuser* as someone who is empowered to enforce the law but who does it with such zeal that social and legal tolerances are stretched to their fullest extent. The rule abuser becomes a *de facto* or a *de jure* vigilante, but with righteous intentions and some legal backing.

The third entrepreneurial role stands by itself: The *rule breaker* is someone who violates the standards of acceptable social behavior. This person has an alternative and personalized moral vision which is innovative in nature (Merton 1968), but is curtailed by rule creators, rule enforcers, rule interpreters, and some rule users. Those approved and licensed entrepreneurial statuses and roles are designed to prevent the deviant or criminal enactment of individualized ethics.

Now that the ideal forms of justice and their entrepreneurial occupations have been established it is time to continue discussions about the portrayal of justice in series novels by reprising the series' main characters occupational roles, identifying the types of justices with which they are concerned, and appraising their entrepreneurial roles. In most cases the illustrations will be combined due to similarities of occupational roles, but there

will be a singular analysis.

BOOKS' CHARACTERS, JUSTICES, AND ENTREPRENEURIAL ROLES

The numerous serial novels written by nine authors were read in preparation for this article. Time is now taken to share findings about how Anna Pigeon, Samantha Kincaid, Dave Robicheaux, Kay Scarpetta, Stephanie Plum, Kinsey Milhone, Sean Dillon, Peter Newman, and Tempe Brennan fit into the justice system based on their occupations and entrepreneurial obligations.

Anna Pigeon and Dave Robicheaux

Anna Pigeon and Dave Robicheaux are both cops, but with different jurisdictions. Anna Pigeon is a law enforcement ranger within the national park system and the tracts in which she serves. She is a federal officer, but does not have the wider scope of authority which other national, state, or county agencies have. With regard to her job description

her duty was to report her findings to local authority, turn over anything she had, be available for interviewing should they deem necessary, then butt out, be a private citizen. (Barr 1999 253)

But that would create boring books.

Dave Robicheaux's provincial responsibility is technically limited to Iberia Parish, Louisiana. Nevertherless, he boldly takes his criminal investigations into other parishes or into other cities like Baton Rouge and New Orleans, even without appropriate invitations or notifications.

Pigeon and Robicheaux are rule enforcers who fight rule breakers in their territories so they are both involved in *procedural justice*. They are legally entitled to investigate crimes, gather evidence and testimony, and make their allegations available to prosecutorial officials. While murder is usually the crime which prompts their involvement it is often just the crime *de jour*, prompting Pigeon and Robicheaux to delve more deeply for root causes in their pursuits for distributive justice.

The role of Anna Pigeon is exaggerated in order to make good stories, but she follows the rules. The duties of Dave Robicheaux are also magnified, but he has issues with authoritative guidelines. He was excused from duty in the New Orleans Police Depart-

ment because of his unorthodox methods. During his employment in Iberia Parish he is fired several times because those methods have stayed with him, and he is re-hired because those methods are effective, nonetheless. Even though Robicheaux is an entrepreneurial rule enforcer because of his vocation he can legitimately be called a rule abuser as well. He fights crime with equal force and tenacity, going so far beyond some moral inhibitions that he recognizes his own vigilantism.

...I couldn't be mad at Clete. He was the first person to whom I always took my problems, and in truth his violence, recklessness, and vigilantism were simply the other side of my own personality. (JL Burke 2005 45)

His unconventional-but-effective methods have resulted in a checkered career, but he has found the perfect and like-minded partner to assist him. Clete Purcel is now a licensed bail bond officer and private investigator so he can cross jurisdictional boundaries with impunity in the course of duty which Robicheaux cannot do, so they often work together to commit mayhem and wreak havoc on bad guys. Their commonality extends beyond the professional realm because they love each other, but not in an unhealthy way. Robicheaux and Purcell speak of their bond as: "The Bobbsey Twins from Homicide ride again" (JL Burke 2006 223); "The Bobbsey Twins from Homicide are forever" (JL Burke (2006 253); and "The Bobbsey Twins from Homicide stomp ass and take names and are here to stay, big mon" (JL Burke 2006 354).

It was stated earlier that Dave Robicheaux could be called a liberation theologist for reasons the readers of this article can discern for themselves. The same label could be attached to Anna Pigeon for the equal reason: They hate injustice and want to stop it.

Stephanie Plum and Kinsey Milhone

Stephanie Plum describes her job in simple terms:

I enforce bail bond requirements. That's the extent of my authority. (Evanovich 2004 62)

Kinsey Mihone makes similar statements:

Cops have some leverage. A P.I. has none. (Grafton 1987 113)

and

I may be a licensed PI, but that cuts no ice with local law enforcement. The quickest way to alienate the cops is to tramp on their turf. (Grafton 2005 272)

Bounty hunters and private investigators have limited enforcement duty, but Evanovich and Grafton have created fake police officers to attract attentive audiences.

Stephanie Plum's job is to track bail skippers, take them into custody, and remand them to the court so that dispositions of their cases can occur. Her job, then, is basically involved with corrective justice because her clients have broken some law and she ensures appearances in court. Her clients, however, feel as if they have been unjustly accused. They have gotten a "bum rap," so they are recipients of commutative justice.

Bounty hunting, or skip tracing, is actually the duty of police departments, but they eschew it, voluntarily licensing other people to do their work. While Plum is technically a rule enforcer under these circumstances, her work is really more of a vigilante nature, but with the consent of police officers.

Humor is added and she is woven into complex webs with clients. She tries to track them and apprehend them; but since they feel unjustly abused by the legal system they vent their frustrations on Plum by tracking her and specifically targeting her cars. Some people might call the frequent destruction of her cars as symbolic death or rape, but an average reader of this popular form of "beach reading" might not be so inclined. The police officers with whom she has frequent contact take unprecedented joy in her bad luck because it only strengthens their belief that law enforcement should be left to the professionals rather than with amateurs.

As a former police officer Milhone would have learned one immutable fact: The public is obliged to pay attention to the police and their questionings. The public is under no obligation, however, to pay any consideration to the work of private investigators who have no official rule-enforcement power. Such a detail neither disturbs Milhone's self-image nor does it interrupt her work which has a definite vigilante quality to it in that she does

for the police that which they have been unable to do for themselves.

The crusty police officers with whom she has contact view private detectives as intruders who would question their skills and interfere with their work. Milhone walks a tightrope in her dealings with them. The police can provide official information on an "off the record" basis; can provide her with certain legal protection and assistance; but they are not required to "serve and protect" her in any way which is different from other citizens.

If Milhone only investigated insurance claims and did not get involved in crime-fighting then Grafton's writing career would likely have been short-lived. The vigilante nature of Milhone's work has ensured that Grafton will continue her series, to such an extent that real-life police have enlisted Grafton to publicize information about a case which remains unsolved, thus affirming the belief in the viability of fictional reality.

Sean Dillon and Peter Newman

Dillon and Newman are the most notable vigilantes of the nine series' major characters. Neither of them carries a badge, and while Newman's career in the military does involve protecting national security his duties exceed normal responsibilities. Both men are employed by special agencies of their respective governments, but those agencies would disavow their actions if caught, leaving Dillon and Newman to fend for themselves – *Splinter Cell*-style (Michaels 2004) – if captured or identified as outlaws. Newman's tenuous legal status is particularly evident in the third book because there he operates under auspices of a Presidentially-appointed star chamber to mitigate certain nuclear and human high-value targets because the normal rules against assassination no longer apply; but, the cabal's constitutional authority is as suspect as his protected rights.

Although the operatives have different immediate imperatives, they are both working to preserve distributive justice by preventing abusive reigns of power. One of the several objectives in the Dillon stories is to deter the nastiness of Hitlerian Germany from renewing its place in history, and other recurring stories address his efforts to prevent a single family from gaining a stranglehold on worldwide petroleum distribution. Newman's goals are to prevent nuclear terrorism from

the use of so-called clean and dirty nuclear devices, to preserve secret communications systems from general use, and to extinguish political and military sources and abuses of power. The Dillon books are likely to continue with emergent characters, but the Newman story may have reached its inevitable conclusion.

Tempe Brennan and Kay Scarpetta

At this time the moral entrepreneurial positions of these investigators are inconclusive. Their jobs place them on the same side of the law. They are not policing rule enforcers even though both of them work with police departments. They are not rule interpreters who make critical decisions but offer professional expertise and opinions as needed. They are not rule abusers who manipulate laws for outcome advantage, but their testimonies and opinions are intended to affect rule interpreters. They are not rule creators who make laws, but their opinions may affect the laws which legislators enact. They are not vigilantes who work outside the law but passionately fulfill their public duty alongside the police. They are both guided by the rigors of forensic and anatomic sciences which their jobs require, just as they are led by human decency which their subjects deserve. They work within the combined realms of procedural justice and corrective/ substantive justice helping to solve crimes so that the dead can be treated honorably and the rule breakers can be punished, accordingly.

Eight of the nine series portrayals have been discussed in tandem due to the similarities of occupations and entrepreneurial roles. The last book character, Samantha Kincaid, needs to be discussed separately.

Samantha Kincaid

Kincaid's philosophy about apprehending and punishing the "bad guys" is no different from the moralities of her fellow series' stars, but her entrepreneurial status is beyond doubt. She is a rule user who is positioned on the prosecutorial sides of corrective/substantive justice and procedural justice whose litigious occupation places her in complex relationships with other moral entrepreneurs. Kincaid and rule enforcers work on the same side of the law for similar purposes, but there are times when the two occupations have ideological and pragmatic differences of opinion.

Prosecutors and police officers are supposed to work as a team to defend citizens from criminals. Sometimes police officers become corrupted, abuse the law and civic responsibility, *testi-lie* (A Burke 2005 138), or take others into custody in order to detract attention from themselves. They have become rule abusers and it is Kincaid's duty to investigate them and prosecute them just as she would any other rule breaker.

As a prosecuting attorney Kincaid's obligations stand in opposition to defense attorneys whose rule user job requires a moral vision which contradicts Kincaid's. Even so, the inimical jobs of prosecuting and defending attorneys require that they present their cases before sundry rule interpreters who make the ultimate decisions about the directions which justice takes. Kincaid directly addresses this entrepreneurial triad.

> Once a conviction is obtained either by verdict or plea – sentencing should be easy. Defense counsel says his thing, I say mine; judge does what he wants. (A Burke 2005 214)

Kincaid's occupation represents clear examples of entrepreneurial interaction and the mingling of justices which can be shown with Venn diagrams: They overlap, invading the boundaries of each other. Those amalgamations can also be exemplified through emergence of a new popular culture term – *co-opetition*. This word was first noticed during the broadcast of a NASCAR race and it refers to the friendly competition between racecar drivers. All of them want to win, but sometimes they will help team members or friends, all rivals, obtain an advantage on the track. Kincaid, and other moral entrepreneurs, want to win, but sometimes they must relinquish a particular advantage in order for justice to prevail.

Whether or not the nine authors are specifically familiar with the sociological and popular culture expressions used here is speculative. It is noted, though, that they are familiar with the concepts behind the terms, and such comprehension has made all of them commercially successful. Their achievements may also be founded upon an empathetic and experiential "been there, done that" empiricism which now deserves attention.

SOCIAL SCIENCES AND FICTIONAL REALITY

The ability to create compelling stories requires an active imagination, of course. Plots must be credible. Characters must seem like people whom the readers would know. Places and events may be easily identified. Many of the data contained in fictional reality can be acquired through traditional library research methods. Many feel, however, that a good story is ultimately dependent on the author's life. The writer is so intimately familiar with the storyline, the people who are portrayed, and the places that are visited, that the written word and the written world are merely an extension of the writer's self. This point is substantiated with discussions about research methods in cultural anthropolgy and sociology with their relevance to recreational literature.

ETHNOGRAPHY, AUTOETHNOGRAPHY, AND NEAR-AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Ethnography is the field methodology of cultural anthropology. Based on the work of embedded researchers it allows us to view the lifestyles of populations with which most of us would not be familiar were it not for the George and Louise Spindler *Case Studies in Cultural Anthropology* from Holt, Rinehart, and Winston. It is a qualitative and humanistic approach to social population research which allows us to envision the daily activities of subjects, described by them, and interpreted by specialists.

In pure ethnography the researcher uses the voices of insiders to tell the peoples' stories using the perspective of the third-person singular or plural as the Yanomamo..., the Danis..., or the Swazi..., for example. A variation of ethnography is autoethnography wherein the researcher describes life as seen by the combined points of view provided by the first-person and third-person singular as "I-the-hunter," "I-the-biker," or "I-the-stripper," for example. Because the researcher has unique experiences as everyone else does, the analyst becomes the object and the subject of investigation as O'Sullivan (2002) showed in his article about industrial labor-management conflict.

Autoethnography allows the writer to describe *and* interpret that which is seen personally. It is a *life-story* approach which is useful for some types of social research, but that term is too arcane for this project, so

that methodological term is replaced with *near-autobiography* for several reasons. None of the author's books are declarative accounts about their lives. Similarly, they do not combine the first- and third-person voices as in "I-the-lawyer," for example. Their stories are near-autobiographies written with prosaic and fact-based qualities which support this research, as is paraphrased from Roberts (2000 306).

The novelist eases into the story because it is a familiar one. The main person portrayed is someone whom the author knows, intimately, as are the secondary characters. The author's experiences, feelings, and beliefs are transferred to the readers via the storyline and the people in it.

People whom the novelists know are renamed or become combined portrayals. Community names or locale names may be changed, but they may retain their familiar identities. Local economies and political currents, as well as global economies and geopolitics, serve as infrastructures for the books. The author's hometown, favorite cuisine, sub-cultural lingo, community patois, and local atmosphere become those of the lead character whose sense of justice appears to reflect that of the author. The writer's lifestory becomes the biography of the protagonist. The novelist is embedded in a private domain and chooses to make it public province with fictional and not-so-fictional stories woven into the fabric of fictional reality.

WHO WAS WHERE, AND WHAT DID THEY DO?

Seven of the authors have personal stories which made them especially qualified to create their novels, their characters, and provide sufficient foundation material to make their yarns seem believable. Information about the writers was obtained from several sources which include dust-jacket *bio-blurbs*, the writers' internet home page sites, Wikipedia listings, as well as e-mail communications with two of the writers. These novelists are discussed in alphabetic order, concluding with Kathy Reichs who seems to have written four of her novels just for use here.

Nevada Barr

Anna Pigeon is a direct reflection of her creator.

Both are (or have been) law enforcement rangers in their forties. Both have a sister named Molly. Both fled the big city in favor of the National Park Service. (Davies 2004 3)

Barr has served as a ranger in at least two of our national parks: *Track of the Cat* (1993) takes place in the Guadalupe Mountains National Park in Texas; then *Deep South* (2000) and *Hunting Season* (2002) occur along the Natchez Trace in Southern Mississippi.

Barr was apparently introduced to the National Park Service as an occupation because her first husband was involved with the agency's responsibility, and that alignment "...raised Barr's interest in conservation and wildlife" (Davies 2004 1) which are endemic portions of her plots. If she has not served as a ranger in the other books it seems fairly obvious that she has visited them extensively; just as she has provided us with sufficient amounts of information in the ACKNOWLEDGMENTS sections to let us know that she has done her homework.

Alafair Burke

The real Alafair *Burke* was named after her great-grandmother; was raised in southern Louisiana; attended Reed College and law school at Stanford University; became a public prosecutor in Portland, Oregon; took a staff position teaching law at Hofstra University; and became a novelist like her dad. The fictional Alafair *Robicheaux* was saved from drowning in a plane crash; was adopted by Dave Robicheaux; attended Reed College and law school; then became a public prosecutor in Portland, Oregon (JL Burke 2005). The real Alafair's father writes about a sheriff's detective, and her fictional "daughter," Samantha Kincaid, has a dad who is a retired police officer. With such information it is easy to identify Samantha Kincaid's ancestry. She is a descendent of three Alafairs, as Alafair *Samantha* Burke has confirmed with me: Her dad's maternal grandmother Alafair Holland Benbow, Alafair Burke, and Alafair Robicheaux.

Burke's ability to write keenly and knowledgably is due to the fact that she can use the voice of an occupational insider. A prosecuting attorney who regularly interacts with other rule users, rule enforcers, rule interpreters, rule breakers, and rule abusers is in an ideal position to portray the backstage arena of negotiation in pursuit of justice. A prosecuting attorney has an alliance with the *local morality* of a community (O'Sullivan 1994) to pursue justice for the greater good of all – to nab criminals even if they are local officials, to debate with defense attorneys, and to sway the opinions of judges and juries. A prosecutor-turned-novelist can create vivid images of investigations, interrogations, and degradation ceremonies. A prosecutor-turned-novelist who is the daughter of an accomplished writer can learn much at home.

James Lee Burke

As the author of fifteen Dave Robicheaux books, a second but shorter series, and several stand-alone novels, Burke has received numerous literary awards. He was born in Houston, Texas and after having had many jobs settled into writing as a career. He is intimately familiar with the fragile and fruitful environment of coastal Louisiana and Texas; and Jim has told with me that both he and Robicheaux are well aware of the dangers of alcohol abuse, and they take appropriate steps to avoid them. Burke vows that Robicheaux is *not* his reincarnation, but reflects more of an experiential self who shares many of the same emotions and morals as he does.

Robicheaux's father was an alcoholic and Robicheaux is a recovering one. Robicheaux, like Burke, was raised in the deep south gulf coast region. Both men love bayou country and balk at people who would abuse it. Robicheaux has held many jobs like his creator, and one of those occupations was board-road construction, or oilfield "swamping," for heavy vehicles which I did once between semesters. It is hard, dirty, dangerous, and low-paying work. Burke and Robicheaux both live in Iberia Parish, have daughters named Alafair, and each ponder the strengths and frailties of human nature and our system of justice.

Throughout the series there are several themes which are intense issues for Burke and Robicheaux. They are environmentalists committed to protecting coastal wetlands. They both disdain the persistent ante-bellum two-caste system wherein the aristocracy, or aristocrat wannabes, abuse the masses at will, so the writer and his creation are both champions for the underdogs. Burke and

Robicheaux are also keenly aware of the effects of alcoholism and the nature of Louisiana politics.

Alcoholism and sobriety compete for one's self-esteem, self-image, and self-portrayal in opposing ways. Robicheaux admits that sobriety and stupors can be equally scary and tenuous places when he states that

> For the recovering alcoholic introspection and solitude are the perfect combination for a dry drunk. (JL Burke 2005 29)

Similalrly,

> there is no possession more valuable than a sober sunrise, and any drunk who demands more out of life than that will probably not have it. (JL Burke 2006 60)

Louisiana politics has had a notorious reputation from the days preceding Huey Long to the modern era. Political positioning is not so much of a job or a public service as it is an engrained lifestyle, especially when it takes place south of Baton Rouge and Interstate 10. It seems to be reserved for people who would sell their souls and morality, then skew justice and the state, for personal privileges and stations of power as Robicheaux muses on this condition.

> The person who believes he can rise to a position of wealth and power in the state of Louisiana and not do business with the devil probably knows nothing about the devil and even less about Louisiana. (JL Burke 2005 95)

Throughout the series, and especially in *Pegasus Descending* (JL Burke 2006 66-67), we read of the corruption existing between politics, crime, avarice, vice, and justice turned upside down which Robicheaux abhors and faces as a cop.

I do not know how much of James Lee Burke is actually reflected in Dave Robicheaux and his quests for justice. There are more than enough allusions and proverbs in the books, though, to suggest that the mirroring is substantial. Readers would like to learn more, but for now must wait until the next chapter in his life is published.

Patricia Cornwell

Patricia Cornwell has written several non-fiction books as well as two series of novels, from which the Kay Scarpetta stories were chosen for use here. To date, there are fourteen books about the life and work of the now-former Chief Medical Examiner for the Commonwealth of Virginia. Cornwell is a novelist, not a medical doctor, so Scarpetta is not the writer's reincarnation. The series is loaded with vivid descriptions of autopsies, forensic methods of investigation, and the *weltanschaung* of crusty and seasoned police officers, such as Scarpetta's dedicated friend Pete Marino which were produced by a good imagination and related research.

> Cornwell is often credited for her accuracy and expertise, an expertise acquired by working at the Virginia Chief Medical Examiners office, where she witnessed hundreds of autopsies. Cornwell also worked for three years as a Voluntary Police Officer and would often work the arduous midnight shift. She has undertaken intensive training at the FBI Academy in Quantico, Virginia, and has run the 'Yellow Brick Road' a grueling obstacle course for recruits... (Rabago n.d. 1)

To that end, Cornwell speaks of herself:

> It is important for me to live in the world I write about... If I want a character to do or know something, I want to do or know the the same thing. (Cornwell 2005b

Whether or not the stories are based on actual or composite cases is a matter of conjecture. There is, however, a consistent rumor that one of her recurring villains is similar to an actual serial killer, but Cornwell has never verified that suggestion (Rabago n.d. 1-2).

Cornwell's popularity as a storyteller is evident by her wide audience, and she has earned numerous awards from mystery writers' associations. The bio-blurb data from her book *Trace* (Cornwell 2004) also indicate that she

> has helped establish the Virginia Institute of Forensic Science and Medicine, the first forensic training facility of its kind in the nation, and serves as the Institute's Chairman of the Board.

It would seem, then, that Cornwell is an avid student of writing and science, allowing her to combine fact and fiction into enjoyable formats.

Jack Higgins

Jack Higgins is one of the pen names used by Harry Patterson (Wikipedia 2005a), but the readership world has become more comfortable with the pseudonym. His most recent book *Without Mercy* (2005) contains the following bio-blurb statement.

Higgins, who lived in Belfast until he was twelve, had several close calls with bombs and gunfire at an early age. After leaving school at fifteen, he served three years with the Royal Horse Guards in Eastern Europe during the cold war. Subsequently, he was a circus roustabout, a factory worker, a truck driver, and a laborer before entering college at age twenty-seven. He has degrees in sociology, social psychology, and economics from the University of London, and a doctorate in Media from Leeds Metropolitan University.

Higgins seems to be a man of many talents, several of which have prominent places in his books. He is an accomplished scuba diver and there are several occasions in the stories where Dillon uses that skill to his advantage. Higgins, a former soldier, would be knowledgeable about guns and ballistics, as is Dillon. There is, though, another major element of Higgins' background which he uses to good advantage in the series.

Dillon is "...a walking contradiction – warm and humorous, yet he kills at the drop of a hat" (Higgins 2005 17). Dillon is a hired gun who is paid to support social movements, but he is most prominently known in the series as a former IRA terrorist who once plotted an unsuccessful assassination of a popular British Prime Minister. Higgins' background naturally led to the creation of Dillon through his formative years in Northern Ireland where he witnessed the effects and the tactics of urban and freedom terrorism. In the beginning of the series there was no love lost between Dillon and anglophiles, but he was persuaded to think otherwise and uses his crafts to strike against anyone who poses a threat to international political and economic stability – even against his former IRA associates. When international terrorists or worldwide gangsters hurt his friends he executes a dark combination of distributive and corrective justices upon them because that is his job. At the same time he exacts an even darker and merciless vigilante justice upon those enemies due to deep loyalty to his friends.

Higgins and Dillon are worldly and savvy men whose practical understandings of geopolitics and global economics extend far beyond theoretical understanding. Both men are also students of history in that two of the books in the Dillon series address the possible revival of Nazism, and one of these recalls Martin Bormann's escape from Germany at the end of World War II. Dillon's failed assassination effort is based on an actual attempt on the life of former Prime Minister John Major. Given all that, I wonder what Higgins' classes were like when he taught, and am I especially curious about how many of his world views on social justice are projected in Sean Dillon? They are probably substantial.

Oliver North

The American public was first introduced to Lt. Colonel Oliver North, U.S.M.C., during the televised debates on congressional inquiries into the Iran-Contra Affair during the presidency of Ronald W. Reagan. We were told that Lt. Col. North, a graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis, Maryland, had served in Viet Nam and in other global hotspots, and was a military and intelligence advisor in Washington, D.C. He now serves as a war correspondent and military analyst for mass media networks.

There are many allegations about covert operations in which Lt. Col. North has either been a participant or an architect, but I am not positioned to either substantiate them or refute them. I feel that it would be safe to assume, though, that Lt. Col. North was aware of the kinds of operations in which Peter Newman was engaged, so the fictional U.S. Marine and his work may also be composite constructions.

There is another element in the lives of Lt. Col. North and now General Newman wherein art reflects reality. Biographical data state that Oliver North was raised as a Roman Catholic but now participates in evangelical Christian activities (Wikipedia 2005b). Newman's Christian wife, and their combined beliefs and work in Christian outreach

programs, became important elements as the series progressed in at least two integrated ways: Religious conflict is an endemic ingredient to international terrorism, and potential harm to his family supercedes Newman's loyalty to country. Newman's senses of national loyalty and and preferred forms of justice may be cautiously inferred, but I am better able to guess at North's by simply looking at his military education, his length of military duty, and the oath to which military people give allegiance. All U.S. military personnel, officers and enlisted, pledge to defend their country against all enemies, foreign and domestic. Oliver North and Peter Newman were so sworn, and they did so in reality and in fiction.

Kathy Reichs

Dr. Kathy Reichs has her Ph.D. in physical anthropology from Northwestern University, teaches at the University of North Carolina-Charlotte; is a certified forensic Anthropologist; works for the Office of the Chief Medical Examiner for the State of North Carolina and for the Laboratoire de Sciences Judiciares et de Medicine Legale for the Province of Quebec; is an executive for the Board of Directors of the American Academy of forensic Sciences; and is a popular novelist. It is relatively easy to surmise that the life of Tempe Brennan imitates that of Kathy Reichs, as Reichs tells us in her own words.

At the ends of several books, *Bare Bones* (2003 305-306), *Monday Mourning* (2004 301-303), *Cross Bones* (2005 349-351), and *Break No Bones* (2006 335-337) we read sections called "From The Forensic Files of Kathy Reichs" in which she identifies the means by which she became involved in investigations which resulted in those books. She states that

> For legal and ethical reasons I cannot discuss any of the real-life cases that may have inspired [my books], but I can share with you some experiences that contributed to the plot[s]. (2003 305; 2004 301)

and then outlines the stories' developments.

It is evident to many other readers that Kathy Reichs can write about the work and the adventures of Tempe Brennan with full experiential authority, and there is an interesting reversal of roles in the television series *Bones* which is based on Reichs' books.

Tempe Brennan, the lead character in the show, engages in forensic investigations during the daytime, and at night she writes a series of crime-inspired novels starring Kathy Reichs. Reichs invented Brennan, then Brennan invented Reichs, in a manner which is reminiscent of Samantha Kincaid's ancestry.

Commentary

Samuel Pepys (b1633 - d1703) was a renowned public servant, chronographer, and diarist who recorded history as it was happening and life as he viewed it (Wikipedia 2005c). Had he written novels I estimate that they would have been epochal and Dickensian; instead, he wrote a diary dedicated to the patterns of his life. In some ways, the seven authors identified in this section wrote in a Pepysian diarist tradition. The novelists substituted themselves with surrogate portrayals in a variety of occupational roles to signify how social justice could, and perhaps should, happen. One could imagine that Pepys would have liked the several authors addressed here, especially those who projected themselves into their fictional realities.

CONCLUSION

Reading novels gives the readers opportunities to suspend personal disbelief in the falsity of the stories. We treat the plots as possible for reasons of entertainment and recreation. The ability to create a series of novels is dependent on the writer's skills to have the characters change and to create new plots, and this may mean the stories contain more than a little near-autobiographical reasoning: The writer addresses subjects, people, and places which are familiar by mingling fiction and reality into plausible plans.

The purpose in writing this article was to show how successful blends between fact and fiction happened in the series novels from nine different authors. The novelists portrayed people in diverse entrepreneurial roles whose personal moralities and job responsibilities required that they address wrongful behavior and the administration of justice in different ways. Two of the series people were law enforcement agents. Two of the series people were engaged in work adjacent to formal law enforcement. Two of of the series people were involved in forensic in-

vestigations. Two of the series people were involved in international intrigues. One of the series' characters was a public prosecutor. Justice was enforced, but in seven of the nine series, the ones wherein arrests were made, we did not witness the disposition of justice in a manner which is similar to the FBI's duty of "clearing" a crime.

A crime is cleared when appropriate investigations have occurred; when someone has been arrested under allegations of criminal behavior; and when the suspect and the charges have been presented to courts for final settlement. The FBI is not concerned with outcomes because its official responsibilities have been concluded, and a similar up-shot happens in crime and political intrigue novels.

When arrests are made, or when rule breakers are terminated, the story, the book, and our investment have ultimately reached "THE END." Crimes cleared or tyrants vanquished denote *prima facie* evidence that justice has been fulfilled and our thirsts are quenched; not in real life, of course, but only in our imaginations created for our entertainment by novelists of fictional reality. In *The Historian,* a recent and popular novel about Dracula, the author writes that "...the line between literature and history is often a wobbling one" (Kostova 2005 274), which was later rephrased as "what can you expect... when historians begin using their imaginations" (Kostova 2005 384). While these thoughts are expressed in a novel about a search to separate the historical Dracula from impressionistic versions of the person, the same can be said about the portrayal of justice in crime and intrigue novels.

This article is premised on the notion that the American public has significant emotional concerns about our system of social justice which does not meet our expectations. We want good guys to win, bad guys to lose, and justice to prevail; but all too often our ideals are left unfulfilled, leaving us saddened, in despair, and untrusting. As a possible means of abating our worries novelists have identified the taproots of that disquietude and they have created likeable rule users, rule enforcers, rule abusers, rule interpreters, rule breakers, and vigilantes who satisfy our social ideals, at least in our imaginations. The authors have done so through creative combinations of fiction and fact, yet when all is said and done, fictional reality

depends on wobbling for its very existence. It is that wobbling beyond known data, that creative combination of fiction and fact, which keeps the reader's imagination and quizzical nature begging for more fictional reality.

ENDNOTE

1 Series of related interest which were not included are: The Jack Ryan books written by Tom Clancy, and the *NetForce, Op-Center, Power Plays,* and *Splinter Cell* series created by Clancy; the investigations of Dr. Alex Delaware, psychologist-detective, by Jonathan Kellerman; the wanderings of "insurance investigator" Travis McGee penned by John D. McDonald; the Jack Aubrey "Master and Commander" naval series by Patrick O'Brian; Sara Paretsky's Chicago-based detective V.I. Warshawski; James Patterson's Dr. Alex Cross as detective-psychologist; and the comedic-mystery books starring Bubbles Yablonsky as a beautician-turned-reporter which were written by Sarah Strohmeyer and inspired by Janet Evanovich.

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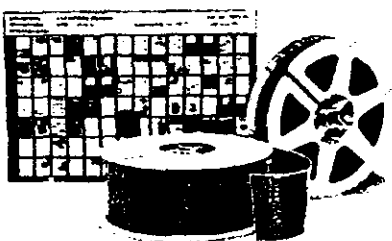
CHANGING RESIDENCE: RISKS FOR SUBSTANCE USE AND OTHER DELINQUENT BEHAVIORS BY ADOLESCENTS

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Each year, about 5 million adolescents change their residence. This moving often results in not just a changed residence. In addition, moving often results in changed school, social, and physical environments. These external changes combined with the various hormonal and other internal changes that occur during adolescence present various challenges and opportunities for both the youth and for those adults interested in their well-being. If not dealt with appropriately, these changes can result in the adolescents' feeling alienated, vulnerable, and depressed and, thus, at high risk for delinquency and mental health problems.

This paper presents national data on the characteristics of adolescents most likely to move and compares the family and neighborhood characteristics, substance use, and various healthy and delinquent activities of movers and non-movers. These relationships are examined using the data collected on adolescents from the National Household Survey of Drug Abuse (NHSDA).

The importance of family and peers in child development has been established (Levine, Carey, & Crocker 1999). Research suggests that the adolescent domains primarily impacted by the family, peers, schools, and neighborhood differ. The family primarily impacts mental health. Peers have the greatest influence on negative social behavior. Schools influence academic performance. Social networks and neighborhoods influence various behaviors, especially school attendance (Cook, Herman, Phillips & Settersten 2002; Brooks-Gunn, Duncan, Klebanov & Sealand 1993). Neighborhood influences are more difficult to isolate because neighborhoods are often indicators of socioeconomic status as well as determinants of the schools the adolescents are eligible to attend. Research has also established that substance use and delinquent behavior are impacted by the family, peers, and other role models (Guo, Hill, Hawkins, Catalano & Abbott 2002; Keller, Catalano, Haggerty & Fleming 2002; Yancey, Siegel & McDaniel 2002; Brooks, Stuewig & LecRoy 1998; Florsheim, Tolan & Gorman-Smith 1996; Chas-

sin, Pillow, Curran, Molina & Barrera, 1993; Dinges & Oetting, 1993) and social support systems (De La Rosa & White 2001; Ellickson, Collins & Bell 1999; Brook, Whiteman, Balka & Cohen 1997; Rhodes & Jason 1990). This paper examines moving, that is, changing residence and social environments, as a risk factor for substance use and other delinquent behaviors and its implications for their prevention and intervention.

SAMPLE AND METHODS

This study consisted of the random sample of adolescents, aged 12 to 17, who responded to the NHSDA, a nationally representative sample of persons age 12 and older in the general population. This analysis was based on data collected in 2000 from 19,374 respondents, aged 12 to 17. Respondents provided information on their own Hispanic origin and racial identity and were given the opportunity to report more than one race. There were 2,687 Hispanics, and 16,687 non-Hispanics. Among the non-Hispanics, 12,929 were whites, 2,617 were blacks, 179 were American Indians/Alaska Natives, 654 were Asian/Pacific Islanders, and 308 reported more than one race. The sample sizes for American Indians/Alaska Natives, Asian/Pacific Islanders, and those reporting more than one race were often too small to provide separate estimates by the factor of interest and mover status.

The Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA) sponsors the NHSDA. This survey series has been conducted since 1971 and is the primary source of data on alcohol, tobacco and illegal drug use and their consequences in the nation's general population. All data are anonymous and confidential. The data are used to plan substance abuse prevention programs, monitor drug control strategies, and estimate the need for substance abuse treatment. SAMHSA's NHSDA collects data from residents in households and noninstitutionalized group quarters as well as civilians living on military bases. Noninstitutionalized group quarters include homeless

shelters, rooming houses, and dormitories. The NHSDA was initiated in 1971 and conducted periodically until 1990. After 1990, the survey has been conducted annually. It is currently called the National Survey on Drug Use and Health.

Persons randomly selected to participate in the survey are informed of the nature and purpose of the survey. Participation is voluntary. Consent to participate for adolescents aged 12 to 17 occurs on two levels. A parent or guardian must consent before an adolescent can be asked to participate. The adolescent is then given an opportunity to refuse or to participate in the survey. In 2000, the weighted interview response rate for household screening for the total sample was 92.8 percent. The 12 to 17 age group's weighted interview response rate was 82.6 percent.

Respondents are interviewed privately in their living quarters. Tested methodologies to enhance privacy and confidentiality are used to collect the data. In 2000, the respondents provided data in a computer-assisted interview conducted by the professionally trained interviewer. Essentially, the interviewer explains the survey, answers any questions the participant might have, and administers the questions on basic sociodemographics. This personal interview is combined with an audio computer-assisted interview administered by the respondent for reporting alcohol, tobacco, illicit drug use and other sensitive behaviors. Before proceeding with this part, the participant is given a short practice session on the computer. For this part of the interview, the participant answers questions by listening to the questions over the headphones and/or reading the questions on the laptop computer screen. Then the participant answers the questions by entering the responses using the computer's keyboard. Only the participant can hear and see the questions and only the participant knows the answers entered. The interview takes about an hour to complete. It is available in both English and Spanish. Among the adolescent respondents, 1.4 percent chose to have the interview conducted in Spanish.

Substance use in this study included alcohol, cigarettes, and illicit drug use. Illicit drug use includes marijuana/ hashish, cocaine/crack, heroin, hallucinogens, inhalants, or any prescription-type psychotherapeutics used nonmedically. Nonmedical use

Table 1: Percent of Adolescents Who Changed Residence by Sociodemographic Characteristics

Characteristics	Percent Who Moved in the Past Year
Total	20.1
Gender	
Males	19.5
Females	20.6
Age Group	
12-13	20.6
14-15	19.2
16-17	20.5
Hispanic Status & Race*	
Hispanic	26.1
Non-Hispanic	19.1
White	16.8
Black	28.0
American Indian/Alaska Native	17.3
Asian/Pacific Islander	23.2
>1 race	22.9
Place of Birth*	
Born in the U.S.	19.0
Not botn in the U.S.	33.1
Foster Care Ever*	
Yes	38.0
No	19.6
Parental Presence in Household*	
Both present	15.2
Mother only	29.8
Father only	32.4
Neither in household	41.9

*Differences by characteristic are statistically significant at p<.001.

of any psychotherapeutics includes only prescription-type pain relievers, tranquilizers, stimulants, or sedatives and does not include over-the-counter drugs. For each type of psychotherapeutics, respondents are shown "pill cards" that have color photographs of the various prescription type pills or capsules to help the respondent correctly identify the substances used. Binge drinking is defined as drinking five or more drinks on the same occasion at least one day in the past month. Heavy drinking is defined as drinking five or more drinks on the same occasion on five or more days in the past month. The same occasion is defined as at the same time or within a couple of hours of each other.

Sociodemographic characteristics, neighborhood characteristics, substance use, and youth activities were compared by moving status. Moving status was defined as changed residence in the last year or not.

Table 2: Percent of Movers and Non-Movers Reporting Negative Neighborhood Characteristics

Neighborhood Characteristics*	Total	Moved in Past Year	Not Moved in Past Year
People often move in/out of neighborhood	30.1	34.6	29.0
Lots of drug selling	26.8	30.0	26.0
Neighbors don't visit often in each others' homes	26.4	29.0	25.7
Lots of crime	22.8	27.5	21.7
Neighbors often don't help each other out	21.3	24.9	20.4
Lots of graffiti	15.9	18.3	15.3
Lots of street fights	15.0	18.6	14.1
Many empty/abandoned buildings	11.5	14.9	10.7

*Differences between movers and non-movers for all listed neighborhood characteristics are statistically significant at p<.001.

Table 3: Percent of Past Year Movers and Non-Movers Who Participated in Selected Activities in the Past Year

Activities*	Total	Moved in Past Year	Not Moved in Past Year
Volunteer/Community Work	35.8	30.0	37.0
Team Sports	61.4	54.4	63.2
Violence Prevention Program	16.3	18.3	15.8
Boy/Girl Scouts	10.1	8.4	10.5
Church Choir	20.1	21.5	19.8
Delinquent Acts*			
Serious School Fights	18.0	25.0	16.3
Gang Fights	15.1	20.6	13.8
Attacked Someone with Intent to Hurt	7.5	11.8	6.4
Stole/Tried to Steal Something < $50	4.3	5.6	3.9
Sold Illegal Drugs	3.5	5.0	3.1
Carried Handgun	2.8	4.2	2.4
Drug Prevention*			
Any School Drug Education	77.9	74.2	78.9
NonSchool Drug Prevention Program	11.9	13.5	11.5
Alateen and/or Counseling	4.4	6.1	3.9

*Differences between movers and non-movers for all listed activities are statistically significant at p<.001 except for church choir participation (p<.01).

Estimates were weighted to take into account the scientific sampling design. The weighted estimates were used to get the national estimates of adolescents who moved. Chi-Square tests were used to compare categorical characteristics and prevalence estimates. T-tests and analysis of variance were used to test differences in means.

RESULTS:
Frequency of Adolescents Changing Residence:

In 2000, half of the adolescents aged 12 to 17 reported that they had not moved in the past five years, 30 percent had moved in the past five years but not in the last year, and 20 percent had moved in the past year. Of those who had moved in the past five years, 48 percent moved only once, 24 percent moved twice, and 28 percent moved three or more times. An estimated 800,000 adolescents moved five or more times in the past five years. To examine the relationship of moving status to substance use and delinquent behavior in the past year, adolescents who had moved in the past year were classified as movers; those who had not moved in the past year, even if they moved in earlier years, were classified as non-movers.

Sociodemographic and Family Characteristics

The percent of adolescents who moved in the past year did not differ significantly by gender or age group but did differ based on place of birth, family characteristics, Hispanic status, and race (see Table 1). Adolescents born in the United States were less likely to

Table 4: Average Number of School Days Missed Because of Sickness in the Past Month for Movers and Non-Movers by Hispanic Status and Race

	Total	Moved in Past Year	Not Moved in Past Year
Total Adolescents Aged 12-17*	0.93 days	1.26 days	0.85 days
Hispanic Status and Race*			
Hispanic	1.04 days	1.16 days	1.00 days
Non Hispanic	0.91 days	1.28 days	0.83 days
White	0.88 days	1.19 days	0.82 days
Black	1.11 days	1.62 days	0.92 days
American Indian/Alaska Native	1.44 days	2.95 days	1.20 days
Asian/Pacific Islander	0.59 days	0.74 days	0.54 days
> 1 race	0.91 days	0.99 days	0.88 days

*Differences based on movers status, Hispanic status, and race are statistically significant at p < .001.

Table 5: Age of First Substance Use by Past Year Mover Status

	Total	Moved in Past Year	Not Moved in Past Year
Alcohol	12.9 yrs	12.6 yrs	13.0 yrs
Cigarettes	12.3 yrs	11.9 yrs	12.5 yrs
Marijuana	13.5 yrs	13.2 yrs	13.6 yrs

Differences between movers and non-movers for all listed substances are statistically significant at p < .001.

have moved in the past year than those born outside the United States. A third of the adolescents not born in the United States had moved in the past year.

Family characteristics were significantly associated with moving status. As shown in Table 1, adolescents who had neither parent living in their household and those who had ever been in foster care were more likely to move than their counterparts. Almost 42 percent of the adolescents who did not have at least one parent in the household had moved in the past year. Those with their father living in the household were more likely to have moved than those with only their mother living in the household.

Among the racial/ethnic groups, Hispanics and non-Hispanic blacks were the most likely to move in the past year. The sample for American Indians/Alaska Natives was too small for testing but the association of parental presence was tested within the rest of the Hispanic status and racial groups. Moving status still differed significantly by parental presence for all tested Hispanic status and racial groups.

Neighborhood Characteristics

Over half of the adolescents reported at least one of the major negative neighborhood characteristics shown in Table 2. The rates of the selected major negative neighborhood characteristics were significantly higher for movers than for non-movers. Overall, 30 percent of the adolescents reported that there was a high rate of resident turnover in their neighborhood and significantly more movers than non-movers lived in neighborhoods where people moved in or moved out often. It should not be a surprise then that adolescents in general felt that people in their neighborhoods are not closely connected, that is, don't often help each other or visit in each others' home. Movers were more likely to feel this lack of connection. Movers were more likely to live in neighborhoods characterized by crime, violence, neglected physical environments, and less neighbor helpfulness (see Table 2).

Confidants

Overall, most adolescents (95%) reported that they had a confidant, that is, a person that they felt they could talk to about a serious problem. About 67 percent felt that they could talk to their parent or guardian if they had a serious problem. Females were more likely than males to report having someone to confide in about a serious problem. Controlling for gender, movers (7%) were significantly more likely than non-movers (4%) to report having nobody they felt they could talk to about serious problems. Movers (36%) also were more likely than non-movers (32%) to report that they could not talk to their parent or guardian about serious problems.

Community and School Activities

In the past year, 19 percent of the adolescents participated in programs to improve their problem solving abilities, communication skills and self-esteem. About 13 percent

Table 6: Percent of Movers and Non-Movers by Sociodemographic Characteristics Who Used Alcohol in the Past Year

Characteristics	Total	Moved in Past Year	Not Moved in Past Year
Total*	33.1	35.1	32.6
Gender*			
Males	32.1	33.7	31.7
Females**	34.2	36.6	33.5
Age Group*			
12-13***	12.6	14.8	12.0
14-15	33.8	35.9	33.4
16-17	53.2	55.2	52.7
Hispanic Status and Race			
Hispanic	32.6	35.5	31.6
Non-Hispanic**	33.2	35.0	32.7
White*	36.4	40.9	35.4
Black	21.1	20.8	21.1
American Indian/Alaska Native***	39.5	57.7	35.7
Asian/Pacific Islander	21.7	21.6	21.7
> 1 race	35.5	39.3	34.4

*Differences between movers and non-movers are statistically significant at p < .001.
**Differences between movers and non-movers are statistically significant at p < .01.
***Differences between movers and non-movers are statistically significant at p < .02.

participated in big buddy programs like Big Brother or Big Sister programs. Rates of participation in these two types of programs for movers and non-movers were comparable.

About 36 percent of the adolescents participated in volunteer or community work, such as recycling or clean-up projects (see Table 3). However, movers were significantly less likely than non-movers to participate in such activities. Movers were also less likely to be in the scouts or to participate in team sports such as football, basketball, swimming or gymnastics. In contrast, movers were more likely than non-movers to participate in a church choir or in a violence prevention program to learn ways to avoid fights and control anger.

Delinquent Acts

Movers were significantly more likely than non-movers to participate in violence and other delinquent acts. Not only were movers more likely to get into a serious fight at school or work but they were also more likely to carry a handgun and to attack someone with the intention to hurt. In addition, movers were more likely than non-movers to participate in "gang" fights, i.e., where a group of their friends fought against another group. Finally, movers were more likely than non-movers to participate in other serious delinquent acts such as selling illegal drugs and stealing or trying to steal something valued over $50 (see Table 3).

In general, males were about twice as likely as females to report the selected delinquent acts. The exceptions were gang fights (males 17.1% and females 13.1%) and carrying a handgun (males 4.5% and females 0.9%).

When movers and non-movers were compared within each gender, movers reported significantly higher rates of the selected delinquent acts than non-movers except for carrying a handgun. The rate of handgun carrying was higher for movers for both genders and was significantly higher than non-movers for males. The sample size for handgun carrying among females, however, was too small to test the differences between movers and non-movers for statistical significance.

Substance Abuse Prevention

About 60 percent of the adolescents reported that their parents had talked with them about the dangers of using alcohol, tobacco, or illegal drugs. Movers and non-movers were equally likely to talk with their parents about the dangers of alcohol, tobacco, and/or illegal drug use. However, movers were less likely than non-movers to participate in school drug education and more likely to participate in outside school drug prevention programs or counseling. (see Table 3).

School Attendance

Some of the differences in school pro-

Table 7: Percent of Movers and Non-Movers by Sociodemographic Characteristics Who Used Cigarettes in the Past Year

Characteristics	Total	Moved in Past Year	Not Moved in Past Year
Total*	20.8	26.1	19.5
Gender*			
Males*	19.9	24.9	18.7
Females*	21.8	27.3	20.3
Age Group*			
12-13*	7.2	11.7	6.0
14-15***	20.8	23.2	20.3
16-17*	34.6	43.8	32.3
Hispanic Status and Race			
Hispanic*	18.6	22.5	17.3
Non-Hispanic**	21.2	26.9	19.8
White*	23.5	32.2	21.7
Black**	11.3	13.9	10.3
American Indian/Alaska Native	36.4	35.0	36.6
Asian/Pacific Islander	15.6	20.4	14.2
> 1 race	22.2	23.6	21.7

*Differences between movers and non-movers are statistically significant at p < .001.
**Differences between movers and non-movers are statistically significant at p < .01.
***Differences between movers and non-movers are statistically significant at p < .02.

gram participation may be due to differences in school attendance. Overall, adolescents missed an average of 0.93 school days in the past month because of sickness; movers missed 1.26 days and non-movers missed 0.85 days. As shown in Table 4, movers and non-movers differed significantly in the number of school days missed because of sickness, even when controlling for differences in Hispanic status and racial group. There were no significant gender differences in school days missed because of sickness.

Alcohol, Cigarettes, and Illicit Drug Use

Age of First Substance Use: Regardless of their mover status, adolescents began using substances in the same sequence; that is, cigarettes were generally used first, followed by alcohol, and then marijuana. Those who moved in the past year, however, first began using alcohol, cigarettes or marijuana at a significantly earlier age than non-movers (see Table 5).

Overall Substance Use: In the past year, 36 percent of the adolescents used at least one substance (alcohol, cigarettes, or an illicit drug) at least once. In general, adolescents were more likely to drink than either smoke or use an illicit drug in the past year. Significantly more movers than non-movers used a substance. Movers also were more likely to be polydrug users, that is they used all three types of substances (alcohol, ciga-

rettes, and an illicit drug) in the past year.

The probability that an adolescent would use any substance increased with age. Females were slightly more likely than males to drink, smoke, or use an illicit drug in the past year but only the gender difference for past year alcohol or cigarette use was statistically significant. The prevalence of past year cigarette or illicit drug use was so low for the smaller racial groups (American Indian/Alaska Native, Asian/Pacific Islander, and more than one race) that the sample sizes were not sufficient to test for statistical differences between movers and non-movers for each substance separately.

Alcohol Use: About 33 percent of the total adolescents drank at least once in the past year. By ages 16 to 17, over half of the adolescents had used alcohol at least once in the past year. As shown in Table 6, moving status was statistically significant for females and the youngest age group (aged 12-13) but was not significant for Hispanics. Among the non-Hispanics, movers had statistically higher rates of alcohol use in the past year than non-movers only among whites and American Indians/Alaska Natives. Among the whites, 41 percent of the movers drank in the past year compared with 35 percent of the non-movers. The rates were higher among the American Indians/Alaska Natives: 58 percent of the movers drank in the past year compared with 36 percent of the non-movers.

Table 8: Percent of Movers and Non-Movers by Sociodemographic Characteristics Who Had Any Illicit Drug Use in the Past Year

Characteristics	Total	Moved in Past Year	Not Moved in Past Year
Total*	18.5	22.6	17.5
Gender*			
Males*	18.4	21.8	17.5
Females*	18.6	23.3	17.4
Age Group*			
12-13*	7.3	10.6	6.5
14-15*	18.9	21.8	18.2
16-17*	29.4	35.4	27.8
Hispanic Status and Race			
Hispanic***	17.8	20.3	16.9
Non-Hispanic*	18.6	23.1	17.6
White*	19.6	25.5	18.4
Black**	15.1	18.1	14.0
American Indian/Alaska Native	41.7	49.1	40.1
Asian/Pacific Islander	11.5	15.2	10.4
> 1 race	18.4	16.7	18.9

Illicit drug use includes marijuana/hashish, cocaine/crack, heroin, hallucinogens, inhalants, or any prescription-type psychotherapeutics used nonmedically.
*Differences between movers and non-movers are statistically significant at p < .001.
**Differences between movers and non-movers are statistically significant at p < .01.
***Differences between movers and non-movers are statistically significant at p < .02.

Cigarette Use: While the rates of past year cigarette use among adolescents were lower than for alcohol, movers generally had statistically significant higher rates than non-movers when controlling for gender, age group, Hispanic status, and race (see Table 7).

Overall, 21 percent of the adolescents reported smoking cigarettes in the past year. Only 7 percent of those aged 12-13 smoked and by ages 16 to 17, about a third of the adolescents smoked in the past year. Among the oldest age group, 32 percent of the non-movers smoked compared with 44 percent of the movers. The rates of past year smoking were higher for movers for all gender, age, and racial groups except for American Indians/Alaska Natives. The difference based on moving status among American Indians/Alaska Natives, however, was not statistically significant.

Illicit Drug Use: About 30 percent of the adolescents reported using at least one illicit drug, primarily marijuana, in their lifetime. Significantly more movers (33%) than non-movers (25%) had ever used an illicit drug. The overall rate of past year illicit drug use among adolescents was slightly lower than for cigarette use. As shown in Table 8, movers generally had statistically significant higher rates than non-movers when controlling for gender, age group, and Hispanic status. The sample sizes for American Indians/Alaska Natives, Asians/Pacific Islanders, and persons reporting more than one race were too small to test for statistical significance based on moving status. For the rest of the racial groups, movers had statistically higher rates than non-movers of past year use of an illicit drug.

Current Substance Use: More movers than non-movers not only used alcohol, tobacco, or an illicit drug in the past year but they also were more likely to be current users. Current use is defined as the use of a substance in the past month. As shown in Table 9, the current use rates for movers were significantly higher than for non-movers for all substances except for hallucinogens.

Substance Abuse Treatment
Among all adolescents, 5 percent in their lifetime had received some kind of substance abuse treatment. This included treatment in any location, not just a specialty facility such as a hospital, rehabilitation facility, or mental health center. The rate for any substance abuse treatment in the past year was 2 percent. Movers were more likely than non-movers to have ever received treatment in any location for an alcohol or drug problem (8% vs. 4%). Movers also were more likely than non-movers to have received any substance abuse treatment in the past year (3% vs. 1%).

Table 9: Percent of Past Year Movers and Non-Movers Who Were Current Users of Alcohol, Cigarettes, or Illicit Drugs

Substance Used in Past Month*	Total	Moved in Past Year	Not Moved in Past Year
Any Substance**	35.9	40.1	34.9
Any Illicit Drug	9.7	12.5	9.0
Alcohol***	16.4	18.5	15.8
Binge Drinking	10.4	12.4	9.9
Heavy Drinking	2.6	3.4	2.4
Cigarettes	13.4	18.2	12.2
Marijuana	7.2	9.6	6.6
Cocaine	0.5	0.9	0.5
Heroin	0.1	0.2	0.1
Inhalants	0.9	1.3	0.8
Any Prescription Psychotherapeutic Drug Used Nonmedically	2.9	3.5	2.8

*Differences between movers and non-movers for all listed substances are statistically significant at p<.01 except for heroin (p<.05).
**Any substance includes alcohol, tobacco, or illicit drug use. Illicit drug use includes nonmedical prescription psychotherapeutic drug use (pain relievers, tranquilizers, stimulants, or sedatives).
***Binge drinking is defined at drinking 5 or more drinks on the same occasion at least one day in the past month. Heavy drinking is defined as drinking 5 or more drinks on the same occasion on 5 or more days in the past month. The same occasion is defined as at the same time or within a couple of hours of each other.

DISCUSSION

Millions of adolescents change their residence and school each year. Substantial numbers of adolescents move more than once a year. In this study, both substance use and delinquent behavior were associated with whether or not adolescents had changed residence in the past year. However, this cross sectional analysis cannot determine whether these behaviors resulted from the adolescents moving or whether the adolescents moved because of these behaviors. Furthermore, the causal relationship of moving status to neighborhood crime and violence is difficult to assess because more movers than non-movers reported that they committed criminal and violent acts and thus may be responsible for the increased crime and violence in their neighborhoods. The relative influence of home and neighborhoods is also difficult to assess. For example, research has found that children exposed to high levels of community violence feel less secure with their caregivers than children exposed to less violence (Lynch & Cicchetti 2002).

Although the causal relationship of the constellation of moving status, substance use, and delinquent behaviors cannot be determined with this cross sectional study, this constellation is consistent with adoles-

cents' feelings of alienation, isolation, and lack of trusting relationships. Adults often have some measure of control over if, when, and where they move. Adolescents, on the other hand, may feel a loss of control due to moving. Feelings of loss of control coupled with the challenge of fitting in a new social and physical environment may alienate adolescents from both their family and their schoolmates. Indeed, this study found that movers were significantly less likely than non-movers to feel that they could talk to a parent, guardian or other person if they had a serious problem. In general, this study found that movers were more likely than non-movers to have various symptoms of alienation, such as separation from parents, lack of confidants, and living in an unstable neighborhood.

Adolescents who move to new environments may use alcohol and other drugs as self medication to deal with such negative feelings as loneliness, anxiety, anger or depression. For example, Tani, Chavez & Deffenbacher (2001), when studying Mexican American and non-Hispanic white adolescents, found that isolated youth (i.e., with no friends) had more anger than those with non-drug-using friends. However, isolates had less anger than youth with friends who used drugs. Perhaps their using drugs was a way

to feel a sense of belonging to a less reject-ing group. Indeed, studies have found that over half of the adolescents get their drugs free from family or peers (Moon, Hecht, Jack-son & Spellers 1999). In any case, the sub-stance use makes it increasingly difficult for adolescents to adjust to their new environ-ment in healthy ways.

While various factors are related to ado-lescent substance use and delinquent be-haviors, many are considered sensitive (e.g., as parental abuse, friends' substance use, sexual activity) or time consuming to mea-sure (e.g., personality, emotional distress). This analysis provides a potential risk factor, i.e., moving status, to identify adolescents in need of social supports, violence prevention skill building, and alternatives to drug use. By a single, simple question, such as "Are you new here?" asked in a friendly manner, adults wanting to be helpful could easily iden-tify adolescents potentially at risk for sub-stance use and delinquent behaviors. Or one might say: "Haven't seen you around before, good seeing you" especially if the legality of the adolescent's status in the U.S. may be an issue. School, community, and neighbor-hood programs need to be developed to pro-vide the information, social supports, and guidance needed by the "new kids on the block" to navigate successfully in a healthy manner in their new environments.

Changing residence can lead to an in-crease in a person's standard of living as well as a decrease. Theoretically, therefore, moving can lead to increased opportunities, improved quality of life, better social sup-ports, etc. For adolescents, moving could result in attendance at a better school sys-tem, exposure to more caring adults, the opportunity to redefine oneself in a more positive way, and a chance to start over in one's social relationships using more ma-ture social skills and understandings. How-ever, data on changes in the standard of liv-ing or quality of life as a result of moving were not available for this analysis to deter-mine the benefits from moving.

There are positive actions that schools and communities can take to provide ben-efits and to counter the negative risks of moving for adolescents. For example, the concept of the community "welcome wag-ons" where neighbors come and greet new-comers with a basket of goodies and infor-mation on community services can be ex-panded to focus on adolescents. Schools or communities can have "welcome book bags" or some such programs to welcome new adolescents to their schools or communi-ties. Such programs could provide informa-tion and perhaps a "buddy" to help the ado-lescent navigate through the new surround-ings, make healthy friendships, join a sup-portive network, feel a sense of belonging, and contribute to the new environment. In any case, this study suggests that it is im-portant to recognize that adolescents who move need help in adjusting to their new en-vironments and that appropriate interventions can be provided to decrease the likelihood of their drug use and delinquency.

Note:

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THE ADOPTION AND SAFE FAMILIES ACT OF 1997: POLICY IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE WITH SUBSTANCE ABUSING PARENTS WHO HAVE MALTREATED THEIR CHILDREN

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Under the Adoption and Safe Families Act passed by Congress in 1997, public child welfare authorities must review all foster care cases when a child has been in placement for 12 months. If parents have not made progress toward reunifying with their children, the state may proceed to terminate parental rights and place a child for adoption. States have the option of establishing an even shorter time frame for reviewing parents' progress when children are under three years of age. Minnesota, for example, has chosen to review cases of infants and young children at six months of care. These mandatory reviews and limited time frames are designed to insure permanency for children and to prevent them from languishing in foster care for years with no permanent futures. The law recognizes that one year, or even six months, is a long time to a child developmentally, especially to an infant or toddler for whom psychological attachment to a stable, consistent caregiver is essential to future wellbeing.

At the same time that federal child welfare policy is recognizing and supporting children's need for permanency, the pervasive contribution of drug and alcohol abuse to child maltreatment and out-of-home placement of children is acknowledged (Huang, Cerbone, & Gfroerer 1998; Reid, Macchetto, & Foster 1999; U.S. Department of Health and Human Services 1999). The Child Welfare League of America reports that 80 percent of states identify parental substance abuse as "one of the two top problems exhibited by families reported for child maltreatment." A study of children in foster care in California and Illinois carried out by the Government Accounting Office found that 60 percent of those in care for at least 17 months as of September 1997 had parents who were substance abusers.

A state study in Oregon found that 65.6 percent of children entering foster care between 1995 and 1997 did so because of parental substance abuse. Other studies of the incidence of parental substance abuse in families of children entering foster care have presented similar findings: parental substance abuse is present in one-half to two-thirds of cases of child maltreatment (Curtis & McCullough 1993; Magura & Laudet 1996; Murphy, Jellinek, Quinn, Smith, Poitrast, & Goshko 1991).

Studies of substance abusing parents have found child-rearing beliefs and attitudes that heighten risk for child abuse (Williams-Peterson, Myers, Degen, Knisely, Elswick & Schnoll 1994), as well as elevated rates of first-time reports to child protective services (Jaudes, Ekwo, & Van Voorhis 1995), re-reports (Wolock & Magura 1996), and out-of-home placements of maltreated children (Nair, Black, Schuler, Keane, Snow, & Rigney 1997). Research also suggests that these are families whose children are likely to remain longer in care while parents struggle, sometimes futilely, to overcome their addictions and put their lives back together (Curtis & McCullough 1993; Goerge & Harden 1993; Walker, Zangrillo, & Smith 1994). The Adoption and Safe Families Act may in part have been born out of frustration with this seemingly intractable problem.

As is well-known among those who treat addicted persons, as well as those who have overcome addictions themselves, dependence on mind-altering, mood-altering chemicals is not easily overcome. It is a process that often consists of several episodes of sobriety and return to using over a period of time. Research suggests that this is particularly true for substance abusing women who often have fewer resources, both personal and instrumental, for overcoming addiction and maintaining sobriety (Nelson-Zlupko, Kauffman, & Dore 1995). Thus, addicted mothers, who are often the only available parent, may have a particularly difficult time meeting the 12 month time frame for family reunification of the Adoption and Safe Families Act.

How, then, can practitioners working with families in the child welfare system address the treatment needs of substance abusing parents in a way that enables them to sustain sobriety, reconstruct their lives, and still comply with the time limits for reunification

with their children under current child welfare policy? In order to develop better approaches to working with such parents, it is first necessary to understand the linkages between parental substance abuse and child maltreatment. To this end, a three dimensional model of these linkages is proposed that reflects current research in the field. Using this model, various avenues for intervention and treatment are offered to address this significant social problem.

LINKING SUBSTANCE ABUSE AND CHILD MALTREATMENT

Substance abuse links to child maltreatment in three ways. First, there is the *direct effect* of the substance(s) used *on parents' behavior.* Different types of controlled and illicit substances have different pharmacological effects on the organism. These effects may result in distortions of behavior that profoundly impact the individual's ability to function as a parent. Good parenting requires sensitivity to the social, emotional, and physical needs of the dependent child and consistency in responding to those needs (Belsky 1984). Mind-altering and mood-altering chemicals profoundly impact the individual's cognitive and affective functioning in ways that severely inhibit the capacity for sensitive and consistent parenting.

The second way parental substance abuse may be linked to child maltreatment is its *effects on the context* in which parenting takes place. The partners a parent chooses, the physical environment in which a family resides, and the social interactions of a parent with the world outside the family, all contribute to the context for child rearing. A parent whose partner relationships revolve around substance use and abuse, whose addiction robs the family of essential economic resources, and whose social network is severely truncated due to others' rejection of his or her drug-using behavior, creates a child rearing context that has significant potential for child maltreatment. Recent studies show, for example, that although mothers are the most frequent perpetrators of child maltreatment, a genetically unrelated adult male in the household such as a stepfather or mother's paramour is the most likely perpetrator of fatal child abuse (Daly & Wilson 1994; Sedlak & Broadhurst 1996). As substance abusing women are more likely than men who are substance-involved to

have a partner who also abuses drugs or alcohol and these partnerships are frequently serial relationships, the likelihood of having an unrelated adult male in a household where the mother is actively using is quite high. Other contextual factors associated with substance abuse and child maltreatment will be examined later on in this paper.

Finally, *a parent's own early history of abuse and neglect,* which studies have shown to be associated with drug and alcohol abuse in adolescence and adulthood (Harrison, Fulkerson, & Beebe 1997; Wilsnack, Vogeltanz, Klassen, & Harris 1997), may independently contribute to maladaptive parenting. Increasingly, research is showing the long-term effects of maltreatment in childhood on adult functioning, beginning with its effects on the individual's ability to form lasting emotional attachments to others (Banyard 1999; Briere & Elliott 1994; Bryer, Nelson, Miller, & Krol 1987; Chu & Dill 1990). Research on physical and sexual trauma in childhood has found evidence of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) as a long-term outcome (Hubbard, Realmuto, Northwood, & Masten 1995; Roesler 1994). One of the characteristic sequelae of traumatic stress and a symptom of PTSD is emotional numbing and interference with cognitive problem-solving functions, both of which have been associated with child maltreatment.

Conceptualizing the linkage between parental substance abuse and child maltreatment as a complex interaction of these three factors enables us to refine our approach to intervention with substance abusing families. Many programs seeking to intervene with parents who are substance involved fail to appreciate the complexity of factors that may contribute to the failure of parenting in such families. Interventions are often designed to assess and address only the substance-abusing behavior, or at best, the substance abuse along with pressing basic needs such as housing or income. Seldom is there appreciation for, and efforts to assess and address, the effects of the parent's own early history of trauma, for example. In this paper, I argue that sobriety alone is not sufficient to insure the safety and wellbeing of children who are to be returned to a formerly chemically dependent parent. If the factors that contributed to the parents use of mind and mood-altering chemicals are still present, it is likely

that a) the parent will be unable to sustain sobriety, and b) that the children will be further maltreated. However, if the conceptual model presented here is used to assess the client in his or her situation and to develop a differential treatment plan based on this assessment, it becomes more possible to adhere to the time frame for permanency planning established in the Adoption and Safe Families Act of 1997, while insuring the safety and wellbeing of children reunified with previously substance-involved parents.

DIRECT EFFECTS OF SUBSTANCE ABUSE ON THE PARENTING FUNCTION

Different chemical substances have different physiological effects on the user and therefore affect the user's behavior in various ways. For example, drugs such as amphetamines and opioids, including cocaine, are stimulants to the central nervous system. They release dopamine which results in the euphoric high that is part of the addictive process (Jaffe 1992). With amphetamines the user is mentally and physically stimulated to the point of requiring little sleep. He or she feels full of energy, sometimes to bursting. Because their own sleep-wake cycle is so distorted by the drug, a parent on amphetamines may be unable to attend to a child's need for structure and pattern that is so essential to optimal physical and psychological growth. Further, the parent may become impatient or irritated with the child who is unable to adapt to the parent's level of energy. Also accompanying the influx of energy is suppression of appetite which is why amphetamines have been prescribed as diet pills. When a parent is not hungry and therefore not preparing meals for herself, she may also fail to appreciate a child's hunger and not insure that he is fed on a regular basis.

Cocaine has a somewhat different effect on both the physiology of the organism and on the parenting function. In addition to an influx of energy, cocaine also heightens the senses. Colors are brighter, smells are stronger, noises are louder. Thus, a child's crying, which may be only a mild annoyance to a non-using parent, is magnified in its intensity to the parent on cocaine. Because of its biological effects, particularly after prolonged use, cocaine also increases irritability and aggression in the user. It can also result in psychotic distortions of thought such that the user imagines and acts on projec-

tions onto others of his or her own aggression.

Further, cocaine, particularly in the smokeable form known as crack, cycles rapidly through the body so that the high that is so physically and psychologically satisfying vanishes quickly, within 5 to 15 minutes in the case of crack, leaving in its wake anxiety, depression, and paranoia, as well as an intense craving for a return to the euphoric state (Gold 1992). Crack is cheap to buy and easy to use, making it both more accessible and acceptable to people with limited economic resources. It also heightens feelings of power and control over one's life, feelings that may be sorely lacking in those belonging to oppressed social groups. After it was widely introduced in the mid-1980s, crack quickly became the scourge of low-income innercity communities. It is also the most addictive form of cocaine, producing damaging physiological effects after only brief use that are usually seen only after long-time intranasal use of powdered cocaine.

Child protective services (CPS) workers are well acquainted with the thousands of cases each year in which a parent addicted to crack leaves an infant or toddler alone for hours or sometimes days at a time to pursue the drug. CPS workers frequently investigate maltreatment reports in homes barren of furniture and appliances that have been sold to purchase crack and other drugs. The absence of food in the refrigerator or cupboards further attests to the parent's drug-induced inability to attend to her child's most basic needs. Recovering crack addicts testify to the ability of the drug to take over their lives, to dull them to any other need or responsibility except the getting and using of the drug. Some describe doing whatever it took to pursue their habit, even to sacrificing the health and wellbeing of loved ones.

Another factor that influences the substance-involved parent's ability to nurture her child is the effects of drugs or alcohol used during pregnancy on the neonate's neurobehavioral functioning. Although there is now some evidence that the long term consequences of prenatal drug use are not as uniformly dire as once thought, there are significant short-term effects that make parenting a drug-exposed infant more challenging. For example, cocaine-exposed neonates frequently demonstrate poorer state regulation, greater irritability, and greater sensitivity to

stimulation than non-exposed infants (DiPietro, Suess, Wheeler, Smouse, & Newlin 1995; Hawley & Disney 1992). Such babies are often difficult to comfort and console. Their irritable crying may frustrate and enrage a substance-using parent whose tenuous self-control is already loosened by the effects of the drugs he is using. If a parent's aggressive impulses are heightened by alcohol or other drugs (Bushman & Cooper 1990), the potential is rife for abusive behavior.

Because the drug-using life style is chaotic and unpredictable, substance abusing parents may have little understanding of, or ability to meet, a young child's need for structure and consistency (Bauman & Dougherty 1983). And, because of inhibition in cognitive development that may result from using mind-altering chemicals over time, substance abusing parents often fail to develop problem-solving skills and the strategies for coping with stress and frustration required for effective parenting (Davis 1990). As a result, they may rely on the kinds of harsh, punitive, and emotionally reactive disciplinary measures that they experienced as children, even while recognizing the pain such responses caused in their own lives.

CONTEXTUAL FACTORS IN THE LINKAGE BETWEEN PARENTAL SUBSTANCE ABUSE AND CHILD MALTREATMENT

According to current developmental theory, a child's psychosocial functioning is a product of the ongoing interaction of factors in the child, the family, and the social environment (Bronfenbrenner 1979; Lerner 1991; Sameroff 1993). Despite well-established effects on the developing fetus and the newborn, the long-term consequences of maternal drug use for the child may depend a great deal on the family and social contexts in which the child is raised (Harden 1998). Researchers who have followed drug-affected newborns into the preschool years with mixed findings regarding psychosocial development have concluded that the effects of prenatal drug exposure are mediated by environmental factors such as income, family structure, and parenting competence (Azuma & Chasnoff 1993; Hawley, Halle, Drasin, & Thomas 1995; Zuckerman & Brown 1993).

Research with drug-using women, in particular, sheds light on the ways in which these factors impair their parenting. For example, substance-abusing women are often socially isolated (Kauffman, Dore, & Nelson-Zlupko, 1995). They may have few, if any, social relationships that do not revolve around getting and using drugs or alcohol. Further, when a male partner is present, he is usually also substance-involved, making achieving and maintaining sobriety for the woman much more difficult (Reed 1985). When a sober male partner is present in a substance abusing woman's life, he is much more likely than a sober female partner of an addicted male to abandon the relationship (Kane-Caviola & Rullo-Cooney 1991). Substance abusers also have documented difficulties in keeping and sustaining positive interpersonal relationships, including family relationships (Bell & Legow 1996). Consequently, a high proportion of substance abusing mothers are socially isolated single parents. And single parents, as we know from demographic studies, are more likely to be poor and to live in high stress environments. They are also more likely to abuse and neglect their children (Gelles 1989; Sack, Mason, & Higgins 1985; Straus & Gelles 1986).

Research tells us that family social isolation and child maltreatment are associated (Kugler & Hansson 1988; Polansky, Ammons, & Gaudin 1985; Salzinger, Kaplan, & Artemyeff 1983; Testa 1992; Wahler 1980). Isolated mothers who lack emotionally gratifying and supportive relationships with other adults may seek nurturing from their children. When their young children are developmentally unable to meet these emotional needs, such parents may lash out at their children in hostile, rejecting, and punitive ways. Or, they may withdraw from them emotionally and physically with the aid of mood-altering drugs. Either way, maltreatment of the child results.

Further, the poverty that often characterizes families where resources are dis-proportionally used to support parents' chemical dependence is associated with other factors that independently correlate with child abuse and neglect (Trickett, Aber, Carlson, & Cicchetti 1991). These include higher rates of partner-on-partner violence and parent mental illness, particularly clinical levels of maternal depression.

Interpersonal violence characterizes the environments where drug and alcohol abuse occur (Kilpatrick, Acierno, Resnick, Saunders, & Best 1997; Ladwig & Anderson

1989; Miller, Downs, & Testa 1993; Zahnd, Klein, & Needell 1995). Further, an association between substance abuse and spousal or partner battering is frequently documented. One study found alcohol abuse present in well over half of a sample of 88 families in which battering of the mother by the father had occurred (Spaccarelli, Sandler, & Roosa 1994). Similarly, high rates of marital conflict and violence have been found in families where substance abuse is the identified problem (Reich, Earls, & Powell 1988).

An association between spousal or partner battering and child abuse has also been established (Jouriles, Barling, & O'Leary 1987; McCloskey, Figueredo, & Koss 1995). Children in homes where marital violence is occurring are at high risk for physical abuse themselves (O'Keefe 1994). Even when violence is not directed at them, children who witness violence between parents or other care-takers in the home demonstrate a range of negative developmental outcomes, including conduct disorders, anxiety, depression, and aggression against parents and peers (Carlson 1990; Fantuzzo, DePaola, Lambert, Martino, Anderson, & Sutton 1991; Kashani, Daniel, Dandoy, & Holcomb 1992; O'Keefe 1994).

In addition to the relationship between poverty, substance abuse, and family violence, there is also an association between poverty and mental illness, particularly depression in women (Belle 1990; Hall, Williams, & Greenberg 1985; Kaplan, Roberts, Camacho, & Coyne 1987). There is evidence that substance abuse is frequently an attempt to self-medicate for depression and other forms of mental illness, particularly in poor, oppressed inner-city populations who have little or no access to regular mental health care (Khantzian 1997, 1985; Weiss, Griffin, & Mirin 1992). The correlation between substance abuse and depression in women is high and has been widely documented (Brook, Whiteman, & Cohen 1998; Cottler, Abdallah, & Compton 1998; Merikangas & Stevens 1998).

Depression in mothers may be linked to child neglect through affective withdrawal and lack of attention to caregiving tasks, and to child abuse because of the irritability and aggression that are often symptomatic of clinical levels of depression. Studies of depressed mothers' parenting abound (Cohn, Campbell, Matias, & Hopkins 1990; Field,

Healy, Goldstein, & Guthertz 1990; Gordon, Burge, Hammen, Adrian, Jaenicke, & Hiroto 1989; Hops, Biglan, & Sherman 1987; Leadbeater, Bishop, & Raver 1996). Particular attention has been paid to depressed mothers' interactions with their young children which have been found to be negative, critical, hostile, and rejecting when compared to nondepressed mothers (Gordon et al 1989; Radke-Yarrow, Nottelmann, Belmont, & Welsh 1993; Susman, Trickett, Iannotti, Hollenbeck, & Zahn-Waxler 1985). With their infants, depressed mothers show more negative affect, are less responsive and provide less stimulation in face-to-face interactions (Cohn et al 1990; Lyons-Ruth, Zoll, Connell, & Grunebaum 1986). There is concern that the maternal behaviors that help to insure secure early attachment in infants are not present in depressed mothers, resulting in insecure attachments that carry into toddlerhood and beyond (Lyons-Ruth et al 1986; Radke-Yarrow, Cummings, Kuczynski, & Chapman 1985; Teti, Gelfand, Messinger, & Isabella 1995). Research has shown that infants of depressed mothers begin to mirror the depressed affect in the earliest months of life, leading to inhibition in social interaction and exploratory behavior by 12 months of age (Field et al 1990). Such children are more likely to develop behavior problems, anxiety disorders, and affective disorders than children of nondepressed parents (Cummings & Davies 1994; Lyons-Ruth, Alpern, & Repacholi 1993).

While those studying the effects of parental depression have researched various factors, including marital conflict, stressful environments, and harsh disciplinary practices, which contribute to the demonstrated negative outcomes for children in such families, no studies could be located which specifically examined the interaction of depression, substance abuse, and child maltreatment. Given the established associations between physical and sexual abuse in childhood, adult psychopathology, including depression, and substance abuse, as well as between substance abuse and child maltreatment, this would seem a logical combination of factors for investigation. The following section will examine how a parent's early life experiences may contribute both to dependence on mind- and mood-altering drugs and to the perpetration of child abuse and neglect.

LINKAGES BETWEEN PARENTS' EARLY LIFE EXPERIENCES, SUBSTANCE ABUSE, AND CHILD MALTREATMENT

There is a growing research literature on the association between physical and/or sexual abuse in childhood and substance abuse, often beginning in early adolescence (Cohen & Densen-Gerber 1982; Caviola & Schiff 1988; Harrison et al 1997; Kaplan, Pelcovitz, Salzinger, Weiner, Mandel, Lesser, & Labruna 1998; Roesler & Dafler 1993; Rohsenow, Corbett, & Devine 1988). This relationship has been found in both clinic and community samples (Mullen, Martin, Anderson, Romans, & Herbison 1996; Widom, Ireland, & Glynn 1995). Kaplan and her colleagues (1998) found that physical abuse was a significant contributing factor over and above other risk factors to psychopathology, including substance abuse, in a clinical sample of adolescents. Findings of childhood sexual abuse among substance abusers range from just over 30 percent to 75 percent in various samples (Bollerud 1990; Cohen & Densen-Gerber 1982; Grice, Brady, Dunstan, Malcolm, & Kilpatrick 1995; Harrison 1989; Yandow 1989). Boyd (1993) found a strong relationship between early sexual abuse, subsequent onset of depression, and crack cocaine use in a sample of 105 predominately African American urban women. She noted the consistency of these findings with other studies that have found a similar association to alcoholism in Anglo-American women (Pribor & Dinwiddie 1992).

More recently, researchers have attempted to identify the pathway by which early sexual abuse leads to substance abuse in women (Brady, Killeen, Saladin, Dansky, & Becker 1994; Kilpatrick, Resnick, Saunders, & Best 1998; Swett & Halpert 1994). One such study noted the frequency of symptoms of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) in individuals who were sexually traumatized in childhood and posited that substance abuse represents an effort to manage the symptoms of this disorder (Epstein, Saunders, Kilpatrick, & Resnick 1998). Symptoms of PTSD relate to feelings of intense anxiety and include hyperarousal, avoidant behaviors, emotional numbing, and flashbacks to the traumatic event.

Epstein and his colleagues (1998) found in interviewing over three thousand women that those who reported a childhood experience of sexual abuse had twice as many PTSD symptoms as women who reported no such experience. Further, sexual abuse victims had double the number of alcohol abuse symptoms as women who had not been abused in this way. And, finally, those abuse victims who reported experiencing PTSD symptoms had twice as many alcohol abuse symptoms as abuse victims who had no symptoms of PTSD. From this, Epstein concluded that PTSD is the connecting pathway between early sexual abuse and later chemical dependence.

Given the demonstrable damaging effects of abuse and neglect on psychosocial functioning and development, it is highly likely that an adult who was subjected to severe maltreatment at a young age will be affected in negative ways. In their review of the literature on the long-term effects of physical abuse, Malinosky-Rummell and Hansen (1993) found compelling evidence for its impact in a variety of functional domains. One of these findings is that adults who were abused as children are more likely to be aggressive and violent toward others and to engage in antisocial behavior. A high correlation has been found among abuse and neglect in early childhood, symptoms of antisocial personality disorder in adulthood, substance abuse, and aggression, particularly in males. In one study of men imprisoned for assault, it was found that men who had been sexually abused as children were more likely to commit sexual assaults, while those who had been physically abused committed more physical assaults (Dutton & Hart 1992). As noted previously, studies suggest that parents who themselves were abused as children are more likely to abuse their own children than those who were not (Morton & Browne 1998; Oliver 1993).

Further, the direct impact of childhood maltreatment on functioning in the parent role cannot be underestimated. Burkett (1991) observed the parenting behaviors of 20 mothers who were sexually abused in childhood and compared them with 20 mothers who were not abused. She found the abused mothers to be more self-focused and to communicate with their children in blaming and belittling ways. One group of abused mothers was deeply depressed and appeared to have little emotional energy left for parenting. The members of this group were also more likely to be drug or alcohol involved. The other group of abused mothers was more positive

and engaged with their children, almost to a fault. They seemed to seek affirmation and nurturing from their children, rather than the other way around. Indeed, Burkett noted that both groups of abused mothers sought more emotional support from their children than did the nonabused mothers.

Herzog, Gara, and Rosenberg (1992) also explored the parenting behaviors of mothers abused as children, this time through a case design study. They found that mothers who detached themselves psychologically from their own childhood experiences of abuse, that is, they had failed to process feelings associated with this maltreatment, were more likely to hold unrealistically high expectations of their children's developmental capacities. Unrealistic expectations of children are a common finding in studies of abusive parents. Such expectations are believed to contribute to abusive behavior in that when the child is unable to conform, the parent interprets this inability as purposeful, and becomes enraged at what she sees as the child's willful opposition (Larrance & Twentyman 1983). Herzog and her colleagues interpreted these unrealistic parental expectations as the inability of the abused parent to identify with her child. Instead she projects onto the child an adultlike persona, removing from her vision of the child any sense of the vulnerability that characterized her own relationship with her childhood abuser.

Recent research has examined the relationship between childhood abuse, particularly sexual abuse, and the capacity for intimate relationships in adulthood (Alexander, Anderson, Brand, Schaeffer, Grelling, & Kretz 1998). This emerging area of research, which has found an association between severity of early sexual abuse and later difficulties in attachment to others, has promising implications for understanding the intergenerational transmission of child maltreatment. Limitations in a parent's capacity for attachment to a child may render that child more vulnerable to objectification and subsequent maltreatment by the parent as well as to experiencing and internalizing attachment difficulties of his or her own.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE WITH SUBSTANCE-ABUSING FAMILIES UNDER THE ADOPTION AND SAFE FAMILIES ACT

It is clear from this examination of research on the relationship between parental substance abuse and child maltreatment that this is a complex dynamic that calls for thoughtful interventive approaches. First, there is the direct effect of mood- and mind-altering substances on a parent's psychosocial functioning, resulting in emotions and behavior altered in ways detrimental to parenting and to the positive development of children. Second, there is the context in which parenting takes place that is also profoundly affected in negative ways by the parent's substance abusing behavior. The poverty, interpersonal violence, social isolation, the presence of unrelated substance abusing adults in the home, and parental mental illness, particularly depression, that frequently co-occur with parental substance abuse are all associated both with child maltreatment and with high risk to normative psychosocial development of children. Many of these factors, of course, exist independently of parental substance abuse and of child maltreatment. All parents who are poor or who live in violent circumstances do not abuse or neglect their children. However, according to the research on factors which place children at high risk of developmental psychopathology, the presence of multiple risk factors greatly increases the probability that children will suffer adverse consequences. Further, these kinds of high risk environments also place extraordinary stress on parents, even those who function well. For a parent whose functioning is already impaired by the use of drugs or alcohol, living in such a stressful environment increases the likelihood that he or she will lose control and become abusive, or, conversely, withdraw physically and emotionally from a child.

Finally, there are the effects of a parent's own childhood experiences of abuse on both the probability of becoming a substance abuser and the psychodynamic consequences manifested in behaviors associated with child abuse and neglect. There is evidence that a high proportion, estimated at one third, of parents who are abused as children will go on to severely maltreat their own children (Oliver 1993). Another third of such individuals are thought to be more vulnerable than normal to effects of environmental stress. They can be easily pushed by stressful circumstances into engaging in maltreating behavior. Then, there is the final third of parents maltreated in childhood who are resilient in the face of this developmental threat.

These parents are indistinguishable from other parents who were not abused or neglected as children. It is the first two groups that are thought to be at highest risk of also developing problems with substance abuse, thereby compounding the likelihood that they will become perpetrators of child maltreatment themselves.

How can we help these families to better parent their children? There are no simple solutions. Interventions must be directed toward each of the three substance abuse/child maltreatment pathways identified in this paper. Simply getting clean and sober is not enough. Nor will court-ordered parenting classes alone suffice. Interventions must take place at multiple levels: with the substance abusing parent, with her children, and with the context in which they live. Substance abuse treatment programs must recognize the special problems faced by chemically dependent parents, particularly mothers, who cannot turn away from their other responsibilities to focus all their energies on getting clean and sober as the traditional substance abuse treatment model requires (Nelson-Zlupko, Dore, Kauffman, & Kaltenbach 1996; Nelson-Zlupko et al 1995). These programs must begin to address the multiple factors in the lives of parents which make sobriety difficult to sustain, particularly their struggles with parenting their children and with their own childhood trauma. Models have been developed and tested for including parents and children together in inpatient and outpatient substance abuse treatment programs (Catalano, Haggerty, & Gainey 1998; Kumpfer, Molgaard, & Spoth 1996). By including children, substance abuse treatment programs can address their myriad problems stemming from abuse and neglect by chemically addicted parents, thereby disrupting the intergenerational transmission of both substance abuse and child maltreatment. Both recovering parents and their children benefit from learning a range of new social skills including communication, problem-solving, decision making, stress management, anger management, assertiveness, and coping with feelings (Kumpfer 1998). Helping maltreated children address their emotional and behavioral difficulties also serves to reduce the stress on recovering parents, an important factor in preventing relapse.

Substance abusing, maltreating parents are often referred to parenting programs as part of a reunification plan. However, current research on the effectiveness of parenting programs with this population suggests that training in the skills of child management is not enough (Dore & Lee 1999). Many parent training programs, particularly those based on social learning theory, require a level of cognitive focus and commitment to carrying out task assignments that many parents in recovery do not possess. They also presuppose an ability to empathize with another and to place a child's needs above one's own that may not be realistic for the newly recovering parent because of her own needs for nurturing and psychosocial development. Parenting programs that serve this population must pay attention to the parent's difficulties in interpersonal functioning, her lack of social skills, and her diminished social network, as well as her relationships with her children.

Parenting programs aimed at enhancing attachment behaviors in parents of infants show great promise for maltreating parents who lack sensitivity and responsiveness to their infants (Erickson, Korfmacher, & Egeland 1992; van Ijzendoorn, Juffer, & Duyvensteyn 1995). Given that many substance abusing parents suffer from underlying depression which is still present in sobriety, and given that depression in caregivers has demonstrated effects on the quality of the attachment between parent and child, techniques that have been developed for enhancing attachment in infants of depressed mothers seem especially applicable here (Field 1995). When a formerly substance abusing parent has been separated from her young child in foster care placement, the bonds of attachment are necessarily weakened. Interventions designed to strengthen these bonds before reunification takes place are essential. Regular parent-child visitation that includes structured bonding activities is one such intervention.

We must also discover how disrupted or tenuous attachments between newly sober parents and their older children in care can be strengthened as well. These children, while loving their parent, usually also have a great deal of unresolved anger at the parent for past maltreatment, or for failing to protect them from abuse by others. As a result, they may engage in very provocative behavior designed to test the parent's love and commitment. Some older children have also func-

tioned as surrogate parents in households where the adults were incapacitated by substance abuse. This is a role that brings some feelings of satisfaction and outside validation, in addition to stress, for the child. He or she may be unprepared to relinquish that role to a newly sober parent. A parent who is unaware of this dynamic or unprepared for the child's subsequent acting out may be unable to manage the stress it presents. This speaks to the need to educate parents regarding the variety of possible reactions of the child to reunification and in non-coercive ways of responding to them.

A common feeling in newly sober parents is overwhelming guilt about their treatment of their children while they were using mind and mood-altering drugs (Kauffman et al 1995). This guilt can contribute to relapse, or it can motivate parents to actively seek change. The latter requires great deal of support, direction, and encouragement from an informed clinician or case manager who can act as the central, guiding figure as the parent moves toward reunification and maintains sobriety. Studies have demonstrated the importance of this central, supportive helper in the achievement and maintenance of sobriety and in reunifying children with formerly maltreating parents (Nelson-Zlupko et al 1996; Pharis & Levin 1992). Unfortunately, the Adoption and Safe Families Act, like so much of child welfare legislation, makes no provision for ongoing supportive work with formerly substance abusing families once reunification has taken place and the real work of reestablishing as a family has begun.

CONCLUSION

The maltreatment of children by parents and other caregivers is a significant social problem today. A major contributing factor to this social problem is parental substance abuse. Current child welfare statistics indicate that parental substance abuse is present in a high proportion of families whose children are removed to foster care. Current child welfare legislation has strictly limited the amount of time these parents have to achieve sobriety and establish a stable home for their children to return to from care. Recently enacted policies give parents 12 months or less to achieve the goal of family reunification before parental rights are severed and a child is released for adoption.

Given the demonstrated difficulties of overcoming addiction and achieving permanent sobriety, to say nothing of establishing a financially stable living situation for a family, these time limits are restrictive, indeed.

The question then becomes one of "How can parents who are struggling with sobriety best be helped to achieve the goal of family reunification?" This article has proposed a model for understanding the linkages between parental substance abuse and child maltreatment as a first step in the helping process. The model suggests that clinicians must assess the client's substance abuse history and its impact on parenting on a variety of factors, not just with regard to whether or not a parent is currently sober. Of particular concern is the parent's own early history of abuse and neglect, which contributes both to pathological states such as depression and anxiety which underlie substance abuse, and to deficits in the basic skills of parenting such as the ability to place the needs of another above one's own. Further, the chemically dependent parent's activities such as maintaining primary relationships with substance abusing others may create a context which makes sobriety difficult to sustain.

In order to achieve success in the reunification of families where parents have abused mind and mood-altering drugs, the practitioner must assess the level of risk of return to substance abusing behavior on the three dimensions discussed here. Further, he or she must actively intervene with the parent to develop skills and strategies for coping that address these particular risks. Finally, sustaining sobriety requires ongoing support, encouragement, and education around potential obstacles to this goal. Some of these obstacles and the interventions to address them have been identified and discussed here.

Despite the good intentions of legislators and policy makers to create possibilities for permanence for children through the Adoption and Safe Families Act of 1997, there is much yet to be done. There are not enough adoptive homes to create permanent families for all the children entering foster care from maltreating families in this country: half a million at last count. Thus, we must find more effective ways to develop the capacities of fragile families, beset by chemical dependence, to provide stable, loving homes for their own children. Provision of sub-

stance abuse treatment programs that can intervene at an earlier point—ideally during pregnancy—to prevent out-of-home placement in the first place is essential. Residential programs providing treatment to parents and their children together would not only help to prevent child maltreatment but would also meet another goal of public child welfare policy, that of family preservation. When children from substance abusing families must be removed to foster care and family reunification becomes the goal, necessary and sufficient services as described here must be made available. These should include ongoing supportive services that can continue once reunification has taken place. As anyone who has worked with abused and neglected children knows, their first loyalty and concern is with their families of origin, no matter how inadequate their parents may seem to the outside observer. Termination of parental rights and adoption into a family of strangers should be a last resort for these children, not the first response that takes the onus of responsibility off child welfare administrators.

END NOTES
¹The term child maltreatment as used here includes all forms of child abuse and neglect. Current research suggests that most forms of maltreatment occur in combination (Manly, Cicchetti, & Barnett 1994; Ney, Fung, & Wickett 1994). Only about 5% of cases of maltreatment of children appear to be of a single type.

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MILLENNIAL STUDENTS MEET THE
STANFORD PRISON EXPERIMENT

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One of classic experiments in sociology is remembered as a fiasco with disastrous results. In the late summer of 1971, the Stanford Prison Experiment had to be halted because of the bizarre behavior of the research subjects. In a mock prison established at Stanford University, the designated student "guards" had become sadistic, abusive, unreasonable, even subhuman. The designated student "prisoners," meanwhile, had begun to act like real prisoners, forfeiting their right to simply quit or resign from the experiment, and asking for friends, family or lawyers to intervene on their behalf. Due to the depression and the psychological stress of the experiment on the prisoners, the planned two-week experiment had to be aborted after six days. Though the experiment occurred long ago, I thought that it would be an interesting topic for today's students to explore. This paper is the story of the experiment itself, the lessons learned from it, and what several cohorts of introductory sociology students at a teaching institution of the millennial era got out of their exploration of the experiment.

BACKGROUND OF THE EXPERIMENT

Technically, the experiment was a psychological experiment, as it was conducted by the Psychology Department at Stanford University under the direction of Philip Zimbardo. However, the experiment was important to the closely related fields of criminology and sociology, and became a classic in both fields despite the negative outcome.

Research experimentation in psychology showed promise and yielded prolific results. However, some attempts to expand the research to larger social groups proved troublesome. For example, social psychologist Muzafer Sherif (1961) conducted a field experiment with 12 year old boys at a summer camp, and the final stages of the experiment had to be curtailed because the boys were in danger of being seriously hurt. The boys in the study were divided into two groups. Then, through the manipulations of the researchers, the groups were brought into competition and conflict. For a number of days the conflict was limited to apple-throw-

ing fights and to raids on each other's cabins. But in a final severe confrontation in the dining hall, the two groups of boys faced off and the situation became dangerous. Some of the boys started to throw silverware and plates. The researchers quickly stepped in and stopped the hostilities, and also concluded that phase of the experiment. The Stanley Milgram (1964, 1975) experiments on obedience were also controversial in that some of the subjects were lead to believe that they had administered potentially lethal electronic shocks to selected subjects in the study. Critics wondered about the psychological pain inflicted upon these subjects, who were harboring thoughts that they had just killed someone during a psychological experiment. Was the "naïve" subject necessary, or could such data be collected using alternative research designs such as role playing? (O'Leary, Willis and Tomich 1970; Mixon 1972; Patten 1977). Furthermore, ethical discussions ensued about how to better inform research subjects about the nature of their participation in experiments (Baumrind 1964).

The research questions asked at the beginning of the Stanford experiment appeared to be more philosophical than experimental. What happens when you put good people in an evil place? Does humanity win over evil, or does evil triumph? Absent in the experiment was the kind of experimental rigor one might expect from a study conducted at an elite school: the hypotheses were not clearly stated, there appeared to be no independent or dependent variable, and there was no control group. The "experiment" was basically exploratory research on the psychology of prison life. Despite that, Zimbardo went ahead with his unusual study in August of 1971. Much of the information summarized below is presented at the prison experiment's web page (Zimbardo 2005), and is presented here as contextual background information about the experiment.

Potential recruits for the study were invited to answer an ad in a local newspaper calling for people to volunteer in a study of the psychological effects of prison life. The research design called for setting up a simu-

lated prison and then carefully noting the effects of this institution on the behavior of all those within its walls, including prisoners, guards, administration, and support staff.

Diagnostic interviews and personality tests were given to more than 70 applicants who had answered the ad. This process eliminated candidates that might not fare well in the mock prison setting, such as those with psychological problems, medical disabilities, or a history of crime or drug abuse. After this screening, a sample of 24 college students remained. They were from the U.S. and Canada, they happened to be in the Stanford area, and wanted to earn $15 per day by participating in the study. On all dimensions that could be tested or observed by the research staff, they reacted normally.

By flip of a coin, the healthy, intelligent, middle-class males were divided into two groups. One was randomly assigned to be the prison guards while the other group became prisoners. At the beginning, the researchers could see no difference at all between the young men in the two groups.

In an effort to make the experiment as real as possible, the Stanford psychologists called upon the knowledge and experience of special consultants, including a former inmate who had served nearly seventeen years in prison. This person in turn was able to introduce the research staff to a number of other ex-convicts and correctional personnel.

The mock prison was constructed by boarding up each end of a corridor in the basement of Stanford's Psychology Department building. That corridor was "the yard" and was the only outside place where prisoners were allowed to walk, eat, or exercise, except to use the bathroom down the hallway. To create prison cells, the researchers took the doors off some laboratory rooms and replaced them with specially made doors with steel bars and cell numbers.

Through a small opening at one end of the hall, researchers could videotape and record the events that occurred. On the side of the corridor opposite the cells was a small closet which became "The Hole," or solitary confinement. It was dark and very confining, about two feet wide and two feet deep, but tall enough that a "bad prisoner" could stand up. Additionally, an intercom system allowed the researchers to secretly bug the cells to monitor what the prisoners discussed, and

also to make public announcements to the prisoners. There were no windows or clocks to judge the passage of time, which later resulted in some time-distorting experiences. With these features in place, the Stanford "jail" was ready to receive its first prisoners.

THE EXPERIMENT BEGINS

This very realistic experiment got under way on a Sunday morning in August 1971 when a Palo Alto police car swept through the town picking up the soon to be student prisoners for violations of the Armed Robbery and Burglary penal codes. Each suspect was picked up at his home, charged, warned of his legal rights, spread-eagled against the police car, searched, and handcuffed – often as surprised and curious neighbors looked on. The suspect was then put in the rear of the police car and carried off to the police station, sirens wailing. After the car arrived at the station, the suspect was brought inside, formally booked, again warned of his Miranda rights, finger printed, and a complete identification was made. The suspect was then taken to a holding cell where he was left blindfolded to ponder his fate and to wonder what he had done to get himself into this mess. Later, the prisoners were put into a car and driven to the "Stanford County Jail" for further processing. The prisoners were brought into the experimental prison one at a time and greeted by the warden, who conveyed the seriousness of their offense and their new status as prisoners.

Next, the prisoners went through a "degradation procedure" (Garfinkel 1956) that was designed in part to humiliate prisoners and to strip them of their identity, and in part to be sure they weren't bringing in any germs to contaminate the jail. (This procedure was similar to the real life experiences of ex-inmates in the state of Texas' prison system). Each prisoner was systematically searched and stripped naked. He was then deloused with a spray, to convey the belief of the research staff that he may have germs or lice.

Prisoners then received a uniform; the main part of this uniform was a dress, or smock, which each prisoner wore at all times with no underclothes. On the smock, in front and in back, was his prison ID number. On each prisoner's right ankle was a heavy chain, bolted on and worn at all times. Rubber sandals were the foot-wear, and each prisoner covered his hair with a stocking cap

made from a woman's nylon stocking.

The psychologists were trying to create a functional simulation of a prison and not a literal prison. As noted on the Stanford Prison Experiment web site, real male prisoners don't wear dresses, but real male prisoners do feel humiliated and do feel emasculated. The goal was to produce similar effects quickly by putting men in a dress without any underclothes. As soon as some of the prisoners were put in these uniforms they began to walk and to sit differently, and to hold themselves differently, more like a woman than like a man.

It is also uncommon in most prisons for the prisoners to have chains on their feet. Here, the chains were used to remind prisoners of the oppressiveness of their environment. Even when prisoners were asleep, they could not escape the atmosphere of oppression. When a prisoner turned over, the chain would hit his other foot, waking him up and reminding him that he was still in prison, unable to escape even by dreaming about being somewhere else.

Prisoners were made to feel anonymous by use of ID numbers. Each prisoner had to be called only by his ID number and could only refer to himself and the other prisoners by number.

Instead of shaving each prisoner's head, they were issued stocking caps to wear. Again, the idea here is to approximate the conditions of a functional prison and not to create the actual conditions of a real prison. The process of having one's head shaved, which takes place in most prisons as well as in the military, is designed in part to minimize each person's individuality, since some people show their individuality through hair style or length. It is also a way of getting people to begin complying with the arbitrary, coercive rules of the institution.

The guards received no training on how to be guards. They had freedom within reasonable limits to do whatever they thought was necessary to maintain law and order in the prison, and to command the respect of the prisoners. The guards made up their own set of rules, which they then carried into effect under the supervision of a Stanford undergraduate. The situation was similar in some aspects to that in the Abu Ghraib scandal, where national guardsmen found themselves supervising an Iraqi prison with minimal guidance or training. The student guards at Stanford were warned, however, of the potential seriousness of their mission and of the possible dangers in the situation they were about to enter. Real guards who voluntarily take such a dangerous job receive similar warnings, whether it be at Abu Ghraib or at any other correctional facility.

The experimental prisoners expected some harassment, to have their privacy and some of their other civil rights violated while they were in prison, and to get a minimally adequate diet. This was not a surprise to them; it was part of the informed consent agreement they signed when they volunteered.

All guards were dressed in identical uniforms of khaki, and they carried a whistle around their neck and a billy club borrowed from the police. Guards also wore special sun-glasses, mirrored ones that prevented anyone from seeing their eyes or reading their emotions, and thus helped to further promote their anonymity. The research design called for studying not only the prisoners but also the guards, who found themselves in a new power-laden role.

The experiment began with nine guards and nine prisoners. Three guards worked each of the three eight-hour shifts, while three prisoners occupied each of the three barren cells around the clock. The remaining guards and prisoners from the sample of 24 students were on call in case they were needed. The cells were very small: there was room for only three cots on which the prisoners slept or sat, with little room for anything else.

Early in the morning, at 2:30 A.M., the prisoners were awakened by blasting whistles for the first of many "counts." The counts served the purpose of familiarizing the prisoners with their numbers as counts took place several times each shift and often at night. More importantly, these staged events provided a regular occasion for the guards to exercise control over the prisoners. Initially at least, the prisoners were not completely into their roles and did not take the counts too seriously. They were still trying to assert their independence. The guards were also getting acquainted with their new roles and were not yet sure how to assert authority or control over their prisoners. This turned out to be the start of several direct confrontations between the guards and prisoners.

To punish infractions of the rules or displays of improper attitudes toward the guards

or institution, push-ups became a common form of punishment. When the guards demanded push-ups from the prisoners, the researchers at first thought this was an inappropriate kind of punishment for a prison (real or simulated), a rather juvenile and minimal form of punishment, similar to frat-house hazing. But, the staff was surprised to learn later that push-ups were often used as a form of punishment in Nazi concentration camps, as discovered in the drawing of a former concentration camp inmate.

REBELLION

As there were no incidents on the first day, the staff was caught off guard by the rebellion that swept the prison on the morning of the second day. The prisoners removed their stocking caps, ripped off their numbers, and barricaded themselves inside the cells by putting their beds against the door. What would the guards do about this situation? They were quite angry and frustrated because the prisoners also began to taunt and curse them. When the morning shift of guards came on, they became upset at the night shift who, they felt, must have been too lenient. The guards had to handle the rebellion themselves, and the staff was intrigued by what happened next.

To begin, the guards insisted that reinforcements be called in. The three guards who were waiting on stand-by call at home came in, and the night shift of guards voluntarily remained on duty to bolster the morning shift. The guards met and decided to treat force with force. They got a fire extinguisher which shot a stream of cold carbon dioxide, and they forced the prisoners away from the doors.

Each cell was broken into by the guards, each prisoner stripped naked, the beds were taken out, and the ringleaders of the prisoner rebellion were put into solitary confinement. The guards generally began to harass and intimidate the prisoners.

The rebellion was snuffed, but a new problem arose quickly to take its place. Nine guards with clubs could subdue the nine prisoners, but the study had been structured in such a way that nine guards could not be on duty all at the same time – there would be no way for any break time or any time off, for that matter. Moreover, the budget of the experiment did not allow for hiring more guards, or even for having them all work together at once.

One of the guards came up with a solution. He urged his peers to use psychological tactics instead of physical ones. The psychological tactics amounted to setting up a privilege cell.

The staff decided to designate one of the three cells as a "privilege cell." The three prisoners least involved in the rebellion were given special privileges. They got their uniforms back, got their beds back, and were allowed to wash and brush their teeth. The others were not. Privileged prisoners also got to eat special food in the presence of the other prisoners who had temporarily lost the privilege of eating. This went on for about a half a day before tactics were changed.

To confuse the prisoners as much as they could, the guards then took some of these "good" prisoners and put them into the "bad" cells, and took some of the "bad" prisoners and put them into the "good" cell. Some of the prisoners who were the ringleaders now thought that the prisoners from the privileged cell must be informers, and suddenly, the prisoners became distrustful of each other. The ex-convict consultants later informed the staff that a similar tactic is used by real guards in real prisons to break prisoner alliances. By dividing and conquering in this way, guards broke the solidarity among the prisoners and promoted aggression among inmates, thereby deflecting it from themselves.

Another unexpected outcome of the rebellion was the producing of greater solidarity among the guards. The guards no longer perceived the prison as an experiment or a simple simulation. Now, the guards saw the prisoners as troublemakers who were out to get them, who might really cause them some harm. In response to this threat, the guards began stepping up their control, surveillance, and aggression.

At this point, just about every aspect of the prisoners' behavior fell under the total and arbitrary control of the guards. Even going to the toilet became a privilege which a guard could grant or deny at his whim. After each night's 10:00 P.M. lights out "lock-up," prisoners were often forced to urinate or defecate in a bucket that was left in their cell. On occasion the guards would not allow prisoners to empty these buckets. Soon the prison began to smell of urine and feces, further adding to the degrading quality of the environment.

The ringleader of the rebellion was

singled out for especially harsh treatment. He was a heavy smoker, and they controlled him by regulating his opportunity to smoke. Later the staff learned, while censoring the prisoners' mail, that he was a self-styled radical activist. He had volunteered in order to "expose" the experiment, which he mistakenly thought was an establishment tool to find ways to control student radicals. In fact, he had planned to sell the story to an underground newspaper when the experiment was over. However, even he fell so completely into the role of prisoner that he was proud to be elected leader of the Stanford County Jail Grievance Committee, as revealed in a letter to his girlfriend.

Not yet into the third day, one of the prisoners began suffering from acute emotional disturbance, disorganized thinking, crying, and rage. In spite of all of this, the staff had already come to think so much like prison authorities that they thought the prisoner was trying to "con" them in an attempt to gain his release. When a prison consultant interviewed this particular prisoner, the consultant chided him for being so weak, and told him what kind of abuse he could expect from the guards and the prisoners if he were in San Quentin Prison. The prisoner was then given the offer of becoming an informant in exchange for no further guard harassment.

This prisoner told other prisoners at the next count, "You can't leave. You can't quit." That sent a chilling message and heightened their sense of really being imprisoned. The prisoner then began to act "crazy," to scream, to curse, to go into a rage that seemed out of control. It took quite a while before the staff became convinced that he was really suffering and that he needed to be released.

PUBLIC SCRUTINY

The following day, the staff held a visiting hour for parents and friends. Dr. Zimbardo and associates were worried that when the parents saw the state of the mock jail, they might insist on taking their sons home. To counter this, Zimbardo manipulated both the situation and the visitors by making the "front stage" of the prison environment seem pleasant and benign (Goffman 1959). As he notes on the web site, the prisoners were washed, shaved, and groomed; they cleaned and polished their cells; and, they were fed a big dinner. Music was played on the inter-

com, and a former Stanford cheerleader was recruited to greet the visitors at the registration desk.

As the visitors arrived, the staff manipulated their behavior and brought it under the staff's situational control, essentially "framing" the mock prison environment (Goffman 1974). Visitors had to register, were made to wait half an hour, were told that only two visitors could see any one prisoner, were limited to only ten minutes of visiting time, and had to be under the surveillance of a guard during the visit. Before any parents could enter the visiting area, they also had to discuss their son's case with the Warden. Parents complained about these arbitrary rules, but remarkably, they complied with them.

Observing how fatigued and stressed their sons looked, a few parents got upset with the staff. Amazingly, their reaction was to work within the system to appeal privately to the Superintendent to make conditions better for their boy. When one mother told me she had never seen her son looking so bad, Zimbardo responded by shifting the blame from the situation to her son. "What's the matter with your boy? Doesn't he sleep well?" Then he asked the father, "Don't you think your boy can handle this?" The father replied, "Of course he can — he's a real tough kid, a leader."

THE ESCAPE PLOT

The next major event that the staff had to contend with was a rumored mass escape plot. One of the guards overheard the prisoners talking about an escape that would take place immediately after visiting hours. The rumor that circulated went like this: the prisoner showing the signs of extreme stress that had been released the night before, was going to round up a bunch of his friends and break in to free the prisoners.

The staff showed evidence of having adopted the "prison staff mode" and were not really thinking or acting like experimental social psychologists. Instead of recording the pattern of rumor transmission and preparing to observe the impending escape, the staff reacted with concern about the security of the prison. The staff held a strategy session with the Warden, the Superintendent, and one of the chief lieutenants, to plan how to foil the escape.

Afterwards, the staff decided to put an informant (an experimental confederate) in the

cell that #8612 (the stressed prisoner that was released) had occupied. The job of the informant would be to give information about the escape plot. Meanwhile, Dr. Zimbardo asked the Palo Alto Police Department if inmates could be transferred from the mock jail to one of the city's old jails. The request was turned down because the Palo Alto Police would not be covered by their insurance carrier if prisoners were moved into their jail. Zimbardo, now totally into the role of prison administrator, left angry and disgusted at this lack of cooperation from the city.

Then the staff formulated a second plan. The plan was to dismantle the mock jail after the visitors left, call in more guards, chain the prisoners together, put bags over their heads, and transport them to a fifth floor storage room until after the anticipated break in. When the conspirators came, Dr. Zimbardo would be sitting there alone. He would tell them that the experiment was over and he had sent all of their friends home, that there was nothing left to liberate. After they left, the prisoners come back and security is redoubled at the prison. Zimbardo's notes say that he even thought of luring #8612 back on some pretext and then imprisoning him again because he was released on false pretenses.

The prison break turned out to be just a rumor. It never materialized. The reaction showed just how deeply internalized their mock prison roles had become. The staff had spent an entire day planning to foil the escape, begging the police department for help, moving the prisoners to another location, and dismantling most of the prison. They were so busy that they collected no data at all. An opportunity to study the social psychological processes in rumor development and transmission was tragically lost, but instead the staff was more frustrated about the fact that they had lost control of the prisoners, had allowed the prisoners to fool them, and had been unable to "even the score" in this situation. As Dr. Zimbardo writes on the web site, the staff was very angry, and someone was going to pay for this.

The prisoners ended up paying the price. The guards again escalated very noticeably their level of harassment, increasing the humiliation they made the prisoners suffer, forcing them to do menial, repetitive work such as cleaning out toilet bowls with their bare hands. The guards had prisoners do push-

ups, jumping jacks, whatever the guards could think up, and they increased the length of the counts to several hours each.

NEARING THE END

Philip Zimbardo invited a Catholic priest who had been a prison chaplain to evaluate how realistic the prison situation was, and the result was truly astonishing or "Kafkaesque" as the principal investigator wrote in his notes. The chaplain interviewed each prisoner individually, and Dr. Zimbardo watched in amazement as half the prisoners introduced themselves by number rather than name. After some small talk, he (the chaplain) popped the key question:

Son, what are you doing to get out of here?

When the prisoners responded with puzzlement, he explained that the only way to get out of prison was with the help of a lawyer. He then volunteered to contact their parents to get legal aid if they wanted him to, and some of the prisoners accepted his offer. There was no discussion of negotiating a release or of simply resigning the study; hopes of that had faded long ago.

Only one prisoner did not want to speak to the priest - prisoner #819, who was feeling sick, had refused to eat, and wanted to see a doctor. Eventually he was persuaded to come out of his cell and talk to the priest and superintendent so Zimbardo could see for himself what kind of a doctor he needed. While talking to the staff, he broke down and began to cry hysterically, just as had the other two boys released earlier. Dr. Zimbardo took the chain off his foot, the cap off his head, and told him to go and rest in a room that was adjacent to the prison yard. Zimbardo promised that he would get the prisoner some food and then take him to see a doctor. In the meantime, he heard fellow prisoners mocking him and shouting insults. Zimbardo returned quickly to the room where he had left the prisoner, and found the boy sobbing uncontrollably while in the background his fellow prisoners were yelling that he was a bad prisoner. No longer was the chanting disorganized and full of fun, as it had been on the first day. Now it was marked by strict conformity and compliance, as if a single voice was saying, "#819 is bad."

Dr. Zimbardo suggested that the prisoner exit the study now, but the prisoner refused.

He said that he could not leave because the others had labeled him a bad prisoner. Even though he was feeling sick, he wanted to go back and prove to his peers that he was not a bad prisoner.

At that point Zimbardo said,

Listen, you are not #819. You are [his name], and my name is Dr. Zimbardo. I am a psychologist, not a prison superintendent, and this is not a real prison. This is just an experiment, and those are students, not prisoners, just like you. Let's go.

Zimbardo's notes said:

He stopped crying suddenly, looked up at me like a small child awakened from a nightmare, and replied, 'Okay, let's go.'

The following day, all prisoners who thought they had grounds for being paroled were chained together and individually brought before the Parole Board. The Board was composed mainly of people who were strangers to the prisoners (departmental secretaries and graduate students) and was headed by one of the prison consultants.

The parole hearings produced anomalous results. First, when the prisoners were asked whether they would forfeit the money they had earned up to that time if we were to parole them, most said that "yes," they would. Then, when the hearing was over and prisoners were ordered back to their cells while the staff considered their requests, every prisoner obeyed, even though they could have achieved the same result by simply quitting the experiment. Why did they obey? Zimbardo believed that it was because they were powerless to resist. The prisoners' sense of reality had shifted, and they no longer perceived their imprisonment as an experiment. In the psychological prison that had been created, only the correctional staff had the power to grant paroles.

By day five, the staff could identify three types of guards. First, there were tough but fair guards who followed prison rules. Second, there were "good guys" who did little favors for the prisoners and never punished them. And then, about a third of the guards were hostile, arbitrary, and inventive in their forms of prisoner humiliation. These guards appeared to thoroughly enjoy the power they wielded, yet none of the preliminary personality tests were able to predict this behavior. The only link between personality and prison behavior was a finding that prisoners with a high degree of authoritarianism endured our authoritarian prison environment longer than did other prisoners. How could intelligent, mentally healthy, "ordinary" men become perpetrators of evil so quickly? These were questions that the staff was forced to ask.

Prisoners felt feelings of frustration and powerlessness, and expressed this in a variety of ways. At first, some prisoners rebelled or fought with the guards. Four prisoners reacted by breaking down emotionally as a way to escape the situation. One prisoner developed a psychosomatic rash over his entire body when he learned that his parole request had been turned down. Others tried to cope by being good prisoners, doing everything the guards wanted them to do. One of them was even nicknamed "Sarge," because he was so military-like in executing all commands.

THE END OF THE EXPERIMENT

As the final hours of the experiment approached, the prisoners were disintegrated, both as a group and as individuals. Group unity vanished; what was left was a bunch of isolated individuals hanging on, much like prisoners of war or hospitalized mental patients. The guards had won total control of the prison, and they commanded the blind obedience of each prisoner. The mock prison had become a total institution, not far removed from what prisons are in real life.

The prisoners were withdrawing and behaving in pathological ways, and the guards were behaving sadistically. Even the "good" guards felt helpless to do anything to rectify the situation, and none of the guards quit while the study was in progress. No guard ever came late for his shift, called in sick, left early, or demanded extra pay for overtime work.

The situation had become so realistic that some visiting parents asked Zimbardo to contact a lawyer in order to get their son out of prison on the fifth night. They said a Catholic priest had called to tell them they should get a lawyer or public defender if they wanted to bail their son out. Zimbardo called the lawyer as requested, and he came the next day to interview the prisoners with a standard set of legal questions, even though he, too, knew it was just an experiment.

Dr. Zimbardo and his staff ended the study prematurely for two reasons. First, the group of researchers had learned through videotapes that the guards were escalating their abuse of prisoners in the middle of the night when they thought no researchers were watching and the experiment was "off." Their boredom had driven them to ever more pornographic and degrading abuse of the prisoners.

Second, a recent Stanford Ph.D. brought in to conduct interviews with the guards and prisoners strongly objected when she saw prisoners being marched on a toilet run, bags over their heads, legs chained together, hands on each other's shoulders. Filled with outrage, she said,

It's terrible what you are doing to these boys!

Out of 50 outsiders who had seen the prison, she was the only one who ever questioned its morality. The staff took her objection seriously, and after only six days, the planned two-week prison simulation was called off.

LESSONS LEARNED FROM THE EXPERIMENT

The study was terminated on August 20, 1971. The next day, there was an alleged escape attempt at San Quentin State Prison in California. Prisoners in the Maximum Adjustment Center were released from their cells by George Jackson, who had smuggled a gun into the prison. Several guards and some informant prisoners were tortured and murdered during the attempt, but the escape was prevented after the leader was allegedly gunned down while trying to scale the 30-foot high prison walls (Jackson 1972).

Soon afterward, less than one month later, prisons made more news when a riot erupted at Attica Prison in New York. After weeks of negotiations with prisoners who held guards hostage while demanding basic human rights, New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller ordered the National Guard to take back the prison by full force. A great many guards and prisoners were killed and injured by that ill-advised decision (Rothman 1972).

An important demand of the prisoners at Attica was that they be treated like human beings. After observing the simulated prison for only six days, Zimbardo's staff could understand how prisons dehumanize people, turning them into objects and instilling in them feelings of hopelessness. As for the

guards, they realized how ordinary people could be readily transformed from "the good Dr. Jekyll to the evil Mr. Hyde."

As Zimbardo points out at the web site, in the decades since the experiment took place, prison conditions and correctional policies in the United States became even more punitive and destructive. He is convinced that the worsening of conditions has been a result of the politicization of corrections, with politicians vying for who is toughest on crime, along with the racialization of arrests and sentencing, with African-Americans and Hispanics overrepresented. The media has also contributed to the problem by generating "moral panics" that heightened fear of violent crimes even as statistics show that violent crimes have decreased.

Zimbardo also pointed out that there are more Americans in prisons than ever before. According to a Justice Department survey, the number of jailed Americans more than doubled during the past 12 years, with over 1.8 million people in jail or prison by the late 1990s.

The study also brought up a number of questions unique to such exploratory social research. Because the purpose was to study a very broad question, the psychology of prison life, it is very difficult to define specifically what the data are, or what the data are supposed to be. It seems that just about everything that was happening was "data" to be later studied from the videotapes. Then there is the issue of opportunities for study that were tragically lost, mostly because the staff had adopted the mode of real prison employees and had forgotten about the research. This leads to the further question of what could have been done to minimize the effects of experimenter bias on the outcome of the study. Having more outside monitors would have appeared to be the answer, but who is to say that they too would not have been caught up in the action? And what were the dangers of the principal investigator assuming the role of prison superintendent? You could also make the suggestion that this role should have been assumed by an off site researcher far removed from the day to day workings of the mock prison.

In the summer of 2004, the Stanford Prison Experiment made the news again. In Iraq, a poorly supervised group of national guardsmen had taken charge of the supervision of Iraqi prisoners, some suspected to

be terrorists. With a nod and a wink from military intelligence, the guardsmen appeared to have total control of the process of how intelligence information was gathered, with an apparent emphasis on the final result, and not so much how the result was obtained. People who remembered the Stanford experiment remembered how quickly the whole experiment had degenerated into chaos, and wondered if the same dynamic was at work in the Abu Ghraib prison (Stannard 2004). Did evil triumph over good once again, just as it had 23 years ago in Palo Alto? For many the answer was yes, and was a reminder of what can happen when supervision is minimal, and individuals are suddenly given power beyond their capacity to absorb.

MILLENNIAL STUDENTS MEET THE STANFORD EXPERIMENT

Beginning in 2000, I began to search for an assignment for introductory sociology students, one that they would find memorable, and one from which they might take away some valuable lessons in life. I settled on the Stanford Prison Experiment because the age of the students involved in the study was about the same as the average age of the students in my introductory class; and, the experiment did deal with some of the issues that students face in daily life on campus - the occasional triumph of evil over good (or the unfair over the fair), peer pressure, the development of personal identity and roles, and rapid social change that leaves confusion in its wake. I thought that by putting each student in the shoes of the students in the Stanford Prison Experiment, these millennial students might learn something about themselves as they contemplate how they might have reacted to the experiment, if time and unforeseen circumstances had managed to put them in such a situation. Among other things, the experiment probably made them very pessimistic about taking part in any ongoing psychology experiments that were underway on their campus.

Beginning in 2001, I suspended my introductory sociology classes for a day, and asked the students to spend time outside of class to work on an "Internet assignment" about the Stanford Prison Experiment. I asked them to visit the Experiment's web site at www.prisonexp.org and to read the introductory page. After that, they were invited to go

through the slide show in its entirety. That show essentially tells the story of the experiment that I've summarized above, and includes still photos and video clips from the experiment, adding to the realism for the student. After the student has gone through the slide show in its entirety, I asked them to answer several questions about the experiment, many of them suggested by Philip Zimbardo as discussion questions that would help people to reflect upon the experiment:

1. What police procedures are used during arrests, and how do these procedures lead people to feel confused, fearful, and dehumanized?
2. If you were a guard, what type of guard would you have become? How sure are you?
3. What prevented "good guards" from objecting or countermanding the orders from tough or bad guards?
4. If you were a prisoner, would you have been able to endure the experience? What would you have done differently than those subjects did? If you were imprisoned in a "real" prison for five years or more, could you take it?
5. Why did our prisoners try to work within the arbitrary prison system to effect a change in it (e.g., setting up a Grievance Committee), rather than trying to dismantle or change the system through outside help?
6. What was the most important thing that you learned from the Stanford Prison Experiment?

The answers to the questions could be handwritten or typed, and were to be handed in to the instructor to be graded before the end of the semester. As most of the questions were subjective, I graded the assignments based upon how thoroughly the student answered the question, and how much detail they used from the historical facts of the study in answering the questions.

Question 1 was probably the most "objective," in the sense that Dr. Zimbardo had arranged the experiment so that the students' experience of being arrested would be realistic. Thus, all the student had to do to answer this particular question was to relate how the student prisoners in the experiment were treated by the arresting officers. This

Table 1: Stanford Prison Experiment Question Two, Part A: What Type of Guard Would You Have Been?

Tough & Fair	202	(31.5%)
Good Guy or Good Girl	229	(35.7%)
Tough, Hostile	121	(18.9%)
Don't Know/Not Sure	24	(3.7%)
Didn't answer question/misunderstood question/cannot classify answer	65	(10.1%)

material was directly from an early portion of the slide show. However, some students interpreted the question to mean *today's* police procedures in general that dehumanize the arrestee, and thus answered the question with recent experiences that they had heard or read about in the news or in their community.

Questions 2-4 were very subjective; they are self-reflection kinds of questions. I could not possibly anticipate anyone's answer, and instructed students to be honest. I did so at the risk that such an assignment only reinforces the widespread view among students that sociology is nothing more than one's "opinion" about social reality. Nonetheless, I continue to ask the questions each semester, because they provide a window into the student's personality and you get some feeling that you've come to know the student personally – something that may be difficult to do in more conventional ways at the medium to large sized teaching institutions. I usually held on to the assignments for years, just in case a student approached me later for advice or for a letter of recommendation. Especially if I did not know the student very well, the answers to the questions provided some contextual information that might be useful in evaluating the student.

Question 5 is more objective than questions 2-4, but at the same time, allows for some individuality to come forth in the responses. Among other things, the response to this question might be an indicator of how closely the student was paying attention to the information about the experiment. On this question an answer that I expected to see was this: the prisoners, like everyone else in the experiment, had internalized the role assigned to them, and no longer felt that they could simply resign from the experiment. The experiment had come to be the social reality for the prisoners. However, I received other kinds of answers to this question and accepted them.

Question 6 is the one I most enjoy reading; and as long as students continue to say

that they learned something from the experiment, I will probably continue to assign it. Just about everyone was able to cite something specific that they took away from the exercise.

The answers to the questions were fairly predictable for question 1 as they could be composed directly from some of the earliest slides in the slide show. Most students got the point that the arrest was supposed to be realistic and humiliating, and to clearly show who was in charge and who was going to be punished. Interestingly, many students generalized their answers to the question so as to include the tactics employed by *all* the authority figures in the experiment and not just the arresting officers. As one student put it:

> They arrested them in front of neighbors and family, stripped them, made them wear a "mock dress," put a bag over their head, and "debugged" them by spraying them down. They were not able to use the restroom in private.

Additionally, as mentioned earlier, some interpreted the question to mean the tactics of today's police and answered accordingly, with arrests that they had read about or seen on TV, or perhaps even with something they'd seen in their neighborhood.

What type of guard would you have been, and how sure are you of this? This was the second question, and is an interesting question from my standpoint because it helps me to get to know something of the student's personality and their honest assessment (hopefully) of how they might have reacted to the situation, if thrust into it. Table 1 shows the students' answers to the question. The largest group of students professed to be the "good guys" or "good girls" types of guards. Many stated that they were nice people, that being nice was part of their personality, and that they did not enjoy seeing others suffer:

> I would be a good guy guard. I would be like

them because they do little favors for the prisoners and never punished them. The reason I picked them is because I'm a very nice person and I wouldn't treat someone so harsh like they (bad guards) treat the prisoners.

I am very sure that I would have been a good guard because I am a very lenient person. I don't like to hurt people purposely.

A substantial group of students said they would have been "tough but fair," noting that they were raised in such a manner; and many said that they had children of their own now and this was how they wanted to raise their own kids. A surprising number (18.9%) admitted that they would have become hostile just like the "bad guard" students in the experiment. These students admitted that to do otherwise would have led to a loss of respect among the prisoners and to a loss of control. I teach in Louisiana, a conservative "Red" state that is a "law and order" kind of place. Some of these students who said they would have been tough or hostile said they come from military or law enforcement families, and therefore had little sympathy for anyone in a prisoner role, even if it is a "mock prison" role.

The second part, or part B of question two had to do with how sure the person was that they would be the type of guard that they had mentioned in the first part. Well over fifty percent said that they were pretty sure of the type of guard they would be, and I often wonder whether these young charges of mine really grasped the basic conclusion from the study, that even "normal" people can behave badly when put in the wrong social environment. I was more reassured by the substantial minority that, after saying what kind of guard they would have become, qualified their answer by saying that they could not be sure; after all, the participants in the Stanford study could not have predicted the bizarre outcome. Farrell Levy, for example, wrote:

If I were a guard I would be a good guard, or at least I hope I would. Even the best people, when put under the wrong circumstances, can turn into that which they seek to fight against. So while I would start out as a good guard and strive to maintain my stand, unforeseen events might try to alter my position.

Others similarly qualified their initial statements:

I would hope I would be a good guard, but it is hard to say because I am rarely given that sort of power.

I have a feeling that I would have started out being a "good" guard and then later I would have become a "bad" guard. I think this only because when I am in charge I like the people I am in charge of to listen to me and I would not have reacted very well to the prisoners' harassment and cursing.

In question 3, regarding what prevented the good guards from objecting to the orders of the bad guards, most students got the point that peer pressure or fear was involved; the good guy types were just not strong enough or did not have the kinds of personalities to override the more authoritarian type bad guards.

Question 4 asked if the student were in the place of the Stanford prisoners, could they have taken the experiment. Most said no, and said that they would have somehow been able to distinguish the experiment from the reality. They would have simply resigned, remembering that they were just participating in an experiment. Almost universally, the students said they would not be able to withstand a long stay in a real prison.

In question 5, the students were asked why the student prisoners worked within the arbitrary system that had been set up, and did not try to change the system. Most indicated that the situation had become real for the prisoners, and that they were acting like real prisoners.

In question 6, the introductory students were asked to relate what they learned from the experiment. Answers varied, as it was expected that each person may take away something different from the experience of watching the slide show and reflecting upon it. A few examples:

If you are ever put in any kind of prison, it's important that you hold onto whatever morality or sanity you have, because you are not going to gain any in prison.

People change according to their environments. One never knows how he/she will really react until he/she goes through it.

People can change into another role quicker than I thought, and they really started acting like real prisoners quickly without knowing they were changing.

AFTERWORD

The assignment about the Stanford experiment appeared to resonate with today's students; I feel that if nothing else, it gets them away from a traditional lecture and an opportunity to spend time on a more technological kind of project, which many enjoy anyway. More important, though, is that the assignment appears to be memorable and something that they may retain from the class well after it is over. The Abu Ghraib scandal of 2004 appeared to illustrate the timeless nature of the experiment; I feel confidant that whenever events like that scandal occur in the future, the Stanford Prison Experiment will be mentioned again.

During the summer of 2004, the Sociology Club of the college where I teach held two forums about the Abu Ghraib scandal. The forums drew two different kinds of student crowds. The first was a mostly anti-Iraq war crowd that deplored the prisoner abuse and argued that there had been Geneva Convention violations and that the responsibility for creating a culture of abuse extended all the way to the top of the Pentagon, to Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld. A second forum, initiated by pro-war students who felt they did not have time to adequately argue their case in the first session, featured a former prison guard from Abu Ghraib who had actually seen the work setting where the abuse occurred and knew some of the people charged with the abuse. His basic argument was that the abusers were just "bad apples" who got carried away in the freewheeling environment and acted in a manner uncharacteristic of the typical American soldier serving in Iraq.

The arguments articulated by the students in the two sessions are interesting if turned back to the subject of the experiment itself as a means of critiquing it. Who was to blame for the culture of violence in the mock prison? Is Dr. Zimbardo himself to blame due to his permissive, laissez faire leadership as the administrator in the prison? How about Dr. Zimbardo's department head, or Zimbardo's Dean, or the Provost of the school, or Stanford's President? Or, as a counter argument, was the abuse traceable to one or two "bad apples" amongst the guards whose strong, authoritative leadership went unchallenged and led all the other guards astray down the wrong path? If that is the way one evaluates the experiment, then the findings are somewhat validating of the work of the Frankfurt School that studied the origins of totalitarianism after World War II. Perhaps just as Erich Fromm (1941) argued, there is something in human nature that causes people to escape from the freedom that surrounds them by submitting themselves to a strong leader, and if that is so, there might still be something of value in the videotapes of the Stanford Prison Experiment that still could be looked at after all these years. The research staff may regret once again that they adopted such realistic prison roles and neglected some of the more academic aspects of their most unusual experiment.

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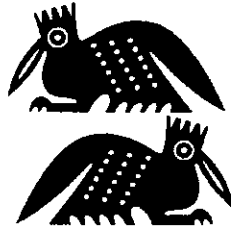**CREATIVITY** demands inventive, innovative & venturesome approaches to problems, propositions, questions, structures, data sets, theory, & social phenomena. Strange creatures are welcome if their outlines are clear.
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